

## DOWN WITH THE TRIAL OF REVOLUTIONARIES IN PEKING

The trial of the so-called gang of four by the counter-revolutionary clique in Peking should be condemned by the world's workers' movement led by the Soviet Union. The fact that there has been very little intervention by the workers' movement on this trial is due to the general lack of comprehension of the causes and reasons for the present process in China.

The central issue is that this is a trial of revolutionaries who participated in the taking of power in China and the effort to develop the Chinese Workers state.

The fact that, for example, these leaders associated with the cultural revolution pursued erroneous or limited policies is no justification for placing them on trial. On the contrary, it is a justification for a full popular discussion of where China is going. If there were mistakes, what was the origin of these mistakes and what is the basis for the policy of the present leadership? This is the way to discuss policies in the workers movement, not setting up a trial which has no value whatsoever and is being conducted on the level of politics - although it is a political trial - but on the level of personal accusations and calumny. The trial is a cynical, contemptible frame-up of the Stalinist variety but without the perspectives of Stalin or the basis or the same effect. The trial of the old Bolsheviks by Stalin was a major counter-revolutionary blow at the world Communist vanguard. In the circumstances of today, with many Workers and Revolutionary States, the trial cannot have these consequences; but it is a shameful event aimed to repress the masses of China and an attempted guarantee to imperialism that the Chinese leadership is concerned to stop revolution

abroad and repress the progress of the Chinese Workers State.

This trial is not a question of one rotten clique trying another, a question of six of one and half a dozen of the other. No! It is a trial of revolutionaries who participated with Mao Tse Tung in the taking of power and proposed changes in the cultural revolution designed to stimulate the social progress of the Workers State. These revolutionaries attacked the Right and Chen Po Ta made specific reference to the need to return to the policies of the Paris Commune - revocability of mandates and limitation of the wages of functionaries to the average worker's wage. The fact that there were many limitations, such as externally under-rating the proletariat etc. and internally also limiting the levels of the intervention of the proletariat, does not alter the fact that the comrades on trial were of the Left and wanted China to advance to Socialism whereas the present layer want to go backwards to collaborate with world capitalism.

The origins of this present leadership have been discussed by Posadas in various articles already published and to be published, and also in many articles of Trotsky in the Thirties where he analysed the lack of Bolshevik functioning and lack of proletarian weight in the origins of the Chinese Communist Party.

We appeal to the Left in the Labour Party and the trade unions and the Communist Party to discuss the process in China, to call meetings and to condemn without hesitation the line of the present leadership of the CCP of putting revolutionaries on trial, eliminating political discussion and collaborating with world capitalism against the Soviet Union.

TELEGRAM SENT TO M. YE JIAN-YING - HEAD OF STATE - PEKIN, CHINA.

We denounce trial revolutionary leaders. We demand life saved and liberty Chiang Ching, and others.

POLITICAL BUREAU, BRITISH SECTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL,

Joe MARINO, General Secretary of the Bakers Food & Allied Workers Union. 6.1.1981.

Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG

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## Editorial

# The Labour Party must intervene on all the problems of the economy and society

The historic experience of the Polish masses in intervening on the functioning of the Workers State, overcoming at least in part the resistance of much of the bureaucracy and receiving the support of the Soviet Union, has and will continue to have important consequences for the workers' organisations in Britain. The experience of Poland is not concluded. It poses the revitalisation of all the structures of the Workers States: that is, the need for Soviet democracy; and is a stimulus for the expansion of independent class organs in the countries still functioning under capitalism: that is, factory committees, popular committees in the workers' areas, to discuss all the problems of the masses. The Labour Party and the trade unions are going to be influenced by all this. Through Poland the Workers States have augmented their weight and influence in Britain and thereby deepened all the crises of the capitalist system.

The Conservative government is the example of a complete empiricism on the part of the capitalist system. Its policies have entered into conflict with fundamental sectors of capitalism itself, quite apart from ruining the smaller capitalists. Although unemployment has soared and production has fallen, it has failed to overcome the resistance of the masses and cannot guarantee better conditions for British capitalism to compete on the world market. But the capitalist class as a whole has no solution. They are not able to eliminate unemployment pay, nor take away all the gains of the masses from a past period. They cannot go back to the nineteenth century, because now

there is a world structure led by the Soviet Union which prevents capitalism imposing its will on the masses, although capitalism may impose unemployment and reduce the standard of living. As Foot himself has said, this is not the thirties and the working population has the confidence to confront capitalism.

The Thatcher government has shown itself to be very weak. There is no empire to prop it up, no imperial prestige to sustain it, and no policies to defend capitalism which work. The Labour Left has to draw all the conclusions from the empiricism and incompetence of this government. The latter is disastrous because the system has no solution to its problems. Thus it is necessary to proceed not just on the basis that the government is responsible for a multiplication of social evils, but that it can be routed and routed soon on the basis of mobilisations and a consistent discussion of Socialist policies.

In part this is happening. In 1979 the Labour Party called for demonstrations against the public sector cuts, and last year against nuclear disarmament followed by the demonstration against unemployment. Foot has promised more of this, but it is necessary that all such campaigns are given a programmatic orientation and linked to a much more profound relation between the Labour Party and the working population. At the present moment mobilisations tend to take on a very generalised and purely protest character. This is also true of the trade union interventions. Protest and 'reflating' the economy is not enough. It is necessary to intervene with

slogans which give a clear perspective and do not remain at applying pressure.

**THE LABOUR PARTY MUST RELATE MORE TO THE NEEDS OF THE MASSES.**

Not only does there have to be a closer co-ordination between unions and the Labour Party but the Left has to intervene on a whole range of problems of the masses as they arise - in other words, a consistent life of Party and masses which facilitates particular campaigns.

Thus it is absurd that, in the middle of the continuous struggle at Leyland where the managers utilise public money for workers to be sacked and wages held down, and now shop stewards are sacked in a regime of provocation, the Labour Party takes no clear position. The Labour Party should be seen as a force constantly intervening and encouraging the activity and discussions of the masses. It is true that the Labour Party was educated to act as a purely electoral party, but its own development towards calling demonstrations is going to stimulate a different conception - the need for cadres in regular contact with the masses not just at election time. This is the basis for a consistent, as opposed to an occasional, purely parliament-oriented Left.

The one-day special conference of January 24 is hardly designed to develop ideas, except proposals of a very organisational character, but the conclusion has to be that a better re-allocation of forces in

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Now it is necessary to unite Breznev with Poland, because the events there have a very great transcendence united to the agreement made with the Soviets! The old Trotskyism measures its development in accordance with the influence and the success of intervention in the Communist movement through the criticism of the Soviet bureaucracy. Our intervention today is to criticise the bureaucracy but to underline the progress of the positions of the agreements, of the political programme of the Soviet leadership though it continues to be bureaucratic; to emphasise progress with the objective of seeing that this is the instrument for the transformation of history and, consequently, the leadership has to change.

The attitude of Breznev to Poland indicates now that the Soviet leadership has gone further than at the beginning of the strike. It is further in the sense of yielding to the right of a functioning closer to Socialism, i.e. that the union has to have an autonomous functioning, and that this does not clash with the leadership of the state. Before they would not have ceded. The bureaucracy would have opposed saying 'autonomy, no, this means that they want to give an opinion'. Now they do not fear. Although the bureaucracy limits the autonomous function of the trade union, it now accepts the principle that the trade union must be autonomous and can judge its leadership. The trade union cannot decide in the name of the country, but it can judge as a trade union the leadership of the state. It is a principle of Soviet democracy not complete, but a principle. The old Trotskyism was educated in a conception opposed to the process of Poland: that is, to see how to throw out the bureaucracy because then was no way of changing things there. But this is another stage of history.

This is another stage in which all the decisions are concentrated on the basis of the principle which is the diaphanous objectivity of the progress of history, of the centralisation in human love. The action of the Polish masses leads to the love for Socialism and elevates the authority of Socialism immensely. There was no confrontation in Poland, but a conclusion was reached by means of discussion in which it was shown that there can be a discussion, must be a discussion, but based on principles. Poland is teaching humanity how to discuss and how there must be discussion, but based on principles. Although not reaching the complete conclusion on what the unions want - the autonomous function - conquests are made on the basis of a very elevated functioning. There is the expression of the internal struggle in the bureaucratic leadership in which the sector has prevailed which wants to maintain the relation with the working class to influence the rest of the world. These are also preparations for war.

The Yanks do not have a public in the United States in the elections (referring to the abstention of 48% in the United States), while the Soviets have a public in the world which listens to them in the discussion with the Poles. People see

that Poland went to the USSR to seek orientation, and they have received a very good one

The Soviets did not say, 'Do not yield, maintain yourselves, the state is above the rest'. On the contrary, they said, 'Yield'. That is the leadership of the Soviet Union accepts that there are contradictory actions within the Soviet functioning which do not correspond to the construction of Socialism. Hence they yield and incorporate the working class as a sector of society which thinks, gives an opinion, which analyses, which reasons, and which tends to develop relations on the principle of Soviet democracy. That is to say, in the stage of transition of capitalism to Socialism, the principle of Soviet democracy means democratic right based on the construction of Socialism - while in capitalism, it is democratic right based on respect and submission to private property. There is the difference in the base, objective and historic resolution of democracy.

It is necessary to take into account that the apparatuses of the Workers States were made by Stalin. The first apparatuses which were made after the war were made by Stalin. In the Workers State there is a process in which the sentiments of love for Socialism develop and of Socialist relations to be able to exchange ideas, to discuss, to concentrate the ability to think of all the population in accordance with the most complete objectivity. Hence the necessity of Soviet democracy. The population is learning in the Workers States not in a free form but with the apparatuses which make the functioning of thought difficult. Polish society is learning to reason, to discuss, to resist and to co-ordinate that people want the same objective. They are learning to conduct a dialogue. In the working class there is the objective necessity of improving the conditions of life, which can be done. This would be convenient to the bureaucracy but, as there are shortages, it means to deprive them of part of their income and power.

Hence they are opposed. This movement in Poland tends to show that it is possible to co-ordinate the principles which determine this discussion, and that difficulties do not arise through shortages but lack of discussion. If there were a leadership which increased the political, cultural and scientific life, this discussion would not occur; the trade union continues to be autonomous, but there is no such discussion because it is a simple problem of understanding. For example: the bureaucrat, instead of having two cars and a chauffeur, should have only one and a son who drives. Thus the chauffeur could work at something else, and instead of having two houses the bureaucrat would have only one.

But there is a Ceausescu in Rumania who has fourteen houses. In every place he has a house and a car. This is burdensome, on the country on account of the injustice and because it indicates the thought of privilege which is not Socialist. It is the thought of private appropriation of the public

property of history.

**THE NECESSITY FOR SOVIET DEMOCRACY**

These are the problems of intellectual, cultural and scientific life because they are the problems which are now proposed in the construction of Socialism in the more advanced phases. The situation in Italy is important, or in France etc., but it is inferior to everything which is happening in Poland. This is what decides afterwards what is going to happen in Italy. But there are leaders of the Left in Italy who believe that they are the ones who are going to decide what is going to happen in Poland.

Through the nature of the problems, it is necessary to discuss ideas and principles now on the basis of the progress of the Socialist conception and the progress of Soviet democracy. One says that Soviet democracy is spoken about and not Socialist democracy, because this is the democracy of a stage of transition from capitalism to Socialism. In Socialism democracy has no sense as Socialism includes everything which is meant by rights. Thus, there are no rights in Socialism. Rights exist when there is a motive to have a right, when there are restrictions, opposition or difference. In Socialism this is not the case; and thus, why rights? The Communist or Socialist leaders speak of 'Socialist rights', that is, the right of water to be moist.

This process in Poland united to the Soviet Union is changing the thought of very great layers of intellectuals and of soldiers, of technicians of the capitalist countries, and now one can see the formation of a current which understands that Socialism is a construction of humanity in which the Party is the temporary representative of a stage of history. But it is humanity which constructs history. At a certain stage the Party ceases to have the primacy of function and it is humanity which intervenes, educated now through the Party - otherwise it remains subject in every way to the restriction which comes from the leaderships, because the construction of Socialism is a problem of education, of culture, of humanity. Advancing culture and the experience of humanity, the parties are necessary still as a centre but not as an instrument to construct. The Party is a centre which publicises and communicates, but now the execution of policies lies with the population which carries them out in the workers' areas and in the factories. Then the consciousness of humanity will be Socialist, then humanity will see everything from the Socialist point of view.

The historic conclusion of the strikes of Poland are already expressed in our articles made at the end of August, in which we posed that the strikes in Poland are a defeat of capitalism and progress of Socialism. This is the historic conclusion, and it is a historic definition which requires a very deep understanding, and having a

very clear and flexible conception, because it is not a conclusion in general. We say that it is a defeat of the capitalist system, because we measure globally the Workers States and the capitalist system, and thus there is an assessment and confrontation.

This process in Poland animates the internal struggle of the apparatuses of the bureaucracy of the Workers States and those who oppose changes lose out. Hence the stupidity of the Chinese leadership because they develop the belief that they can lead in the form of the apparatus. This is not an erroneous conception, nor mistaken. It is stupid and without reasoning, otherwise it would see that there is a process of elevation, of extension and of the maturation of the intervention of the masses of the world in constructing Socialist society themselves with the differences of levels of understanding but the will to construct Socialism. Any child of any backward country gets up and says, 'In order to progress Socialism is necessary'. Before Socialism was a word, but now it is an existing relation. This is the cultural level of history. Any country of the world now does not pose this in the form, 'Ah, if only we had machines, technology, entrepreneurs'. Now they say, 'It is necessary to have Socialism'. Now they understand that it is social relations which allow progress.

This process in the world is very beautiful because it is the expression that, even in the greatest difficulties of history, these are the ideas which lead the road towards the light. This is an old form of expression, but this time it is a real light, the light of Socialism and the lamp is Marxism. At the same time, one sees how the principle objectives of Trotsky have been developing. Now is another situation of history, but the principles continue to be valid. They cannot be applied as before, but they have to be re-ordered to the form in which the process is given today. But the old Trotskyism which has no ideas, which remained dead, only wants 'political revolution or nothing, permanent revolution or nothing'. This is another stage of history in which to discuss very elevated problems of the construction of Socialism, like the strikes of Poland. These are the strikes of history to construct history. They are not occasional strikes to improve transitory conditions of life, but to construct history. And the instrument is Poland. In this case it is more important than the USSR, because it is in Poland that this movement arises which was afterwards publicised everywhere.

The workers of Italy, of France, of Germany, of Britain and, in less proportion, the workers of the United States, the masses of the world are learning from this process in Poland in the Workers States.

It is true that there is a layer of Catholic workers in Poland, but Walesa, leader of the new trade union, at no time speaks of religion as a centre, nor of the Pope, nor of Christ, but proposes that 'we are

defending the Socialist state. This is not in question. But what we want is our right to intervene.' That is, they are proposing Soviet democracy. This is not convenient for the bureaucracy which is the the obstacle and which is now

beginning to be identified as an obstacle. The Polish workers are throwing it out, but before there were the movements of Germany and Hungary. In 1953 there was the builders' strike in the German Workers State which made all the rest come to light; three years after there was Hungary and then Poland. Thus now, there is a movement with the confidence of the proletariat, the security that it is possible to move without entering into conflict with the Socialist state, but understands that it is necessary to give a more progressive form: like equality in wages and the Soviet right to decide, not limiting oneself to conservative forms of the bureaucracy. The Polish workers have shown that it is possible to go much further. The function of Soviet democracy is not to get wages respected, but to give ideas of progress which the workers can give. This elevates the consciousness and the scientific capacity of humanity to understand that the Workers State is an instrument of progress which has to be protected and improved, but which remains the instrument.

The trade union of small peasant proprietors who ask to organise in Poland is not incorrect. This trade union cannot present proprietor's demands but can suggest prices, because although they may be proprietors it is the state which unifies production. This allows the small and medium proprietor to produce more than he sells to the state, at another price. But the small proprietor does not determine price. It is the state which fixes price, and buys at this price. The peasant produces only a part for the state and the rest of the other production he sells at a better price in the black market - which also exists in the Soviet Union. In China there is no black market, it is open and public, because the leadership stimulates this with its politics.

**THE PROGRESS OF POLAND IS A WORLD PROGRESS.**

Humanity now intervenes in the problems of construction of Socialism but does not substitute for or eliminate the Party. In the near future humanity is going to intervene much more in the same function as the Party. The Party will not have limits; every inhabitant of every place is a member of the Party. In this sense, the Party is the organising leadership, not now as a Party which has to organise, to conquer resistances or defend itself from resistances. This will not exist. Then humanity as such will be the whole Party and, as a consequence, the functioning and the conclusions will be very agile and flexible, because then human discussion is not going to be determined by the 'I' or the 'you, me or the other' that associates, but the interest of each unites and develops the common general interest of

## J. POSADAS

humanity, and thinks in this way. From this, thought develops; this is going to be the level of reasoning. Humanity will think as a unity and thus it will elevate infinitely the capacity of reasoning and conclusions. Every reasoning leads to a conclusion and application, that is, the dialectical form of thinking which observes, reasons, and applies; and in the application leads to a more advanced phase. This is going to be the incessant dynamic of the growth, functioning and extension of thought - in the application itself the qualities and conditions to go further and better are created and developed; not better in the sense that the previous was bad, but better to unify the elements which constitute thought with more extensive and flexible utilisation. In consequence, it will give rise to superior forms of thought, but they will be made en route. Today stages are required: rest, delay to act so that experience is assimilated for a later stage. In Socialism the experience and resolution will be made en route. Humanity is prepared for this.

The intervention of the workers in Poland to correct their leadership without damaging their state, identifying with their state, shows a base of this form of reasoning. It is the objective reasoning of the incessant progress of humanity. This is one of the conclusions of Poland which arises from the existence of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union shows the uncontainable progress in making the experience of the birth of the child under the water, the birth in space, of the construction of cities in Siberia, or supporting the Polish strikes.

In the development of our analysis we do not remain strictly in the field of political, economic or trade union analysis. We extend it, because there are principles which surpass all particular aspects and more and more the principles will be of a general character. Today there exist a series of principles on the relations of life, but in unifying the human being with nature the principle is created of going to the cosmos, because thought is a function of humanity. In this form the thought of the human being will acquire an uncontainable flexibility because then it will not see the problem directly in front of it, but will see the world and will see that the immediate problem is insignificant, and as a consequence the magnitude of thought will be indescribable. Thought will acquire the magnitude of the cosmos because human thought is the cosmos reduced; everything, because we come from the cosmos. The human being is the child of history, and history is the cosmos; the history of the earth is a small part.

1. Refers to Kania Breznev meeting in which the USSR supported the measures of the Polish government.

# UNIFY THE STRUGGLES OF THE IRISH AND BRITISH MASSES

The concessions given to the Republican hunger-strikers is a defeat for British imperialism. No amount of saying that 'political status' was not conceded can hide the fact that British imperialism has given concessions and that they negotiated with them in prison. The reason that British imperialism gave these concessions is to prevent the development of support which the hunger-strikers were receiving in Ireland and Britain, and on a wider scale. No doubt these concessions were agreed between British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie during the meeting in Dublin. The fact that a team of top ministers of British imperialism went to discuss with the Irish bourgeoisie, which is very small and comparatively weak, is a measure of the fear that they have that the struggle in Ireland is affecting the masses in the whole of the British Isles. The extent of the actual agreements which were made between British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie have not been revealed, and the very fact that they have not been revealed indicates their significance.

The Irish bourgeoisie have as much interest as British imperialism in containing the struggle of the masses in the North. In drawing into closer agreement with British imperialism, the Irish bourgeoisie is reacting to the demonstration of tens of thousands in Dublin in support of the Republicans to the strikes which were called in their support in the Irish Republic by sectors of the working class, and to the mobilisations of the Irish working class against the policies of the Dublin government. However, it is British imperialism which took the initiative for the Dublin meeting, and it is British imperialism which is giving, or proposing to give, concessions to the Irish bourgeoisie over the heads of the Unionists in the North who are a certain social support for British imperialism.

Thatcher and her team, as representatives of British imperialism, went to Dublin to discuss means of containing the struggle of the masses, but they went from a position of weakness.

The weakness of British imperialism is determined by the world balance of forces. It will be willing to give concessions, maybe in the form of some sort of federation in order to draw the Irish bourgeoisie, which stands outside NATO, closer to the imperialist war alliance. It is not something that the Irish bourgeoisie will find easy to concede openly in front of the anti-imperialist tradition of the Irish masses. The fate of the Irish bourgeoisie is tied to that of the whole of the capitalist system and, for its part, British imperialism has to make concessions because the struggle in Ireland is a danger to its interests. The primary concern of this meeting in Dublin was to contain the struggle of the Irish masses. At the same time, British imperialism has a particular interest in retaining the Six Counties of Northern Ireland as the training ground for the repressive forces of imperialism in preparation to use against the working class and masses of Britain. The Ulster Unionists are no longer a firm social support for British imperialism. They follow their own sectional interests, they are divided amongst themselves and no longer carry the same social weight as they did in the past. Also the six counties are no longer of any great political importance or interest to British imperialism. The prime importance of the six counties for it is as a base and training ground for repression, for 'special squads' of imperialism. It is also true that withdrawal from the Six Counties would mean a blow to what little social authority imperialism still has.

The hunger-strike, the courageous and dignified struggle of men of the SAS and for terrorists' groups

and women of the Republican prisoners in Ireland has been a focus of attention which emphasises the bankrupt and repressive nature of British imperialism. Thatcher's government made concessions to end the hunger-strike because of the support they were having. Also, the government did this to limit the development of the discussion in Labour Party and trade unions. The discussion in the Labour Party is still limited, but the action of the hunger-strikers was stimulating a discussion there. The fact that Labour MPs and trade unionists went on the demonstration in support of the hunger-strikers in London indicates the development of a discussion in the Labour movement. This discussion, this support in the Labour Party for the Irish Republicans forms part of the development of the anti-capitalist Left in the Labour Party and the bourgeoisie is particularly concerned to stop this. There are bourgeois and petty bourgeois sectors, well represented in the Labour Party, which would like to isolate Ireland from the rest of the British Isles. The Irish bourgeoisie would like a complete political control over Ireland, but it is weak and can only confront the Irish masses in agreement with British imperialism. We are not now in the stage of the creation of bourgeois republics.

When a leader of the Labour Party (Benn) is moved to raise publicly the question of the experience of Chile, it is because there is a discussion. It is not a discussion about Chile in a previous period, but a discussion about today and the nature of British imperialism today, of which Ireland is a part. However, we don't speculate on the reactions of imperialism to the advance of anti-capitalist struggle or to a Labour government trying to implement

anti-capitalist measures, such as the removal of all nuclear bases: Ireland demonstrates that imperialism is prepared to confront the masses violently. Indeed, through the SPC and the murder of Blair Peach, with the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' British imperialism is seen to confront the masses of Britain in that way.

### AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME FOR THE BRITISH ISLES

It is not a question of an independent Ireland, or a United Ireland in abstract. There is a basis for the unity of the whole of the British Isles and that lies in the common interest of the masses. It is not logical for the Labour Party to propose the removal of the Yankee bases from Britain and to accept the fact that Ireland is used as a base for British imperialism. Clearly, the demand for the removal of this base, of British troops from Ireland, is a just demand. However, this demand needs to be combined with a discussion of a common programme to unify the masses of the British Isles, to confront the problem posed by the final and total crisis of capitalism. All the masses of Britain and Ireland suffer from the problems of unemployment, lowering of living standards, decline in social services, housing and transport. By their actions, courage and dedication, the Republican militants have stimulated the anti-imperialist spirit which exists in all the British Isles. But their perspectives and policies are from a previous stage of history. The fact that they struggle at the level of hunger-strikes is the result of the failure of the Labour and Trade Union leaderships to link the struggle of the British working class with that of the masses of Ireland, and to propose a common anti-capitalist programme. This is what needs to be discussed in the Labour Party and trade unions.

## Afghanistan and Poland voted in Portugal

The electoral majority for Eanes, the Portuguese president, against the Sa Carneiro faction of the army right wing linked to the previous Caetano regime, shows that - despite the fact that some land and enterprises have been returned to private hands - Portugal still retains the structure of a revolutionary state. It is the development of the Workers States and the advance of the world revolution, of which the process in Poland is a part, which has created the conditions to allow Portugal to retain its structure. At the same time, the victory of Eanes shows that when the masses of Portugal are consulted they vote to maintain the advances of the 1974 revolution, of which the constitution is a part. The right wing has a majority in parliament mainly because the electoral boundaries are made in a form which favours capitalism. This process also shows the tremendous limitations of the bourgeois electoral system because, even in the case of the presidential elections, the masses see that they could stop the advance of the right, but that elections did not provide the instrument to defeat the right.

This is a conclusion for all those who idealise the electoral system, even when it is based on universal suffrage.

The role of Soares leader of the Socialist Party, has to be discussed. In common with most leaders of the Socialist movement in this stage, his function was to block the advance of the Communists and prevent the Socialist base from making a United Front with the Communists in support of Eanes. Soares opposed Eanes because otherwise he would have been forced to support the constitution of 1974 which accepts 'Socialism' as the objective of Portugal. The election of Eanes is an important blow to the Social Democracy, the right wing of the Socialist Party, in its intentions to defend private property. It confirms that Portugal has to go to Socialism in order to develop. The masses are not intimidated by the military arsenal of NATO, and it shows that there is a Communist/Socialist United Front, despite Mario Soares. This is why Soares was repudiated by the Executive of the Socialist Party when he pro-

posed to stand in opposition to Eanes in the presidential elections. All this shows that in the process of the construction of Socialism social democracy has no role, and Socialists are educated by the Communist Party, who see that to develop the economy, it has to be planned; to be planned it has to be expropriated from capitalism. This is a conclusion to show that the future of Labour is, equally, Communist.

Finally, it is clear that NATO has enough military power to crush the advance of the Left in Portugal. Why didn't it use it in 1974, or now? It is because the USSR, by intervening in Afghanistan, told the masses of Portugal that the USSR is not prepared to let the liberation of people be blocked. The USSR showed itself quite prepared to risk military conflict with the Yanks in this cause. The masses of Portugal see that the USSR supported the changes in Poland, favourable to soviet democracy. In these elections, the masses of Portugal have shown that they listen to Moscow and not to Washington.

They voted with the confidence which comes from the development of the Workers States, the intervention of the Workers States in the world, and the USSR, in particular, in Poland, in Africa, and on a world scale.

In this sense it must be concluded that Poland and Afghanistan voted so to say in Portugal. Today, in any country, the process is determined by the world balance of forces, and equally the masses of Britain and Ireland feel that their force lies in the Workers States and the world revolution. This shows that we can expect very great defeats for capitalism. The majority in support for Eanes reveals the preparedness of the masses of Portugal for further advances through social struggle; this is the result of the world balance of forces, favourable to Socialism and not to fascism or reaction. These are conclusions that apply to Portugal as much as to any other part of the world. We call for this to be discussed in the Labour Party and trade unions.

# THE "NO" IN THE URUGUAYAN PLEBISCITE WEAKENS THE DICTATORSHIP

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J POSADAS

(title and subtitles by the editorial board) extracts

The triumph of the 'no' in the plebiscite organised by the military dictatorship in Uruguay is going to have quite important consequences. Above all it is going to animate the internal struggle of this assassin junta and a new coup is possible. The military hoped to win the plebiscite, or at least to have a small margin, but they lost by ten per cent; a situation more or less as in the United States where Reagan only got 25%. They calculated that with the exiles, those who had been expelled, the repressed and the persecuted, the dead and the arrested, the opposition in a united front against them was going to be reduced, and thus they could win. Otherwise, they would not have made the plebiscite. Their political calculator has to be an idiot who thinks with the sabre and thus the sabre determines 'Yes, they are all terrorised'. Now there is going to be a very big fight among them on the evidence that they have been mistaken, and within their forces there is a majority which is going to win another ten per cent more. As a minimum this victory is going to gain another ten per cent and is going to stimulate the centrist forces of their team to weaken. This is the expression of the world process.

The triumph of the 'no' in Uruguay is not a Uruguayan result but expresses the world balance of forces in the country. The masses do not feel oppressed nor intimidated, but resolved to continue the fight courageously. Repression has in no way intimidated them, otherwise they would not have voted because there was the possibility that they would control, kill and arrest them. But the people voted against the assassin dictatorship. This is an expression of what would happen in Argentina, in Chile and in Bolivia now, if there were elections.

The plebiscite in Uruguay is the failure of the dictatorship. In Chile this is not expressed, because there was no such plebiscite. In Uruguay they had to provide certain forms of legality in the election, because there are sectors of the army who say 'We want a verification of our policy'. There are sectors who hope for such a result to exert a pressure in the army internally, to say 'It is necessary to change'. It should be remembered that the 'Frente Amplio' included a great number of important soldiers, beginning with General Seregni.

The result of the plebiscite in Uruguay indicates that a much more elevated process is going to come, if not immediately. It is necessary to wait, and one must expect also immediately an effort at greater repression to intimidate, above all, the sector which may go further in the line of conciliation.

It is necessary to make an appeal for the 'Frente Amplio' to the trade unions to make a programme of the United Front, to intervene demanding democratic liberties and democratic elections to decide the course of the country and to make a 'frente amplio' in the most advanced form possible of democratic rights, rights of the masses, wage demands — so that the state enterprises which were

returned to private hands are given back to the state to develop and to make a plan of development of production in which certain bases of state control intervene to develop the economy objectively.

It is necessary to make appeals also to the Workers States for trading links and support for the economic development of the country, with full democratic liberties for all, including the democratic military tendencies. These democratic military tendencies must be very extensive, because the plebiscite shows this.

This plebiscite was not aimed to take the pulse of the population but at a sector of the bourgeoisie which says 'We are insecure', and a sector of the army which also says 'We have the world experience that at any time they will kill us all'. It is necessary to expect in Uruguay a tendency to make a coup now because of the struggle among them.

## DICTATORSHIP HAS FAILED TO DEVELOP THE ECONOMY.

The single fact that they recognise that they have lost the plebiscite indicates that there are soldiers who really want to see what support they have. It means that there are sectors who feel the influence of the void and the lack of economic development, and feel the pressure of the sectors of the bourgeoisie, of the masses and, above all, of the petit bourgeoisie; and thus they try to give a reply seeking in internal discussions and with the plebiscite to smash the sectors who want a deal with the sectors of the bourgeoisie that are interested in economic development and have no other solution than to resort to certain forms of bourgeois democracy.

Believing that people were not going to vote, a sector counted on this in order to show that they are right and thus to resolve their internal problems. The dictatorship contains sectors who receive the influence of the world and see that they are the most prejudiced within the plan of the dictatorship and seek a way of giving certain liberties or making a certain agreement with the sectors of the bourgeois opposition to be able to develop the economy.

This shows, at the same time, that no dictatorship has developed the economy. The dictatorship arose precisely because of the failure of the bourgeois economic leadership; if the bourgeoisie feels that they are successful in economic development, they have confidence to influence the petit bourgeoisie and the privileged layers of the proletariat, the better paid layers, and on this to support themselves to prevent the rest of the population of the country weighing against them. No dictatorship has developed the economy. On the contrary, it paralyses and separates and concentrates it in fewer hands. Hence there are bourgeois sectors against the dictatorship because they are nullified. This is a dispute in the distribution of power of the state for each bourgeois sector seeks to develop.

The electoral result of the plebiscite in Uruguay shows the influence of the world on the population, the struggle, resolution, the combativity not to feel isolated, and shows that it is ready to advance and to make agreements with different sectors, even of the bourgeoisie, to advance in democratic rights at the same time as in social conflicts to a struggle more profoundly for social transformation. The trade unions and the parties must continue acting independently and not submitted to transitory allies. The action of the trade unions and the workers' parties is going to influence the capacity and the objectives of the Frente Amplio and the programme of the Frente Amplio to develop the country socially, politically and culturally.

It is necessary to recover for the state factories handed over to private property, to plan production in accordance with the needs of the population so that meat, wheat, agricultural products and cattle serve for the development of the population, fundamentally and primarily for this. A plan of industrial development must be organised and industrial exchange under the intervention and control of the trade unions, with the fullest political and trade union freedom and discussion in the population, in the universities, in the schools and in the colleges, in the trade unions and in the parties; a plan of development for Uruguay, of economic and social development through the activity and the political struggle.

## A UNITED FRONT TO DEVELOP THE ECONOMY

It is necessary to make an agreement among all the tendencies which seek the progress of Uruguay to aim to win the petit bourgeoisie, agreement with the parties of the bourgeoisie for concrete precise

plans for the development of the economy, of democratic liberties, of commercial agreements and relations abroad and, at the same time, to develop in the trade unions, in the colleges and in the university and schools, the programme to develop Uruguay so that democracy may have a firm base of support so that the economy may be developed as a function of the needs of the population under control of the population, as is the example of countries like Cuba, Angola, Mozambique, the USSR etc.

The world relation of forces has defeated the Uruguayan dictatorship and shown that the world relation of forces is superior to the local power and military strength of any country. The world relation of forces means the concrete confrontation for historic resolutions between the capitalist countries and the Workers States, who advance resolving the problems of the population, of the economy, of society, of culture, of science and of the relations with nature and the cosmos, as the Soviets are doing.

It is these problems that it is necessary to discuss in Uruguay in the universities and the colleges; to make a plan afterwards of the development of the education of the population. The essential basis of education must be in this stage of the history of knowledge, how to develop life. Life develops through countries, and these through forms of economic, social and political development. Thus it is necessary to see the most elevated form which is that of the Socialist countries. All this has to be discussed in the universities and in the colleges; an objective education on culture.

This is the basis of culture. Culture is a knowledge of how life is developing in the form of Socialist countries and in the Revolutionary States. Countries which have no economic equality and see themselves submitted to the assassin dictatorships like that of Nicaragua today, advance in the understanding of life. The most backward masses from the youngest children to the old people, intervene in the elaboration of society, demonstrating their animation and resolution, learning to read and to write.

This failure of the dictatorship of Uruguay, this 'no' against the dictatorship, is the influence of the world in which the Uruguayan masses have seen the world and have received the influence, the impulse of the world, and have voted for the 'no'. This is not the result of Uruguayan problems only. If that were the case the movement would be confined and not able to do anything; there is no trade union nor political movement. There is no culture nor art, nothing. Whence comes the resolution of the Uruguayan people to intervene? It is not through previous antecedents but present influence. An enormous number, about a million Uruguayans, were outside the country who could vote 'no', and the same also with the arrested and the persecuted.

This shows the world relation of forces and it is necessary to count upon it to show that the dictatorship cannot now be based on military strength, but it is the world relation of forces which determines the process in the last instance, although there is a delay of time in local relations.

J. POSADAS 2.12.1980

## Editorial

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the Labour Party that favours the Left, and the trade unions cannot stay there. In order for the Labour Party to expand, to transcend the old type of social democratic party, to fulfil its function of replacing the capitalist system, it has to change and improve consistently its relationship with the masses. At this conference, it is discussing organisational changes to the Left, but it will be obliged logically to discuss a change of ideas to the Left which will mean Marxism; and not academic Marxism but Marxism related to the world of today — and Posadism is fundamental in this.

The complete crisis of what remains of the capitalist system is one way, and that is downhill. Reagan's presidency is stuck with the same balance of forces as Carter — unfavourable to the capitalist system and very favourable to the Workers States. The campaigns of world imperia-

lism over Poland and over Afghanistan have failed to increase its authority or support. The capitulation of the Thatcher government over the Irish hunger-strikers is an expression of the world balance of forces favouring the intervention of the masses. The massive demonstrations in Dublin and Cork, and the echo of these struggles in Britain, imposed a change of policy and a retreat. British and Irish capitalism had to draw closer in mutual defence and imperialism had to retreat. This is the index of the weakness of these people. The masses, particularly of the South, imposed a defeat. The Labour Party has to draw the conclusions of all this — as the leadership was largely absent from any intervention on this issue.

It is fundamental in all the interventions of the Labour Party that the alternative to capitalism is made clear. It is not a question of 'nationalisations' or 'import controls' or 'reflation',

but an economy that serves the needs of the population in all spheres in education, transport, housing, pensions etc. There is no point in investment if it means a completely disjointed economy producing only for export or cars which cannot sell or the arms trade or massive office blocks, because that is profitable for a few people. There has to be a plan for the unemployed to be used in useful public works, factories about to be closed down have to be taken over

by the state under workers control. Price control has to be enforced by price committees not by remote administrative boards. Investment policy has to be determined by the needs of people not the whim of the banks and the industrialists. This has to be a constant preoccupation of the Left forces in the Labour Party. This is the way to bring Party and the masses together to guarantee the basis for future social transformations by a Labour government. 3 1 81

THE VISIT OF THE LABOUR  
MPs TO AFGHANISTAN  
INDICATES THE MATURING  
OF THE LABOUR VANGUARD.

The visit by three Labour MPs to Afghanistan shows the depth of the crisis and discussion in the Labour Party and confirms the fact that the working class and the masses support the Soviet Union. If this general support for the Soviet Union did not exist, these MPs would not have gone to Afghanistan in the fact of an almost universal attack made on them by the bourgeoisie, and they certainly would not have proposed the recognition of the present government in Afghanistan. The attacks made on these Labour MPs shows that the bourgeoisie is not concerned with democracy or national boundaries, but with the advance of Socialism on a world scale. Parliament and the bourgeois media gave an almost hysterical condemnation of the visit to Afghanistan and the support for the Soviet Union which it implied, but nothing has been made against the support given by the Yanks to the murderous reaction in El Salvador. This is quite a commentary on the nature of 'democracy' in Britain. In fact, there is no 'democratic right' to support the Soviet Union, no 'right' to oppose the capitalist regime. If the bourgeoisie has not continued their attacks and if the Labour Right wing has remained silent, it is only because they fear the development of a discussion in the Labour Party. However, the attacks made on the Labour MPs are going to stimulate the Labour Left to draw the conclusion that it is not possible to go to Socialism with the agreement of capitalism. At the same time, all the controversy over this visit to Afghanistan shows that the struggle in the world is not confined to the class struggle in each country but is one of system against system; a sector of the Labour Party recognises that Britain cannot be independent from this world process.

The statements made by the three MPs when they returned from Afghanistan were limited and equivocal in relationship to the intervention of the Soviet Union. However, at least one of them indicated that he felt that the alternative to the Soviets in Afghanistan was the return to 'feudalism'. None of them said, in fact, that progress is not determined by national boundaries and that the Soviet Union and the Workers States represent the progress of humanity. We can hardly expect a clarity of ideas, or unequivocal support to the Soviet intervention from the Labour Party, when the world Communist movement is divided in its attitude and doesn't give any analysis or orientation. Nonetheless, the very fact that these MPs actually called for the recognition of the Afghan government expresses a general support in the Labour Party for the Soviet Union and its intervention. The structure and workings of the Labour Party do not allow either discussion or the support for the Soviet Union to express itself, but what is expressed is an advance towards the conclusion that democracy - if it is to mean anything at all - has to mean the right to do what is necessary to elevate the life of the population.

The intervention of the Soviet Union is for the progress of Afghanistan. It is opposed by feudal landowners and tribal leaders who are prepared to terrorise and murder in order to defend their interests. These 'defenders of democracy', supported by imperialism, have attacked anything progressive in Afghanistan. Families are terrorised to prevent girls being educated and teachers are murdered. Couples who married outside the old 'bride price' system have been murdered. If the Soviets had not intervened these reactionaries would continue this process and, if the Soviets left, they would be back. The class struggle is not a democratic game played in parliament by gentleman - and women - but a very brutal business, and there is nothing more brutal than owners defending their ownership. It is not logical to recognise the progressive nature of the Soviet intervention and then to call for the Soviets to withdraw their troops.

It is not just a question of support for the Soviet Union in the Labour Party, or amongst the working class which supports the Soviet Union anyway. What is expressed in this visit is a general support. It was the same support which was expressed in the decision of the athletes to go to the Olympic Games in Moscow. On another level, the Afghanistan visit is very expressive of the balance of forces in the Labour Party. It is much more expressive than, for example, the recent 'special conference' of the Labour Party. It is quite remarkable that the bourgeois element in the Labour Party, the 'gang of three' which has been having an unlimited access to the media, has said nothing on this subject. This really expresses the balance of forces in the Labour Party. If the bourgeois wing felt strong it would have condemned this visit. In the end, the balance of forces in the Labour Party is an expression of the world balance of forces which are favourable to the revolution.

The fact that these MPs' visit means that there is a discussion in the Labour Party, which is beginning to break out of the confines of bourgeois norms of thinking and the acceptance of bourgeois 'democracy'. These three MPs did not go without feeling a basis of support in the Labour

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Editorial

THE WORLD BALANCE OF  
FORCES DETERMINES THE  
ADVANCE OF THE LABOUR  
LEFT

The inauguration of Reagan as President of the United States has not meant, as some tendencies of bourgeois opinion and some in the workers movement predicted, a fundamental change of policy by Yankee imperialism. The truth is that the policy of Carter will follow the line of Carter because Yankee imperialism decides nothing and its policy is determined by a world balance of forces which is unfavourable to its interests. The release of the 'hostages' from Iran was not decided by the military force of Yankee imperialism. Reagan had to continue the policy of Carter which was one of negotiation and payment - even if it was money which belonged to Iran anyway - to Iran. All the attempts to show the release of the 'hostages' as a triumph for Yankee imperialism have been failures. All the public relations exercises of Yankee imperialism have failed to hide the fact that there is a sympathy amongst the masses of the United States - and amongst the 'hostages' themselves - for the Iranian revolution. It was impossible for Yankee imperialism to be in contact with the people of the United States for a week. Reagan and Haig may make bellicose anti-Soviet statements, but the reality of the world balance of forces is something else. Reality is the fact that the campaign to unify world capitalism under the leadership of Yankee imperialism over the issue of Afghanistan has been a complete and absolute failure. It has, in fact, been the reverse

of what Yankee imperialism intended. The result of the campaign has been to accelerate the process in which the various bourgeoisie in the world tend to follow their own interests rather than the overall interests of the capitalist system. The recent Islamic conference refused to support the 'opposition' to the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and called for discussions with the Soviet Union. Giscard d'Estaing, faced with the world balance of forces and the influence which the Soviet Union has on a large strata of the petit bourgeoisie in France, has gone directly against the interests of the Yanks by calling for the 'stabilisation' of relations with the Soviet Union and for a conference over Afghanistan with the participation of the Soviet Union. Even British imperialism, once the closest ally of Yankee imperialism, follows its own interests. Thatcher may go to talk with Reagan but Carrington makes statements in favour of closer relations with the PLO and 'recognition of the rights of the Palestinian people', and this is against the policy of Yankee imperialism and its base in the Middle East, Israel. All this doesn't mean that it is not a world process of confrontation between two social systems. It simply means that the system of private property, capitalism, is unable to unify itself or advance its own interests, because it has no perspective. The leaders of

capitalism on a world scale no longer even pretend that they have any solution to their problems. This is why the government of Suarez in Spain has collapsed with his resignation. This is why the Belgian government has been pulled down by a Left sector of the Socialist Party, and why there is a growth of opposition to the war plans of imperialism in the German Social Democratic Party. Twentyfour Democratic deputies have proposed a massive cut in arms expenditure in capitalist Germany. Even capitalist Germany which has the strongest of the capitalist economies, is faced with rising unemployment, a declining economy and political crisis. THE SOVIET UNION SUPPORTS THE WORLD REVOLUTION The attack made by Reagan on the Soviet Union, saying that it is only 'following its own interests' and 'intent on spreading Russian Communism in the world' is the voice of impotent rage. It is clear from the statements of Breznev what the intentions of the Soviet Union are in the world. Breznev has said that the Soviet Union is part of 'a Socialist system' and intent on defending that system. Also the full support of the Soviet Union for all the national liberation movements - and there is no national liberation

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# RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT ON THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE ITALIAN MASSES IN THE EARTHQUAKE

23 12 80

J POSADAS

We declare that we have contributed with material and organisational help to the population affected by the earthquake, but more important is our activity to elevate the ability for understanding, resolution and organisation of the Italian Communist Party and of the masses to transform the capitalist social structure of Italy and construct Socialist society. This is part of our struggle.

We feel and lament with all our heart the very bad conditions which the population affected by the earthquake are still enduring, and the thousands of deaths. But we praise and embrace with all our Communist feeling and heart the resolution of the people of Southern Italy not to submit to the catastrophe nor to be intimidated by the lack of political leadership or by the robberies and assassinations which have occurred, and the population has shown that it is ready to intervene to change society.

We salute together in this resolution the hundreds of Italian workers who came from abroad, who have lost their family, father, mother, wife or son and daughter and home; who have lost all their money which they had saved and sent home, and who have nothing, but who do not feel smashed. They are depressed, yes, through the feeling of grief, but they experience no intellectual defeat. They have declared, 'We will reconstruct everything, and better'. They have not said one word in support of the patriotic sentiments of the government, but of revolutionary patriotic sentiments which impel them to say, 'We are going to change, it cannot go on like this'. Hence, even in tears, the Italian workers related how they had for years sent all the money they earned abroad to their people at home, and had lived on water and lemon to save to be able to provide money to educate their sons and to have a home. Now they say, 'We have nothing, neither home, mother, children, parents; but I stay with my people here to reconstruct everything and better'. This shows the security of Communist sentiments which are developing in the humanity. It is the security that it is necessary to do this all and better; that no trust is to be placed in the bourgeois government or the bourgeoisie.

The Italian masses are learning from the experience of the earthquake in a vertiginous way, and this is not going to be expressed electorally. Electorally one is not going to be able to measure the percentage which corresponds to such maturation, but it is going to be expressed in social struggles which are preparing for a leap. The reaction of the Italian population before the earthquake expresses their sentiments of human love

Nothing tended to be arranged on the basis of self-preservation, but to seek how to help. All helped the families for those who lived abroad came immediately, and those who lost their family remained to help the others. This is not all

that happened, but it is the synthesis of the sentiment of the population. It is the expression of the security in life which is the security in social progress, in Communism. The Italian population of the South did not dedicate itself to propose; 'We want this, we want the other'; but 'Here they do nothing. This is a rotten set-up, but we are going to continue'. That is, the population did not depend on whether government helped or not. They decided to continue. They should have been desperate, each one preoccupied for his son or mother and it was not like this. The population has a feeling of collective security: we will resolve everything, we will settle everything'.

The collective sentiment has developed in the Italian population in an historic manner in this experience of the earthquake. Political understanding and the solidarity of the population has elevated, not in the lesser aspect of the one who has more giving to him who has less only, but in the aspect of how to resolve problems socially. The Italian population saw in the earthquake another neglect of the capitalist system, of its government and the will of the masses comes to the surface, their desire to intervene their resolution to change,

We salute the resolution of the Italian workers and of the masses of the South of Italy. We also salute the proletariat of Milan, of Turin and Genoa who intervened immediately to help the population affected by the earthquake, without any compensation, at the cost of their own work. The workers of the North, through the factory councils, resolved to intervene to reconstruct all the zone affected by the earthquake. The working class showed that it had the capacity of an organiser; with the capacity of uniting and having the means for this function of organisation. The workers of the North intervened in the teaching, in the organisation of the food, in the collection of money, in the distribution of help. The first school to return to function in the zone affected by the earthquake was organised by the workers of Genoa. They intervened in all aspects. Above all, this attitude of solidarity and the practical intervention of the workers of the factory councils of Milan, of Turin and Genoa, has had an immense effect of security on the population affected by the earthquake. It gave confidence to reconstruct all and better, eliminating the cause for the earthquake leading to such a catastrophe, which is the capitalist system. This attitude of the workers in the North is a very elevated base to structure an activity, understanding and common resolution to overthrow the capitalist system.

The workers of the North have worked as an organism, not awaiting the state apparatus nor the leaders from the state who have organised nothing. The workers themselves intervened and have educated the masses of the world and of Italy that it is necessary to

act in this way. It is the world which has weighed on the Italian masses, and those of Poland in particular. The workers of Poland have shown that, instead of organising themselves to attack their Workers State, they seek to persuade and to impel it and to make it advance. The Italian workers have learnt from this. Thus the earthquake was a means of education, of organisation and of impulse to the Communist organised struggle of the Italian workers.

With all their feeling of grief, the workers were not smashed down nor contained in their growing will of ideas, of organisation, of resolution, of capacity, of courage and of objective Communist sentiment. Hundreds of workers who came from abroad and who worked for the family which had remained in Italy lost all their family and were not crushed. The journalists asked: 'What are you going to do if all your family is dead, why don't you go back?' To which the workers answered: 'I shall continue here, and I shall stay to help those who are alive. It is necessary to help them'. This is a very great impulse towards the organisation of the objective Communist sentiment of the Italian masses, which prepares the base for great struggles and changes which they have to make in the conciliatory trade union leaderships, or the leaderships of the Communist and Socialist parties.

We salute with all our Communist sentiment the organisational capacity and the scientific understanding of the workers of Genoa, Milan and Turin who formed schools immediately in the zones affected by the earthquake, and the schools were full of children. That is, the children were not smashed. They wanted to continue with schools and are developing in the cultural understanding to transform society.

We salute the militants, the Communist leaders and cadres who, in the zones affected by the earthquake put themselves at the head to organise and lead the restructuration of the population and to succour and organise life. Hence between the Communist masses and the Italian masses there was an identification.

The behaviour of the proletariat of Milan, Genoa, Turin and the Communist masses is a continuation of the Fiat strike which indicates that the workers do not feel themselves gagged, defeated nor contained; that they continue fighting against the error of the trade union leaderships and of the Communist and Socialist parties and they are ready to fight to re-take the initiative to push forward the struggle to impel Italy towards Socialism.

At the same time we appeal to the workers' movement, to the trade unions to intervene with ideas and plans for the reconstruction of the zones affected by the earthquake, not simply to participate in a concrete help, giving money or making collections, but with ideas of social

organisation to reconstruct and develop the South of Italy under the control of the workers' movement. In this sense the trade union leaderships were absent from the intervention in the earthquake. The trade unions must intervene in all the aspects of help to the population and to control all the actions of the state and to propose a plan of development for the country which allows the development and the reconstruction of the zones affected by the earthquake.

The reaction of the population in front of the earthquake shows that it understands that social change is necessary. The population sees that it was foreseeable and possible to avoid such a catastrophe. It is the empiricism of capitalism which has allowed a catastrophe of such a dimension. But the population is ready to intervene to change and reconstruct everything and far better.

J. POSADAS 23.12.80

## THE CRISIS OF THE TIMES - PART OF THE PUTREFACTION OF CAPITALISM

The fact that the Times may be taken over by someone so uncultured and crude as Murdoch is part of the social, political and cultural crisis of imperialism. It is brought about by the world revolution with the Soviet Union in its centre which is superior in every way, particularly culturally to anything imperialism has ever produced. The crisis of The Times expresses in an economic and cultural form what is a social, political and economic total crisis of capitalism which cannot stand the competition of the Workers States. Capitalism has no answer to its mortal agony but to manage through fewer and fewer hands, each day more remote from life and progress.

For leaders in the workers' movement to come out in 'support of the Times' and 'freedom of the press' is quite outside the reality of the situation. The Times has never represented any organism of democracy whatsoever. It is a pillar of the past of British imperialism, and imperialism is no longer great. It is not the duty of the leaders of the workers' movement to shed tears over its potential disappearance. What has to be fought for is not more or less jobs but the nationalisation of the press under workers' control, to keep all the workers employed in the production of a necessary product. What these leaders express is the sorrow to see their hopes and respect for the institutions of Her Majesty the Queen, come to nothing.

The respect of these leaders for British imperialism is quite out of step with the actual situation in which the workers and masses are making important anti-capitalist advances, particularly in the Labour Party. The working class is doing all this, supported by the progressive petty bourgeoisie and it is actively shattering the apparatus of British imperialism in the workers movement. The cry of pain from these leaders who defend bourgeois democracy is because they feel that the time for their stability and comfort has ended. The workers are preparing for new ideas and new leaders. When the masses triumph against Thatcher in Zimbabwe, when imperialism cannot crush El Salvador, when the world constructs Socialism and the masses of Poland elevate Soviet democracy, it is no longer the time of greatness for any imperialist power. The respect of these leaders for The Times, or for bourgeois democracy which allowed them to form a bourgeois opposition against conservatism, has no place in this world situation today. It is necessary to discuss that, as long as The Times continues, it will be in the hands of representatives of the bourgeois class, which has no more interest in or desire for culture. And, even when it had some interest in science and culture, it was for the development of the economy for the bourgeois class. The Workers State has infinitely more culture than imperialism ever had. The fact that the government has the power not to refer The Times to the Monopoly Commission shows well that the process of history is not determined by parliament but by the class struggle. The bourgeoisie has no more interest in science, investigation or culture. It is preparing for the ultimate defence of its collapsing and corrupt regime. The working class is the force which has interest in everything which progresses, and the Soviet Union is its material base and support for the Workers State in Britain.

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# ALTHUSSER'S MURDER OF HIS WIFE — THE RESULT OF THE DECOMPOSITION OF SECTORS REJECTED BY HISTORY

J. POSADAS

17.11.80

The murder of his wife by Althusser is a result of the mental decomposition of all these people. They prepared to intervene in the life of the Communist Party as the organisers of scientific Marxist thought which they believe they represent. But they understand nothing of history; neither the significance of the USSR nor the policy to make in relation to the Soviet Union, France, nor the crisis of the Communist Party. Now this crisis forces the Communist Party to throw out leaderships with which before it coincided and agreed in the elaboration of political life and are now sources of decomposition.

This murder is the action of a madman, the attitude of a completely desperate character. It is the same base which, in a general sense, leads to the homosexuals. It is the insecurity of life and leads to this even someone who is mentally healthy, Conscious or unconscious actions which go against the nature of the principles which sustain or are said to sustain someone, means decomposition.

This man had a policy, a functioning, a position which were against the process and saw that the process was against him. There was nothing which affirmed that he was right. Hence his exasperation which expresses a sentiment of revenge. In assassinating his wife, he was assassinating the leadership of the Communist Party, the leadership of the Soviet Union: he was assassinating Marxism. With his individual 'Marxism' he was murdering the Marxism of history. This is the significance of the mental disorder of Althusser.

It is the decomposition of an intellectual layer which leads to this conclusion. It is not possible to lead a political life, to occupy an important position or believe one is occupying an important position in history and feel rejected. Thus: the melancholy, the megalomania of all these people. It is a very vivid example for the study and the understanding of these people.

The Soviets or the Poles have passed through very furious stages in life but do not kill anyone. They kill capitalism. Meanwhile, the capacity of intelligence and action of the Polish proletariat, as constructors of history, is gaining and developing. At the same time that the Polish proletariat advances in Soviet democracy, the Soviet trade unions appeal to the North American trade unions to intervene against North American capitalism.

It is necessary to see that the Communist Party discusses ideas and not only that there are conferences where Marchais speaks and then ten minutes are allowed for the audience. It is necessary to organise debates and to allow time so that the workers intervene and the Party intervenes.

For example, the murder by Althusser occurred through desperation, through not understanding the process of history. It is not a problem remote from his activity. The movement of his life is this. As a consequence he killed his wife

because of his failure to find reality, which exasperated him. He was desperate because he had believed that he was going to be successful, and it was not like this. He could not kill the Communist Party, but he killed his wife. This shows the contempt that he felt for women and, at the same time, his cowardice and fear. He is frightened and cowardly, afraid to confront his own wife, and hence he killed her. If he had felt strong first he would not have killed anyone, least of all his wife, but sought another road. When he kills his wife, it is because he feels defeated.

One must realise that this French Communist Party has produced someone like Ellenstein who has lost his capacity for reason. Only a crackpot mentality can conceive that the Soviet Union, which he himself eulogised and which has gone forward, now goes in another direction to the point of degeneration.

Ellenstein attributes to the Soviet Union a degeneration which is his own degeneration. He measures with a degenerated mind, a process of progress. Althusser is also this. But, on the other hand, instead of seeing a process of complete degeneration he sees a process of the distancing of his possibility of intervening and being at the head of this process. They all had illusions and believed themselves to be at the head of a great movement. Althusser is a type who lives in his desk and makes quotations. Neither he nor Balibar had a single idea. He is not of this period, and Balibar's book on 'The dictatorship of the proletariat' was out of this world. It is necessary to assess concretely the dictatorship of the proletariat; it is necessary to assess the character of the Soviet Union from its origin, and what it was with Lenin and Stalin and from Stalin until now; to assess the Soviet Union and the world. There are twenty Workers States. How have they developed from evil, from assassins? The Workers States exist because, even with a bureaucratic leadership (something which does not interest Althusser), there is a base of correct principles to throw out capitalism, to make Soviets, to plan production, and with a certain intervention of the masses. The masses are involved with the correction of deficiencies as they have been in Poland and in the USSR, in Germany, and also in Hungary.

It is not possible to take these people as representatives of objectors, of critics. NO! They are incapable people, formed with the Stalinist mentality without using the political positions of Stalin, but with Stalinist thoughts; that is deprived of reason. They think as a function of groups, of tendencies, of sectors, of their own lives, and not of reasoning which arises from the objective process to learn. Thus a circle is created the root of which is Stalin; the thought of a group with the interests of a group and which judges the world as a group.

It is necessary that the Communist Party discusses openly all the positions, and so that people can intervene. All these people have nothing to do with Communist and Marxism. But there is much to observe in this, i.e. the lack of political life of the Communist Party.

It is true that Althusser has never held an important position in the leadership of the Communist Party.

He did not have an important position because he was like a dissident at a time in which there was a 'left of right'. But, even if he never had an important position in the Communist Party, he published various books where he appeared as a Communist representative. He was never unmasked or attacked. But he utilised a position of opposition in the Communist Party, basing himself on a supposed Left, naming Trotsky and nothing more. But he did not represent or develop the thought of Trotsky. He has nothing, and never did have anything to do with Trotsky.

Hence our criticism when Balibar published this book on the dictatorship of the proletariat; he spoke of Stalin, criticised Stalin, but does not speak of the assassinations

of the burial of the dictatorship of the proletariat, of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy against the proletariat by Stalin. This book was false, and has nothing to do with Marx or Marxism.

Althusser represents the lack of political life in the Communist Party, the lack of exchange of ideas and experiences. For example, they should have discussed how it is that there are twenty Workers States with different forms and with different means, but all have succeeded in eliminating capitalism but not to construct the intervention of the proletarian vanguard and of the proletariat in the construction of the country. These people have ignored all this. They do not represent Marxist thought in any way. It is the empirical, bureaucratic life of the Communist Party which has allowed these people to appear as critics of the leadership in the name of Marxism. They utilised the name of Trotsky as protection to defend themselves.

But they do not have any scientific thought. This can be seen in the single fact that they have ignored the existence of twenty Workers States, that they have ignored the same forms which characterise them, eliminating capitalism, centralising production, developing democracy in a general sense, still not Soviet democracy but a form of democracy which the bureaucracy conceives and projects. These people have never spoken of this. They have never been theoreticians of anything but theoreticians in the void. They have taken the name of Marx like a Balloon in order to ascend.

The conclusion of this murder by Althusser lies in seeing that there is no political life in the Communist Party. This assassination, which is an indirect form of suicide, is the result of the fact that there is no political life. There is no scientific understanding.

## EDITORIAL

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movement which doesn't advance in a Socialist direction — is written into the Soviet constitution. Poland continues to demonstrate the way in which the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States are advancing, and all the campaign by imperialism to try to show that the process in Poland is against the Soviet Union, and that the Soviet Union is going to intervene militarily against the workers movement in Poland, has been a failure. The present campaign of 'Solidarity', of the Polish workers over the five-day week is, in its form, a discussion in the Polish Workers State on the way in which the economy should be regulated. Even Walesa, who doesn't represent the most advanced elements of the Polish workers vanguard, has said that the workers are prepared to work on Saturdays if that is necessary for the development of the economy but that they, the workers, want to decide what is necessary. When Breznev talks of 'defending the Socialist system', he is talking about the process in Poland as well as the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan.

The process in Poland isn't a blow against the Soviet Union or the system of the Workers States, it is a blow at capitalism. This is why, when Walesa went to Italy, the Italian trade union bureaucracy did not allow him to speak directly to the Italian workers. They did not take him to Fiat, for example. The feared effect this would have in stimulating the struggle of the Italian working class to transform society and putting the question of democracy in the Italian trade unions on the agenda. They are very much aware that the process in Poland has had a very direct effect on the working class in Italy and on a world scale. This is why the leadership of the British trade unions have nothing to say about Poland now, and seem to have lost interest completely in 'investigating' the situation in Poland.

### CAPITALISM HAS NO HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE

The tendency of the British trade union leadership, like that of the majority of trade union leaderships in the capitalist countries, is to be submitted to the crisis of the capitalist system. The proposal of the government to give £1,000 million to Leylands has been accepted by the trade union leadership without any question of how the money is to be used and for whose benefit it is being raised. In reality the Tory government expresses all the crisis and lack of perspective of the capitalist system. The very fact that they propose to give this subsidy to Leylands is a defeat for their stated policy. At the very first opportunity, a government delegation has gone to discuss trade in Moscow, and this is directly against its previous policy and that of Yankee imperialism. It's

not just a question of trade, but it is a facet of the policy of conciliation with the Soviet Union. All the proposals and policies of the Thatcher government have led it nowhere. The changes in ministers made by Thatcher have been matched by the changes in policies, including a real — even if comparatively small — cut in arms expenditure. The policy toward Ireland is one of weakness and concessions, which is not hidden by the attempted assassination of Bernadette McAliskey and her husband with the connivance of British imperialism. It is a policy of concessions and manoeuvres without perspective, and the fact that the representative of British imperialism was excluded from the funeral of two Unionist leaders shows their inability to find a bourgeois solution for Ireland.

In these circumstances, there is no logic for the British labour movement to allow the Thatcher government its 'constitutional' period of office. The statement by one of the civil service unions that it is 'prepared to bring the Thatcher government down' shows that the working class is ready for this struggle. The problem is not that capitalism or the Thatcher government has any strength, but that the leadership of the workers movement is weak. This is the depth of the crisis in the Labour Party and the decision of the 'special conference' at Wembley which gave the trade unions a 40% say in the election of the Party leader. The panic of the bourgeoisie over the decision of the 'special conference' comes from the recognition that the idea of reforming capitalism through parliament is being thrown out of the Labour Party. The whole balance of forces in the Labour Party has moved decisively to the Left. This Labour Left, having adopted numerous points of anti-capitalist programme, is now seeking an instrument to apply its programme. It is seeking a Party which can act as a leadership for the struggle of the working class outside parliament. Foot attacks the 'gang of three' in the NEC but supports the parliamentarians in their opposition to the 'special conference' decision, which means that a consistent anti-capitalist Left cannot be developed in the parliamentary Labour Party. It has to develop in the Party itself.

### DISCUSSIONS IN THE FACTORIES AND WORKERS AREAS

The 'gang of three' is not proposing to leave the Labour Party of its own volition, it is being forced out. All the procrastination over the formation of a Social-Democratic Party is based on the fact that there is no social support for another capitalist party. At the same time, the situation for the most open representative of capitalist interests in the Labour Party has become intolerable. These people want to impede the advance of the Left, of anti-

## THE CRISIS OF EURO COMMUNISM IN THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE DECOMPOSITION OF SPANISH CAPITALISM.

The heavy defeat administered to the expounders of Eurocommunism in Catalonia is another striking confirmation of the constant elevation and maturing of the world Communist vanguard in its relation with the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. It is part of the rejection by the sectors most linked to the working class of the policies of conciliation and class collaboration practised by sectors of the leadership of the Communist parties. The defeat of the line of Carrillo in Catalonia has been done in the face of a powerful entrenched apparatus and only reflects in a limited way the strength of feeling of the vanguard.

In practice Eurocommunism has been dead for some time. The attempt to resurrect a form of Kautskyism which submits the independent activity of the working class to the game of parliamentary reform failed soon after promulgation. It was not so much an anticipation of a new stage of opportunism by the Communist parties, as an expression of the apparatuses trying to escape from the objective need to ally with the Workers States and break with policies of conciliation with capitalism.

The defeat of Carrillo has to be seen, therefore, in a more precise light than as a rejection of an unsatisfactory theory. It is part of a profound world-wide process in which the Communist vanguard is no longer submitted to the limitations of its leaderships and is able

to stimulate changes in party policy and contain policies of conciliation. The effect of the experience of Poland - a Workers State - is especially profound. There, the vanguard has punctured the resistance of a strenuous Conservative Party bureaucracy, imposing changes and stimulating a process of re-thinking in the cadres of the party. The defeat of Carrillo comes after Afghanistan, after Poland, and in the course of the weakening of all the structure of capitalism throughout the world.

The force that constantly maintains the activity and resistance of the masses to capitalism is the power and capacity of the Workers States. It is this which undermines

all the efforts of capitalism to make the masses of the capitalist countries pay for the failure of the capitalist economy. The strength of the Workers States, their capacity to deal with problems of social and economic transformation, presents an enormous contrast to the effete-ness of the Spanish economy.

Spanish capitalism has always been backward compared with the other major capitalisms. The Franco regime could do little to remedy this, and even now in a basic commodity such as steel, Spain only accounts for 7% of the West European steel industry. Such is the extent of the crisis that Martorell, recent minister for economic affairs, said there would be no recovery for eight years (a degree of precision unusual in economic commentators, and as much value as saying eighty or eight hundred years). Spain has failed to develop in years of relative capitalist expansion. There is no chance of any development now. Spain is a relatively undeveloped capitalist power, and will remain so. Entrance into the Common Market is of importance to the big enterprises, but the Common Market cannot develop Spain.

When Suarez in February 1980 first of all supported autonomous rights for Andalusia and then called for an abstention, this showed the hopeless contradictory character of Spanish capitalism - trying to stimulate localism and then fearing the consequences.

In all this situation the workers parties have been limited in the character of their leaderships from a consistent and serious opposition to the policies of the Suarez government. Accommodating to the policies of localism and autonomy - aspects of the incapacity of Spanish capitalism to develop a national unity for the development of capitalism, the workers parties have gone along with separatism and in this conciliate with capitalism. On the other hand, the forces of opposition persist in these parties and the future lies with these forces. At one stage, Felipe Gonzalez, the careerist parliamentarian, was actually rejected from the leadership of the Socialist

Party, and the Marxist conception re-asserted. Similarly the opposition to Carrillo has been persistent and only partially masked through the weight of the apparatus. The fact that the Party paper 'Mundo Obrero' no longer appears is an indication of the crisis of the Spanish Party, but one of restructuring and progress.

The abstention in the recent elections to the workers commissions reflects the objection of the workers to the conciliatory policies of the workers parties, and parallels the rejection of eurocommunism in Catalonia. The workers commissions and the trade unions cannot continue on the lines of seeking small concessions when the whole economy of Spain is in spiralling crisis, with factory closures a norm of daily life. The 'modification' of the 'historic compromise' in Italy, the support given by Berlinguer or the occupation of Fiat are points of support to the re-orientation of the Spanish Communist Party - and all of this is to be accelerated inevitably with the structure of the world as it is - system against system, the breaking of conciliation with capitalism on a world scale.

The fall of Suarez is due both to the world influence of the Workers States and the resistance of the Spanish masses to the exploitation and incapacity of Spanish capitalism. The defeat of Eurocommunism in Catalonia is part of the debacle of Suarez and points to the maturing of the Spanish vanguard in the struggle to liquidate capitalism.

It is important to examine the rejection of eurocommunism because it is the closing of tendencies in the Communist parties which seek conciliation. The ejection of Ellenstein in the French Communist Party is part of this, and eventually there will be crises of this type in the Italian Party. The termination of eurocommunism is also a process which includes the British Labour Party, and facilitates a more logical discussion of the class struggle there and the end of misconceptions about 'special national roads' and the subordination of popular mass organisms to parliament, a characteristic of the 'eurocommunists'.

## THE CHANGES IN POLAND AND THE CHURCH. extracts

The process in Poland has not finished. The first uprising in a Workers State occurred in 1953 and it still continues and is going to continue while such a relation exists between leadership, Party and population. This process is going to be expressed in more and more elevated form. In the past there was a confrontation in which tanks were used in 1956, as in Hungary. The Church could make use of this situation, and Cardinal Minzenty could appear as a movement to overthrow and repress Hungary and the USSR, and there was a tendency of the bureaucracy which wanted to conciliate

with the Cardinal to sustain the previous apparatus.

In the situation of present-day Poland, the Church has had to proceed in silence. The Pope went there and did not stimulate anyone to go against the Workers State. On the contrary, the Church had to declare, 'Negotiate and respect the established order'. That is, they respect the Workers State. It is not animated to take the strike to advance against the Workers State, even with the millions of Catholics who live in Poland.

This is a very profound expression of the process of disintegration

of religion in this stage of history. There are millions of Catholics in Poland but they are Catholics who

now see the importance, the progress and the necessary and progressive historic function of the Workers State. Now they are not Catholics in the Workers State but members of the Workers State who still happen to be Catholics. If there is something to repress it is the 'still', not the Workers State.

The world and Polish centre of the Church did not try to take the movement of protest in Poland to increase Catholic influence. On the contrary the Church showed itself allied to the government

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Party and the country in general, but this support - which is expressed for the Soviet Union in all this business - is not an abstract thing. The support which the Soviet Union gets is not stimulated by the political intervention which the Soviet leadership makes at the moment as much as by the actual nature of the Soviet Union, of the Workers State. What attracts the Labour Left to the Soviet Union is that they see in it a programme for advance. It may not be seen clearly in this way, but in depth. It is the Soviet Union as the road to Socialism which is attractive. The Labour Party, over a period, has adopted a form of anti-capitalist programme. It is not always a coherent programme in the sense, for example, that the question of disarmament is not linked to the programme of nationalisations. It is not formulated in a way which shows that one, the disarming of the capitalist system, and the other, the expropriation of capitalism, are dependent on each other. The programme of the Labour Party remains without a policy to implement it. However, the attraction to the Soviet Union means the attraction to a policy, to the way in which the Workers State was created in the Soviet Union and elsewhere. And this was not by permission of the bourgeoisie or depending on the parliamentary process. What is indicated in the visit of the three MPs to Afghanistan is the need for a process of discussion in the Labour Party on the world, and particularly on the process in the Workers States. There is a necessity for discussion on the significance of the advances in the Workers States, in Poland and the USSR.

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capitalist tendencies in the Labour Party, but they are aware that the greater representation of the trade unions in the Labour Party means a greater pressure of the working class in the Party. The discussion and crisis in the Labour Party has nothing to do with abstract ideas of democracy.

It is a clash between a Labour Party which was dominated by the parliamentary sector and perspective, and a Labour Party which - however slowly - is now moving towards a position of directly confronting capitalism. It is certain that the reaction of the working class to 'the 40%' for the trade unions is not going to one of opposition because the 'block vote' is not democratic. On the contrary, what is going to be raised is the whole question of trade union democracy, which means the participation of the workers in control and decisions in the trade unions. Any move which means a greater weight of the trade unions, and therefore of the proletariat, in the Labour Party is to be welcomed. However,

'special conferences' don't really answer to the necessity of the situation. There is a need for the Labour Party, for the Labour Left to develop the means by which the working class and the mass of the population can intervene in discussion, the development of programme and ideas. The anti-capitalist programme of the Labour Party cannot remain

enclosed within the Party apparatus, or as simply points in an electoral manifesto. There needs to be the organisation of a wider discussion in the factories and workers areas, and in the schools and universities also, of all the points of the programme. There needs to be a discussion of an immediate programme to confront the attacks being made on the masses by the Thatcher government. The occupation of factories and houses is a common occurrence and these actions require a leadership from the Labour Left; A leadership which combines these actions with discussions on programme and policy, and with mobilisation to throw the Thatcher government out. Above all, there is a necessity to discuss all the experiences of the development in the Workers States.

The trip of the three Labour MPs to Afghanistan, their statements which were, in one degree or another, in support of the Soviet Union, shows the basis of support for the Soviet Union

in the population, and the basis for a discussion on the Workers States. In particular, there is a basis and a necessity for a discussion on the process in Poland and on the role of the working class in the development of society and on the role of the trade unions in capitalism and in the Workers State.

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without being against the workers.

It is necessary to maintain the discussion of these successes in the Workers States, not just to see what happened, but to measure the level of world relations of forces favourable to Socialism in this stage of the Workers State, and the masses of the Workers State, and to see the relations reached in the Workers State. These indicate that they can have very important strikes to correct the deficiencies of the bureaucratic apparatus and of the economic organisation, without damaging the Workers State.

Their own press itself has let it be seen that the Polish workers, even the Catholics, have at no time mixed the Church, the Pope nor their religious belief with the Workers State, but propose clearly that they are for Socialism and that they have nothing to do with the dissidents. They did not call big public meetings so that the dissidents could put themselves there; they declared this publically. It is the index of a very elevated condition of the revolutionary world process.

## Editorial

# THE TRIUMPH OF THE MINERS CONCENTRATES THE DECISION TO OVERTHROW THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT.

The defeat of the Conservative government imposed by the miners is a profound blow at capitalism and its consequences tend to disintegrate the capacity, will and security of the class enemy, whilst elevating the decision and determination of the population to liquidate the government and impose social transformations. It has occurred after the experiences in Poland which showed clearly the superiority of the Workers States and how, with the structure of the Workers States, it is possible to impose the necessary political changes to improve society. The success of the miners shows the readiness of the proletariat to lead the population against capitalism and the preparation to advance without waiting upon the leadership. The miners acted swiftly on a mass basis and the government caved in. This is the result not of the decision of the miners alone. It has come from the immense change in the balance of world forces which favour the Workers States led by the Soviet Union, and accordingly weaken the ability of capitalism to confront the masses. The Thatcher government lacks sufficient support on a world scale to confront the miners. It capitulated because any prolonged effort to confront the miners would have led to its fall and disintegration in its own camp. The workers' leaderships are not prepared for the organisation of a general strike to destroy the government but, even without this, the miners have inflicted a disastrous blow at capitalism which encourages a more elevated programme and policy in the Labour Party and the trade unions. What a defeat, ignominious and total for capitalism!

The Labour Party is more and more bound to concentrate all the anti-capitalist forces, and now in such a way as to lead to a new type of leadership and a new type of Party. This cannot happen suddenly because the prior history and functioning of the Party has been electoral and administrative. But the new conditions of history will demand more and more a functioning of the Party which corresponds to the objective needs of the population, and moves outside the norms of bourgeois constitutionalism. The mass meeting in Glasgow points to this new and demanding situation. When Foot uses language such as 'We shall wipe them off the face of the earth', and quotes Shelley, and there was massive applause — this is not mere emotionalism on his part or on that of the masses. It is because there is indeed the imperative necessity and perspective of wiping capitalism off the face of the planet, and when Foot feels obliged to respond to this mood this will also tend to encourage the population to feel that there is the possibility to influence the leadership and provoke changes that will open the way to a Socialist society. Certainly there is a gap between the general statements of Foot and the absence of concrete programmatic demands which answer the need to get rid of the government and the capitalist system. Also the attempts to re-assert the role of the parliamentary party in the choice of leader do not correspond to the process, but the world and national pressures favour the process of progress in policy and programme, and not the methods of containment.

Reagan has lost something of his zeal and is feeling quite tired. When Brezhnev proposes a summit, Reagan could not afford a haughty attitude but had to appear interested. In East Germany it has been made quite clear that the revolution in El Salvador can expect all aid that is necessary. Basically, in their recent congress, the Soviets have re-affirmed that they will support with all their strength those movements fighting for national liberation, and as an example warn South Africa that if they intervene against Mozambique then South Africa will face the Soviet Union directly. Whilst Reagan tries to organise the European bourgeoisie to confront the Soviets he finds no response, and even Thatcher has to say there cannot be a direct Yankee intervention in San Salvador. At the same time, East Germany takes the initiative to give a perspective for

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## THE THREATS OF REAGAN AND THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

J Posadas 3 2 1981

The threats and measures which Yankee imperialism are stimulating form part of the war preparations against the Workers States and the revolution. This does not mean that it can launch the war when it wants. All these measures were tried by Truman, Foster Dulles during the government of Eisenhower, the period of Kennedy, Nixon: and they all failed.

In the midst of this situation in the world there is no place for the policy of the 'eurocommunist' parties, the conception of 'neither power block'. There is no experience which shows that such a policy can be carried out, and quite definitely whoever is of 'neither power block' is with imperialism. The Communist parties, even the 'eurocommunists', in the last instance support the Soviets but they make a policy to appear 'independent' of the USSR. The criticism that the Soviets make of the eurocommunists is a good one, when they say that all their positions lead them to capitalism. The Soviets affirm clearly: 'There is no third position possible; it is either us or imperialism'.

This offensive by the Yanks against the Soviet Union is aimed essentially to unify and centralise the capitalist world around them. The increase of the value of the dollar which they have made has the same sense because it is totally artificial. It responds to no change in the economy. There is no increase in the real purchasing capacity, but everything remains the same as before. These are financial measures taken at the top, and have no lasting repercussion on prices, the basis of prices and investment. The dollar does not improve because the Yankee budget has improved; on the contrary, the deficit increases.

American trade continues to be in deficit. There is a great inflow of capital in the form of interest, loans and windfalls from investments which imperialism has abroad — above all in Latin America. From Latin America it receives annually (from interest) 30,000

dollars. All this is part of Yankee power, but it is a power in the void because it is not a concrete power of production but a paper balance. Besides any revolutionary movement or nationalist movement which advances in any country does not pay anything and overthrows the lot

All this policy is temporary within the present structure of the Yanks. If imperialism accentuates this policy and claims to advance further, the Soviets are going to elevate their answer. Now they have answered that there can be no return to the 'cold war', and in another form they say, 'they have to be less stupid than they are'. The Soviets explain that the revolution is an historic problem and occurs because it is necessary, not just because the Soviets want it. The Soviets can make all the propaganda that they like, but if the historic conditions do not exist for the revolution, the revolution could not advance. The 'cold war' was not a question of the decision of the Yanks. It finished before because they could not continue it and not because they decided not to do more.

In the preparation of a meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev, the North Americans sent the U2 spy plane to fly over the Soviet Union. The Soviets shot it down without wounding the pilot, and the pilot declared that he did not know anything of his mission, that his whole trip was programmed by the American military command and that he had nothing against the Soviets. The Soviets did not try him in a military court but in an ordinary tribunal, and freed him. A sector of the Yankee military leadership did this to boycott the meeting between Eisenhower and Khrushchev. This meant the power of the CIA and the Pentagon on any Yankee government. The preparations were there for the later assassination of Kennedy.

The present Reagan fervour is not going to last long. Nixon had ten times more fervour than Reagan — including world support — and

look how he finished. Nixon had the support of the Germans and the French. But now it is not the case: the British distance themselves and resume trade relations with the Soviets. In Britain the government of Thatcher is discussing the adoption of an attitude similar to that of Germany and France: looking more to Europe than towards the United States.

Reagan wants to launch a war policy and to impose a policy as if it were imperialism which led the world. The Soviet reply is a political reply and even in a humorous form because they say 'He has to learn the ABC of life', and elsewhere, 'Leave him, it will pass'.

It's now three times that the Soviets have said that the revolution in the world is not their creation 'just as Washington and Lincoln were not our creations'. When the Soviets go as far as this level of reply and do not speak of making a deal with the Yanks, it is because they are quite ready to confront them. Similarly they accuse the CIA of being responsible for the assassination of Moro in Italy.

The great centres of power which are the multi-nationals are going to try to impel the war, but it is not only they who decide. There is a sector of imperialism which feels that if it is involved in a policy of confrontation with the Soviets it will remain isolated. Part of Reagan's military plan is to finance a series of industries which are in difficulties.

The capitalist system confronts a process which now it does not dominate and cannot control. Since 1960 with Eisenhower and the liquidation by the Soviets of the U2 provocation, twentyone years have passed and the Yanks have never had anything but defeats. Most recently they have not been able to intervene directly either in Nicaragua or in El Salvador. Revolutionary processes develop near the United States as in Puerto

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Rico where twenty planes have just been burnt in a military airport. When the revolutionary movement of Puerto Rico succeeded in doing this, it is because there are people of the military high command who helped this attack, because to prepare an operation of this nature requires time, good conditions and means which only people who have easy access to these places could have.

The Yanks try to influence and test the state of the world and find rejection everywhere. Imperialism can go forward to prepare the war more rapidly, but also in a more isolated way. They are trying to influence the world bourgeoisie to intervene and impede the continuation and development of the world revolution. They want to contain this and unite the world bourgeoisie under their control so that they can dominate commercially and militarily the rest of the bourgeoisie. The manoeuvre over the raising of the value of the dollar is aimed at this.

The increase in the dollar does not come from economic strength. Firstly, the capitalist world cannot produce any more and afterwards there is an ever greater recession and also a greater concentration of factories. The process of bankruptcies is quite profound in Europe and it's not just a question of small enterprises and trading companies. No. It's now a question of important firms, and they are all assimilated by the big firms but without being able to develop the previously existing capacity because there is no market.

The market of Latin America, Africa and Asia which has partly developed, has not succeeded in compensating the need of big business for increased markets and capital reproduction. The concentration in capitalism, besides being one of the effects of the present crisis, is the natural conclusion of its functioning and development. The historic and antagonistic competitor of Yankee imperialism is the system of the Workers States. But, besides this, it has competition within its own country and with the other capitalist countries. They want to be able to coordinate this, but they cannot. The normal form of developing Yankee big business is to concentrate more and more, eliminating competition within its own area. At the same time, it has to make a process of adaptation to the development of the world revolution, to see how it can introduce itself there.

It is going to be Reagan who is going to have to change. The Soviet Union is going to continue to advance; the revolutionary processes throughout the world are going to do the same. For imperialism, it's a choice to make the war or decompose. In El Salvador, the Yanks pushed forward a policy of usury. They support the assassin junta, but they do not feel inclined to go with an important army - with which they could conclude every thing quickly - because they do not know what is going to happen with the army that they send. It might go over to the other side. They provide them with arms, but without

the complete security that those who use them are going to use the arms for or against the enemy. Nor can they be controlling or stationing officers on every side. Earlier, the Yankee army had five or six officers for every hundred soldiers, now there are eight officers per soldier.

Reagan seeks to exert a pressure to see what happens and afterwards what advantage he can get out of the situation. The American leadership knows that it cannot make an isolated policy but needs the support of the rest of world capitalism, because it does not have the military, economic and much less social strength to prepare the launching of the war. With its threats and measures, imperialism wants to impress and influence world capitalism so that it does not concede more favourable agreements with the USSR. Now this does not mean that Reagan is more decided on war than Carter. Carter was the one who wanted to

boycott the USSR over the Olympic Games and the wheat embargo; Carter supported Somoza and the Shah up to the last moment.

Reagan cannot be different to Carter. The policy of American imperialism is not determined by who is president. This can determine one or other aspect, but the general historic line cannot change. The Soviets are exerting a pressure in the hope of supporting themselves on the dispute of the European bourgeoisie with Reagan. They treat Reagan as the colt who must be allowed to trot around the field so that he might come to see the need to go around more quietly.

But what has to be realised is that the Yanks no longer have the reins of history - it's the Soviets who hold them. The Soviets answer well, 'It is stupid to believe that we are the ones who are creating the present historic conditions that lead to the present process. In this way also they aim at a series of countries like France and Germany. Pravda says, 'The revolution was not created by us. It is a process which exists and is caused by the capitalist system'. This is the description of a situation which cannot be contained by a threat, even coming from Reagan.

The Yanks amalgamate for their own purposes the movements of national and social liberation with terrorism. The Soviets do not confuse them. 'We' are going to support all the movements of national and social liberation.

The liberation movements are not created by the Soviets, but once they develop they are supported by the Soviets.

Capitalism appears to be pre-occupied with the events of Poland so that the Soviets do not intervene. Some despicable elements from the Socialist and Social Democratic movements, and even some Communist leaders, have been associated with this campaign. They all keep quiet about the assassinations

of imperialism in El Salvador and in Africa. Capitalism was thrown out openly of countries like Zimbabwe and Namibia, and in reprisal bombard the territory of Angola and Mozambique as if it were their own country.

The African revolution is delivering very severe blows to the capitalist structure in Africa and Angola and Mozambique support this revolutionary process. But they have not invaded any other country, support logically guerrilla liberation movements of other countries and assist them in their own country. A person who is sick and asks for help has the support of the neighbour; these are norms even of social relations within capitalism.

It is not possible to prevent Angola and Mozambique supporting movements of other countries that demand help to impel the revolution.

## THE POLICY OF REAGAN AND THAT OF THE REST OF CAPITALISM.

Imperialism with these declarations is probing in order to measure the reaction in world capitalism about how far they are going to support their policy, and after these declarations they will reflect because they have been rejected by German and French capitalism and the British. The British bourgeoisie increases trade with the USSR together with a process of going to the Left in the Labour Party, which is very important.

The advance to the Left in the Labour Party is on a very anti-capitalist line and expresses the conflict of the trade union apparatus with the political and parliamentary apparatus. The trade union apparatus is stronger and hence advances in the Party, but also it is more exposed to the life and pressure of the base. All the British trade unions have demonstrated an acute opposition to the Conservative government. The trade unions, such as the mine-workers, the steel workers, the transport workers, have declared for nationalisations. In some trade unions there is a strong bureaucratic apparatus, but in general they are apparatuses which combine sectors of the Right and Left, like the transport union.

Those who leave the Labour Party for the Right (Committee for Social Democracy), if this is concretised into a party, are going to be against the big bourgeoisie, because if they make a new party they are not going to take votes from the Labour people - more than those already of the Right who have either abstained recently or voted Conservative - but they are going to take them from the Conservatives. These are the votes of those Conservatives in parliament who are represented by the twenty percent of Conservative members who have already shown themselves opposed to the policy of Thatcher.

The crisis in British Labourism has arisen over the political orientation in general and the programme. The bourgeoisie cannot use anything of this. It is a great blow for them. Even the social

democratic wing which wants to leave the Labour Party has to present a minimal programme of reforms, and with this programme wins an important wing of the Liberals and the Conservatives: not the top Conservative magnates but the traders and functionaries who feel that the leading Conservative apparatus is leading them to a rupture for which they are not prepared.

The Yanks want to prepare the conditions to unify the capitalist world under their leadership. What they are doing in reality is to provoke internal differentiation in the Socialist parties and the social democrats, and stimulating crises in the parties of the bourgeoisie like the British Conservatives. This promotes purgings in these parties so as to submit them more to the big bourgeoisie, but accordingly they abandon links with wings of the petit bourgeoisie and with some sectors of the workers aristocracy which are sectors not strictly Conservative. Imperialism does not promote this because it wants to, but because it has no other way. It is a policy which breaks the whole structure of the links of the bourgeois apparatus with the petit bourgeoisie and the workers aristocracy.

The pressure of the Yanks only goes in the direction of the big bourgeoisie. It has an effect there. The social democracy is not composed as a whole of the big bourgeoisie only. The apparatus consists of the central bourgeoisie, but even there in the apparatus there is no homogeneity.

The demand made by German Social Democrats deputies to reduce military expenditure by one thousand million marks and use this for social improvements in Germany and a great percentage to help the backward countries is a point that is fundamentally anti-capitalist. It is not only a 'no' to investment in armaments, but it is necessary to take into account what they propose to do with this money. In Germany there are a series of important problems, for example, shortage of housing. There are important movements of young people demanding houses and also old people who are alone and have nowhere to go. When the social situation in Germany finds expression in parliament it is because the objective situation is much more profound.

This process in Germany is a resistance to the Yanks which is still not organised, but they are against economic and military dependence on the Yanks. A considerable internal struggle is developing in Germany and in that with the Liberals who are allies of the Social Democracy. The Liberals supported the installation of two North American missiles in Germany whilst this tendency of the Social Democracy is against the missiles.

The latter is an expense, while if this tendency orientates the economy they feel they will do it more efficiently. An important sector of the German bourgeoisie and petit

bourgeoisie feels this. Now the military expenditure of the German state increases constantly; capitalism must do this in order to sustain itself.

A great part of the economic strength of capitalist Germany is trade with the Workers States, fundamentally with the German Workers State, the Soviet Union and Poland. It must maintain these relations because within the capitalist system, German capitalism does not possess a sufficient market.

In France there is the same situation. The Gaullism of France is the expression of French big business which feels that if it follows North American imperialism it will be submitted to it. De Gaulle appeared after the second world war - a war in which various Workers States were created - after which imperialism intervened throughout Europe. It was not done before, or only partially.

The policy of Giscard d'Estaing is the Gaullist policy of this stage now also aimed to win votes. De Gaulle came to the point of resisting the entry into the Atlantic Pact. He represented big business, linked to intermediate sectors who based their policy on the antagonism between the Yanks and the Soviets. This policy does not have much perspective, but from the point of view of the bourgeoisie it is the most intelligent because it is a question of benefiting from the present relation of forces against the Yanks. It is a policy of survival.

The Italian position of some support to the Yankee position over the linking of 'international terrorism' with the USSR cannot be openly against the Soviets. On the other hand, the position of Italian capitalism is of no importance in the world, and has no weight. But, if Giscard d'Estaing speaks, the world bourgeoisie observes and also the petit bourgeoisie. It's the same with Schmidt. But not with the Italian bourgeoisie.

Capitalism cannot resolve this situation even with the arrival of Reagan. Carter did more than Reagan: boycott of the Olympic Games and prevention of wheat exports to the USSR. This last was important because the wheat trade with the Soviet Union represented an important export for the North American agrarian producer. The North American state had to pay for all this damage to the economy of the country, because the Soviets provided for themselves and went ahead with the Olympics.

In the United States the force which impels the present policy of Reagan is the leading bourgeois apparatus, the chief financial circles, the source of the political thought of the North American bourgeoisie. It is high finance, allied to the big steel, coal, chemical, car and war industries. All these sectors dominate. Their importance is reflected when their own papers say, 'It is necessary to put an end to this farce with the hostages', and now the circus is over.

The present policy of Reagan indicates the profound instability of North American policy. This instability is caused by the fact that imperialism is not now the force which decides in the world but the Workers States decide. On one side there are the Soviets, and on the other the inter-capitalist crisis which is very deep.

This shouting of Reagan is the shouting of an actor; the director says shout and he shouts. These are not the declarations of the leader of a country who feels that he is strong and secure and is going to carry out all that he says. Carter also made noises. 'No Olympics', 'No wheat to the USSR', 'No meat to the USSR'. The Soviets know that they are going to get and will continue to get other suppliers - including North American purchasers who behind Carter's back made offers to the Soviets. The capitalist world itself gave credits to the Soviets which they would not extend to themselves, because they know the Soviets will pay. Where are Reagan and Carter going to find a replacement for this client?

They made the 'cold war' a long time ago, and they had to abandon it. They began it with the invasion of North Korea. McArthur had said, 'We will spend Christmas at home', and it was indeed so, because they were thrown out. In Vietnam, the same happened. They had to retire defeated. In 1960 over Cuba they threatened to intervene and the Soviets forced them to withdraw. North American battleships surrounded the island to prevent any ships going through, and the Soviets sent two tankers who went through without problems. No one expected such a decision from the Soviets. The Yanks knew that if they interfered an atomic bomb would fall on them.

The development of the revolution cannot be contained. Kennedy, Johnson, Nixon and Carter were not able to impede it, and much less is Reagan going to be able to do so - because the relation of world forces is more and more favourable to the revolution.

3 February 1981 J. POSADAS

## EDITORIAL from page 1

*the Socialist unification of Germany, thus stimulating the Left forces in the SDP and the masses of West Germany. This is an emphasis going beyond seeking to utilise differences between European and American capitalism via the Ost Politic, but a tendency towards a class policy aimed to encourage the masses directly against the capitalist system. Moscow decides, not Washington or London or Paris. When capitalism does try to take an initiative the result is farcical, as with the most recent events in Madrid. There, such are the differences of opinion in the bourgeoisie refracted through the army, that the bourgeoisie sense that there is no solution on this path and no support to sustain such a coup. This again is not just the result of the situation in Spain but the situation in the world, which deprives capitalism of strength and security. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan gave a decisive stimulus to the world relation of forces, and the world bourgeoisie could do nothing.*

*Everything favours advance in the Labour Party. The social democratic faction is going to mean simply a redistribution of forces among sectors linked to the bourgeoisie. Hence the furious attacks of Thatcher on the social democrats. They are going to damage the Tory Party, sectors of whom see that the line of Thatcher is disastrous electorally and damages links with layers who do not share the interests of the central sectors of big business. The fact that the former leader of the Conservative Party in the Commons directly denounces Tory policy and demands deflation is an index of the turmoil in the heart of the government and Party caused by the inability of capitalism to solve its problems, with power contracting into the hands only of sectors preoccupied with confronting the Soviet Union, and linked to the Americans.*

*But, if the Labour Party is to play its role in going towards Socialist society, its mode of activity and intervention has to improve and become more sensitive to the needs of the population. It is important that the Welsh Labour Party quickly gave support to the miners and that the Labour Party now supports the process in San Salvador, but there has to be a much more audacious answer to the requirements of the situation programmatically and a more effective and dynamic policy. In the face of crises such as those at Leylands or Linwoods, the Party must abandon simply protesting and support methods actually used by the workers - that is, occupations and workers control. These are methods which have come from the experience of the working class, the base of the Labour Party, and such experiences cannot be ignored simply because they are outside the will of parliament. The latter is a very artificial creation and was designed to contain the population, not to develop it. Democracy is not a club which appropriates the capacity of the population but a living activity all the time. Thus the Labour Party should be seen to intervene as a Party, through its militants, in all the concerns of the population. Support and intervention in the strikes should be a norm. The Labour Party should have been prominent in the victory of the water supply workers, and now be actively engaged in the action of the civil servants. Doubtless militants and supporters of the Labour Party are in all these activities, but the dynamic of the Party would be infinitely superior, and would carry more weight also electorally, if it were seen to be a Party closely identified with the needs of the population in their daily lives. Moreover, there are still areas of Party policy where the consensus with capitalism has to change - Ireland is a case in point. The TUC intervention against a conference on Ireland because its line was not convenient to conciliation with capitalism, should be denounced - what is this famous democracy if it only means respect for the norms of capitalism?*

*All these problems, including Ireland, have to be discussed much more and this means the development of discussion in the Party and outside the Party with the object of developing cadres, and it is no good running away from Marxism. The latter is a world force. It was Marxism which established the Soviet Union which now leads the world. The Wembley conference showed the underlining of the trade union base of the Labour*

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## THE PROGRESS OF POLAND AND THE INCAPACITY OF CAPITALISM.

The process in Poland has the most profound and historic importance for the elevation of all the Workers States and as an education for all the proletariats and masses still living under capitalism on the superiority of the Workers States over capitalism. It is part of the confrontation of system against system and is a major defeat for capitalism and the consequences that flow from it provoke, and will continue to provoke, disorder and disintegration within the remains of the world capitalist system. Marxism is alone capable of interpreting the process and drawing conclusions from it. All the interpreters of capitalism and the apostles of eurocommunism have nothing of any importance to say of the process, and those who live the dream of violent uprisings against the bureaucracy in the Workers States and the apocalyptic solution of all problems are equally at a loss to explain the most characteristic aspects of the Polish experience.

The elevation of the Workers States requires the removal of the bureaucratic obstacles to the harmonious development of society in all its aspects: social, political, economic and cultural. For a whole period, in a process characterised by Posadas as a phase of partial regeneration, the Soviet leadership in particular, responding to the change in the balance of world forces, has given its support to the movements of national liberation, and with this participation in the world revolution has gone a process of eliminating the most conservative and blind elements in the bureaucracy within the Soviet Union. In other words, there is a partial return to the original conception of the Workers State of Lenin and Trotsky, the conception of the Workers State as an instrument for the extension of the revolution throughout the planet and the amelioration of arbitrary bureaucratic control internally. All this occurs within the driving force of the world revolution - the need of the Workers States to expand to all parts of the world and thus liquidate capitalism, and the opposite need of capitalism to resist this with all its means.

The intervention of the Polish workers' vanguard is part of this process, the rectification in the functioning of the Workers State by degrees of persuasion not aimed to provoke violence but to impose changes by a combination of strength and argument. Clearly there were features, particularly acute in Poland, which occasioned the decision of the Polish vanguard to break with the state trade unions and also raise other demands. The absurd functioning of the economy, caused by dependence on Western trade exacerbated by the

recession of capitalism, brought to a head all the accumulation of grievances against bureaucratic caprice. Suslov, at the previous meeting of the Polish Communist Party, had intervened to say that the solution to problems of Poland lay in a closer relation with Comecon, and this would mean an end to those sectors of the bureaucracy wishing to develop their own function utilising the Workers States for their own benefit in transactions with the West, and thus limiting dependence on the Soviet Union.

Not only have the masses acquired the basic right for the functioning of the unions independent of the state apparatus, but they have imposed a massive cleansing of the state and Party apparatus which was one developed under Stalinism. Solidarity, the free trade union, acquired the right to broadcast over the state television, and other anti-bureaucratic demands which have been raised include attacks on the special trading shops for privileged sectors of the bureaucracy, and demands for complete accessibility of information on the economy of the country etc. The Soviet Union has favoured all this process, because it is part of the process encouraged in the Soviet Union itself - elimination of corrupt administrators, Party functionaries and trade union bureaucrats. The process in Poland is not as in Czechoslovakia, which was against Socialism and where a

top layer of the Party was in full retreat from Socialism. The process in Poland is quite opposite - an advance towards Socialism in which the most conservative and privileged layers are being expelled. The Polish Communist Party emerges from this process much stronger than before, and its links with the masses deepened - a vast number of Party members, for example, are in the trade union Solidarity. The appointment of Jaruzelski as Premier was to facilitate the process of changes favourable to the changed Party and the mass of the population. The recognition of Rural Solidarity and the grievances of the students, the granting of the five-day week, are all concessions to the masses showing the steady advance of the Workers State, the partial overcoming of bureaucratic abuse, and the immense possibilities for further peaceful change in Poland. It will open the way for better relations with the population, and pose the need also for superior organs of communication and discussion involving all sectors of the population.

Capitalism has made much of Soviet preoccupation with anti-Socialist elements, as though the Soviets were against the process.

This is quite stupid. The Soviets are critical of notions as they were with the original Lieberman 'reforms' in the Soviet Union, which proposed greater autonomy for enterprises from the central plan and forms of market economy. There has even been talk in some circles of 'allowing unemployment' and letting prices rise. It is elements like these, with links in the trade unions and the Party - much weaker now - which excite the concern of the Soviets; that is, sectors similar to Ota Sik, who want a hybrid economy with forms of private property. These elements are more at work in the smaller Workers States, i.e. Hungary, than the Soviet Union. It is these elements that the Soviets are warning against. Dissenter groups

such as 'Kor' are openly anti-Soviet Union and approve of 'self-management', but they carry no weight in this process although their existence is a consequence of the prior failings in the life of the Workers State and they relate to the sectors interested in forms of private property.

Any assessment of the process in Poland has to take into account that the bureaucracy is not in the same conditions as in the stage of Stalinism. The preoccupation with privilege occurred under conditions of the loss of perspective in the conditions of the relative isolation of the Workers State. In other words, insecurity bred fear and preoccupation with material concerns. But now the world process removes this element and opens a better field for the objective discussion of privileges. Indubitably, some elements are incorrigible and have to be thrown out, but the Party is open to a process of regeneration quite opposite to the stage of Stalin. It is this which underlines the Polish experience, the Soviet assent to it, and the immense example of Poland to the world.

The exceptional and prolonged character of the intervention of the Polish vanguard to improve its own state is inconceivable under capitalism. The latter requires a social revolution. It is not possible to convince capitalism that it should leave the scene of history, because the ownership - not the usufruct - of property is at stake. Poland is an example of the creative capacity and the progress of the Workers State. Capitalism is outside all of that. They cannot intervene with any weight. They are by-standers and everyone sees this, including the capitalists. Capitalism is in a process of disintegration. Poland moves in the opposite direction - harmony and progress - the course of humanity in which private property has no place.

THE FUNCTION OF THE  
TRADE UNIONS  
in the workers states and in  
the capitalist system.

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50p J. POSADAS

## THE ATTACK ON THE WORKERS STATES BY THE ITALIAN SOCIALIST LEADERSHIP. 1. POSADAS

The Italian Socialist leadership (Craxi, Martelli) recently made an attack on the Workers States, saying that the external centres of Italian terrorism (Red Brigades and others) were in Moscow and Prague.

The present leadership of the Italian Socialists appear as direct representatives of North American policy. But they act like this because it serves them in their action against the Communists in Italy. It is the petty interest of the small party which has as an objective to co-exist with the capitalist system and hence must be free of the Communist opposition. They feel that the development of the Communist Party influences their base. It is their own special interests of the present Socialist leadership which lead them to coincide with the Yanks. Their opposition to the Soviet Union is the opposition to the world revolutionary process which is profoundly anti-capitalist.

The Socialist leadership base themselves on the necessity of the Yanks to confront the Soviets. The majority of accusations that they make against the Communists they do not really believe in. They act through the great fear that they have of Communism. They believe that the Communist Party, with all its conciliations, advances towards Communism.

The accusation of a link between the Red Brigade and the Soviet Union is false. The Communists must make this defence of the Soviet Union. There has been no country where the revolution has been made with Soviet soldiers, but they have intervened on the basis of the internal risings of the population. Afghanistan was like this, with internal risings and movements which are expressed in the present government. The people who govern and command now are the Afghans themselves. The factories, the land, the universities, the schools, the hospitals are all functioning perfectly normally in Afghanistan. Is it the Soviets who are working there? No! Besides the Communists must defend the point that it is not the policy of the Soviets to promote coups d'état.

Even the Italian Christian Democracy cannot appear so linked to the present anti-Soviet policy of Reagan. They see that it is a stupidity, that there is no reason to make such a policy, and also that within the army there are top generals who know very well that terrorism in Italy does not come from the USSR. There are many generals who sympathise with the Left and which, without being of the Left, are not involved in this farce and want to maintain Italy as a neutral power. These see that the policy of Reagan leads to a cul de sac.

The present leadership of the Italian Socialists supports itself on the tendency of the bourgeoisie which has an interest in more intervention of the Yanks. But they use it fundamentally to attack the Communist Party, which they see as the worse danger for themselves.

The Communist Party must reject the anti-Communist, anti-Workers States attacks which the present Socialist leadership is making. It must appeal to the whole of the Socialist Party for a Left Front on the basis of a programme. This programme must take into account employment, a plan of investment to develop the economy for the benefit of the population, the defence of the purchasing power of the masses, and to resolve immediately the situation of those affected by the earthquake, rejecting the plan of capitalism for the victims of the earthquake which has been made on the basis of the ECM (European Common Market). It is an affair of the ECM together with help to prevent a greater collapse of the Italian state, because any major capitalist country which declines affects the rest.

Seventy per cent of the Italian proletariat is with the Soviet Union and also the petit bourgeoisie. Neither Craxi nor Martelli represent the petit bourgeoisie, but an accommodated sector of this. The leadership of Craxi and Martelli is incapable of thinking and reasoning in an independent form. They accompany the capitalist system, clean the table and take the scrapings of the capitalist meal. The old image which Lenin gave is right for this Socialist leadership.

The orientation which Craxi has imposed is leading to a split in the Socialist Party. Craxi speaks in the name of a small group which controls the Party apparatus and nothing more. They believe that it is going to be the apparatus which is going to determine the internal struggle of the Party. The life of the apparatus comes now from the epoch of de Martino and all the rest, and Craxi wants to give another course to this apparatus. In the decisions and the life of the Party neither the base nor the cadres nor anyone else intervenes. It is an apparatus which gives a different impression from the forces which the Socialist Party represents. The present leadership has developed in the apparatus of state or semi-state enterprises where it is linked to the bourgeoisie.

There is no place in history so that this present leadership can fulfil such a function through the Socialist Party. They could have done this before when there only existed one Workers State and the Stalin leadership conciliated with capitalism. This Socialist leadership is living forty years in the past.

The present leadership of the PSI is completely antiquated. It represents a very prosperous sector of the petit bourgeoisie and of leading functionaries. In the present apparatus of the Socialists it is not possible to find a worker; nor is it by chance. Neither do they represent in any way the intellectual petit

## THE TRIAL OF LULA (BRASIL), THE CAPITALIST STATE AND THE LABOUR PARTY

Lula is Luis Inacio da Silva, president of the Workers Party of Brazil, put on trial recently and facing up to twelve years in gaol for his trade union and political activities. He was removed last April from his position of president of the Sao Bernardo metal workers union, and gaoled in an attempt to break the 41-day strike. He and thirteen other trade union leaders were removed from their posts as leaders of the unions and replaced by government officials.

*It is necessary, to make an analysis in depth in the Labour Left of the significance of the process in Brazil and the historic stage of the system against system development which we are in today. States are not all the same and do not all play the same function. The degree of liberty there is in a country is not at all measured by the degree of independence the workers movement manages to achieve from the state. It depends on which state. It is an error to say that Lula, like Walesa, are leading struggles to free trade unions from 'State' control. One cannot equate the state of Poland and the state of Brazil. The establishment of a Workers State in Poland would have been impossible without organisms for the representation of and the taking of power by the workers. The Red Army did not stay in Poland to rule the state; but the Polish Communist Party, based on the organisms of the workers, rules Poland. The Polish state supports the world liberation movements, spends a large part of the national income of Poland to help them in every way, including militarily.*

*The Brazilian state, however much liberalised, contains the previous fascists at all levels (as in Spain today), and is absolutely opposed to aiding either Vietnam or Cuba or Mozambique. The Polish state came out of nothing, built a new regime in Poland which finds the means to resolve all the problems of abject poverty, industrialisation of the country, and helping the whole world. With all that they take from the workers, the Brazilian bourgeoisie could not even make a decent housing plan for Brazil. So one cannot say that both Lula and Walesa are leading struggles against state control over the trade unions. Even before Solidarity was formed in Poland, the workers had organisms - very bureaucratised - which represented their interests and those of the workers of the world. Today, what has changed is that they are in a better position to make their unions represent these interests than before, and the full implications are going to be felt mainly by the world capitalist*

*bourgeoisie, which sympathises with and participates in the Socialist Party. De Martino is an intellectual, and also Segnorita and Chiquito and they, like a very great layer of Socialist intellectuals, resist the present leadership. But Craxi is a functionary of the capitalist system, and all his thought is for this. Capitalist thought, besides having no role in history, cannot develop in the Italian Socialist Party.* 30.1.1981

*system, which has suddenly stopped raising the Polish workers.*

*When the Polish workers formed Solidarity, it was to rid the unions of the bureaucrats at the top who were not representatives of the Polish state but of the bureaucratic interests which the world capitalist system had instilled in the Workers State to prevent it from going further to Socialism. The Polish state is alive and very well today. It is the bureaucracy that is feeling ill and has lost its posts in the trade union leaderships. It was not a struggle of the workers against the state, but against conservative sectors of a state which aids the world revolution. We have to discuss in Britain getting rid of the bureaucrats like Duffy and Chapple who are the agents in the trade unions of a state which murders the Blacks in Africa and the people of the world. A state which is planning to send a NATO force beyond its own back garden. Duffy, Chapple etc. arrived in the leadership of the unions not through conciliation with bureaucratic leaders of a Workers State, but with the bourgeois imperialist leaders of the capitalist state. So, one cannot compare Brazil or England with Poland. The conclusion that the workers should always be free of all states leads to the reactionary conclusion that the trade unions of Britain should be equally distant from Labour's achievements against the capitalist system. It tends to dissociate the workers from the nationalised industries, makes them feel that they should not defend them; it militates against workers control, which is precisely what is needed to ensure that the nationalised industries are not prostituted back to private interests. The experiences of the SAS in Britain must be transmitted to the comrades of Lula's Workers Party of Brazil for them to see more clearly that the stage has come when the historic role of the bourgeois class has ended. It is necessary to combine the bourgeois democratic demands with the struggle for a Socialist solution with the support of the Soviet Union, Poland and all the Workers States. In Britain, there has been a whole campaign in support of free trade unions in Poland, but precious little has been said about the*

*abject repression of the trade unions in Brazil. The comrades of the Left of the Labour Party and the trade unions must demand that all those who so fervently seek 'freedom' for the workers of Poland should make pronouncements in support of the rights of the workers of Brazil to form trade unions and have their own elected leadership! In Brazil, there is a progress of the struggle of the masses which capitalism cannot just go in and smash, as it used to in the past. This is due to the intervention of the Soviet Union everywhere in the world, increasingly supporting the world revolution. This gives confidence to the masses of the world, and the metal workers of Brazil based themselves on this in their latest strikes. The bourgeoisie repress them, but it could not murder and torture their leaders to death as it used to in the past. Capitalism feels cornered. This is why the Pope went to Brazil and denounced exploitation there, as the last dyke to prevent the masses organising themselves on a Communist path. He tried to use faith to prevent Marxist ideology from spreading. However, the masses gathered around the Pope in condemnation of the regime. The bourgeoisie would like to smash the new workers' opposition of Lula and his new-formed party.*

*The workers of Brazil are looking to those of the world and those of Poland for their leap towards Socialist organisation. The Labour Party must contribute to this by showing that the bourgeoisie has exhausted all possibility of making a democratic development anywhere in the world, and that the Socialist task has to be led by the workers and petit bourgeoisie, in unity with the 'Socialist countries'.*

*It is necessary to link the release of Lula and the thirteen other comrades arrested, the reinstatement of all these leaders at the leadership of the unions where they had been elected, and the freedom to organise the workers party of this stage, to combine the democratic rights and workers' demands, with those for the Socialist transformation of Brazil.*

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*Party and the tendency to reject a Party in the service of parliament. The trade unions are planning shortly a month of discussions. This is good, but it should be a norm both in the Labour Party and the trade unions to deal with all the most fundamental international issues and the daily concern of the population for housing, education, transport, hospitals etc. It is necessary to link the demands for more public ownership, the complete re-organisation of the nationalised industries under workers control, the closing of nuclear bases, nationalisation under workers control of all factories about to close, with the conscious development of a superior political and cultural life in the Labour Party and the trade unions to develop an educated cadre preoccupied with the concerns for a Socialist society. This is part of the transformation of the Labour Party into a Marxist Labour Party - the inevitable consequence of the world-wide advance to Communism.* 28 2 81

# THE COUP IN SPAIN AND THE NEED TO TRANSFORM THE ARMY.

**J. Posadas** (title and subtitles by the editorial board)

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It is necessary to underline two fundamental aspects of this process in Spain: The first is the interpretation of a process which could be foreseen - neither the Communists nor Socialists warned, made appeals to or organised the population to contain the coup and to disintegrate it. The second aspect is that their present reaction is not programmatic but a reaction simply of opposition without giving a programme of what to do or what type of campaign to develop. The essential point is to appeal to the army, to the police and to all Spanish citizens to oppose, reject and confront every action taken against the Constitution or against democratic rights, as in fact the police trade union did (partly). The workers movement must discuss this and aim at the police and the army. This is going to accelerate the next coup, but it is also going to abort it as well. It is going to mean a logical confrontation, not leaving it in the hands of Suarez so that he makes his own deals. He knew of the coup and let it happen, because they all hoped to cook up some negotiations so that the Socialists and the Communists did not intervene.

## THE ARMY LEADS ITS OWN LIFE.

Socialists and Communists knew that the coup was being prepared and hence the urgency of Gonzalez to enter into alliance with the UCD and the Communists supported this. They believed by this that they could contain the Right; but if they are going to government and they make an alliance with the UCD without having the resolution to transform the army - although it may not be achieved immediately - it's no use going to government because the high command works independently of the Constitution, or parliament and the king. They have their own power and their own life. The element that has to be broken is precisely their separate life. It is not possible to do it suddenly, but it is necessary to discuss the position. Why does the army have to have a 'democratic', reactionary fascist Right and impose on the population? The soldier is a functionary, nothing more. He is not a proprietor and must obey. It is necessary to make a campaign so that the trade unions intervene and that they demand the organisation of the army by means of councils and delegates, and that they intervene in all the problems of the population. Why does the army intervene and not the trade unions? What greater power has the army than the trade unions? It has power because there is private property, but the reactionary sector is a small circle. It does not consist of

all the parties; and there are many more of these generals. The most capable technically and the most intelligent are all of the Left or in agreement with the alliance with the Left. Only a few, like Tejedó with the face of an old portrait and of a fossilised mentality, are the ones who favour a coup. Above all it is necessary to propose how to intervene considering that it is a complicated situation, that the 'golpistas' can make a new coup and there is no preparation in the population for the coup. Thus it is necessary to prepare the population to come into the streets and refuse to accept any demand from the organisers of a coup and to confront them. They should be armed and confront them, and if a member of the group shouts out, 'I am in charge here', they can reply to him, 'You did command' (refers to the scene of the coup in parliament which was televised, where Tejedó appeared fully armed, shouting: 'Everybody quiet and lie on the ground'), and shoot him.

It is necessary to call meetings in the trade unions, and to take concrete steps including that no officer or soldier accepts or carries out orders which are against the Constitution or against the rights of the population. The orders to mobilise, to make a coup are not military orders but orders of a faction. They are not military orders to struggle "against the enemy", but orders emanating from small sectors which do not struggle against any enemy. Thus it is necessary to oppose this and to discuss and to appeal at the same time to the army, because there are many officers who are in agreement with opposing the set-up and are not animated to act because they see no points of relation with the trade unions and parties. There is

considerable resistance to NATO and the Yanks. For example, Carrero Blanco, who was no revolutionary, was opposed to NATO and hence they killed him. There are different tendencies of the bourgeoisie to oppose all these reactionary sectors, and hence to discuss the formation of committees in the factories and workers areas with the right to decide and to force on the government the right to intervene with the police, with part of the army, speaking to the soldiers not to obey orders if they go against the Constitution and the population. The orders of the makers of the coup obey the interests of small groups who do not represent Spain. They represent a group of people who have their own interests and have to defend them, not with democratic rights but in

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# RED FLAG



Monthly organ of the

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## Editorial

# The process in Poland sustains the advance of the Labour left

The process in Poland has an immense importance for the experience of the world masses and the masses of Britain in building a Party, criticising the leadership, making it change and represent the workers, make it work in the objective interest of the masses. This is happening in a Workers State and so, the the clearance in the Party leadership and the new programmes adopted are more immediately effected in the interest of the mass of the population. However it teaches the masses of the capitalist countries, the Labour masses, how not to defer to 'leaders', 'leave it to them to decide', and to establish a relationship of equality between the leaders and the workers.

The other aspect of the Poland process is that what is being broken together with the most pernicious aspect of bureaucracy in Poland, is the old links between capitalism and the backward sectors of state and party in the Workers States; this is the sign that the co-existence of capitalism and bureaucracy, against the full intervention of the masses of the Workers States, is being ended. That announces much deeper advances in all the Workers States and the removal of the most corrupt sectors of bureaucracy in all the other Workers States like Yugoslavia, Rumania and China. It means that the world balance of forces is firmly in favour of Socialist advance, the building of Soviet democracy, and against the private, individualist conception of running

countries 'for the workers'; that is to say, in the interest of ruling cliques. This shatters all the old links between Labour, capitalism and the trade unions and demands a political role of the unions not confined to parliamentary democracy. Moreover, it demands the opening of a discussion in the Labour Party: What is happening in Poland? What is happening in the Labour Party? What is the role of the trade unions? How to remove the sectors directly identified with imperialism in Labour and the trade unions? How to apply conference resolutions? Is re-selection going to be enough? All this being posed opens much deeper discussions still about the fundamental process of the construction of a Socialist Republic, as part of the rest of the world going to Communism.

## THE ATTEMPTED COUP IN THE USA.

The shooting of Reagan like that of Kennedy before, and the attempt to put Haig in charge shows the inability of imperialism to impede the soviets. The Yanks have not the ability to decide when and how to launch the war, and this is decisive for humanity. Those who have the initiative are the Soviets, who show to the masses of the world that they care for them, that the form of the Workers State allows the development of all peoples, even those who come from the most backward conditions, like the people of Mongolia. The

masses of Mongolia passed in only a few years from the most brutal feudal conditions to the most advanced development of going on a space mission with the Soviets. The masses of the world and of Britain see that the Soviets develop Ethiopia, Cuba, Mozambique, Vietnam, Mongolia. There is no reason to think that the Soviets have not the same sentiment for the masses of Britain as that which they display for the rest of the world's masses.

In the United States, 67 persons die every day in shooting incidents. In the Soviet Union there is a house for every one, in a country which is only 64 years old. In the United States the CIA is known to have perpetrated seventeen murders to cover up the assassination of Kennedy, and many more assassinations still, not forgetting that of Allende. In the Soviet Union they make space experiments and support the development of the masses of Afghanistan, Mongolia and Poland. The bourgeois press must not be given the last word on what to say about Poland. The comrades of the Labour and trade union left must say that the USSR has supported Poland, has given it huge sums without interest, and has endorsed the changes in Poland and made similar changes itself. Imperialism does not even have the ability to find the component parts act unanimously in accord with its class interests. The Workers States are unanimous against imperialism.

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SUPPLEMENT TO RED FLAG

**On the Congress of the CPSU  
and soviet leadership**

J. POSADAS

27.2.1981.

this form. Now in Spain the issue of Workers State or capitalism is not posed, but of defending democratic rights for a later stage.

This attempt at a coup has very deep roots, and it is an attempt to make other sectors come out in support. This coup did not have a great preparation. It was an ambiguous preparation, a struggle of fractions where the most resolved come out to confront the others and to impose its will on them, which shows the presence of different social interests and the understanding, the capacity and political resolution of different groups. The conditions of Spain allow a small group of soldiers that feel decided to have the audacity to make this intervention, even if, afterwards, it failed. They are sectors who come from fascism, and thus they are accustomed to resolve matters by means of apparatus, of small groups who know what frightens and intimidates. Hence this resolution, their fury which did not correspond to reality, for example the fury of Tejedro when he entered the parliament threatening the Members, did not correspond to his later passivity. He remained passive, not only he had to shoot in the air but to aim at people to show them that he was ready to win and to show decision. It also shows that Tejedro was quite afraid, hence by the cartridge belt there was a roll of toilet paper.

### PASSIVE STRUGGLE OF THE WORKERS PARTIES HAS NO PERSPECTIVE.

This situation in Spain demonstrates that it is necessary to reach superior democratic levels, but they cannot be reached by the peaceful road of elections or of a passive process in the class struggle. The Socialists and the Communists have part of the responsibility for all this, because they have conciliated with capitalism, as in the pact of Moncloa which allowed no base of independent organisation but submitted everything to agreements with the bourgeoisie. Part of the reaction of people who did not mobilise is due to this. The Communists have lived by making pacts, and they have not made appeals for a long time for mobilisation; in the meetings of the trade unions and the parties, the problems of the world are not discussed. If there is a discussion, it is made on the basis of criticism and opposition to the USSR, and there is no concern with the political and scientific life to explain the process of the world and as part of that why the USSR intervenes in Afghanistan, and why in one case it intervenes and in the other not, as the conclusion is the same. Poland thanks the USSR, the USSR congratulated Poland, and Poland is resolving its problems including the fact that it threw out twenty-six top leaders of the Party, and there is no hecatomb. That is, there is no political life either among the Socialists or the Communists and, on the contrary, there are threats to the sectors of the Spanish Communist Party, like that of Catalonia which seeks to advance and efforts are made to smash them.

It is the lack of class politics and trade union life which prevented people demonstrating immediately. If there had been a previous preparation, people would have intervened immediately. The proof is that when appeals were made for a mobilisation, people did so. The demonstration of more than a million and a half people in Madrid alone is a fact of enormous significance that people wanted to fight, that in Spain there are no old people, as there are none in the rest of the world: the old ones are those who do not have the capacity or will to fight. If they do not have ability it is one thing, but if they do not have the capacity or will to struggle it is because the will makes them incapable. But, if they are impeded from fighting because they cannot move, they act in another way by speaking or commenting. In Spain the trade union leaderships put chains on the workers' movement, let everything be decided in parliament, and it was not because of parliament that the coup lasted a very little time. But, anyway, there was no programme or policy on the part of the trade unions and the parties. On a world scale they have all the best conditions in which to advance. Imperialism and capitalism are in retreat, not the masses, the Communist parties or the Workers States.

The Communist parties do not progress in a constant and uninterrupted form, because their policy does not correspond to necessity. The masses have an experience superior to the Communist Party and their will to struggle is superior to the limitation which the CP, the SP and the trade unions wish to impose on them. This is a conclusion which has to be drawn on why there was no spontaneous reaction from the masses.

### APPEALS TO THE PEASANTS.

This present stage in Spain requires trade union, factory and workers areas mobilisations, aiming appeals at the police, the army, at the functionaries making proposals on how to make Spain progress so that it may be clear to people that the sectors who oppose progress are the reactionary sectors and that it is not a question of an abstract defence of the programme of Communism or Socialism, but the sectors supporting the coup are opposed to progress. It is necessary to make appeals to the peasants so that they intervene, as they are the majority of the Spanish population and the most exploited. The Communists, the Socialists and the nationalist movements make up the majority of the population; they are divided and thus they cannot concentrate their force and represent a greater strength than their real number.

The world bourgeoisie always supports the military movement which wins, because a defeat of such a movement feeds the revolutionary movements, and yet, on the other hand, it is not convenient for them to instigate the movement because that promotes internal conflicts. A triumph of the Right

in Spain is not convenient to the Germans or the French; for them a government as established at present is a better proposition.

This is not the stage of 1936. Now there are twenty Workers States and an immense maturing of the masses of Spain, and it is the world relation of forces which determines that the USSR is going to intervene in Spain if something inconvenient happens. The USSR cannot allow Spain to fall into the hands of reaction and, to a certain extent, it's not convenient either to the Germans or the French, above all the latter. It's not convenient to Germany because it would mean a later submission to the Yanks; from the class point of view they measure it in one way, from the concrete real point of view they assess it in this particular way. They do not abandon a class standpoint, but try to take the least evil which is the social democracy and French democracy.

An appeal must be made to the Socialist and Communist movement of Europe, showing that this attempt at a coup of Spanish fascism is represented by the sectors most linked to the Yanks. It must be shown that they have no strength but that they can mobilise and make coups by using the inactivity, paralysis, lack of programme and policy of the Communist and Socialist parties and of the trade unions. It is necessary to elevate democracy in the trade unions and in the parties, and this means to discuss all the problems with scientific bases, whether it's a problem of Spain or the problems of the world. But there are no discussions. The leaderships make criticisms and give criminal opinion deprived of all scientific significance, of conclusions and interpretations like the opinions over the USSR or Poland, when the events of Poland are a conclusion against all these leaderships. The speech of Kania is a conclusion against every attempt to want to go back on the resolutions that were taken. It is a judgement on the paralysis of the previous political leadership, which is an immense progress of the Workers States. But capitalism has to make movements like that of Spain, which are assassin movements, which one must foresee are going to be repeated.

It is possible that the king knew of the coup without being involved in it - and let it happen to try to eliminate the originators. The movement was very profound, and this is expressed in the fact that, according to official declarations, many high military chiefs are involved while they have detained very few. It is necessary to discuss where is the democracy there? What democracy is this where one group goes to assassinate another lot and fails but continues sentencing to death, as they have the power!

One of the measures which has to be taken is to expel and imprison all those who participated in the attempt at a coup, including the soldiers, everyone, so that afterwards the soldiers do not obey any

more orders which go against democracy. It is necessary to be based on the fact that in the army there is a great movement of democratic soldiers. It is a lie that those who tried the coup are the majority in the army. There is an immense number of democratic soldiers who developed in the epoch of Francoism, because in the last stage Franco had to concede, including over major strikes which were not repressed. The paralysis of the economy led to Franco being thrown out; he died because there was no place for Francoism.

The Communists in Spain have to propose concrete measures for this situation, with all the complications which they are going to find, but they have to propose measures of change, control and mobilisations. They have to make appeals to the democratic soldiers to respect the right of the population and to make movements which include the population to organise committees in the workers areas, of the factories to confront and appeal to the soldiers, to the police to disobey every order which goes against democratic rights. This is totally constitutional, otherwise everything is totally confined to Suarez and he appears as the mediator.

### APPEALS TO THE POPULATION.

It is necessary to analyse also that the regionalisation of Spain weakens the workers movement enormously. The confrontation of the Catalan Communist Party with Madrid is a weakening, not an internal discussion but a weakening because one sector is against the other. There is no internal discussion, and thus the workers movement fears to make an appearance.

It is necessary to prepare organisms in the workers areas so that they influence the army. The sector which tried the coup does not have an overwhelming force, otherwise they would have made the coup - and every sector has limits in what it wants and the differences between the limits which each sector wants to achieve means that there is no security. If they had security they would have made the coup some time ago. All this shows the weakness of the organisers of the coup, and thus the Communist Party has to draw this conclusion. There has to be a discussion in the trade unions, in the workers areas and schools to prepare people, and aimed at the soldiers, at the police, so that they do not obey orders which go against the interest of the country or which may not go against any external enemy.

It is necessary to take measures to purge the police and the army and plan for the economy of economic development. It is necessary to make popular organisms to intervene and make agreements with all the Left, the traditional workers parties and the Left Basque movements. It is necessary to eliminate military secrets, which are secrets against the interest of the country.

Military secrecy is right for the enemy of the country, but here they utilise it against the masses. The clear and decisive fact is that the mobilisation of almost two million people in Madrid had a quality superior to the demonstration based on this, the mobilisation which was passive because it was made so. The sentiment of the masses was infinitely superior and is going to have very great effects; and it is necessary to be based on the effects which it is going to have on the army.

If there is a new coup appeals must be made to all the soldiers to oppose, to resist obeying orders against the Constitution and the parliament, and to appeal for resistance. The attitude of the king and also that of Suarez, who is travelling to the United States, shows that they have arrangements with the military.

The Communists and Socialists have to base themselves on the recent mobilisation to draw conclusions and propose the necessary measures. The mobilisation does not have an immediate effect in overthrowing the perpetrators of the coup, but shows the initiative of people on which the Communists must support themselves, to take organisational measures against the sectors who want the coup. But the Communists and the trade unions do not do this. They hope that the mobilisation in itself will produce effects. Hence, they do not appreciate the sense of the mobilisation. The people have now spoken - they have said that they are against the coup, but the workers leaders are the ones who have to organise now. If the masses did not come out before to mobilise, it is because they were not prepared. All the trade union policy had been one of conciliation and passivity in relation to capitalism, and seen in the pact of Moncloa which is an agreement of submission to the apparatus of the capitalist system. The workers movement was not prepared to demonstrate; the leaders believe that the workers movement is going to demonstrate if there is a coup. How is it going to demonstrate if there is no leadership? But the event has shown that, insofar as there was an appeal made by the leadership, people intervened, the millions that demonstrated showed that they were ready to intervene. None of the trade union or political leaderships spoke of the importance of the mobilisation to be based on it. It is necessary to calculate that about four millions mobilised throughout the country, which represents about fifty percent of Spain, that is, the active half of Spain. It is necessary to take into account also that in the Basque country there was no mobilisation because of their resistance to the central power; but if they wanted to mobilise they could mobilise two million - even when they had the funeral of the assassinated guerrilla of ETA hundreds of thousands turned up. The Communists do not base themselves on this, but they play the game, like Gonzalez, to use this situation to intervene in the government with the excuse that with this they are going to stop the Right. This is the excuse but, in

# the abolition of the monarchy and changes in the labour party

reality, it is the reformist path which is being taken – which means that they are going to take social, economic and political measures which are not those they could take on the basis of the intervention of the workers movement by means of the Socialist-Communist alliance or with the Basque nationalist sectors and the Left in general.

At the same time, it is true that it is only a few years after the fall of Franco and the period of transition is short. But, if they are a few years of Spain, in the world it is decades. Franco fell because the world was against him, otherwise he would not have fallen and the rapid conversion of Suarez is because the world made him change; if he continues, the policy of Franco is no solution. The king is a passive instrument to centralise the bourgeois differences, a passive element which co-ordinates. This is its function. He has no value for ideas or positions.

The king is trying to pass through this situation, not to have to confront either the democrats or the organisers of the coup and lose his role; and, besides, because that is his role. The king, as a king, does not have his own interests but is simply a link. He does not come from a monarchical tradition. He does not have all the aristocratic structure like the other monarchies of Europe. It is simply him, his wife and sons; nothing more.

## NO MORE MONCLOAS!

In this process, it is not enough to denounce, criticise or oppose, but now it is necessary to make an alliance with the bourgeoisie without shackling the unions. The unions and the workers parties are going to have to concede but the most important aspect of the fight is to maintain it, not making an alliance for electoral objectives but an alliance now to take steps which the bourgeoisie are going to resist, because every weakening of the army is also against them. But there are sectors of the bourgeoisie who are ready to accept through their transitory interests an agreement with the Socialists, Communists and trade unions. This situation depends on the preparation of the Communist Party; the problem is that it has no preparation, and thus it concedes and runs behind the bourgeoisie, not in alliance – which means that they are maintaining their independence of action and of proposals and measures, but submitting to the bourgeoisie as they did with the pact of Moncloa.

J. POSADAS 28.2.81

## EDITORIAL from page 1

The bourgeoisie of Europe looks at the assassination attempt on Reagan and thinks that it counts for nothing in the plans of the centres that decide in the heart of imperialism. So, it looks for a 'European' solution, away from imperialism. This fuels the crisis in all the social democracies of Europe: of Sweden, Germany and Britain; and helps the development of currents; it helps the breaking of the appa-

The growing criticism of the monarchy is an important expression of the crumbling of social support for British imperialism. The election for the Chancellor of London University was a case in point. In this election, not only were the monarchy's representatives challenged for the first time, but the opposition candidates – Nelson Mandela and Jack Jones – received one third of the votes. This was in a very select electorate – the students have no vote – and the result might have been quite different if they had. The monarchy is a facade which British Imperialism maintains to give an impression of centralisation, stability and continuity in front of bourgeois sectors and the petit bourgeoisie. At the same time, it is a centre for the leading layers of the bourgeoisie, as well as a screen behind which they hide their internal differences. This means that any criticism of the monarchy, particularly from strata which represent the social support of imperialism, has a particular significance. This is because to question the monarchy means to question the validity of all the values of British imperialism. Attacks on the monarchy mean the whole structure of the bourgeois state is being put into question.

The fact that, in its total crisis and in conditions of a world balance of forces against capitalism, British imperialism has been unable to maintain the 'impartial and non-political' face of the monarchy has only served to stimulate opposition amongst its own social base. This idea of the monarchy being above class has been important for British

ratus which impeded the formation of currents. The continuous social, political and economic crisis feeds the constant pressure for programme in the social democracy and the trade unions and this pushes the crisis in the apparatus of the workers movement continuously to the left. Imperialism does not have the ability to stop this. It has weapons, but social processes are not determined by weapons. They may be delayed or impeded but not stopped by them. The masses look at Poland and see that it is possible to weigh in the leadership, to remove leaders and to build a party, to criticise and speak. In the recent Central Committee of the Polish Communist Party, all the worker delegates were allowed to speak. The masses are going to say, 'Why can't we do this in Britain?'

THE PROCESS IN THE LABOUR PARTY WILL GO FARTHER STILL.

imperialism, to bind large sectors of the population to its interests. When the Queen and the Duke of Edinburgh openly support NATO and the war preparations against the Workers States and the world revolution, this expresses a real desperation on the part of British imperialism. When British imperialism takes such desperate actions – desperate because it alerts intermediate sectors in society to the reality of the class struggle – it is because British imperialism is disintegrating. If it takes such an action which tends to alienate what little social support it has left, it is because the need to hold the capitalist class itself together is the over-riding priority.

It is precisely because the monarchy plays such a central role in the British capitalist state that the Labour leadership has either supported it, or failed to mention the subject in the past. The Labour leadership was very aware that the question of the monarchy meant questioning the whole structure of bourgeois society and the idea that Socialism was simply a reformed version of capitalism. Now, the discussion is being opened in the Labour Party. The editorial in 'Labour Weekly', which drew the very simple conclusion that the monarchy is 'incompatible with a classless society', expresses the process of changes to the Left in the Labour Party and, by implication, is revolutionary. In its form, it is a very profound questioning of the 'parliamentary road to Socialism'. This is because, if the monarchy as a representation of the state is incompatible with Socialism, then the whole bourgeois state and its organs are incompatible with Socialism. It is a

logical progression from the proposal to abolish the House of Lords and the beginning of a discussion in the Labour Party on what method is necessary to implement the anti-capitalist programme which the Party has adopted. It is certain that the monarchy is not going to be abolished by parliamentary decree since parliament, whilst useful as a platform, is a subordinated part of the state structure. At the same time, it also poses the question of what alternative organisations of power are necessary for the advance to Socialism.

It is true that elements of criticism of the monarchy come from sectors in the Labour leadership which seek a localist bourgeois solution to the problems posed by capitalism. The continued support for a Scottish Assembly is an expression of this. It means that a sector of the Labour leadership is following behind the disintegration of capitalism in which sectors of the bourgeoisie seek to solve their own problems on a local basis. This confusion of thought in the Labour Party was expressed in the 'South Yorkshire Socialist Republic' slogan of the 'South Yorkshire Socialist Republic', but it is the conception of a Socialist Republic which dominates in the process of changes in the Labour Party. In this respect it is important that the article in 'Labour Weekly' talks about the monarchy being incompatible with a 'classless society' rather than incompatible – as it is – with bourgeois democracy. The editorial in 'Labour Weekly' shows that the 'Socialist republic' is more than just a slogan. If the question of the abolition of the monarchy is raised in the national press of the Labour Party it means that there

is a tendency in the leadership which wants to stimulate the discussion in the Labour Party. It is also a measure of the balance of forces in the Labour Party that there has been no real public opposition to the proposal to abolish the monarchy. The same balance of forces is expressed in the fact that the leader of the 'opposition' failed to congratulate the coming marriage of the Prince of Wales.

In the final analysis, this proposal for the abolition of the monarchy is going to lead to a discussion on the alternative forms of democracy in society, and not simply more bourgeois democracy. In reality, the whole gradualist, electoralist and parliamentary road to Socialism has been brought into question; the elimination of respect for the monarchy means the elimination of respect for parliament. The conditions are now ripe in the Labour Party to discuss a campaign against the Tory government which is based on an anti-capitalist programme and the development of organisms to implement that anti-capitalist programme. In this, the occupation of factories – as a prelude to nationalisations, without waiting for a General Election – is a key issue. The Labour Left has to include the abolition of the monarchy as part of the Labour Party programme, and stimulate the development of the organisms of the working class: factory committees which have the capability of running factories under workers control and other popular organisms. In this way, the discussion on the necessity for the overthrow of the capitalist state and the actual development of organisms of workers and popular power is carried forward together. We call on the comrades of the Labour Party and Trade Unions to discuss this.

## THE OPPOSITION OF THE TRADE UNION BUREAUCRACY TO CHANGES IN LABOUR

The discussion in the Labour Party tends to focus on 'when did the social democrats start to plot' and whether they broke Party discipline. But it is immensely more important to focus on why most of them were ministers in previous Labour governments, in top posts in the state and EEC, and some of them in the NEC itself. How did they get there? What is the functioning that allows this sort of thing to happen? Is this not more important than the plots of the social democrats? The problem then comes down on how to prevent this happening again: re-selection? Ideas are a social thing and no one can make a man pledge himself to future policies before the eventualities actually arise. But, yes, what the left must and can do is to ensure

result of the world process. All this tends to stimulate a much more acute clarification in Labour, to the left, accomplished by tendencies and eventually a current, conscious of the need to make a systematic study of the class struggle and the inevitability of its outcome. It is not true that this will reduce the Labour Party to a small circle of people with no support. It is a process in which the centralisation of Labour will become a leading centre, organiser and protagonist of the interests of the masses, and therefore it will be followed and supported by millions of people, including sectors of the 'bourgeois establishment' and of the army and police itself. When there is such a disintegration of imperialism on a world scale, it is not possible that a similar disintegration is not taking place in the heart of the state apparatus in Britain.

# THE LP AND THE INTERVENTION OF THE MASSES

The permanent crisis of the Conservative government and the formation of the Social Democratic Party, a break from the Labour Party, show the degree of the cracking of all the traditional structure of British politics. It is the end of the permanent consensus system, where capitalism could always look to the Labour Party as the reliable support to get the system out of difficulties. The overwhelming weakness of the capitalist system is not automatically registered in the appearance of a leadership prepared to overthrow it and with the necessary authority. Today, it is manifest that the system continues despite error after error, failure after failure: because the necessary leadership is in process of formation and there are a whole series of stages and transformations of the Labour Party before such a leadership will emerge.

Everything is determined not by events in this country but by the international class struggle — system versus system, Workers States versus imperialism. British imperialism, like all the other imperialisms, has to concentrate its resources on military expenditures to confront the Workers States — and the arms trade is an important export showing the uncreative character of the system. At the same time, the intense inter-capitalist competition demonstrates now that British imperialism is weak and incapable. The Thatcher experience, designed to impose a new regime politically and economically to strengthen capitalism, has failed completely. The effort to develop a strong regime prepared to confront the Workers States has led to a sharp differentiation in the Conservative Party itself, and the profound weakening of the most bourgeois sectors of the Labour Party. Hitler, in another period, imposed a policy which in part strengthened capitalism temporarily in the preparation to confront the Soviet Union. The circumstances favoured him but the line of Thatcher — which is an inevitable expression of the need of the central sectors of capitalism to prepare to confront the masses and the Workers States — fails to solve even temporarily any of the problems of capitalism and actually promotes profound rifts in the capitalist class itself. The new SDP does not strengthen, but weakens capitalism. It takes forces from capitalism, from the bourgeoisie not the masses.

A most important process of differentiation is in process in the Labour Party, and the separation of the Social Democrats is only the beginning of all this. The Healey-Shore sectors, in alliance with the most conservative sectors of the trade unions, are concerned above all to contain an objective process of discussion, and sabotage the process in the Labour Party by inducing a fear of the SDP. They try the old line of the need to accommodate to the middle sectors and not to frighten the electorate

with Leftist positions, but they are placed in a state of passivity by the objective situation. The Benn current is more open about the complete inability of capitalism to solve any of the problems and the need for an economy that answers to the needs of the population, but the means to secure this are kept totally within an electoral perspective coupled with a third road approach: that is, 'Britain' can be independent of the 'East/West' conflict. Other sectors, organised or not, are also present. Elements of the Trotskyist programme are kept in an atrophied form by the Militant Group allied to anti-Workers States attitudes with no conception of the need for a different type of Labour Party. The fact that 'Labour Weekly' published a demand for the abolition of the monarchy and that Labour MPs showed the desire to understand, and in part support, the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, all show a process which broaches, even if only indirectly, the need to discuss conceptions, ideas, principles of politics; rather than empirical and pragmatist counsels.

The process cannot remain only at the level of controlling MPs and submitting the Parliamentary Party to the Party based more on the trade unions. What is at stake is the need for a different type of Party. Socialism is not arrived at as a result of some Left political leaders winning votes and then passing legislation which gives Socialism to the population. There is no example of a Workers State being arrived at on the basis of the passive parliamentary vote, or, indeed, such a vote backed up by a few demonstrations. Where is there the example of this? It has been proved that nationalisations in a capitalist economy, carried out without the intervention of the masses, means a submission to capitalism. What is required is a Party which acts with the masses, which develops an internal life of Party schools to develop cadres, who do not live at the level only of parliamentary or local elections but develop a variety of links with the population in the factories and the workers areas. But this means a radical break with a conception of measures being taken for the population and not by the population. It means that the masses must be seen as a creative force who can exercise workers control.

Such a process is a prolonged one and the course of differentiation is determined by the rhythms of the whole process of the world revolution and the evolution, particularly, of the Communist parties. The reconstruction of the Party is going to involve a whole process of discussion of ideas which go outside the 'national' framework of, in or out of the Common Market, outside the separation of industrial and 'political' policies and the separation of Britain from the experience of the Workers States in the world.

Poland is going to have a powerful, if not immediate, role in all this. It shows how a population can move in the most profound way on the basis of a Workers State to liquidate backward sectors, without waiting upon decrees in parliament. The actions there raise the authority immensely of the Workers State, just as 1917 electrified the world when it gave the example — that it was possible to get rid of capitalism and not wait centuries on the unreal perspective that it could wither away by agreement. Poland is also an example of the vanguard weighing on its leadership to advance and respond to the needs of the population. All this will raise issues of the superiority of the Workers States over capitalism and the real nature of a workers' Party.

In the process that is occurring in the Labour Party none of the protagonists, at this moment, are offering any coherent explanation of what is happening, and what will happen. Why are there so many elements in the Parliamentary Party against the programme of Socialism? How did they get there? What is meant by democracy? Parliament or mass organisms and popular expression as in Poland? A great learning process is taking place in Poland, one which is entailed because the Party in Poland was bureaucratised and did not allow discussion, but now it is taking place. The discussion of ideas in the Labour Party has hardly begun. Much occurs in a piecemeal way, or not at all — for example, what is the thought on the plans of imperialism for Ireland and what do they portend? A conscious understanding and interest in ideas must accompany the interventions of the Party in elections and demonstrations. It is necessary to develop, on the basis of Poland, an ever greater security on the role of the Workers States.

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that the necessary organisms function in factories and places of work in which the selection of leaders is being made via the construction of cadres. Socialism is not a question of choice, determined by some leaders, but a necessity of the economy and society, for which a leadership (which does not allow 'everyone to speak', i.e. bourgeois opinion) arises to allow the working class to speak.

The struggle to expel Healy from the deputy leader position is correct and part of a clearance which it is necessary to make.

But one cannot just hope to remove him and his sector without broaching the problem of programme, policy and objectives. The sector of the trade union bureaucracy which supports the removal of Healy is quite correct, but it also tries to prevent a much greater up-

## ON FREUD

Freud felt the necessity of seeing the forces at work in the human mind, but he omitted — not with bad intentions but as a product of the relations which existed then — to open his own mind to the elements of dialectical analysis. The mind is the essential centre of life. It is the motor, the most important propeller, receiver and emitter, and also Freud fulfilled the function of emitter not receiver. This limited him. His intention was very good. He was a scientist, but he forgot that every scientist is a result and representation of an un-interrupted process of history. He omitted Marxism and the class struggle and, in omitting these two things, it is as if he had left the door shut. One of the essential problems which he dealt with, but very generally, was the problem of human anguish — which corresponds to a particular class and social level, while he analyses it as a

general problem — and he is not correct in this. He extends and generalises an observation which corresponds to a particular sector and sphere of society. In not seeing that society was divided into classes he took all the persons as equal, some better, some worse. His sentiment is correct, but not the method. Hence Trotsky thought highly of him, but showed that it was not possible to analyse in this way.

Freud could not foresee the Workers State and that, in the Workers State, people would be born who do not have the problems which exist in the capitalist system. Without there being a total transformation, the social base of the problems is not now the same. The residues of capitalist society remain but do not determine social behaviour; they are residues, nothing more.

J. POSADAS 4.11.80

heaval in which the workers would do the clearing up themselves, and not just leave it to a few leaders. Inevitably in that process, a whole right wing trade union sector is being rejected, and this upsets the balance in the bureaucratic links between the apparatus of Labour and that of the trade unions. This is why all the bureaucrats can be heard screaming, 'This is divisive!' This is because the process divides the ranks of bureaucracy, weakens them, and leaves the trade union bureaucrats alone, without the support of the workers. When the traditional form and structure of social democrats, some of whom have now departed. The process tends towards a deep and mighty unification, that of the political left of the Labour Party and the trade union and workers base, which is not just going to sit back and wait. It is well demonstrated in the actions of the miners, the continuous strikes against the government and the many victories against it, that the workers aren't going to 'leave it to parliament'.

## THE WORKING CLASS IS THE PROTAGONIST OF THE PROGRESS OF HISTORY.

The civil servants strike has much importance in this stage. There is no doubt that it is a sector, many of whom voted for Thatcher in elections but that will be won by Labour when it shows that the workers at the base of Labour have managed to give form to the anti-war, anti-nuclear bases, anti-state secrecy movements, and that a leadership emerges with Socialist solutions. Labour may then start to call itself something else, but the main thing is that it will receive the electoral and human support of millions. The changes in Labour will not lead to loss of votes, far from it. The civil servants have made a whole series of disruptions of

the state and military functioning and if the Labour Party left put itself at the head of such struggles it would receive an immense support, and many leaders know this. The anti-nuclear demonstrations called by Labour surpassed all their expectations and, in part, frightened a good many of them. But the base, which wants more intervention of the trade unions in Labour, which rejects the parliamentary dictatorship, feels secure and confident, because it sees what is being done in Poland. When MPs of the Labour Party went to Afghanistan and refused to see the heroes of the bourgeoisie, 'the rebels' who are against progress, they showed that there is a high level of penetration of the world and of ideas even in the top spheres of the apparatus

It is necessary to ask why don't we discuss Poland in the Labour Party? Why don't we discuss Afghanistan in public? Why not public meetings where all can speak, and the procedure of a party leader speaking for forty minutes and each person one minute is ended? This procedure is to stop people developing ideas and is a mockery which people will not put up with much longer.

In Poland the Communist vanguard is learning to build a genuine party that listens to them, and this is not a distant experience for Britain. The role of the trade unions cannot be stopped at the limits of parliamentary democracy. All this will demand political life, activity, meetings, publications — and we call on the comrades of the left to discuss this.

MANIFESTO FOR MAY DAY 1981

(Centre page ) INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT  
10th April 1981.

EDITORIAL

**For a united front of  
the LP and the trade  
unions overthrow the  
conservative government**

The confrontation of the two systems, capitalism versus the Workers States, has been expressed most dramatically in the last few days in the crisis over Lebanon. The tendency towards war is natural and inevitable with imperialism and situations like this can occur at any moment leading to world war. The fact that imperialism may be obliged to retreat or tremble on the brink of war, is not because the aggressive intentions of capitalism can in any way diminish, but they simply do not have the capacity to decide as they would like because the balance of world forces is decisively against them. The Polish workers can improve the functioning of the Workers States and dispose of a whole layer of leaders educated in conciliation with capitalism in the very margins of world conflict with the capitalist system. They have the confidence to do this while the leadership of world capitalism - as seen in the attempted assassination of Reagan - shows only disorder and indecision. The coming to power of Reagan has led to a situation similar to that of Carter's regime. The conflict with French and German imperialism augments as the latter seeks to maintain links with the Soviet Union and resists centralisation around Yankee imperialism. The latter has not been able to make any advance in El Salvador and if they try to draw closer to Saudi Arabia the visit of Ghaddafi to Moscow and diplomatic support given by Kuwait to Soviet diplomatic proposals over the Middle East shows that the authority and influence of the Soviet Union increases in all directions regardless of the manoeuvres of the Yanks. Similarly, Thatcher's visits - particularly to India - were social and political failures. Arms were sold to the Saudis but that is trivial in comparison with the unstable position of Yankee and British imperialism in relation to Saudi Arabia which is not able to make a consistent pro-imperialist policy in confrontation with the Soviets particularly after the experience of Iran.

SOLIDARITY WITH THE POLITICAL PRISONERS.

The effects of the election of B. Sands and his continued hunger strike - and we express complete solidarity with him and the prisoners denied political status by British imperialism - have weighed so much in Britain creating such a crisis for the government because these are actions which are part of a whole world process hostile to imperialism and capitalism and which deepen and extend the struggle against all forms of repression and the interests of capitalism. For capitalism the people who voted for B. Sands are all criminals because they want to be rid of everything British imperialism represents. Democracy on this view is not for such people, only for British imperialism. The fact that Benn has intervened to propose that Sands is allowed to take his seat as representative of his constituency is important in the sense that some minimum of support is given to Sands and thus breaking the policy of consensus and conniving with imperialism which still dominates the thinking of the leadership of the Labour Party. The Left should take an attitude of unequivocal support for the struggle of the Irish masses to be rid of British imperialism and incorporate Ireland in the programme of social transformations to eliminate capitalism in both Britain and Ireland.

As capitalism enters into its final phase of degeneration and decomposition its policy is one of increasing violence and repression. It has now made arrests in Northern Ireland, forbidden demonstrations in the London area, and in court procedure as over the Deptford killings intervenes to intimidate witnesses. All this is relatively limited compared with the velocity of the process on both the world-wide and national scale, but it shows that the capitalist state is preoccupied not with democratic rights or 'pluralism' but only with the survival of private property. The reality of the system as opposed to the parliamentary image created of itself is becoming more familiar in the Labour Party and this is going to accelerate the tendency to go beyond accepting the parliamentary structure as the limit of political life and activity. The Labour Party leadership of the unemployment march on May Day and its promise of further demonstrations is symptomatic of a process which we can predict is going to gather momentum. The end of the capacity of capitalism to satisfy even the minimum needs of the population obliges the Labour Party to take the lead

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**THE FUNCTION OF THE COMMUNIST VANGUARD  
IN THE PROCESS OF CHANGES IN POLAND.**

14 3 1981 J. POSADAS

*In all the Workers States, to a greater or lesser degree - much less in the Soviet Union - the process towards the disintegration of the old apparatuses cannot but take the form of the process in Poland. If there had been political life, discussion, congresses and meetings, meetings of cadres, it could have occurred in another way; then it would not have been linked to strikes and stoppages. The strike and the stoppage are means taken by the Communist vanguard to have the support of the rest of the workers to weigh in the Party; but not only for internal problems of the Party like that of changing the leadership, but on the general problems of the country and of the economy, and which they feel that they cannot solve in another way. Thus, they seek the support of the rest of the class and they exert a pressure on the Party for this in order to make changes.*

*In this pressure and mobilisation elements and people appear who have a will to combat, who realise the necessity of Socialism because they feel it, who see the function of the trade unions (they do not understand their historic function, but see it in the resolution of immediate problems), and make an alliance with the vanguard, like N. Walesa. Thus, the Communist workers, in order to have a bridge with the rest of the workers, establish a relationship with him. Walesa is not the result of a selection imposed by his political maturation, but of the political maturation of the world which is expressed in Poland in this stage, in which the Communist vanguard needs to make an advance, to impel the struggle to cleanse the Party which began in 1968 and which now finds these allies in order to do it.*

*This is not an empirical action pushed forward by independent people and without any experience. One of the erroneous attitudes that is bad and damaging (as in that of the ICP) is to write as if the workers of themselves have done this. But, if they had such political*

*maturation, why do not they say they want such a programme, such a policy and such a confrontation with capitalism. If they do one thing, they would have to do another. But the Communists (the Italian, for example: Edit. note) dominated by their objection to the centralisation of the world Communist movement, see the movement in Poland in a form far from reality. They see it with the aspiration of a movement which affirms eurocommunism or the empiricism and lack or anti-capitalist sense of the Communist movement which is eurocommunism; giving a slogan to expropriate this or that is not to be anti-capitalist, because capitalism when it needs to, expropriates and statifies. It's been done in Italy and also in France. Anti-capitalist means to see that there is no solution in the programme and leadership of the capitalist system. Thus, it is necessary to unite Party and trade union as a function of the leadership of society, with the programme of statification, planning and leadership in which the workers participate.*

*The workers vanguard in Poland is doing this. It is a vanguard which has still not had time to form itself. If there had been a previous process of political discussions, of full life and of Socialist democracy, there would have been time; but this has not been the case. Stalin existed up to 1953, Khrushchev up to 1964. The latter was not Stalin, but neither anti-Stalin. He kicked Stalin's portrait and threw him out so that people would forget him, but they forgot him also. Khrushchev was also given the boot and was sent to the museum of antiquities, which is closed every day.*

*It is from these conditions that the vanguard is being constructed and that have caused this process. Thus one cannot expect or make demands believing that this process is a symptom of another form of Socialism. It is the same vanguard of Stettin and Dantzig which, when in 1970 they received the in-*

*creases that they wanted - the Communist comrades must be reminded of this - answered that they did not want the increases for themselves but for the workers who earned less. It's the same vanguard when they say they want to get rid of all this gang of bandits. It's the same! Thus, it has not been a process of strikes against the Workers State, against the leadership for being of a Workers State, but one against the leadership which was against the Workers State; and the workers see it in this way.*

*Thus the vanguard is being educated and formed. It is absurd and anti-scientific to come to present a movement as a general movement of protest made by the workers, a movement in which the workers say their demands are to throw out twenty-six leaders. The average worker does not know who they are; it's the Communist militant who has the capacity to see this. At the same time, the formation of these came Communist cadres is very limited. It is not true that there has been time to form a new Communist Party; time is measured with the possibilities to develop the capacity, and in Poland first there was Stalin, and after that Khrushchev up to 1964. Where was there time? And then half, logically and scientifically, half of the resources of the Workers States were aimed to defend themselves from the capitalist system. Besides, the consequence of the period of Stalin and Khrushchev means that 80% of agrarian production is in private hands, and there was no need to do this. The bureaucrats needed this to create allies.*

*This stage of the revolution has received all this inheritance. Although the Soviet leadership was an accomplice and participated in all the previous policy of Stalin and Khrushchev and did not take important measures, it is a leadership which is learning to lead and to free itself from its limitation and weakness in the past; and to do this*

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# THE CREATION AND FUNCTION OF REVOLUTIONARY GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS.

This text on guerrilla movements is of great importance in understanding the character of war and social transformation resulting from the Revolution of October 1917. The victory of Stalingrad over the Nazi counter-revolution was a continuation and affirmation of the October Revolution and began the process whereby the balance of world forces favoured the forces of Socialism against capitalism. The text explains the historic experience of the Soviet Union in relation to the guerrillas and the repercussion of this, now and in the future.

The guerrillas did not originate with the outbreak of war against the Nazis. During the second world war the guerrillas originated with the anti-Nazi and anti-capitalist liberation movements of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. They were extended in 1943 after the Soviet Union had already communicated to the world in the triumph of Stalingrad over the Nazis the message 'this is the work of Lenin'. At Stalingrad the destruction of the Nazis began. The guerrillas in the second world war were directly linked to the struggle of the Soviets - it was not the initiative of any other country. The initiative came from the Soviets, and hence the impulse to the organisation of the anti-Nazi resistance movements.

The first guerrilla movement which developed in the second world war was not in Italy, France or Yugoslavia. It was in the USSR. Afterwards the guerrilla movement developed in Yugoslavia with Tito. This is the great historic value of Tito who, with a few people, formed the guerrillas but supported by the Soviets. Tito organised the guerrillas not to defend the country but to smash the capitalist fatherland and to construct Yugoslavia as a Workers State.

The guerrillas, with the social historic sense of social transformations, were formed and influenced by the Soviets. In Italy and France there were guerrilla movements of resistance to the Nazis, above all in Italy; but the resistance in Italy and France acted in the name of the bourgeoisie, although they had their effects particularly in Italy which, after the war, made very great progress compared with the Italy before the war. The Italian constitution contained a series of conquests which came from the struggle of the guerrillas. But the fundamental aspect of this process of the resistance movement is to understand that the defeat of fascism and nazism came about through the intervention of the Soviets, without which there would have been no guerrillas.

The guerrillas in the second world war did not arise from their own isolated conditions. They came after the triumph of the Soviets, and hence the 'four days of Naples'. This action was not created through the heroism of the guerrillas, who were very valiant but had few resources. It was a consequence of the fact that the Nazi army was collapsing, and it was after Stalingrad that the uprising of the guerrillas began, not before. 1)

The most important guerrilla movements began in the Soviet Union against the Nazis, in which the Nazis had millions of men and were surrounded. The German soldiers feared to walk five hundred yards from where they were because they did not know what they were

going to meet and saw that all the population was mobilised against them. The whole Soviet people was the enemy of the Nazis, and this gave the cultural and social basis for the creation of the resistance movement in all the other countries.

## THE SOVIET MASSES DEMORALISED THE NAZI ARMY.

The Soviet resistance produced some of the most moving events in the history of humanity. The mother with six sons dead from hunger kept food for those producing arms. These are scenes which were not shown in the theatre or films or in poems, but were the basis of the guerrillas; the actions of the children, the mothers, the fathers, the brothers and grandparents of the Soviet Union. If it was necessary to choose between eating a piece of bread or giving it to the guerrillas, they gave food to the guerrillas or to the soldiers of the Red Army without argument. There was hardly any water for people, but what there was was distributed fairly. It was necessary to help a wounded person lying a few yards from where the Nazis were, yet the children went to find him. The Nazi command were afraid of the influence of the Soviets on the German soldiers. The brother Soviets treated the German soldiers very well, and this was known to the German soldiers and hence they were not afraid to be taken prisoner. Many German soldiers wanted to be taken prisoner, and when they were captured it was a kind of going over to the Soviets because the Germans were fed up with the war. The conduct of the Soviet people before the Nazi army was expressed more clearly when, after the war, captured German soldiers taken by the population were given cigarettes and food. This was the absence of egoism by the Soviet people who, short of food themselves, gave to the prisoners. This had an enormous demoralising effect on the Nazi army because this was the conduct of the Soviet people during the whole of the war.

During the siege of Stalingrad an enormous number of German officers began to have doubts about the war as a result of their internal demoralisation. The Nazi command had to shoot officers who said 'what we are doing is social madness, we are going to kill a million men because the Soviet people is going to liquidate us'. The basis of this influence was the attitude of the Soviet people: mothers, children and grandparents who made demonstrations of human security, including help to the German soldiers. They did not treat them badly, and this demoralised the Nazi army internally because, at the same time as having such conduct, the Soviet people did not constrict the defence of the Soviet Union.

The resistance movement in the second world war originated in this experience of the Soviets. In Yugoslavia, Tito organised on the principle of the guerrilla movement, but he did it as a Communist.

Tito's life in the epoch as a guerrilla fighter had very fine aspects. At the same time, it is not true that the Soviets did not support Yugoslavia or did not intervene - the guerrillas were created by the Yugoslavs, but the Soviets intervened in their support; the intervention was made not only directly, but through actions close to the frontiers of Yugoslavia which forced the Nazis to move troops from one side to the other. The Soviet high command did this, it was not the initiative of Stalin. Stalin had differences with Tito, but the high command of the Red Army saw the military point of view and acted on that.

Tito received an immense support from the Yugoslav peasants, who supported the guerrillas even in conditions of very great poverty. But the triumph of Tito was the result of the existence of the Soviet Union. Tito, in turn, incorporated the boldness, the strategy, the military and political capacity of a small nation to confront both the Nazis and the internal bourgeoisie allied to the King, who were similar to the Nazis.

The base of the process of the guerrilla movements in the second world war was not love for country but love for the progress of humanity influenced by the Soviet Union and the guerrillas of Poland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Elsewhere Mao Tse Tung had already organised guerrillas in China, and the Great March is one of the greatest exploits in history. Independently of political differences with Mao, it is necessary to consider the facts and without the guerrillas of Mao there would be no Chinese Workers State today. It is possible to differ with Mao in all aspects but that was the situation: the guerrillas of Mao defeated British, Yankee and Japanese capitalism.

The guerrilla movement of Fidel Castro afterwards is also part of the most moving experiences of history, beginning with the fact that all the guerrilla leadership was formed from people of modest background: Guevara, Fidel and the others. The sons of the landowners, proprietors, business people were won for scientific understanding. The life which the Cuban guerrillas developed on the Sierra Maestra was beautiful as an expression of Communist sentiments. There were times in which they were surrounded, but the army of Batista was simply not animated to enter the sector held by the guerrillas, and this enabled them to escape. All these experiences which form part of the guerrillas, and in Europe it is not considered like this. In Italy they do not treat the Cuban experience as part of the guerrilla movement previously made in Europe.

The structure of the process of history has as a base the desire for

social progress, which is achieved through the means of social transformations. In the conditions of a country like China, for example, the land was seized; in the conditions of war land could be taken by the guerrillas. This means that it is not possible to speak of guerrillas in the abstract; it is necessary to define their historic function. The guerrillas had the basis of support and could develop because the objective was social transformations. Although at the beginning this was not proposed, the guerrilla movement throughout the world came to mean transformations. The guerrilla movement of Mao came from 1927 and everyone knew that the guerrillas meant social transformations - Fidel Castro in part based himself on Mao, but also on the military leadership of Trotsky and the Bolsheviks, although Castro himself had no notion of this. The Cuban guerrillas were not a movement made in the air as a mad escapade, but were based on these experiences.

The discussion on the guerrillas is important in order to understand how society is transformed. They are all movements to transform society and have transformed it. The guerrilla movement is no longer bourgeois. The guerrilla movement which wants bourgeois objectives, like the Unita movement in Angola, is counter-revolutionary with no value and no support. The Chinese who, after the Bolsheviks, are the most experienced in history in guerrilla warfare, wanted to make guerrillas against the Vietnamese and failed because they had no historic justification. Historic justification is the understanding of people who see the course of progress.

It is necessary to take the experience of the guerrilla, not as a contemplation of the past, as a recollection. Every historic process which has now passed, or which is going to occur, needs contemplation - but contemplation as the observation which organises. One contemplates in order to organise, not to be entertained or enjoy, but to observe, to organise. One should observe, contemplate and organise better the object being contemplated - that is the function of thought. It is necessary to look how events were and see if they could have been done better, not because things were done badly before but because conditions were different. If Trotsky were alive today he would so infinitely better than he did in the civil war, because now he would have a thousand guns whereas then he had only one, and a few bullets. Then the Bolsheviks were short of bullets and had to undertake the most audacious actions to get arms and bullets for war.

We analyse history to prepare ourselves for a continuation of this process that occurred with the second world war. Conditions are not the same as before, but historic bases support themselves on the same roots, which is 'popular' action to transform history. More and more the process becomes less popular, because it is organised by a leadership, but with popular support. The population intervenes and

the intervention in the guerrilla shows that all the population wants to intervene in social transformations. In the past the population was expropriated because the leadership, the Party, led and then expropriated the population: not because the existence of the Party was bad but it organised its activity badly and the population could not intervene because the apparatuses of the parties controlled them. But in the next war there will be no apparatuses which can contain the intervention of the population. It's enough to see the experience of the first and second world wars. The apparatuses have less and less opportunity, because the capacity of humanity increases the dimension of understanding, and thus there is greater consciousness.

When the children lead the revolution as in Nicaragua, in El Salvador, it is because the conditions are not the same as in the 'four days of Naples'. Today, all the children of the world have something 'neapolitan', but the Neapolitans were the sons of the children of the Soviet Union; that is to say, they were not properly 'neapolitan'.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF THE SOVIET UNION ELEVATES THE GUERRILLA MOVEMENTS.

Guerrillas have existed since the origin of humanity and developed afterwards. In Europe, one of the forms of the guerrilla movement was the very limited resistance of the peasants, and later of the bourgeoisie, in their struggle against feudalism. In Latin America, there were guerrillas against the Spanish and British occupation. But the guerrillas of today are not like that. Today the guerrilla movement means the struggle for social transformations which eliminate every form of property. The other guerrilla was to transfer property from one to another. Today it is to throw it out altogether.

The guerrilla movement is an indispensable movement of the progress of history. It can have many objectives, but the guerrilla movements who last in history are those who seek social transformation and represent the necessity of the population to progress. These are the guerrillas who remain important. Humanity in part created guerrillas because there was no other way of progressing. Wars are the methods of those who resolve the problems of the top sectors who dominate society. But the war of the Soviets was not the usual war. It was one of the forms of the revolution which was expressed in the defence or in attack by means of war to impel the revolution. Every guerrilla uprising or uprising through war is measured by the objectives which it has, not by a movement in itself. If it happens to be two capitalists we are against both, although for some historic reason, if such existed, it could be convenient to support one against the other, but convenience for the progress of history.

The progress of human history is made through the class struggle

either in the class struggle or in the struggle between the sectors of a class. From 1917 the war between the classes led to a war against the ruling class. This is one of the essential fundamentals of history in this stage and never proposed before. The existence of the USSR means a different stage of history compared with the epoch when it did not exist and, even with the existence of the USSR in 1939, the next war will be different to that period. The doubt over the result of the war of 1939 led Stalin to want to exert pressure on Tito so that he would conciliate with capitalism, and he did the same with Mao, but they both opposed him. Stalin made the Yalta and Tehran agreements in the name of the Soviet Workers State then. But the Soviet Workers State had to impel history, and this impulse led to the defeat of the capitalist system. The next war will be like this.

The second world war did not have as an objective the defeat of the capitalist system, but created and developed the inter-capitalist social contradictions and the bases for the antagonism of the Soviet Union with the capitalist countries. The population united with the Soviet Union and overthrew capitalism in Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. In the next war with all the atomic bombs which are launched, humanity is going to rise against capitalism; even the people who are victims of radiation who stay alive are going to be concerned to develop history and not stay shut in themselves, because humanity has already reached a level of consciousness that the progress of history is Socialism.

When guerrilla action is made in the name of reaction it's no longer a guerrilla movement but an armed band. The guerrillas are united to human progress. In the present stage, the historic significance of the guerrilla movement changes, because it has the Workers State as reference; the guerrillas begin and end there. Stalin did not propose in the second world war to extend the Workers State to other countries. But Trotsky foresaw that the war would do that. In the next war there is going to be a process of guerrillas, but a hundred times greater. In the next war which the Yanks are preparing, the population is going to organise the guerrillas instantaneously.

## THE GUERRILLAS ARE AN INSTRUMENT OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The experience of the guerrillas in Vietnam was a superior phase in the movement, including in relation to China. But one must have a high regard for the guerrillas of Mao, because China was one of the most backward countries where people had no rights, and Mao organised the guerrillas to transform the country. The guerrilla movement, on the basis of Vietnam, is now a combination of forms of guerrilla movement with a programme of social liberation; that is, the objective is no longer a guerrilla movement in itself but one of social liberation. For example, take two types of guerrillas, more or less like Vietnam or Algeria. In Algeria

the programme of social liberation came after with Boumediene and was not present at the beginning. Vietnam is represented by a leadership which took the method of struggle of the guerrillas because it did not have another form; it was not popular rebellion, but the form of social struggle, of social historical opposition which took the form of the guerrilla. It is different from Nicaragua and, in general, the other guerrilla experiences. From the beginning, in Vietnam the objective was social transformations.

The guerrilla movement is an indispensable part of human activity - the revolutionary guerrilla for social transformations. This is expressed above all in war, in uprisings of the population; the guerrilla comes from that. The next guerrillas in the next war will be the way in which revolutionary power will be expressed. But the most elevated form of struggle for human progress, whatever it may be, is concentrated in the Soviet Union. 1917 was the most elevated form of struggle which combined guerrilla, revolution and war and combined all the aspects because there was a political leadership which knew how to lead for the objective. This was a leadership which had the capacity to win an indispensable part of the enemy with persuasion. That is the behaviour of the population, the development of the revolution, the heroism of the workers and the objectives of the revolution deeply affected the consciousness of the soldiers who saw the appalling backwardness of Russia. The activity of the Bolsheviks was aimed at this.

The Czar, like Somoza in Nicaragua, wanted to maintain power by force and the imposition of military command, based on fear, on individual egoism and on the fear of the mother, the son, the father and the wife. But the result was that the son said, 'Yes, they are going to kill my mother, but then we will continue'. This reasoning of the son is not based on maintaining the mother, property or the sentiments of the mother and son, but the sentiment of the human being as part of humanity. Capitalism cannot understand this. In the next war which capitalism is preparing, millions of this type of behaviour will occur daily, in which people will be guided by human sentiments not by sentiments of the woman, son or father. It is not a question of abandoning them, but decision on the basis of the most elevated form. This is not reasoning taken in the family, but on the basis that it is necessary to change life.

J. POSADAS 1.3.1981

1) At the end of September 1943 the city of Naples was liberated from the nazis and fascists through a popular rebellion before the Anglo-American troops arrived,

## The struggle in Ireland and the anti capitalist united front

The election to parliament of the political prisoner, Bobby Sands, is a severe blow for British imperialism. Those masses who voted for Sands expressed their complete rejection of the values and power, not simply of British imperialism but of capitalism in general. The struggle of the Irish masses has its own particular conditions and traditions, but it forms part of the anti-capitalist spirit and preparation of the masses which is expressed in the movement of the youth in capitalist Europe and in Brixton and Bristol. The dignified and courageous struggle of the men and women Republicans imprisoned by British imperialism in Ireland demands expressions of support and solidarity from the trade unions and Labour Party. The Republican movement in Ireland may struggle in ways which come from the traditions of a previous historic period and, as such, these methods don't answer the present stage of the anti-capitalist struggle. However, they do struggle against imperialism and in circumstances where no leadership is given by either the trade unions or the Labour Party in Britain. If Bobby Sands and his fellow political prisoners become a focus - which they have done - for the masses in Ireland it is precisely because the Irish masses see no leadership from anywhere else. In any case, they act with courage and dignity and, in this stage of history, the hunger strike method is not an expression of pessimism. On the contrary, the actions of Bobby Sands - and the others - is a refusal to accept terrorism and repression. It is a willingness to face death and not to be frightened. They act with a confidence which comes from the masses of the world and the balance of social forces which favours the advance of humanity. It also comes - in a very direct form - from the confidence of the Irish masses which sees the weakness and crisis of British imperialism. The struggle in Ireland is not something isolated, in Ireland only, but the local expression of the consciousness and will to struggle of the masses on a world scale.

Even if the struggle in Ireland is taken on a very narrow basis, it demands a response from the trade union and the Labour Left. The

expulsion of a Labour MP from parliament for protesting against the 'repression of terrorism act' against the Left in Britain, shows that a sector of the Labour Left recognises the fact that British imperialism uses Northern Ireland as a base to prepare repression against the British masses. It is inconceivable that the Labour Party can continue to demand the removal of Yankee bases from Britain and not demand the removal of the bases of British imperialism from Ireland. Imperialism prepares for war, primarily against the main enemy of the capitalist system, which is the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States. However, it prepares for war also against the masses in the capitalist countries and, for British imperialism, Northern Ireland is part of this preparation for war. This means that the masses of Northern Ireland and the imprisoned Republicans who confront British imperialism are representing the interests and struggle of all the masses in the British Isles. They represent this even if it is not in a conscious form.

British imperialism recognises that it is not a problem of 'Ireland' in isolation. This is why the Thatcher government tries to make agreements with the government of the Irish Republic, even in conditions where it is almost impossible for the Irish government to make open agreements with British imperialism. This is not possible because of the anti-imperialist tradition of the Irish masses, and because a sector of the Irish bourgeoisie fears becoming even more dominated by British imperialism than it is already. At the same time the Irish bourgeoisie in general shares the same fear of being drawn closer into the war alliance with Yankee imperialism, as do the rest of the European bourgeoisie. This is why it remains outside of NATO. However, the willingness of the Thatcher government to talk of concessions to the Irish bourgeoisie over the heads of the Unionists in the North, and the response from the Irish bourgeoisie, come from a recognition that they need some kind of alliance against the masses. What British imperialism would like to do is to impose itself on the Irish

Republic, but this is impossible; if it were possible, it would never have conceded independence to the Republic in the first place. Indeed, capitalism has no solution to any problem in this final stage of its existence.

What draws the British and Irish bourgeoisie together is the recognition that the struggle in the North of Ireland is not simply anti-imperialist, but anti-capitalist. They take, as far as the world balance of forces allows, a common class position. It is necessary, then, for the forces of progress also to take a common position. In the Manifesto of the First of May, we stress the necessity of the United Front on an anti-capitalist programme in the whole of the British Isles. In Britain, the Labour Party is the determining centre for the masses, but in Ireland this is not the case. There is no historic possibility of constructing a Labour Party, on the lines of the British Labour Party, in Ireland and there is no historic necessity to do so. However, the initiative for the United Front has to come from the Labour Left and the trade unions. Expressions of solidarity and support for the political prisoners in Northern Ireland could be a first step in this direction. Anyway, it would be just and correct for the Labour Left and the trade unions to mobilise, to put pressure on the Tory government to save the life of Bobby Sands. These actions would be correct in themselves, but they have to be seen also as a first step in the construction of a United Anti-capitalist Front in the British Isles. In this process the trade unions have a prime role since they have a better organisation than the Labour Party, and a much greater base in the working class. The trade union programme for Ireland has little value if it remains on the

level of vague aspirations. What needs to be done is to link anti-capitalist demands with the actual struggle and mobilisations which are going on at the moment. At the same time, there has to be the widest possible discussion, in the factories and workplaces, in the workers districts, in Britain and Ireland, on all this.

## The origins of the present counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State.

Title by the Editorial Board

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

BCM BOX 6220, LONDON WC1V 6XX

## changes in Poland

means to cleanse the bureaucratic apparatus and proceed — one of the most complete forms of eliminating the bureaucracy — to eliminate on a world scale the capitalist system that offers points of support to bureaucratic functioning.

This process is happening in Poland. The workers are learning to lead and feel enough security in the world to make this resolution.

At the same time, there is a very great number of bandits — as there were in the Soviet Union — like Solzhenitsyn who was the spoiled darling of the bureaucracy. It shows what an apparatus they had. This has happened in only five to ten years. The Polish Communist workers see that they have this apparatus and are winning the Polish Catholics to support them. It is the Polish workers vanguard which has won the Catholic Polish people to this objective, including the priests, i.e. 'Go forward with God, but this is the situation'.

This is what is happening in Poland and the Italian Communist

Party do not understand. They do not see the process of the formation of the Communist leadership which does not have fixed stages — agreed — but the coming of the war is already fixing limits to the time and stages. This is because capitalism is preparing war, and the more it does, the more the Soviet Union is going to the Left. It's enough to see that the historic and social base is neither bureaucratic nor one of private management, but Soviet. If imperialism had been able to continue the epoch of prosperity, the Soviet bureaucracy would have continued as before. But, at the same time, the maturing of the revolutionary world movement also would have overthrown it. Stalin did not fall because he fell downstairs, but he was killed because he was unnecessary in history. Hence, in the history of the Soviet Union no one discusses what happened with Stalin, simply 'he died'. And how did he die? He died. But... it seems that they killed him. Look, he died. The important thing is that he died. There is the certificate which said he died. And of what did the doctor say he died? 'Not necessary in

history'. The bureaucrat reads this and then leaves it in silence and goes away.

The process is very rich because this stage of history concentrates a series of conclusions from the end of the cycle of history, the end of private property and also the development of the beginning of the end of the bureaucratic apparatus. Even if the bases are suppressed which give rise to the bureaucracy, the structure still remains. The bases which caused the bureaucracy do not exist, they were destroyed; but the structure exists, and the proletariat was not able to educate itself. Thus the bureaucratic apparatus is, and has strength and capacity, because it is an apparatus which is structured in the previous process, while the proletariat can't simply make a new structure. But the important aspect to assess is that the proletariat does not yield, is not afraid, is not on its knees, accepting the apparatus as fate and an evil which it cannot impede. On the contrary, see the force which is unfolding and the depth of the process which is developing in Poland.

J. POSADAS 14 March 1981.

## Poland and the advance of the workers states

The Polish experience shows the great advance of the process of political revolution in the Workers States. It has taken particular forms in Poland, including the smashing of the old trade union centres, but all this has come about since the increased elevation of the Soviet Union in participating in the process of the world revolution. The original intervention of the Soviets in Czechoslovakia typified the change in the attitudes of the Soviet leadership. In intervening against the Czechoslovakian conciliators with capitalism the Soviet leadership was announcing its preparation to break links with capitalism both on the external and internal planes.

The historic depth of the structure of the Soviet Workers State even in the face of an extensive and privileged caste, has provoked a differentiation in the Soviet bureaucracy which has been obliged to adapt itself more and more to the process of the world revolution. The process in Poland brings out the difficulties for the present Soviet leadership — arising from its past education — to provide a clear and consistent political explanation both to determine events in Poland and to influence the world vanguard. On the other hand, it supports the progressive aspects in Poland. The prolonged process in Poland is because there is no firm leadership adjusted to the needs of the Workers State. The Communist cadres have to learn en route and, in the course of the process, there are all manner of elements in the

Party apparatus and linked to the apparatus who endeavour to utilise the process to contain and divert the struggle in channels to try to weaken the structure of the Workers State, by forms of self-management, and containing any forms of complete Soviet democracy.

But, in spite of these complications, the process in Poland has great significance for all the Workers States, including the Soviet Union. The bureaucratic functioning, particularly in China and the smaller Workers States, for example in Eastern Europe, is more and more in conflict with the objective course of human history, the change in relations in the Workers States themselves and the system versus system character of the world process. The crisis in Poland has unmasked the depth of bureaucratic functioning in the smaller Workers States — also the case in China — and its irrelevance and lack of justification in the world as it exists. It is true that the bureaucracy objectively lacks the malignancy of a previous epoch. It is a tumour which can be removed with capable surgery, not one which could endanger the very existence of the Workers State as with Stalin. The bureaucracy continues to exist as an inert element in the dynamic growth of the Workers State, or it contains the Workers State.

It is of especial importance to see the possibility to eject the bureaucracy with a minimum of force. To reach this stage has re-

quired a whole series of processes. 1970 in Poland meant violence, but the elevation of the Workers State has allowed a far more healthy and profounder process than ten years ago. In itself, the Soviet intervention originally in Czechoslovakia was a part of the process of political revolution eliminating the most conciliatory sectors of the bureaucracy, although the process is not complete.

It is necessary to expect more disturbances in the Workers States which will lead to a purging of the parties and trade unions, and a tendency to improve centralised planning of the economy and to allow a greater weight from the masses. The recent uproar in Yugoslavia at Kosovo exhibited aspects of regionalist localism which has resulted from bureaucratic functioning and is symptomatic of the need to cleanse the Yugoslav Workers State, to finish with the type of self-management which encourages separatism and the weakening of the Workers State.

At the same time, it is important to take account of the cumulative effect of these and the whole world process in the situation in China. The stupidity of this particular bureaucracy is not the same weight on the proletarian vanguard as in the past. For one thing, it has registered a series of failures which undermine the position of the bureaucracy, if this is partly masked by the domination of the apparatus of Deng Xiao Ping. It has proved impossible to sustain

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against the system. The fact that the most respectable, by capitalist standards, of MPs were obliged to heckle Prior, the Tory employment minister, outside the Houses of Parliament shows the enormous extra-parliamentary pressure which is building up against capitalism. The expression of this is still very limited compared with necessity, but what is important is that the process has begun. It is absurd that on May Day neither the Labour Party nor the unions co-ordinated to mobilise a massive anti-capitalist demonstration, and that is the result of fears and resistance in the apparatuses, but this is to be expected and it will not continue like this.

### CAPITALISM HAS TO BE ELIMINATED.

It is becoming clearer and clearer — not least to many of the electoral base of the Conservative Party — that the capitalist system is totally incapable of satisfying the needs of the population. The fact that Conservative MPs voted with the Labour Party against the government and the permanent divisions in the Conservative leadership is a measure of the process of the termination of capitalism.

The process of slump continues throughout the capitalist world and the conditions of life will continue to deteriorate. It will continue so long as capitalism exists. But there is no despair in the population. If there were capitalism would find the forces for repression, but it cannot because the population sees that there is another alternative — the Soviet Union, Poland and the Workers States where there is progress, and if there are problems there is a perspective of solution. Under capitalism there is no solution to anything, only violence, corruption and a cretinous distortion of the truth over everything.

More and more the Labour Left is feeling the effects of the world. The process in Northern Ireland all helps to break the shell of insular politics played according to capitalist norms. The events in Poland are a clear proof of the ability of the Workers States to advance and destroy all the capitalist mythology about a Stalinist Soviet Union. On the contrary it is the 'Stalinists' who are being ejected and a new leadership developed. The Left in the Labour Party is in a better position to take audacious steps to further the political life and the concrete orientation of the Party. It is necessary to call meetings and schools to discuss the process in the world, to discuss Poland, the changes in the Soviet Union, the need to develop a Party that is harmonised with the needs of the population. Every demonstration should have a clear programmatic conclusion. At one time some of the trade union leaders were highly concerned about Poland, then it all stopped. Why? Did it not go according to plan? But the Labour Party and the unions should develop a consistent discussion, not just pick things up and then drop them according to the whim of some functionary or other. Ireland should be consistently discussed. On what basis can there be any consensus with capitalism over Northern Ireland? This requires a consistency from the Left, and this will come.

At the demonstration in Liverpool on May 1 over the unemployed the term 'social transformation' was used frequently. This shows that there is a conscious understanding of the need and possibility to get rid of capitalism. This can be translated into action by the forces of the Left in the Labour Party becoming much more audacious, affirming boldly the necessity now of workers control and popular committees, the imposition of anti-capitalist demands by occupations and mass mobilisations, including general strikes, the need for a united Labour/trade union front to impose anti-capitalist demands such as wages to keep pace with the cost of living, public works for the unemployed, and a united front with the Irish masses North and South, breaking the separation of struggles. The association of these demands with the mass movements for the rejection of atomic weapons are the basis for a massive struggle to destroy the government and finally destroy the capitalist system.

1 5 1981

Pol Pot or contain the world revolution. The attempt to destroy the opposition from the Left through the trial of the 'gang of four' failed and, after systematic efforts to eliminate the authority of Mao Tse Tung associated with the founding of the Workers State and the cultural revolution, the army has reasserted the role of Mao Tse Tung. The present clique has been obliged to contain the Rightist dissidents. The most megalomaniac schemes to super-industrialise China, to build it up to a 'great industrial power', a symptom of the most vulgar nationalism, have already crashed. The crisis is going to deepen quite rapidly and the Deng clique is in a weakened position. The appearance of elements among the youth demoralised by the lack of functioning of the Workers State, associated with efforts to decentralise the economy, are pointers to the failure in the capacity of the bureaucracy. The bureaucracy tries to utilise the weight of the peasantry and the lack of political life to weigh against the creation of a Party with a life but as with Poland — and the Polish bureaucracy had similarly megalomaniac plans for the economy — the Chinese bureaucracy is not safe from the world. It has tried to reduce Marxism to Confucian pieties and peasant proverb but the events in Poland show that the Communist vanguard, despite the cultural retrogression meant by Stalinism, can learn en route to construct a new leadership and gain the support of the working class to re-organise profoundly and cleanse the Workers State. That is an historic gain which will weigh profoundly in China and facilitate the liquidation of the bureaucracy there, as part of the total regeneration of the Workers States.

# Manifesto for the First of May 1981



MANIFESTO FOR THE FIRST OF MAY 1981

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

## THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

The crisis which the world situation produced in the Communist parties and the necessity for a world united front have to be taken, on this First of May, as a fundamental part of the present stage and development of the confrontation, system against system. A United Front must be made with all the workers parties, the nationalist, popular, progressive movements, beginning from local united fronts impelling the struggle for national and social liberation against the capitalist system.

Poland is an example of the progress of history. In Poland, and in all the Workers States (Socialist countries), there is in train a process of preparation and development of leadership which puts order into the advance to Socialism. If there are contradictions on this road, they are not produced by the system of the Workers States but by the leaderships. These contradictions are the product of the gap which exists between the Workers States and the social regime they develop, and the leadership which does not respond to the necessity of the Workers State. The problem in the capitalist system is another one entirely, because all the capitalist leaderships are the direct expression of the capitalist system. In capitalism, the system itself is responsible for the problems, but in the Workers States it is the leadership which has to be changed and is being changed, as much in the USSR and Czechoslovakia as in Poland.

The most important events of history are constituted, in every shape and form, by the principles of social progress which - from the smallest to the most elevated - all represent anti-capitalist progress. Capitalism is preparing the war, but it cannot do it when it likes, as it likes, and where it likes. Imperialism seeks to unify the whole of the capitalist system under its leadership. It attempts to do this in an attitude of desperation, in order to contain the progress of the world Socialist revolution, but it makes this preparation in the midst of the greatest contradictions of the regime, and in the face of the flood-tide of the process of the liberation of the world masses. The masses of the least cultural level, and those of the greatest, tend to unify among themselves because the road to progress is the anti-capitalist struggle; this is what unites them. The liberation movements are not, in the strictest sense, simply movements of national guerrillas. They are both guerrilla movements and revolutionary armies dedicated to social transformations.

This is the Front of the progress

of history. It is the Workers State which stimulates, impels and organises the resolution, decision and programme to progress of any movement in any part of the world. Moreover, this progress can only be achieved through social transformations. This is why everyone - from the six-year old child to the 90 year old man or woman - intervenes equally in the struggle and they participate as humankind and not simply as members of a family. They do not abandon the family but their conduct is determined by their consciousness of participating as part of humanity. This can be seen in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Africa, in Ethiopia or Madagascar. There can be seen how the process develops towards the progress and unification of humanity. There are no progressive movements of any kind in the world, from the 'Greens' (Ecologists) to the Communist parties themselves, which do not seek anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united fronts. They all have to end up in adopting the programme of the anti-capitalist struggle. This means that they are led to measure, to observe, to judge movements and countries according to programme and objectives. It is true that method of struggle and forms of struggle are important, but they are secondary in comparison with programme and objective, which is what - in the last instance - decides the methods and forms of struggle. All this demonstrates that the world wants to progress, and that from Africa and Asia to Latin America, they progress by unifying themselves with the example of the revolution of 1917.

Moreover, this phenomenon has to be discussed in the world Communist movement, in all the Communist parties of the world. There is no impediment to prevent them from criticising the USSR or its leadership if they choose to do so, but they must discuss, however, that progress has to be anti-capitalist. There is no progress in the world which is not anti-capitalist. Any crisis at all in capitalist countries, like Britain or Italy, is determined by the crisis of the system itself, and the capitalist system has no solution. There are no longer any lifts which would allow capitalism to rise higher... The lifts which exist in history today are of no use to the capitalist system because they are outdated. The way in which to get higher today is with Soviet rockets, which are both more rapid and know where they are going.

Appeals have to be launched to the Communist parties, to the Communists, Socialist and Left movements, to the Greens (Ecologists) and revolutionary movements, to unite for social progress on the

basis of the programme and objectives of anti-capitalist struggle. Appeals have to be made for a united front of all the anti-capitalist movements against the war which imperialism is preparing. Appeals for the development of the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle and appeals to the North American and Japanese peoples. We call for the trade unions of the Workers States, of the USSR, of Poland, of Nicaragua and those of all the world, to make appeals to the trade unions of the United States for a struggle against North American capitalism. They should condemn those who dedicate hundreds of thousands of dollars to sabotage Poland, whilst this money could be used to make North America progress. Let them look at the example of the Soviet Union, Poland and of the other Workers States where the masses are free to discuss, to intervene and to learn how to construct the Workers State. In this way, the masses of the Workers States are progressing on the basis of discussions, and superseding, expelling and casting aside bureaucrats and camarillas which the Workers State has to get rid of. These (bureaucracies) are the result of the state of backwardness in which historically the Workers States were born. This backwardness is not just an economic problem but it means also a political backwardness of the leaderships. However, in North America they murder presidents! In North America they resort to killing presidents in order to solve their problems, whilst in Poland they have not killed anyone.

This shows the stage of history which we are in. It is not a stage in which there is the perspective of years of progress, but a stage of final decisions. To make any country progress a United Front is needed - which proposes nationalisations and planning - of the workers, Communists, Socialists, radicals, ecologist movements. This United Front must declare that the progress and maintenance of the economy, of either Italy, France, Britain or Germany, cannot be made at the cost of the workers. There is no need at all for it to be this way. On the contrary, it is capitalism which cannot resolve any problem and this is proved by the crisis which can be seen from Germany and Japan to North America and Italy, in the capitalist system. There can be no solution or arrangement inside the capitalist system. This is why the call has to be made for a United Front with a programme of anti-capitalist struggle, and of unity with the Workers States. We appeal for the Communist parties of the world to make a United Front with the Communist parties of the

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The events in Britain, the rebellion of the masses against the power and values of capitalism form part of a world process. The intervention of the population against the police - and the army - in Londonderry, Belfast, Britain and Bristol are an attack on the power of the capitalist state and they have to be seen in a world context. This world context is one of confrontation between two social systems, that of capitalism and that of the Workers States. The youth on the streets of Londonderry or Brixton and the civil servants who disrupt, with strike action, the war preparations of British imperialism express a consciousness that capitalism, as a system, is incapable of solving any problem or of fulfilling the needs of the masses and that the Workers States socially, politically and economically are superior. This consciousness is part of the consciousness of the world masses. The massive demonstrations in capitalist Europe, in Switzerland, Germany and Holland against the shortage of housing and against the war preparations of imperialism, are all part of this world process. The persistence of the strike actions of the civil servants, which is directed against the present Tory government, maintains itself, even in the absence of a massive intervention of the working class, because the masses of this country, as those of the world, recognise the problem is the capitalist system, and they are prepared to move against it.

If this Tory government hasn't been removed before now it is because of a lack of leadership from the Labour and trade union centre. The world balance of forces which is favourable to the advance to Socialism and the leadership of the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union, encourages the working class and the masses, even if the leadership of the Workers States is not expressed in a concrete political and programmatic form.

The result of all this has been the changes in the Labour Party, the moving of the balance of forces to the Left, which is represented by the election of Foot as party leader. In the last period, the leadership of the Labour Party has appeared at the head of mobilisations, like the demonstration in Glasgow in a way not previously seen. It is a response to a process of struggle which demands a leadership which is clear, conscious that the problem is the capitalist system and with an anti-capitalist programme to oppose it.

The events in Northern Ireland, with the election of the political prisoner, Bobby Sands, to parliament is, in its depth, not simply an anti-imperialist struggle but an anti-capitalist manifestation. It expresses the anti-capitalist spirit of the masses, even if the form of the struggle comes from a previous historic period. The struggle in Ireland forms part of the response of the masses to the final and total crisis of capitalism, and the masses are encouraged in the struggle by the existence and progress of the

Workers States. The comparison is being made, even if it doesn't find a conscious expression at this moment, between the way in which the Polish masses are able to advance their country towards Socialism without violence and repression and the way in which capitalism responds to any problem with violence, repression and war preparations.

It is a process which demands a much greater response from the left which is growing and advancing in the Labour Party. If the struggle in Ireland becomes such a focus of attention, it is not because of the programme of the Irish Republican movement but because the will and desire to struggle exists amongst the masses and seeks expression. We are not dealing with a 'racial' or 'national' problem or one confined to Ireland, but a situation of anti-capitalist struggle.

There is no objective reason why the present Tory government, riddled with internal struggles and contradictions, in a process of constant retreat and opposed by the mass of the population, should continue to exist. It is this situation to which the Labour Left has to respond. It is necessary to take the anti-capitalist programme which the Labour Party has adopted and to put it at the head of the mobilisation of the masses; in the demonstrations, in the struggles against the police, in the strikes. There is no necessity to wait for another election before tackling the Tory government and the measures which it is taking against the population.

The masses and the process itself are exerting a pressure on the Labour Party, but it is not a question of drawing the masses into membership of the Labour Party as it stands. What is necessary is a United Front of all the forces, from those who protest against nuclear weapons or the damage which capitalism does to the environment, to the movement in Ireland. It has to be a United Front based on an anti-capitalist programme and on the conclusion that all the problems which the masses face stem from the continued existence of capitalism.

We call, on the First of May 1981 for a United Front, Labour / trade union, Communist Party, the left groups and the 'anti-nuclear' movements based on a struggle to overthrow the present Tory government and prepared to implement with the direct intervention of the masses, an anti-capitalist programme to deal with the lack of housing, unemployment, the decline in social and health services. In particular, it has to be a United Front which includes the masses of Ireland - and the trade unions have a particular role in this - and which says clearly that the problem of Ireland cannot be solved in isolation or within the confines of the capitalist system. There needs to be expressions, particularly from

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Workers States: a United Front of Socialist, Communist, Radical and Left movements, with the Left Liberal movements and the Ecologists is also needed. This has to be on the basis of the programme of social progress in every country, to form part of the fulfilment of the national necessity for social progress. It has been proved already that none of this will be done by capitalism, which is preparing for war instead. The installation of missiles in Europe, in common with all the preoccupations of imperialism, is intended to organise a base from which imperialism can prepare itself secretly against the system of the Workers States.

In Poland, there is not a process of rebellion of the workers against the Workers States, but rather a process - and an outbreak of process - on the same lines as Dantzig and Stettin, to put order into the functioning of the Workers State and to develop a leadership that responds more directly, or directly, to the necessities of the progress of the masses and of the Workers State. All this process in Poland is to make the Workers State progress. There is not one demand put forward by the Polish workers, or by the workers of any other Workers State, to return to capitalism! Far from it! Any demand put forward by the workers there is to impel the Workers State. But those put forward by the workers of the capitalist countries support the struggle against the capitalist system. This is the judgement which the Communist leaders must make. These are the criteria and conception which must animate the Communist, Socialist and Radical leaders when they make a judgement. It is not a problem which can be solved by criticisms or dissent against a lack of liberty. In reality it is the stage of confrontation, system against system, in which what allows an advance is the road of the construction of a new Socialist society.

A United Front of all the Communist parties with the Workers States is necessary. Let the Workers States - the USSR in particular - launch appeals to the masses of the United States, and stimulate them to make demands for the elevation of their standard of life in the United States, and to end the massacre which is being made of Black Children, following the massacres that have been made of Black adults. Today, in the United States, they have descended to the level of murdering Black Children and this illustrates all the degeneration of the ruling layers of North American imperialism.

An appeal has to be launched to China. A public and open discussion should take place on the problem of the crisis in China and in Yugoslavia, as well. These are the problems of the construction of the Workers State, problems of the construction of the leadership of Socialism. They are certainly not problems of any sort of crisis or corruption of Socialism. It has to be seen that it is a matter of constructing leaderships for a new society entirely, and that this construction has to be made in the face of the war preparations which the capitalist system is making. Moreover, the Workers States also have

to correct all the previous defects - particularly those from the epoch of Stalinism - in order to progress now in the construction of Socialism. Thus, at the same time as an appeal is made to discuss the political barbarism of the Chinese leadership, which makes an alliance with the capitalist system against the progress of the world revolution, the USSR, Vietnam and the other Workers States, an appeal has to be made for them to finish with this policy.

All this must be discussed in the world Communist movement, which must also formulate a programme for the anti-capitalist struggle in each country. They must call for a United Front of Communists, Socialists, Left Radicals and Ecologist movements, as part of the world United Front for anti-capitalist struggle.

This stage of history has proved that all the fundamental conquests that have been won are due to the existence of the Socialist countries which determine the progress of history. The continued existence of backwardness, all the retreats in history and in life, are due to the existence of the capitalist system. This means that it is necessary to seek the incorporation of the North American masses into all the struggles. One has to be concerned to make appeals to them. We appeal to the trade unions of the Workers States and to those of the large capitalist countries to hold public and anti-capitalist debates. This process will reach the North American masses. We call on them to make appeals to China to sever its links with the capitalist system. Calls have to be made to the Chinese government, the trade unions and masses of China, to intervene to stop the leadership making an alliance with the capitalist system against the system of the Workers States.

There must be appeals of the Workers States, and the Soviet Union in particular, to support all the revolutionary movements; and, whilst it is fully justified to make anti-bureaucratic criticisms in judgement of the Workers States, it is also necessary to support the Soviet Union in all the developments which it has allowed in the revolutionary struggles. There must be more measures of public and anti-capitalist discussion in all the Workers States, China included. These measures will clearly demonstrate that it is the capitalist system which feels moribund, and not the Workers States. The crisis of capitalism is so deep that it reaches all its component parts, This is expressed by the level of competition between the capitalist countries of Europe and Yankee imperialism. This competition is, essentially, political rather than economic. Inter-capitalist competition motivates massive rows and struggles amongst all of them. It motivates struggles which are expressed in the form of disputes, assassinations and crimes against each other. The blowing-up of the Yankee 'Radio Free' station in Munich is an instance of this.

The depth of the class struggle and inter-capitalist competition is highlighted in Europe where French and German capitalism try to make

a front of resistance to the pressure of the Yanks, who would like to launch them against their will against the Soviets. Moreover, in each capitalist country there is a process of crisis of the system, which leads to a new recession. It is clear that they will try to make further attacks on wages, trade union and political rights. Capitalism intends to do this; but it is in conditions where it does not have the strength to succeed. We are not in 1939! Today, there is the system of the Workers States which constantly feeds the struggle of the masses of the world and fuels the anti-capitalist struggle. No doubt, capitalism will try - but it will not, and cannot, impose itself on the masses. Poland is an example to the masses of the world, because they see that in Poland it is a problem of political leadership, but in the capitalist countries it is a problem of social structure and antagonisms.

The fuss which imperialism has made over its space 'shuttle' is part of this. However, the masses see the difference between the way imperialism resolves problems and the way they are resolved in the Workers States. In the Workers States they are broaching the problems that arise out of progress, rather than the problems that stem from one expropriating from another. They solve them by separating leaders (from the function of leadership), by simply casting them aside and not by shooting or murdering them. At the same time, all that it is possible to do has not yet appeared, but this is the general line. What there is in the Workers State is a cleansing, whilst in the capitalist system it is all murder and crime.

The launching of the space 'shuttle' is part of imperialism's competition with the Workers States. It was done by imperialism to try to gain some authority over the rest of capitalism, over the scientists, and over the culturally educated sectors of the population. It was only done to try to gain authority. Regardless of the fact that the launching and return of the astronauts was successful, it was done for the purpose of competition, and capitalism is incapable of doing any better. In fact, all this was done to prepare negotiations between themselves rather than to advance humanity. The Workers State, for its part, does these things to impel, to educate and to prepare the conditions for the elevation of human relations with the Cosmos. And this has nothing to do with the problem of negotiations, commerce or war. Also, the delay in the launching of the Yankee 'Shuttle' was not explained by the reasons they gave; indeed it was the result of their lack of preparation, together with a fevered panic produced in them by the competition of the Workers States. This competition of the Workers States is what goads imperialism into trying feverishly to appease, deviate or contain the criticisms which come from North American public opinion; it is to appease the criticisms of the petty bourgeoisie, and even the upper layers of the proletariat, who see the inferiority of imperialism. In other words, the depth of this enterprise was an attempt to reassure the North American petty bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie.

If, in this stage of history, the existing regime - capitalism - prevailed, then the liberation movements would not be anti-capitalist but would try to develop capitalism instead. However, the reality is far from this, and any movement - whatever its nature, whatever the means at its disposal - seeks the opposite of capitalism. This highlights the fact that the course of history has already taught the poorest and most backward masses of the world that progress is done through the struggle for Socialism. History has taught them that Socialism is not achieved by asking permission, but rather that it has to be imposed: and this means to expropriate the ruling capitalist layers which itself had expropriated the peoples of the world. Thus, it is necessary to show this unity which exists between movements of lesser or greater social importance and weight. They are all unified in the anti-capitalist struggle, in the way in which progress develops.

We call for this to be discussed in all the Communist parties, and for the Communist parties to animate an internal political life with a process of constant discussions and literary preoccupation. We call on them to be preoccupied and to intervene about China, Albania and Yugoslavia. We call on them to make appeals for anti-capitalist struggle, and for the opening up of a discussion in the world Communist movement, which poses that imperialism is preparing for war. We call on them to draw the conclusion that it is necessary to prepare a movement of anti-capitalist struggle to cut across the war preparations which are being made by a sector of imperialism. We call

on them to discuss the fact that even though imperialism may well launch the war, it does not have the strength to impede the development of the revolution. In this way, the movement stops being determined by what imperialism does or does not do, and it demonstrates that we don't have to wait until capitalism has launched the war to call for the stimulation of the revolution. In fact, it is already demonstrated that the revolution has well proven that it can advance in spite of capitalism.

Appeals must be launched by the Workers States for them to conduct a better democratic trade union struggle and a better Socialist democratic life. They must animate meetings and discussions. The trade unions, the workers centres, the Party cells, the regional committees must all hold public debates and meetings in which all the problems are discussed. They must hold meetings in which Poland, China, imperialism are discussed, where an interchange of ideas in full plenaries can be seen to take place publicly. It must be seen that there is the right for every one to participate, to speak and draw anti-capitalist conclusions. All the masses of all the Workers States must intervene and make appeals to the masses of the world, particularly to those of North America. It may very well be that, for one reason or another, the Soviets will not do this right away, but this task has to be done all the same. Calls must be launched for support to the masses of El Salvador, to the struggle of the masses of all the small countries, as well as those of the larger countries, which struggle for national and social liberation, be it in Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

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the Labour Left, of solidarity with the political prisoners and the masses in Ireland, coupled with an anti-capitalist programme and proposals for anti-capitalist struggle. The perspective has to be for a Socialist Republic of the British Isles.

The process is not confined to the boundaries of the British Isles and the essential centre for the advance of humanity is the Workers

States Therefore, as the International Secretariat of the Posadist IV International stress, the necessity is the anti-capitalist United Front and the alliance with the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union. The support given by three Labour MPs to the soviet intervention in Afghanistan shows that the conditions are ripe for this in the country in general and in the Labour Party and trade unions.

- CLOSURE OF ALL NUCLEAR BASES
- OUT OF NATO
- FOR THE PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION
- FOR A UNITED FRONT OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AND A MOBILISATION OF THE POPULATION TO THROW OUT THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS .
- UNIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH MASSES UNDER A COMMON ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND
- FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE BRITISH ISLES

# The policies of the Soviet Union undermine the war preparations of imperialism

The mass of the population in Europe and in this country measure the Soviet Union against capitalism and grasp its superiority. When the capitalist press has to give so much importance to the Italian mother whose son died because of the contempt for life, the stupidity and social impotence of capitalism, it is because capitalism feels condemned and seeks to justify itself. The masses feel, too, that the troops should be withdrawn from Ireland. When they are told that the letter of the Soviet leadership to the Polish Communist Party was a threat, an interference and a military warning, the masses nevertheless see that the Soviet Union seeks to convince by means of letters, arguments, explanations and appeals, they compare this with the Yankees decision to raise their interest rates to impose themselves against the European bourgeoisies, without any attempt at trying to convince anybody. The law of the strongest reigns in capitalism; in the Soviet Union it is the law of reason, which calls for a conduct of explanations and attempts at convincing others. The reply which the Soviets obtained from their letter to Foot in support of a conference on disarmament means that there is no opposition in the masses of this country to what amounts to a united front with the Soviets against the Yankee missiles. The masses of Britain express this way what the masses of France have expressed in the election of Mitterand.

## THE CAPITALISTS ARE AT WAR BUT CANNOT WAGE IT.

The increase of the US interest rate level is a financial measure in the form, aimed at forcing the European bourgeoisies to centralise themselves under the political leadership of the Yanks and their missiles. It is also a warning that more is to come in terms of blows if the European bourgeoisie doesn't submit. This is a form of war, and would have resulted in war literally a long time ago if it were not for the superiority of the Soviet Union and constantly deepening capitalist inter-fighting. The trip of the Japanese to Europe was to settle matters of violent competition amongst themselves that would previously have been settled by means of war. As they cannot make war under the conditions they would like because of the Soviet Union, their internal divergences and hatred of each other increase and, in this, the European bourgeoisie seeks links with the Soviets to balance against Yankee imperialism. Even a sector of British imperialism follows this line: this is why the East Germans were recently invited to London. Capitalism is not just in a stage of total agony, which exists but in its terminal stage.

This confers on all the actual political events a new character.

There are changes in all the trade unions. Those taking place in the steel workers union are showing that even the most bureaucratized unions are now forced to change. The fact that someone like Bill Sirs has to criticise the TUC for having talks with the government instead of fighting it, is a commentary on the type of pressure he has become submitted to. These are changes that tend to raise the anti-capitalist level of the trade unions' political role, and this has a corresponding effect in the Labour Party. The proposal of NALGO to affiliate to the Labour Party shows the force that will build up around Labour as a centre when it develops a fully-formed anti-capitalist leadership. This is why the bourgeoisie denounces 'those behind Benn, who lead us to Socialist revolution'. Equally, the support the Republicans obtained in both parts of Ireland and in the Labour Party can only be understood as part of a process favourable to the construction of Socialism in the world. This is what Nicaragua shows. The support the Soviets are seen to give to the hunger-strikers shows that the USSR is learning to orientate and seeks a way to influence. The letter of the Soviets to Foot has the same significance, based on the grasp that the masses will support Foot in this, and a sector of the bourgeoisie, too. All this educates and is favourable to Marxist ideas in Labour and the trade unions.

The divisions of the bourgeois class are truly immense. Giscard d'Estaing has now disappeared without trace, and in Italy there is a chronic incapacity of the Christian Democrats to form any sort of viable government. The election of Mitterand in France and the subsequent legislative elections are the evolutionary part of a revolutionary process. It is going to spell further defeats for capitalism in France and the whole of Europe. It will mean greater advances still of the masses in France towards the nationalised and planned economy, and will influence the Labour Party. It is, besides, an immense defeat for Thatcher's initial dream of an anti-Soviet European bourgeoisie and a blow to the Yanks in that respect. Clearly, this means that imperialism feels even more strongly drawn into the need for war. The liquidation of the post of the Navy Minister and the expulsion of the Navy Minister by Thatcher is with the perspective of war - where the Navy will have no importance, but Trident, yes. However, the symbol of imperialist might, which the British Navy represented for imper-

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# RED FLAG



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## The elections in southern Ireland - a blow against capitalism and the partition of Ireland.

The elections in Southern Ireland are a profound and serious political blow at the forces of imperialism and capitalism. There is no mass centre in the South that can express the anti-capitalist spirit and the desire of the Irish masses for struggle against the programme of the Southern Irish bourgeoisie, and for the necessary unification of Ireland. But, with these elections, the political structure of the South has been severely shaken. The principle cause for this has been the struggle over political prisoners in the North. But the depth of that struggle is the search for a programme which links anti-capitalist demands with the liquidation of the British occupation of Northern Ireland. The hunger strikers found such a profound echo precisely because their experience was the limited form in which much more profound historic issues were expressed.

The courage of the hunger strikers was based not only on the struggle in Ireland but on the whole course of the world struggle against capitalism, and also on the process in Britain itself with the process of change in the Labour Party and the trade unions and the resistance to British imperialism. It has been the policies of British imperialism sustained in the past by the masses in Britain. This struggle has had a profound effect in the South and has now provoked this crisis for capitalism. The masses in the South are blocked particularly by the domination of the political sphere by the two bourgeois parties - Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. The difference between these two parties is not profound, but Fianna Fail tends to accommodate to the interests of local and small capital, whereas the policy of Fine Gael was (in this last election) to call for a reduction in taxation and increase in indirect taxation, which is an open attack on the masses. The Labour Party has been in tow to big capitalism.

The election has been a defeat for both the bourgeois parties and a rout for the Labour Party whose leader has been thrown out. Two

of no consequence for the Irish masses. European capital exploits them in the same way as British capital. Northern Ireland is, if anything, in a worse position. Unemployment, liquidation of small farmers are the end of the road for the population within the confines of capitalism. For all the forces struggling against the sinister and brutal regime of British imperialism in Ireland demands are necessary which link the class struggle in the North with that in the South. Clearly North and South have to be united, but there has to be a programme which satisfies the needs of the population, North and South. The Dublin government and the set-up in Belfast represent capitalism. A united Ireland can only proceed on the basis of the liquidation of capitalism, North and South. The basis is the class struggle - national and religious issues are only solved on this basis.

### FOR A SOCIALIST PROGRAMME

The various Left forces in the Republic and in the North have to determine the hunger strikes and the struggle for political status in the structure of a Socialist programme for Ireland. Clearly the struggle for democratic rights has to be linked with a programme for the collectivisation of the land, an economy that operates to satisfy the needs of the population, and 'no' to NATO. It is also clear that there is no mass political centre in Ireland. In part, the fragmentation could be overcome by a greater intervention of the trade unions, North and South, but this is not enough either. The Irish masses cannot solve their problems independently of the fight against British imperialism. There has to be a sustained campaign, not only in Ireland but towards the British Labour Party. The latter is beginning to move from the politics of connivance with imperialism. An elevation in the programme of the IRA and the other

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The result of the first round of the elections in France shows that the Left can win easily. At the same time it shows that there are very great struggles among the bourgeoisie and a lack of leadership both in the bourgeoisie and the Left. As it is the Left is winning and the bourgeoisie sees it. In another epoch they would have made a coup an irritated general would have made a coup. Now there is a situation such that if a coup were made they would all collapse, because a part of the army is directly favourable to the triumph of Mitterand and to Marchais if he was candidate. These sectors are not just soldiers but military chiefs and this is so also in the police.

The bourgeoisie cannot act with Mitterand as they did with Blum. In the epoch of Blum, Stalin was around but now there is the Soviet Union with twenty Workers States. The process in France is going to impel a very great maturing of the Communist Party, helping it to understand the tactic. Mitterand is not the same as Blum because this is another stage of history, not because they are different as persons. Being the same Socialist Party, it cannot play the same role in another epoch. The relation of world forces weighs on France and on the Socialist Party.

World capitalism observes the elections in France in order to measure the state of evolution of the masses and of the Socialist parties. The French Socialist Party is to the Left of the German Social Democracy and Mitterand himself declares that he is favourable to a series of anti-capitalist programmatic points which no other Socialist Party has. Thus for capitalism France means the development of an electoral activity which is essentially against it.

The bourgeoisie analyses the result of the first round, saying that the Communists have suffered an enormous reversal. They do not say that a part of the Communists voted for Mitterand, and this is not a retreat. It is necessary to take into account that the Communist Party maintains an important vote after having purged the Party and confronted a team of intellectuals who think they own the world and who are nothing but publicists. With the expulsions, separations and resignations, plus books which the militant intellectuals of the Communist Party wrote against the USSR - for which the Party denounced them - and, in addition, the various appeals published in the newspapers of the bourgeoisie made by the expelled intellectuals which cost thousands of dollars - even so the Communist Party has maintained itself. This result indicates the decision of the vanguard and the very great understanding of the French proletariat, and not of these intellectuals who think they are the masters of thought. They understand nothing. They are individualists.

If there had been a desertion from the Communist Party it would have been expressed immediately before the elections in other aspects. If there had been workers' sectors of importance who did not

vote, these would have shown themselves immediately prior to the election; but all the proletariat are with the CGT. The behaviour of the proletariat is not expressed in a way before the elections and in another during the elections. Those who did not vote for the Communist Party did not do so through condemnation, evasion or criticism of the Party, but some workers' sectors made a tactical vote, nothing more than this. Thus, even if there is a reduction of votes the Communist Party maintains a very great strength. Its fall in relation to the other stages is not a fall in the political authority of the Communist Party. All the important movements are led by the Communists.

In spite of Althusser and the oscillation of the French Communist Party in relation to the USSR, the vanguard and the best of the French proletariat, which determines the course and behaviour of the class, voted for the Communist Party. This indicates the political solidity of the proletariat in France and also part of the leadership of the Communist Party. It did not make them doubt when people said, 'Your leader, Althusser, is an assassin'. The proletariat answered, 'Yes, he is an assassin but don't count on our support'. They were not intimidated nor weakened, in the same way as the Polish proletariat and class is learning to lead.

The French Communist Party has overcome some of the earlier very great errors, but not all including the fact that there is not sufficient political, cultural or scientific life. 'Humanite' (daily paper of the CP) is not a representative of Communist culture; it informs about the Communist Party, defends the Soviet Union, and all this is very good. But it is not culture; that is, it does not develop in articles, in analyses, cultural conclusions to teach the understanding of the process of world and local class struggle. Even so the Communist Party maintains the essential structure of France, the working class, and the best of the working class.

The French Communist Party maintains all its strength; the proletariat is with the Party and it was the struggle of the Communists which has made it obligatory for the others to speak of the fact that it is necessary to make changes in France. This is the result of the policy of the Communist Party, even mistaken in many aspects and sectarian, but it obliges the others to discuss these points. Capitalism could not oblige people to discuss the policy of Giscard d'Estaing. As for Mitterand, he had to stop speaking of Afghanistan in order for people to listen to him, otherwise he would have made a centre in demanding 'friends for Afghanistan'. This election shows the maturity of France. Above all, it re-affirms the absolutely firm resolution of the French proletariat to be in the Communist Party. This

is because of the Soviet Union, and the proof is Afghanistan. It was Marchais who had to change as regards the Soviet Union, not the other way about.

The French proletariat is politically the most mature in capitalist Europe. It is infinitely more mature than the Italian proletariat politically. Comparatively, the French Communist Party has the best of the working class of the capitalist countries, almost above the Italian Communist Party. In the French Communist Party the masses can express themselves through a certain internal life and exert a pressure, and their leaders express it, even partially. A decisive demonstration is the position over Afghanistan. All the factory assemblies approved the position of the French Communist Party of support to Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Those who demonstrated against were the petit bourgeois intellectual sectors, whilst in Italy the workers' vanguard cannot do this, it is limited.

It is enough to compare the orientation of the French CP in the trade union movement, the trade union leadership, and of the Italian CGIL. The leaders of the CGT in France went from opposition to May 1968 to their preparing a new May. In Italy, the CP made no self-criticism. One of the most important events in the class struggle is the fact that the French CGT for three elections openly supported the candidate of the Communist Party. They discuss in the factory, and the Communist Party maintains its votes. The Press conceals the fact that the Communist Party is supported by the French CGT, and the French proletariat has not made any resistance to this conduct; if this had been the case, the Communists would not have got the 15% vote. The proletariat has supported integrally this policy and the Communist candidate.

The daily newspaper of the Italian Communist Party, 'Unita', analyses the French elections in a false way. It is necessary to analyse from the point of view of where is France going, and what has to be done in France. The French Communists said to Mitterand, 'We support you if you let us enter the government, and we have already said we want an anti-capitalist policy'. This is concealed by 'Unita'. The French Communist Party has affirmed its anti-capitalist programme of defence of the USSR, anti-Yankee, against NATO. The analysis which 'Unita' makes is to impede the FCP influencing Italy in order to make people accept NATO and the Yankee missiles. But the policy of the French Communist Party is the most direct representative of the historic convenience of the USSR, not of immediate policy for which Giscard can be of use. The Italian Communists analyse as if the world depended on them.

What the Communist dailies must say, including 'Unita', is that the elections in France are a defeat of the capitalist system. For a start,

a sector which voted for Chirac is going to vote for Mitterand because Chirac represented gaullism. Debre who appeared on his own account and got one and a half per cent has no weight. Among the gaullists there is a very great resistance to Giscard d'Estaing because gaullism originates in another movement. De Gaulle was a centre movement, a popular petit bourgeois movement of the lesser bourgeoisie and big business which clashed directly with the Yanks and with the British. De Gaulle represented this policy, and thus - as with Jobert (ex-gaullist minister who supports Mitterand) - there are some currents which are going to vote for Mitterand. This also depends on the concessions which are going to be made, because they have to come to an agreement. Giscard has to find an agreement with Chirac. Hence the declaration of Chirac after the electoral results. He leaves the free vote to the conscience of every one, but 'I vote for Giscard'. This is the base of the blackmail.

Any way, these elections are a defeat for capitalism because Giscard, in order to win, has to present himself with a smile to the Soviets and not to the Yanks. Mitterand, in order to win, also has to smile at the Soviets, not attacking them and not saying at every turn, 'I am with the West' - as he did in other elections. The bourgeoisie is going to mobilise with all its strength, but if the French CP from now on proposes support to Mitterand, it is going to animate many forces. But, at the same time, the bourgeoisie is going to say, 'See, they are hand in hand with the Communists'. Hence, they do not make a great issue of the position of the Communists.

The fact that the French Communists have decided to support Mitterand unconditionally has a very elevated significance. This is not a result of the votes they have lost, but of the pressure of the Party in which the lost votes are part of the pressure on the leadership of the Party. The base sees the possibility that Mitterand will win, and of delivering a blow at the bourgeoisie. That is, the Communist base feels that it is superior to the epoch of the Popular Front which was a disaster. It is not the same situation now with twenty Workers States. Before, there was only the USSR and in alliance with the bourgeoisie - while, today, the USSR confronts the bourgeoisie. As a consequence, neither are the Socialists the same as in 1934. This discussion must be within the Party and shows also the anxiety which is necessary to defeat Giscard as a leader of the system. It is not a question of defeating a government, but a representative of the capitalist system. For the CP, it is very important that it adopted with flexibility this immediate change as regards Mitterand. This, at the same time, is going to deprive them of some votes, but it is going to provide others.

Anyway, even if they do not succeed in winning Mitterand, the important thing is the flexible change of the French Communist

Party. The inconvenient aspect of the Communists has been their lack of political flexibility to influence the Socialist Party. We proposed, and propose now, the United Front but discussing, analysing, giving arguments. But the Communists discuss in a form of struggle with the Socialists. It is very important to consider that, in the French Socialist Party, there is a very strong Left which is much more capable than the Italian Socialist Left of the Party of Craxi. The French Socialist Left has 23% of the Party, which is a significant number. This electoral process, the decision of the Communists to support Mitterand in the second round, is going to stimulate the Communist and Socialist militant very much and is going to establish a very great base of unification.

The fear of the world bourgeoisie over the elections in France is not so much over Mitterand, whom they hope to dominate, but because they see that behind the strength of Mitterand there is a powerful anti-capitalist and pro-Soviet movement. This is the reason for the fear of the world bourgeoisie. But not all the French bourgeoisie feels this. There is a sector which thinks to lean on the Soviets against the Yanks and get along as de Gaulle did.

Capitalism is quite frightened because it really fears that a gaullist sector will abstain or vote for Mitterand as they already threatened in the past period. In the last election they threatened, and Giscard d'Estaing had to make concessions. Thus it is an alliance between the gaullist current and the bourgeois current of Giscard but, in the centre of the gaullist movement, there are sectors who support Mitterand. There are ex-ministers of de Gaulle who support Mitterand. Another aspect is the abstention which in the second round is going to vote. The greater abstention did not come from the bourgeoisie, but from the Left. Hence there is concern in capitalism and, as a consequence, they try to

win Mitterand to a more bourgeois policy. This is the difference with the Communists who want a certain guarantee and security to intervene, and this is legitimate.

These elections in France are an event of great importance and this is one of the reasons which has promoted the differences in the camp of the bourgeoisie. This is not new, it was the case in the previous elections also, and then Chaban Delmas was the opponent of Giscard. But the differences were less, and Giscard had many more votes and the gaullists fewer. But now Chirac has increased votes. This shows the insecurity of French capitalism, which does not know where the process is going to stop.

# THE TRIUMPH OF MITTERAND AND THE FUNCTION

## OF THE PROLETARIAT

J. POSADAS

12.5.1981

The triumph of Mitterand shows in a decisive form the security of the Communist proletariat which, although a part escaped the control of the Party in the first round, anyway understood the attitude that the Communist Party was going to take in the second round. They voted for Mitterand in the first round as a form of securing his triumph, as the Communist Party did not have the possibility of winning; the maximum that it could achieve was the 20%, while Mitterand was assured of the twentyfive per cent.

These elections show the disciplined behaviour of the proletariat which has had the patience to wait for three elections and did not decline as a result of the previous results. The proletariat could have been disappointed and not concentrated the vote around Mitterand. It was the Communist Party which maintained such a resolution with its position of continuous struggle against capitalism and of support to the USSR, which maintained the elevated morale and political understanding of the French proletariat. At the same time, the Soviet resistance, opposition and confrontation with the Yanks forms part of the triumph of Mitterand.

The million Communist votes which went to Mitterand in the first round is the expression of the security of the French proletariat. They were not votes that were lost to the Communist Party, but were part of a calculation among sectors of the vanguard and petit bourgeois sectors that were insecure and timid, and others who voted to secure the triumph of Mitterand.

Marchais, in the conclusion which he drew after the elections, in part expressed this thought; not exactly, but he made it understood that this was the situation. They are not lost Communist votes but precipitate votes with a certain reason through the fear that Mitterand would not have sufficient votes.

The defeated people in these elections in France are capitalism and the Right of the Socialist Party and the conclusion of these elections is an expression of the state of Europe. The triumph of Mitterand - which is not his personal triumph - indicates the concentration of the proletariat which is not dominated nor vacillates through the error of its leaderships. It said, 'It is necessary to support Mitterand', and attracted the rest of the country to vote for Mitterand who won more votes than the Socialists themselves expected. All the French proletariat and the middle and poor petit bourgeoisie voted for Mitterand, and a sector also of capitalism - the 'poor' capitalism which has no capacity of competition, that voted for Mitterand in the hope of impelling him - not Socialism - so that it is not left as a victim of the trusts represented by the ex-prime minister, Barre.

This is not French elections for the French but an election made in France, and represents the relation of world forces, the intentions and disposition of the working class and the workers' political parties to overcome capitalism. Mitterand did not expect to do it completely, but he has a series of measures in his programme which are anti-capitalist and which come from the Popular Union. There are eight measures of nationalisation. Then, what is very important is what he proposed: 'We struggle for peace'. That was his declaration after knowing the result, and he did not refer once to NATO or any military organ.

The result of the elections in France is an event of history favourable from every point of view to the world relation of forces against capitalism. The working class attracted France. If the

difference is not very much, only 4%, it indicates the favourable situation which, on one side, is all that capitalism can give and, on the other, only a part of what the working class can give; because in France those over 18 vote, whereas the 12 to 18 year olds intervene in the social struggles and several millions more have not voted. Then the immigrant workers do not vote, and there are more than two million of them. If the votes of people who work in production are added up with the young people under 18 and the immigrant workers who do not vote, Mitterand would have got 70%. On the other hand, the support of the 'monarch,' Giscard d'Estaing, includes an immense number of nobles, counts and ex-counts who are no use at all, neither in thought or opinion, who do not work and only consume; the old, rotten wood of the epoch of kings who continue with their title of nobility.

In capitalist France, with a great cultural development, people are working at twelve, and fourteen is a normal age to work. The capitalists ignore the work of the children of the Algerians, of the Moroccans, Tunisians, Spanish, Italians and Portuguese which, in total are more than two million and of which more than a half are involved in production. These immigrants are excluded from the right to vote because they do not have the constitutional right of a native citizen. But they produce, work and have children. The sons of the immigrant workers have the nationality of the parents who are not French. In spite of this, Mitterand got the extra 4%, which is very big, more than a million votes. If the votes of the 14 to 18 year olds had been incorporated, more than one and a half million more would have been included; and with the immigrant workers vote more than two million more. That is the electoral result conceals the result of social relations.

Many people voted for Giscard who make no contribution, live in isolation and are hundreds of thousands. All the active people voted for Mitterand. Afterwards this will weigh so that Mitterand fulfils what he promised or what people wanted, not only what he said but what people want now. The vote for Giscard is the vote of the big bourgeoisie which attracts sectors of the well-heeled petit bourgeoisie.

The elections were in France, but it is the world which voted in France, and those who did not vote observe France. Some from afar, others nearer, but all look at France. Independently of the interpretations given by the political leaders on these elections, they are the product of an intervention of the working class, as in Poland which attracted France to vote for Mitterand.

This is a most important event. Crises are going to come with Mitterand, but the working class is going to learn to intervene. It is a very important symptom that the Communist Party before the elections expelled leaders, intellectuals and members of the Central Committee who had a capitalist conception of life. These did not give support to capitalism, but prepared the Party to yield to capitalism on any problem, any discussion of the economy, of culture or art. They were leaders who did not correspond to the pressure of the working class and, also, of the CGT.

The masses of Europe and of the Workers States live a day of social and historic joy, because they see in the triumph of Mitterand a concentration of progress - which for now is expressed in Mitterand - which is a phase of the progress of the class struggle in France. In this process all the masses of the world intervene, including the Polish masses who have given security to the French proletariat to concentrate to make Mitterand triumph: not his limited programme or lack of implementation later. The masses see that intelligent selection was to support Mitterand. The masses are learning tactics -

for the experiences which they are making and for the world process not taught by the Communist Party.

If the French Communist Party had pushed forward the campaign from the first round proposing the vote for Mitterand in the second round and explaining that, in the first, they would come out with their own candidate to discuss programme and policy, developing a process of explanations, it would have received more votes. Marchais could not win. It is not the stage of the Communist Party, because there is still not the maturity in France for the Communists, as there is not in other parts of Europe such as Britain and Germany. But, in the first round, the Communist Party would have got more votes, would have impelled the Left of the

Socialist Party much more. This was a tactical error of the Communist Party.

It was good to present the Party independently in the first round, but they should have proposed that they were going to vote in the second round for Mitterand. The workers are learning, the cadres of the Communist Party that are not workers, the petit bourgeoisie and even bourgeoisie who are in the Communist Party (bourgeois through their life and their occupation, but who have the Communist position and are really Communist) are learning tactics. There are bourgeois sectors who are Communist and who, although they have conflicts in the factory with the workers, support the Communists anyway. France and Italy are full of these sectors. The maturity of the proletariat of France is also expressed in the fact that the French CGT is the workers centre which is the most politicised in Europe and the world. It intervenes directly in support of the Communist Party and the Communist militants of the CGT make propaganda in the CGT and the factory in the name of the CP. When they say, 'But how come a trade union leader is making propaganda for the Communist Party?', he answers, 'You can also do it, what impedes you from making propaganda for your Party?'

The Communist militant does this. The CGT is the first trade union in capitalist Europe which intervenes directly in favour of the Communist Party. As the workers centre declares, 'It is necessary to support

Marchais', and the workers accept. This is not recent, but has gone on for a long time, and there has been no rupture because of this. The Socialists threaten and shout, but nothing more. This shows the political maturity which exists and it is not necessary to measure it through these elections, but through this other factor - the CGT has always been a political instrument of the Communist Party. It has not always been used well, but it is a good instrument of the FCP.

The elections in France express in a concentrated form the world relation of forces favourable to social transformations and the struggle against imperialism. These favourable relations of forces are not going to impede the war but they blockade imperialism. One day before the elections, Brezhnev made a declaration aimed at the meeting of NATO in Italy, and also at France, in which he proposed: 'We want to negotiate, we are right but if they treat us badly, we know how to answer'. The election of France is part of the security of the Soviets.

The election of Mitterand is a declaration of the proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie and liberal layers even of bourgeois origin which see the necessity of supporting the Left. Everybody, and in particular Poland, voted, weighed in, and oriented the vote of France. The voting in France is going to weigh enormously on the world. Although Mitterand wants to make an anti-imperialist policy or one of an Atlantic alliance it is not going to be the same as with Giscard. The latter had a policy of competition with the Yanks, but was in the capitalist regime and surreptitiously accepted a number of things favourable to imperialism, including NATO.

J. POSADAS 12.5.1981

## Ireland continued from page 1

Left forces relating to the class of the class struggle in Britain and struggle North and South will Ireland. The solution to the ending accelerate the struggle in Ireland of the separation of North and South and the process in the Labour Party Ireland depends not just on the and place the demand for the withdrawal of British troops as part of the elevation and generalisation struggles of the Irish masses but on the elevation of the class struggle in Britain and Ireland as a whole.

## THE PROCESS OF THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN POLAND.

J. POSADAS

Published June 81 - N°3/81

The basis of the Trotskyist groups who still propose the organisation of the IV International as a movement, alternative to the Communist movement, is the belief that they have the capacity to judge and to orientate and to decide. They have the historic means and their organism is still necessary to carry out the task. They take the original objective of Trotskyism and transfer it to today, in order to justify themselves and say nothing of the objective process. This is the omnipotence of the lack of dialectical reasoning of the old Trotskyism which does not understand that changes have happened in history.

In a logical comparative sense, the Communist Manifesto of Marx makes a series of historic conclusions about tasks to be carried out, and that now are not necessary. The Manifesto of the IV International proposes a series of problems which now do not exist. Other problems persist but in another way, which is the process of the political revolution. There is a lack of understanding and of Marxist preparation on the part of these Trotskyist groups. There is a petulance and pretension of intellectual lords, of struggle between intellectuals and a seeking to take refuge in this in order to justify their existence and, on the other hand, to have a reason to struggle without complications, which is the arrogance of feeling superior to the others. Hence, they have no idea nor characterisation of why reality is as they say. This is the consequence of the lack of Marxist preparation of the old Trotskyist and Communist movement. There is a total and complete absence of this plus thoughts antagonistic with the Marxist method, together with the feeling of pride, of arrogance, of believing that they are above the Communist parties.

These groups are an individual justification of these people, who are all decrepit. There are twenty Workers States, and how did these arise? They say 'Manoeuvres of Stalin'; but there are twenty Workers States. Capitalism does not exist there. Capitalism is preparing war, not on the Trotskyist groups but on the Workers States. Thus these people can have neither programme nor policy for today. They have not the least understanding of how the process of history has developed and how it is today, that is, how the Workers States came about, whatever might be the form through which they were made. This discussion on the manoeuvres of Stalin is a complete stupidity. Why not discuss what has to be discussed. Are these Workers States or not? How are Workers States determined? Through the relation of property where the principle ones are satisfied? Through their anti-capitalist function which is tested? Good! And what do these Trotskyists want? The development of the economy is not private; on the contrary, the satisfied economy

increases. Agriculture is not the principle strength of the economy in Poland.

There is no need to be concerned with these groups because they have no ideas nor intellectual capacity. Besides, they do not have an honest intention intellectually. Their positions do not come from mistakes but from petulance and the intellectual contempt for reason; that is, for the dialectical method. They work congenitally with the thought that 'I am the one who is right because I am a Trotskyist', and thus they judge with this feudal sentiment which means, 'I am the one giving orders here'. It makes them individuals who are not ready for any necessary idea or action. This is the old Trotskyism.

At the same time, when we say 'old Trotskyism' it is necessary to understand that they are decrepit. They are not Trotskyists; because Trotsky declared, 'I did not remain in the Third International because they threw me out. I could not intervene, otherwise I would have stayed'. These people see twenty Workers States which showed that the Workers State did not die, but Stalin did, and Stalinism. They do not analyse. There is no Stalinism now; that was a conception of power in history whose essential basis is to prevent the extension of the revolution through the world. Today the Soviet Workers State is the reverse of that. In the constitution they declare, 'We support every movement of national and social liberation'. This attitude of these groups who call themselves Trotskyist is a petulance in order to have a justification to live intellectually. They are people who have a contempt for reason. The treatment which they give to the Soviet Union and to the Communist parties - in this case, the Italian - shows it.

We defined these groups as the 'old Trotskyists', but now no longer because they are not Trotskyists now. Now they have nothing to do with reason and thought. They speak in the name of Trotsky like someone speaking in the name of Lenin, and it is Stalin. These groups have nothing to do with Trotskyist thought. We are Trotskyism. They are not mistaken, but have a conception of history as we have outlined.

It's no use when they say, 'We will defend the Soviet Union if capitalism attacks it' - which means to take a rifle and struggle? No, it means going to father; 'I am with the Soviet Union'; and their being with the Soviet Union finishes there.

In the old Trotskyism, there are currents, small ones which are a reaction motivated by our intervention, who seek to change previous positions. No Trotskyist group which develops with correct positions is motivated by internal deliberations, but through external influence, above all of ourselves,

because now they are posing problems of principle which are the same as twenty years ago, and they have recently arrived at such conclusions. None of these groups, Trotskyist or not, have the understanding of this stage of history, and neither do the Communists. We are the only ones who have this understanding.

As part of this, there is the definition of the process of development towards the Workers State which we made. This was a question of defining at what moment. In advancing from capitalism, in the development of the revolutionary process did the Workers State emerge? It is a fundamental aspect but not now decisive in history. The decisive element is the Workers States which now exist.

But this definition is very necessary to understand the character, the dynamism and the development of the process towards the Workers State. In this stage, different from 1959 with Cuba, the existence of the Workers States, of countries in the stage of the revolutionary state to the Workers State, is not achieved in the same way as before. Now the process is more rapid, more dynamic, and the result closer to the Workers State. The more Workers States there are, the next Workers States in process even without reaching the level of Workers States are closer to this, because their relation is maintained with the existing Workers States and live from this. Thus, now the Workers States influence from the very beginning, and socially and politically influence the population which is constructing itself as a leadership, as in Ethiopia.

That is, the characterisation of the stages of the Revolutionary State towards the Workers State is not now as we defined it fifteen to twenty years ago. Now the process is superior, more rapid. The stage of the Revolutionary State to the Workers State is different to the process of the incomplete Revolutionary State, or uneven or not organised. These are necessary definitions to a process which does not have an identity but is developing to achieve one: it passes from the capitalist state to the Workers State and, in some parts, remains in a revolutionary state. A Revolutionary State(1) was a definition made by us like that of the Workers State that is not organised. In this case the country has all the economy of the Workers State but not the leadership, the policy or the life. Another definition is that of the disorganised Workers State which goes from being a Workers State to a state of disorganisation. Poland was on that road.

These are not definitions because they are different levels only, but because the process of development towards the Workers State contains a series of contradictions which were not there before - because these are contradictions of this stage in which the world influence of the Workers State impels the process towards the Workers States but there is not the leadership and the policy to constitute them.

The definition of the Workers State that is not organised means that it has the economy but not the political leadership of the Workers State. What then characterises this process? The economy or the leadership? Neither the one or the other! It is an unorganised Workers State. It does not have the leadership, but it is a Workers State because it has the economy of the Workers State. This happens because there are twenty Workers States which give them support and help and the population, without being organised, feels such a support and help and it feels the relation of forces so that capitalism cannot intervene. For example, the people of Nicaragua see that if the Yanks sent in two divisions Nicaragua would cease to exist, but they see that imperialism cannot intervene. Then the political level of the leaderships of the movements elevate automatically and acquire a universal understanding of the world relation of forces. Their strength now is not then Nicaragua nor arms, but the existence of the Workers States and hence the influence of Cuba through the world.

All these discussions which we developed before in the International were to create a world leadership which understands these problems; which dedicates life to these problems. We are creating a leadership whose preoccupation, sentiment, consciousness, dedication, lies

with these problems; not with dispute with the Communist Party but to understand that the Communist Party is an instrument of history. Between the Communist Party and the Workers State there are differences, but the Communist Party is a party to make a Workers State. Experience shows that there is no foreseeable stage nor possible time for another movement to develop. There is no historic time for this. This is not the time to create new movements, but to found and develop the movements which exist to support the parties which are the instruments of history. Hence our task in history.

Hence our different definition of Cuba and of the other Workers States. They are not definitions for different levels, different stages or categories, but arise through the total structure which determines the creation of the conception of the Revolutionary State. Now Algeria, Madagascar and Nicaragua take this definition. We support and understand the stage of the process. This is our function, and for this we live.

J. POSADAS 7 February 1981.

(1) In the text 'The Revolutionary State, its transitory function and the construction of Socialism' of 28.9.1969, J. Posadas posed the theoretical conception and the analysis on which this definition is based, now today fully accepted although the author is not always referred to.

## EDITORIAL from page 1

ialism is being destroyed in this process - which points to an immense process of internal disintegration within imperialism and related demoralisation. One cannot underestimate the significance of the absence of any bourgeois storm over Foot's favourable reply to the Soviets and his criticism of the Thatcher government for not taking up the Soviet's offer. Like a drowning man, capitalism trails behind Foot whom they hated only a few months ago, as the lesser of evils (for capitalism) now showing up in Labour. In the same way, sectors of the European bourgeoisie looks to the French Socialist government, and a whole sector of the Italian bourgeoisie would not mind the Communists coming along to do a little cleaning - as long as this does not mean that the working class takes power.

The superiority of the Soviet Union and its influence on the world masses determines the terminal stage of capitalism, its incapacity and divisions. It is social regimes that decide the form in which military conflicts take place and the ultimate results. It is not weapons that decide history - they can determine one or other event - but social regimes, in which the superior one wins because it has the support of the masses. This is why it is possible and necessary to seek the support of the Soviet Union today, a process which is already started, and will be the irreplaceable condition for the triumph of Socialism in this country. The advance of the Labour Party is determined by the constant elevation of the Workers States and the dynamic process of the world revolution.

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## The intervention of the youth expresses the need for social transformations

The uprising of sectors of the youth in major industrial centres in Britain is not just against unemployment of 'inner city decay', or even bad housing, but against the system of private property itself. This sector of the youth, without political organisation or leadership but with immense confidence, is demanding a participation and control over their own lives and society. In its own particular form it is an action to give a leadership to the struggle for the transformation of society. In a few days it has shattered all the illusions - carefully fostered by capitalism - that Britain is different from the rest of the world and a country in which everything proceeds in an orderly fashion. All the Labour Party

and its leaderships have been taken completely by surprise and even those elements of the Labour Left who have responded with good intentions have responded in a very limited form. It is a process which demands a leadership, programme and ideas, and not simply a denunciation of the role of the police. The masses know what the role of the police is, and any worker engaged in strike action knows the role of the police very well. Clearly, what the masses confront first when they come into action is the repressive instrument of capitalism, the police and, as in Ireland, the army; but the depth of the problem is the existence of the capitalist system. This is the discussion which is going to be stimulated in the Labour Party and in the trade unions.

The latter have not been prepared for this process nor did they foresee such a rejection of capitalist society by the youth. If the Labour Party had been responsive to the reality of the process, they would have given a policy and a programme to transform society and develop a political life with the masses, and incorporated the youth.

In the immediate sense, the youth on the streets have taken the forms and the examples of the struggle in Ireland; but they see, feel and are influenced by the world. The children of eight and ten years old in Toxteth or Brixton are the equivalent of the children who lead the struggle for human progress in Vietnam, Zimbabwe or Nicaragua. This is the level of consciousness of the world. Above all, the masses see the comparison between capitalism and the Workers States. They see the process in Poland, where wholesale clearance of the corrupt and self-seeking elements in the administration of the state, continues without violence or bloodshed. They see a state in which the prime minister, Kania, emphasises the necessary role of the workers organisation, the trade union, in the leadership and development of society, and in combating 'bureaucratic and technological deformations'. Poland demonstrates, in a very open form, the fact that democracy, in the real sense, is possible in the Workers State and impossible under capitalism. In Spain, 15,000 people are poisoned with contaminated cooking oil sold by capitalism for profit - 68 people have already died and nothing is done about it.

The youth of this country are showing that they don't accept the ideas that the problem of the rise in unemployment, the collapse of the health, social and transport services, the crisis in education and housing, are simply the product of 'a world recession' and that nothing can be done about it. They are very aware that capitalism is in total and final crisis.

In its form the events of the last days in this country are a parallel to the French May (of 1968). The present Socialist/Communist government of Mitterand in France is a direct result of the intervention of the working class and the masses during the revolutionary general strike of May 1968. A great deal of emphasis is being put on the continuation by Mitterand of the policy of balancing between Yankee imperialism and the Workers States which was the policy of Giscard. However, this is not what characterises the Socialist government in France. What characterises the French government is its programme of nationalisations and the fact that it rests, through the incorporation of four Communist ministers, on the French working class, which the French CP represents, and on the Soviet Union. Mitterand and the Socialists are aware that, in order to carry out their anti-capitalist programme, they have to base themselves on these forces. They also have an understanding that they have to seek support in the working class and the Left in the rest of Europe. In other words, both indirectly and at a later period in a direct form, the advance in human progress which the French Socialists represent is going to have an effect in this country and on the advance of the Left in the Labour Party.

Turn to page 4

### Supplement

The supplement to this Red Flag contains tributes to Cde Posadas, including a statement of Comrade Luciano Betti of the Italian Communist Party, elected Councillor in the Rome Commune.

Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

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

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## COMMUNICATION OF THE WORLD TROTSKYIST POSADIST PRESS

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

Dear Communist comrades of the world, dear comrades of the Soviet Union and all the Workers States, dear comrades of all the revolutionary movements and all those who fight for human progress, dear comrade sympathisers and friends of the IV Posadist International:

It is with a sentiment of profound grief that we communicate to you the news of the death of comrade Posadas as the result of a grave illness against which he fought with all his strength but did not find himself in the conditions to surmount.

Comrade Posadas died while expressing the thought: 'Life has no meaning without the struggle for Socialism'. His death means the interruption of the most elevated consciousness and human intelligence which concentrated through his thought and the example of his life, the continuation of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. His death interrupts a source of elevation of scientific ideas of Marxism of today and of the most pure and complete human conduct. This leaves a void in history.

But the theoretical work and the work as constructor of Communist human beings of comrade Posadas means also the scientific principles which he left to revolutionary humanity, to the cadres and the leaders of the new human society in process in the world on the basis of the Soviet Union and the children of Nicaragua and Vietnam.

The principles are that humanity is already mature for Communism; that the Workers States, in their process of Partial Regeneration, are the centre which determines the course of history and which represents materially this belief in the triumph of human progress over the backwardness and the barbarism of capitalist society and

of centuries of the organisation of private property; that humanity will pass through the atomic war of the capitalist system, and is preparing the construction of Socialism; that the Workers States can already give the example of the organisation of social relations, 'To each according to his needs', before even having the conditions of material abundance; that all the progress of human intelligence allows thinking about and creating the future, foreseeing that humanity is going to act as a human unity to integrate children, women and the old, and enter into relation as humanity with nature and the cosmos; that theory will be the most elevated form of human love: there lie the tasks of Communism.

Comrade Posadas left an immense work of thoughts and ideas in the texts which are going to serve as a nutrition and a base of creation and elevation of the Communist leaders and cadres of the Workers States, of the Communist parties of the world, of the Socialist movements, of the revolutionary nationalist movements of all the human beings who have the passion to live for ideas and to contribute to the progress of humanity. Comrade Posadas has also created an instrument - the Posadist IV International - a world team of cadres which he educated with this conception and with this moral conduct. He lived and died as an integral Communist and gave in his own death an example of objective and pure behaviour of love for humanity, which is the basis of objective ideas.

All the world activity of the Posadist IV International has consisted in acting as a public property of history to contribute in an objective and disinterested fashion to the progress of the world Communist movement in persuading and impelling it towards the revolutionary movements of trade union origin, the liberation and nationalist

movements of Latin America, Asia and Africa. Therein lies one of the profound teachings of comrade Posadas. This team proposes to continue them and push them forward.

In the name of the Posadist IV International we show the complete resolution and decision of this world team to continue the work of comrade J. Posadas and to contribute to the progress of the thought and Communist and scientific relations of the world Communist movement of which Posadism is an integral part.

The hymn of joy of Beethoven and the singing of the International accompanied Comrade Posadas at his funeral.

His work, ideas, principles and the example of all his life are, and will remain, living because they are necessary to the progress of humanity towards Communism. His teaching is infinite and is a public property of humanity.

We call upon the comrades of the world Communist movement, of the Workers States, of the Soviet Union, all the revolutionary leaderships, all the scientists and the intellectuals; all those who fight for the truth and for human progress, to contribute to the publication and the diffusion of the work of Posadas and to take it as an instrument for the construction of the new Communist leadership of humanity.

PARIS 18/6/1981

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT of the POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

It is necessary to consider the depth of the world revolutionary process when it reaches the young who behave like Bobby Sands, which for them is heroic and in a historic sense has a certain basis of heroism. This shows the depth of the sentiment of humanity in wanting to change society. Humanity wants to put order into society. On the surface this was not the problem, but basically it was. Bernadette Devlin posed 'We want to change society.' That is to say, it is not a religious movement and hence the Pope washed his hands of it.

The action of Bobby Sands has a world repercussion and it is the petit bourgeoisie which follows this and condemns capitalism. Hence the capitalist television and press act as though in sympathy with Bobby Sands. Without saying it, they present him as a hero: which is to contain the preoccupation because the Catholic petit bourgeoisie of the world are ready to do the same.

But, when such an expression of resolution occurs which for Bobby Sands is an heroic attitude of defending progress in a form of rights, it is because Great Britain is mature for changes. The Labour people express this with their resolutions but, at the same time, with their contradictions, they do not support the demands of the Irish prisoners.

#### THE BRITISH PROLETARIAT IS PREPARING NEW ACTIONS.

British imperialism makes no concession to the Irish because this would break capitalist unity in Great Britain: the only force which is united in Great Britain is capitalism. They have internal differences but are united, because they have a panic fear and any important concession is a break in their unity.

In this process of uprising as in Ireland, the majority of the Communist parties which did not develop understanding in time of the form of the process — which, whatever its form, seeks to transform society — develop internally layers conciliatory with capitalism. They are not necessarily defenders of capitalism, but do not elevate confidence in the transformation of society. Thus, they seek to adapt themselves to capitalism because there has been no previous political life. This is a stage in which everything is happening, from the homosexuals to Bobby Sands, and it is necessary to take into account these two aspects. This is not an empirical but a logical comparison. People want to change society, to resolve all the problems which it has. The homosexuals who demonstrate in Washington say, 'We will change society, we support El Salvador; you do not understand us, we support El Salvador'. In the United States the problem of the

homosexual is expressed in a much more perverse form than in other countries because, in the United States, there is a degeneration which comes from the top layer of society and of the middle layers of the population, but they do not have the same origin nor the same objective. In one there is human degradation, in the other an infirmity of capitalist society which is expressed in this way, a result of the insecurity which life produces on them. In the top layer it does not have this character, it's sexual degeneration.

When society reaches elements which seek in personal sacrifice a form of intervening, it is because there is no party which represents this process. Hence, in Great Britain and in North America, this occurs. In France there is none of this. People prefer to support Mitterand, and in Germany, Schmidt and there is an immense number of homosexuals who are of the Left.

When there is such an attitude in Ireland it is because the British proletariat is preparing very important actions which their leaderships do not express. In part, this is shown in the internal struggle of the trade unions and of the Labour Party where they are throwing out the Right and the Left is developing. But, above all, it is expressed outside the Labour Party, because this does not develop a coherent political life. Thus, the mobilisations of the young Blacks in Brixton was not registered by the Labour Party nor foreseen nor organised nor supported. They protest, but nothing more. These are problems which have an origin in the elevation of social consciousness against the system of oppression which is private property, the capitalist system. This process has an essential basis which stimulates it and, in many cases, promotes it, in the existence of the Workers States and its correct policy, as over Poland. The population sees Spain, for example, where generals and policemen are killed, which are actions of a coup d'etat — they do not have the strength to carry one out but there are attempts at a coup; similarly, with Italy with the killings and kidnappings, as with the bomb in Bologna station.

Capitalism uses the same method in Spain and Italy, i.e. utilising terrorism to deliver a coup. In France this is not the case because there is a much more compact workers movement and a Communist Party with better positions than the Italian and the Spanish. It is a firmer Communist Party which has a mature base in France.

The rejection of capitalism through the death of Bobby Sands is going to find continuity. It is an index of the resolution of the youth and exposes those

who want to assess British youth on the basis of drugs.

The process in the world can be seen in the different forms which it has. One of the Soviet astronauts who remained six months living in space did not ask recompense, wages or guarantees of life for ever. Sands does on earth what the Soviets are doing in space. They show that it is necessary to utilise all the forms of combat to finish with the system of oppression because the militants of the IRA are all of the Left.

At the same time, such forms of struggle show the lack of historic leadership which is the historic function which the Communist parties should fulfil and also the Workers States. When there are such events of this nature in various countries which were inaccessible to world influence, like Britain and North America, when the world influence reaches these countries it is because the country is mature for social change. It is not the group which is making this action only; they express the maturity, but they can do it only because at the same time there is the existence of the Labour Party which progresses, the decomposition of the govern-

ment and of the uprising of the Blacks in Brixton who are naturally allied and integral to the whole movement. There is an absence of leadership, but it is enough to see that in a short time there have been many movements in Britain. Before the movements in Ireland, there was the movement in Scotland and that of the Welsh, and now the Irish movement extends itself in resorting to the hunger strike. This shows that the process is mature. The Party is not mature in Britain. There is no Party and there are no Communist parties who understand the need to elevate the political life in the Workers States so that the masses of the Workers States intervene. For example, the Soviet trade unions must send salutes for the necessary historic objective of Bobby Sands.

Now it is not as in the epoch of Lenin, in which not all the methods of struggle were right and the hunger strike is not the method to persuade. But this expresses the limitation of the Irish movement and the Labour Party because, if the Labour people were much more to the Left and would organise a mass movement which develops anti-capitalist progress, there would be no necessity for an action like that of Bobby Sands. But, when this position is reached, it is because the process is profound. It is an individual death which capitalism believes will be terminated with the burial, but it is the expression of a form of protest and of struggle which contains infinitely more than is shown directly.

The action of Bobby Sands is going to have very great repercussions and it is very important that the Soviets have

intervened. It is going also to have a repercussion in the Labour Party because this has a criminal position. It shows that the lack of a correct theoretical conception, a method of interpretation and of programme leads to this position. These are problems which Labour has sustained, supported and defended during their whole life, which has been British imperialism. The world development now impels this situation in which Ireland wants a Republic. It is not new. From the establishment of Britain these struggles have occurred. Previously, in the stage of the advance of British imperialism, the imperialist leadership divided with its base the robbery of the world, and partly with the countries of the United Kingdom, and with this they maintained sectors, including the Catholic bourgeoisie of Northern Ireland. But, now it cannot do this. British capitalism now has to cut its costs; cut the subsidy on milk, transport and the majority of the subsidies for the population. It has reduced all the health services, dental and medical, because it has no more strength. The sectors that most of all face these cuts are the working class, the poor farmers, the petit bourgeoisie, the poorer bourgeoisie of Ireland, and these are the ones who take up the appeal of independence; the sentiment of the population wants independence because they feel oppressed, because they are treated inconsiderately. The Labour people do not have the policy for this situation, because their policy was always that of domination and maintaining the empire.

This Labour policy was developed in the stage of the development of British imperialism and, even while it was decaying, it still succeeded in maintaining a certain world force. Now this is not the case and, as a consequence, all the problems come and the Labour people do not have the necessary programme or policy. They expected that they could pass to Socialism with Britain as it was, including with the colonies. The Labour Party never had an important movement in defence of the independence of the colonies. Afterwards, it made declarations, but not a programme of independence of the colonies. While the Socialist Party of Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, among the essential points which they had, was the independence of all the colonies. Hence capitalism had a tremendous hatred of them, not only because they proposed Socialism in Germany but because they proposed the independence of all the colonies, and this was the stage in which the world Communist movement was organised. The problems which are posed in this stage of history pass over all the Labour people and all the Communist parties, including the Italian Communist Party.

The death of Bobby Sands is going to stimulate many people to intervene and is going to show the stupidity of those who say that the youth is dedicated to drugs. Bobby Sands dies, but the one who is killed is British capitalism. The movement of opposition to the capitalist system, with means which approximate to the social revolution, increases. For a comrade to die from hunger strike is one of the beginnings, the next time there is going to be another type of movement. Now is not the time for killing oneself as this limits the effects. But a hunger strike seeks political effects. It is a conscious death, the organisation of death in order to make society live. When there is such a process, with such security, it is because the sentiments and the influence of the world on Ireland are very profound, and the world is the Workers States. This indicates a very profound elevation of the will to transform society. Before they demanded independence for Ireland, now they demand independence for Ireland but transforming it into a Socialist Ireland.

#### YOUTH SEEKS THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

The youth of Ireland acts in the same way as the youth of the world. The Italian Communist Party measures the youth through what happens in Italy and France. They do not consider the youth of the Workers States and of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. For them, youth means the capitalist countries. This criterion shows an arrogant petulance which, in the last instance, is imperialist. Youth is measured by its world behaviour, afterwards one considers the local factors which account for the local behaviour of the youth. The Italian Communists write, 'Youth is enclosed in itself'. Not even in Italy is it like this. It is only a small group which lives like that. The youth in Italy, as in the whole of the world, is dedicated to the progress of history, the progress of life, which is the form in which life is expressed.

Capitalism cannot resolve any of these problems stimulated by the process of Ireland. All progress is united to social transformations. Now there is progress of chemistry, of agriculture, of mechanics, of physics, and everything leads to social transformations. The cultural basis of this stage of history are social transformations.

The attitude of the revolutionary Irish youth is going to influence a great deal throughout the world. In the leadership of this movement, anyway, there are Marxists because, to resolve

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# BIOGRAPHICAL NOTE ON COMRADE J. POSADAS

17.6.1981

Extracts

J. Posadas was born in Argentine in 1912 to a family of Italian immigrant and artisan shoemakers. His childhood was spent in the heart of the trade union organisations which began to develop in Latin America. His father, who was an anarcho-syndicalist and afterwards a revolutionary socialist, gave him the essential bases of his social formation.

The premature death of his mother plunged the family of J. Posadas into a very difficult situation; the family consisted of eleven children, five younger than Posadas, and his father being an active trade union militant found work with difficulty. The very young Posadas combined his studies with an activity of a travelling salesman in order to help the family economically. His great social sentiment and love for humanity showed itself very early in the school and in the region where he lived, where everyone knew him for his tendency to write poetry and sing, and for his participation in an infinity of meetings and cultural activities etc.

His home, which was in a very difficult economic position, was always full of immigrant workers' leaders or national leaders who made continuous clandestine meetings to develop social organisation - repression was constant in Argentine since the famous 'January week' of 1919 when the government massacred hundreds of workers in the streets of Buenos Aires. Cde Posadas lived intensely the whole process of struggles and of trade union-political construction. The triumph of the October Revolution which shook the entire world established in J. Posadas a security in the ideas and in the struggle for Socialism which would never abandon him. These were founded equally on the rigorous study of Marx, his life and work, and Marxism.

J. Posadas, while still young, entered the Socialist Party. He rapidly became the secretary of the Party Youth in his region, and was soon made part of the principle leading cadres of the movement.

When Leon Trotsky was assassinated in Mexico, Comrade Posadas had already organised a group which functioned as a Trotskyist tendency. Before the assassination of Trotsky Posadas sent him an article on youth and its role (reformist youth or revolutionary youth). Later, Natalia Sedova (widow of Leon Trotsky) communicated to Cde Posadas that it had made a favourable impression on the second leader of the Russian Revolution and organiser of the IV International.

Having begun to know and study the struggle and work of Trotsky he led within the Socialist youth a whole tendency which was oriented by his first writings and positions. The Socialist Party expelled him from its organisation due to the growing authority which J. Posadas had acquired. He was distinguished by his great didactic oratorical power which the leadership of the Socialist Party utilised in the beginning to attract people to its meetings and

to give political security to the bases of the organisation.

At the end of the thirties, J. Posadas had broken his links with the Socialist Party and made active contacts with groups of Trotskyist intellectuals which existed at that time.

He founded the Group of the IV International on the basis of the group which he had formed within the Socialist Party. On the basis of this group, Posadas later developed all the Marxist, materialist, scientific conceptions which became the essential basis of his work.

As an active leader of the Footwear trade union, Posadas was sent to Cordoba. There he re-organised on solid bases the trade union which was in process of being established. He led the strikes of this sector and won in this way a great national and public authority. For this first time in Argentine a trade union incorporated women in its leadership and organised a great strike in which all the population participated and which triumphed completely after weeks of struggles. One of the most important conquests of this movement was precisely the fact that women participated in its leadership, and intervened in all the discussions with the management and the representatives of the state.

Parallel to the organisation of the Group for the IV International, J. Posadas formed links with the International Committee of Trotskyism and with other Trotskyist groups existing in Argentina. In 1946 he began the publication of 'Voz Proletaria', the organ of the GFI. He organised visits to different countries of Latin America to form Trotskyist groups there, and proceeded to publish documents in Spanish of L. Trotsky and the IV International, to which he now adhered.

The development of the anti-imperialist nationalist movement and, in particular, of Peronism in Argentina clashed with the understanding of all the Marxist movements, including the Argentinian Communist Party and the world leadership of the IV International. Cde Posadas understood the historic sense in which the masses adopted, supported and developed this new experience of the class struggle. He established in this way the fundamental bases of the political theory of the function of revolutionary nationalism and from nationalism to the Workers State, a theory which he then developed in hundreds of documents.

The structure of the Soviet Workers State passed the two most rigorous tests to which history submitted it: the Stalinist leadership and the Nazi invasion as representation of the desire of world capitalism to smash the Soviet Union. The masses of the world came out of the war with a great impetus influenced by the social historic heroism of the Soviet masses which defeated Nazism. The Communist parties of the world, educated in the

International Secretariat of the Posadist IV International.

conciliatory conception of Stalin, were weak in front of the changes in the relation of world forces, but neither did the world leadership - which claimed to continue Trotsky in the IV International - understand the new forms of the revolution: nationalism and the different new forms which the beginning of revolutionary and Socialist forms would acquire.

J. Posadas participated in the IV World Congress of the IV International as a delegate of the Latin American sections; he participated at the same time in the Fifth and Sixth World Congress, and was part of the International Secretariat. At the same time he developed Sections throughout Latin America and organised their functioning fundamentally centralised through the Latin American Bureau.

He published a great number of articles and works in the Latin American Marxist Review(1) under various pseudonyms with many editorials (unsigned).

Among the activities which Posadas developed, to construct and organise the Sections of the IV International in almost all Latin America, it is important to know his intervention in Bolivia where the POR(T) won in 1948 three deputies and one senator, and where the workers movement of the COB adopted the Pulacayo programme which was one of the essential bases of the development of the revolutionary currents of the workers movement in Latin America.

Posadas showed his objectivity, both in his political writings and in his daily activity. While he led a hard political struggle against Michel Pablo, secretary of the International in this period - because the latter did not understand the actual level of world relation of forces and the objective necessities of the struggle, as with the function of the nationalist movement and the process in the Workers States - J. Posadas organised a whole world campaign for the liberation of M. Pablo when the latter was arrested, and this was done in spite of the action of other members of the International Secretariat who had practically abandoned him.

At the same time that he conducted the political struggle and the struggle of principles with the then leadership of the IV International, Cde Posadas led and participated in fundamental experiences for the Communist and revolutionary movement. At the beginning of the Algerian revolution, the Latin American Bureau sent a delegation of cadres to collaborate and participate in the anti-colonialist revolution and in the establishment of the Algerian Revolutionary State. In organising this activity, Cde Posadas began to develop an understanding of the revolutionary nature of the process of colonial liberation which was raised through the relations of world forces towards anti-capitalist conclusions. The leadership of the IV International

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## Declaration of the Political Bureau

*It is with great emotion that following the news of the death of Comrade Posadas we fully concur with all the comrades and Sections of the International that it is necessary to continue with the work which he had undertaken over several decades as leader of the IV International. With his passing, a major master of Marxism is no more, and we do not underestimate the loss that this means to the elaboration of the most advanced contemporary thought, and the education of the new leaderships of humanity in process of construction in the world, particularly based on the Workers States led by the Soviet Union. But we also share the totally optimistic perspectives of Cde Posadas that humanity is ready for Communism, that there is a constant advance in the role and influence of the Workers States, and that we stand on a plateau of human security upon which there can be no retreat. The creative force in the world is the Workers States, who have the historic initiative. The forces of imperialism and capitalism are totally exhausted and at the end of their stage in history. The atomic war is their last throw and, however destructive this will be, humanity will sustain this on the road to Communism.*

*The thought of Cde Posadas is many-sided and he dealt with many problems which the earlier leaders of Marxism had not elaborated because their problems were different and they lived at a stage more removed from the proximity of Communism. During the last decade, in particular, he elaborated a whole series of texts dealing not only with the actual directly political problems of the world Communist movement and every aspect of the world situation, but questions of culture, of art and of human relations, the relationship between social relations and the processes of thought, of the relationship between humanity, nature and the universe - rather like the Greeks, with the advantage of all the experiences since that time. Thus, his thought went beyond the boundaries of a narrowly political thinking to approach all the quality of life in its intensity and as a unity transcending all hierarchies, boundaries, separation and categories, where love and thought are indissolubly united. In the depth of these observations Cde Posadas was both observing and anticipating phenomena about to be born. Thus, with the text on the Olympic Games, he saw beyond the form of the games to the underlying structure of human sentiment which is still not in the position to reveal itself in all its wealth and intensity. Consciousness is no longer determined by the limits of economic necessity. It is also of great significance that Cde Posadas was of proletarian origin. He was a direct representative on the theoretical plane*

*of the role of the proletariat - now concentrated in material forces through the Soviet Union. He came directly from the social relations of the Italian immigrant proletariat in Argentina with the warmth of its life, generated through the class struggle and the perspectives of Socialism.*

*Like Marx, and unlike Lenin, and Trotsky, he was not himself in the position to take power and lead directly a Workers State but, like Marx, the elaboration of the thought was not intended for speculation but application, and it is with this conviction that we continue the work of Cde Posadas both in publishing many of his unpublished texts and continuing to push forward his ideas. The central feature which he developed from the writings of Trotsky was the character of the Workers State and his recognition of its triumph over Stalinism and over Nazism, and the consequences of this. No one else drew the conclusions. Everything, including his later thought, was related to this fundamental recognition. Thus the character of the political revolution in the Workers States changes, and hence the unique character on the texts on the Polish experience by Cde Posadas.*

*Even facing the possibility of death, the mind of Cde Posadas was completely concentrated on reiterating and confirming the axis of his profound and aspiring life - there is no meaning to life without the struggle for Socialism.*

*We shall continue with the diffusion of the ideas of Cde Posadas, the Marxism of today in the application of the line and programme of the Posadist IV International.*

*The victory of world Communism is inevitable. The achievements of Marxist thought are unassailable, and the projection of that thought inexhaustible. No blow from the assassinations of capitalism can stop the immense progress of humanity towards harmony with itself and an ever greater fusion with nature and the universe.*

POLITICAL BUREAU. 13.7.81

LONG LIVE MARXISM

FORWARD TO COMMUNISM

of that time, in not understanding this process in all its depth and perspective, already expressed its theoretical weakness. At the same time, the intervention in support of the Algerian liberation and the analysis and principles of this process formulated by Cde Posadas were and are of a complete validity because then the Communist movement and the Workers States ignored such events and, as a consequence, did not intervene to elevate the process. On the contrary, they blocked it, containing the development in the heart of the leaderships of nationalist bourgeois origin of anti-capitalist and revolutionary tendencies.

Posadas interpreted from its beginnings the anti-capitalist and revolutionary character of the Cuban guerrillas and when these triumphed, he intervened to impel the understanding and security of the leadership of the movement in taking the necessary measures for the construction of the Workers State in Cuba. For this objective, Posadas intervened directly, going to Cuba with a delegation of the IV International in the Youth Congress in 1960. From the establishment of the government of Fidel Castro, the Trotskyist Posadists supported it in their affirmation, in giving the security to carry out the expropriation of imperialism without compensation and in the world recognition of the Cuban Workers State. The leadership of the International gave no importance to Cuba and did not understand what Posadas called 'sui generis', the Workers State. This latter resulted from a leadership which did not have the initial intention of advancing towards Socialism, of petit bourgeois origin and without a Communist Party, but it had the will to develop the country and to make the masses intervene. This, together with the world relation of forces more and more favourable to Socialism, was going to lead the leadership to the conclusion of the Workers State, as Cuba is today, with all the world transcendence which it has.

Afterwards, with the triumph of the revolution, guerrilla movements developed in Latin America which wanted to repeat the Cuban experience. They developed conceptions which underestimated the political activity of the masses and, as a consequence, of the Party. Cde Posadas succeeded in influencing and gaining the leadership of the MR 13 (November 13 revolutionary movement) of Guatemala. Even with all the risks which it meant, through the existence of the dictatorship which was in open struggle with the guerrillas, J. Posadas organised his own visit to Guatemala. There he made an intense activity which included meetings and cadres schools with all the leadership of the guerrillas. It was an activity aimed to structure a leading team in the understanding of uniting the guerrilla action with the activity to form the Party which develops in the masses with a programme of social transformations. This meant, not a struggle of the guerrillas in themselves, but guerrillas as a means for the

struggle, submitted to a programme and a Party which would educate the masses in the programme.

Cde Posadas in Guatemala, together with the MR13 guerrilla movement, elaborated fundamental texts around this conception of the guerrillas. This was extremely important in front of the existing lack of understanding on the part of the majority of the guerrilla groups which reduced practically all the guerrilla groups to guerrillas in themselves; and, also, the Latin American Communist parties were opposed to the use of guerrillas as a principle. The old leadership of the International understood nothing of this problem.

In 1962 he broke with the old leadership of the International, maintaining the structure and the functioning of the world movement in defence of the original principles and its application in new historic conditions. He developed the European Sections and created some where they had never existed before, dedicating himself to the construction of militant cadres throughout the world, integrating militant understanding and sentiments and the greatest organisational resolution: cadres who knew how to develop a new political conception without antecedents in the history of Marxism, created by Cde Posadas - the IV International as a public property of history, a conception which recognised the most important conquests achieved by human progress; that is, the Workers States and Communist parties, the instruments of history, which it was necessary to help and develop in the course of the final liquidation of the system of private property and progress in the apprenticeship of the construction of Socialism.

It was from the 1960s that the political authority of J. Posadas developed especially, and on a world plane. The publication of the 17 newspapers of Trotskyist Posadist Sections throughout the world and the appearance of hundreds of books and pamphlets containing texts of Posadas and dealing with all the themes of revolutionary, cultural, scientific and political life etc., are a fundamental part of his work. It is possible to gather a small image of this in the organisation of the Scientific, Cultural and Political Editions, published on a world scale, texts such as the 'Living Thought of Trotsky' and many others in seven different languages.

His function as a public property of humanity, and the necessity of Bolshevik and clandestine functioning, meant that he was not able to intervene publically nor answer the invitations of different revolutionary governments of the world. But he organised the participation of other cadres of the International in these activities.

His great love for children, old people and his pre-occupation with the integration of women as human beings in society was expressed in texts of a great beauty: certain of which have been published already, are a basis for study in many libraries and universities of the capitalist countries, and also of certain Socialist countries.

His work includes the problems of Latin America, Africa and Asia, the present stage of the development of the Permanent Revolution; the crisis of world capitalism and the development of the revolution in its principle countries, the Communist and Socialist parties; the progress of the political revolution in the Workers States, with the changes to which the leaderships are themselves attracted before the process to world Socialism, and the precipitation of the final settlement of accounts between systems (capitalism and Socialism). He also dealt with problems of art, science, culture, the development and organisation of human civilisation through history, human relations, the construction and level of human relations in Communism, and the relation of society with nature and the cosmos.

His work will remain valid theoretically and practically until Communism. Death took him when he was preparing fundamental works on the origin and development of the organisation of human civilisation. A great number of his works await publication. Others are the theoretical bases for the development of human relations and their integration with nature and the cosmos.

His death came at the end of May 1981 as the result of a heart disease against which he had been struggling for five years and, in particular, during the last ten days of his life. Confounding all the prognoses of the doctors, who considered him to be clinically dead, J. Posadas returned to consciousness saying 'Life has no meaning without the struggle for Socialism', and elaborating texts which the Posadist International will make known in due course, for we consider them a contribution to medical and human science.

Up to the last breath of his life, Cde J. Posadas showed his complete confidence and assurance in the triumph of Communism.

International Secretariat of the Posadist IV International.

(1) The Spanish edition of the IV International Review, central organ of the IS of the IV International with which he had very deep tactical and political differences but whose publication he respected.

It is no accident that the violent intervention of the youth in the streets follows the victory of Labour in all the Councils of the major industrial centre. The Labour Party was elected on a generally Left programme, and the youth is seeking to push the Labour Left beyond the old style of trying to administer capitalism through the organs of capitalism. They are trying to shake the Labour Left out of its conception that it is possible to gain reforms from capitalism at this stage. At the same time, they have aimed a tremendous blow at capitalism itself.

This irruption is going to accelerate the defeatism and internal agony of capitalism, because it has no solution and knows it.

The Warrington Bye-election is a defeat for capitalism. The votes for the SDP came principally from Tories and Liberals, but the fundamental Labour vote remained solidly with the Labour Party. The votes for the SDP are no strengthening of capitalism. On the contrary, the vote goes against the necessities of capitalism at this stage, when capitalism tries to base itself on the SDP against the Labour Party this shows all its debility.

It has to be recognised that these events, that the confidence of the youth, is based on the world balance of forces and, as an expression of this, the process of preparation of the working class. The working class is faced with the problem of changing and cleansing its own organisations, the Labour Party and trade unions. It is faced with the problem of all this bureaucratic apparatus, but the youth are outside of this. The major centres are not moving in a direct form and, when they do, as with the miners' strike, capitalism retreats. However, as with the continued strike of the civil servants, the movement of the youth is a symptom of a much deeper process in the centres of the working class.

This process demands from the Labour Left and the trade unions an elevation in conception, in understanding that the class struggle is the same in Britain as anywhere else, and in discussion. Certainly the discussion cannot remain on the level of what method the police use for repression. It requires a discussion of programme and policy to give a leadership for the mobilisations which are taking place. In the immediate sense a discussion on the role of the police - and who controls them - is essential and the demands by some Labour Councils for more control over the police is important. At the same time, and as part of the overall crisis of capitalism, there is a crisis in the police and sectors which object to being used for repression against the masses. A programme for trade union rights in the police and an appeal to those sectors who are sympathetic to progress have to be made.

The impotence of local councils has been well demonstrated. It now requires a discussion on the formation of organisms, of committees of the masses in the workers districts and factories, which would allow the participation of and control by the masses. The process demands that the programme of nationalisations, of the removal of nuclear weapons and bases, is taken out of the abstract and brought alive by linking it to the means by which the masses participate in the process of the transformation of society. The masses are, and prove themselves to be, not simply a passive but an active and essential force in this process of the struggle to transform society. This, and the world balance of forces which is favourable to the progress of humanity to Socialism, has to be the basis of the discussion in the Labour Party and trade unions.

17.7.81

ON BOBBY SANDS. from page 2

*the problems of Ireland they mass movement but without political life, without anti-capitalist life, without anti-capitalist programme, without a programme going to influence the Labour Party quite a lot, - the backwardness of the Labour Party with its nationalist bourgeois conceptions and the composition of the leadership, which allows it not taking a position.*

*This action of Bobby Sands is important but limited, because it does not pose what progress, what policy, what programme. There is still an attitude which being heroic and correct, is limited politically and organisationally. It corresponds to the old anarchist, nihilist movement, but is not the same. The nihilist movement was not a mass movement and did not have the problem of territorial demand. The IRA, on the other hand, is a*

*It is necessary to render homage to Bobby Sands because, when the process reaches the level of making such a sacrifice, it indicates a very profound will for change. But a leadership is lacking, and thus the leadership remains in the hands of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie takes the sentiments of anti-British rebellion and uses it according to their negotiations with British imperialism.*

J. POSADAS 5 May 1981

JP

death

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 THE YOUTH, THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE  
 WORLD PROCESS .

25th May, 1980.

J . POSADAS ( Inside pages )

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FUNERAL ORATION BY COMRADE BETTI  
 FOR COMRADE POSADAS  
 6th July 1981.

Dear comrades,

I want to render here, in the name of the Rome Federation of the Communist Party of Italy, a fraternal homage for the disappearance of comrade Posadas. Here, this section and myself, have had opportunities to work together with him, to discuss and express the ideas necessary to affirm the struggle for the cause of Socialism. I believe that we will still continue to work jointly for the affirmation of these principles.

Without any doubt, we are in this very moment moved as much as yourselves are, all the comrades that have come from the whole world. We are moved to express a fraternal tribute to Comrade Posadas. The words of the comrade who spoke before me are a testimony of the work, of a struggle, of a fight, carried forward with tenacity. Only the Communists know how to have such a tenacity. It is a struggle, a fight, to obtain the goals of the progress of Humanity, which we have all waged together, even when it was with differing positions and ideas .

I believe that you must continue to develop, to ensure that the emancipation of Man, of the peoples, the aim of Socialism, continue to be pursued with great tenacity, just as we have done in this difficult moment in Italy, all together.

turn to page 2.

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• HOMAGE TO J. POSADAS BY JOE MARINO •

• ----- •

• GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE BAKER, FOOD •

• AND ALLIED WORKERS UNION OF GREAT BRITAIN •

• 21.7.81 •

• Dear comrades, •

• I grieve the death of Posadas, the •

• master of marxism in this stage who fore •

• saw the process of Partial Regeneration, •

• in the Soviet Union, and the final •

• triumph of Marxism in the world. •

• His death is a loss for the Soviet •

• Union and all the Workers movement in •

• the world, because he dedicated his life •

• to orientate a conscious effort to stimu •

• late all the workers leaderships, be •

• they Communist, Socialist, Labour or •

• Nationalist and Christian. His policy •

• of the United Front Socialist/ Communist •

• Trade Unions continue to apply today to •

• the situation in Europe, against the EEC •

• and to counter the war designs of capita •

• lism. •

• Posadas supported the Soviets' inter- •

• vention in Afghanistan because he saw •

• that to live, the Soviet Union has to •

• ----- •

• turn to page 2 •

.....

\* Comrade Betti is a leading member of the Rome Federation of the Italian Communist Party.

COMRADE BETTI

Cont'd from page 1

With these few and simple words of mine, by these words, I want to pay homage to a comrade so highly motivated, who has known how to make such a big contribution to the process of the development of Communism in the world.

Good-bye Comrade Posadas!

.....Luciano Betti,  
Leading member of the Rome Federation of the  
Italian Communist Party, elected councillor to  
the Rome Commune,  
6th July, 1981.

HOUSE OF COMMONS  
LONDON SW1  
7th July, 1981.  
Dear Secretariat,  
  
Thank you for  
the correspondence  
concerning the death  
of J. Posadas.  
  
I was very sorry  
to hear the news and  
would like to express  
my sympathy to you  
all.  
  
Yours sincerely,  
  
Dennis Skinner MP

.....  
\* Joe Marino's Homage cont'd From p 1

.....  
\* stop any advance of imperialism, and  
\* ensure that the world can become a  
\* system favourable to the advance of  
\* progress. For that, the Soviet Union  
\* has to extend in every way possible.

.....  
\* It is also Posadas that has given  
\* such a deep analysis of Poland, where  
\* the workers are not struggling against  
\* the socialist system but for real So-  
\* viet Democracy to construct and extend  
\* progress. He showed well that it isn't  
\* necessary for Poland to return to capi-  
\* talism to resolve its problems, but  
\* that it does it by advancing Socialism  
\* In this, he continued Trotsky's life  
\* and work, and his ideas influence now  
\* even inside the Soviet Union itself.

.....  
\* He constructed the International as  
\* a means of developing the necessary  
\* ideas on the world process which can-  
\* not be developed in one country alone.  
\* He did this however, to impel all the  
\* world Communist, Socialist, Labour and  
\* Trade Union movements, the Revolutiona-  
\* ry and Nationalist movements, all the  
\* Movements which advance, because these  
\* mass organisations are led to adopt  
\* the marxist method of understanding in  
\* order to accomplish consciously what  
\* the process of history is striving to  
\* achieve: Socialism. This was the aim  
\* of Comrade Posadas. Joe Marino.

A bulletin containing the world news of the Homage to comrade J. Posadas, will be soon published and obtainable from IV International Publications, 24 Cranbourn St., London WC2.

THE YOUTH, THE  
CLASS STRUGGLE, AND THE  
WORLD PROCESS.

..... J. POSADAS 25th May 1980.....

The Youth of today, have a level of maturity which comes from the development, progress and world advance of the revolution. They have the experience of an adult at 18 or 20 years of age, because they receive the experience of the world revolution. Never before has there been such a level of maturity. You find the 10 years old in Nicaragua, and 8 year old children in Rhodesia and Mozambique who have the maturity to struggle consciously for the progress of society.

What gives the Youth such a maturity and capacity for progress, is the world balance of forces and the world progress of the revolution. This is something which none of the leaderships understand; neither the Trade Union leaders, nor the leaders of the Socialist and Communist parties, understand this. They believe that the young person of today continues to be just a youngster of 18 or 20 and that they have to be lectured by the "mature" old men. Today, however, the world process of the revolution is maturing, and it allows the Youth to absorb all the experience. In this stage, countries where literally nothing exists, take power. Youthfull countries advance to the taking of power and the Youth becomes the leadership of the Revolution.

All the leaders sail past these events. They negate these principles because they do not live the revolutionary process. This applies to the leaderships of the Trade Unions and of the parties. They take the appearance of a revolutionary leadership or policy, as being the deeds of madmen. They call them "maximalists" as if it was evil to be a maximalist. The maximalists, in their days, were people who fought to change society. This does not mean to make a judgement between these and the process today. What it is necessary to make a judgement between is, those leaders who are opposed to the intervention of the Youth in the leadership of the revolution in the name of (lack of) maturity, leaders who know nothing else but conciliation, and the young people all over the world, who stimulate and advance the revolution.

The attitude of the Youth which intervenes, is to act as a leadership. They do not just take part in the revolution, they lead it! Today, 10 year old children and Youths of 20, lead revolutions. In these circumstances, it is necessary to say that those leaderships and parties which oppose the inclusion of the Youth, do so, because they fear the audacity and resolve of the Youth, motivated by consciousness. The Youth is not moved by unconscious impetuosity but by the conscious audacity of someone who is resolute. Without audacity, there can be no progress! At the present moment, audacity has such an organised form in the world that it can almost be bought in shops. Vietnam, after the Soviet Union, disseminates most audacity in the world, and it does so without having anything at all in the material sense of the word. The Vietnamese have defeated the greatest imperialist power in history.

The Youth of the world sees what the character of the next war will be. If Vietnam managed to do what it did in defeating the greatest imperialist power, then the next war will achieve ten thousand times more. The Youth is not afraid. Those who are really afraid are the leaderships, because they do not trust the Youth. They do not trust the Youth because they do not have theoretical or

..//.

political preparation. All what the present leaderships have is some elements of an idea of changing society; and this is something rather like a time-table, or a diary. The Youth who intervene can see very well that the changing of society cannot be done according to time-tables. On the contrary, changes have to be made "whether they want it or not". In fact the Youth who meet chains across their way sing (1):

"Break the chains and advance!"

J. POSADAS 25th May 1981

- (1) This refers to the song of Labordeta, singer and poet of Spain, "Canta companera canta" (Sing comrade, Sing).

J. POSADAS has analysed in an article of 3rd May 1980, "The Songs of Labordeta and the Function of Art in this stage of History".

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HOMAGE TO THE TROTSKYIST POSADIST CARLOS FLORES  
ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF HIS DEATH (1980)

In spite of the fact that many have tried to hide the murder of Carlos Flores, to hide the role of the Bolivian Section, the role of J. Posadas - among other things the defense of the Soviets' intervention in Afghanistan which Carlos Flores made in the Bolivian parliament - history cannot be lied to. Time and History always bring the truth to light. Carlos Flores, former university leader, elected Member of Parliament of Bolivia by the people of Chuquisaca, General Secretary of the Bolivian Section of the Posadist IV International - Partido Obrero Revolucionario Trotskista Posadista, leaves behind what will always serve as a model in the struggle. Carlos Flores, you lived for the objectives of the Master of Marxism of this stage, J. Posadas, in support of the Communist future of Humanity, continues through ourselves. You live in ourselves. Your example, your life, your purity, are an immortal examples. You are teaching us how to continue the ideas, the method, the form of life of Posadas, for the triumph of Communism.

\*\*\*

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)  
24 Cranbourn St.,

London WC2

.....This is a Supplement to Red Flag 314

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## The Fermanagh election affirms the need for a programme of social transformations

The triumph of the Republican candidate in the Fermanagh election is an impulse for a programme of social transformations.

The increase in votes for the Republican candidate in the Fermanagh by-election is yet another heavy defeat for the policies of British imperialism. The fact that the party of the SDLP, representing the sectors most committed to conciliation, did not have the strength to enter the election shows the powerful process of polarisation which excludes policies of evasion and connivance.

This repetition, even more marked, of the earlier electoral result shows that a process is at work which completely transcends the form of the election: that is, the struggle over the hunger strikers. The continuous sacrifice of life of the hunger strikers points to a depth of sentiment which can only come from the need to transform society utterly. On the other hand, to keep the process confined within the limits of the H Block hunger strikers is to limit the character of the struggle and keep the issues within the confines of a discussion, which does not in itself pose a danger to the structures of capitalism either in Ireland or Britain. It is necessary that the forces of the IRA reorientate their policies. The struggle against British imperialism has to be conducted not only militarily but socially and politically.

The Fermanagh result is not only the result of the struggles within Ireland but reflects also the effect of class struggles in Britain, the resistance to the Thatcher government, the changes in the Labour Party and, more recently, the intervention of the youth and sectors of the immigrant population in Toxteth etc. The miniature insurrection in Toxteth and the electoral result in Fermanagh are on the same road — the need to terminate with capitalist society — and in both cases limitations of the leadership limit the effects of these experiences.

The forces of the IRA have a mass basis, and this has also had effects in the South where the government of Fitzgerald has been weakened by the popular weight of the movement. There also, as the struggles of the IRA are not linked to the programme of the class struggle, the process again becomes confined within a framework which does not strike most effectively

against capitalism. The elections of the Republicans are blows at capitalism, but limited through lack of programmatic orientation.

More and more it is necessary to link the struggle against the British army in Northern Ireland with a programme of social transformations which extends and deepens the class struggle. It is a way also of influencing sectors of the Protestant population. The forces of Unionism have felt, and will feel, the same process of decomposition as is affecting capitalism and its links with the petit bourgeoisie. The small capitalists are being destroyed. There is no possibility within the terms of capitalism of reorganising the economy of Northern or Southern Ireland. The Paisley outfit does not represent any historic force, but are relics of the past that keep some semblance of social weight through the absence of consistent social-programme for the population of Northern Ireland.

If the forces of the IRA developed in a consistent way a programme of social transformations, they would not only affect the process in Ireland but also give added weight to the process of change in the British Labour Party. The latter now speaks of the objective of a United Ireland, but there is still a complete void on the relation of this to the process in Britain and the programme necessary to achieve a united Ireland. Both

Britain and Ireland can only develop with the erasure of the capitalist system. The British army in Ireland represents the class interests of the British and local Protestant bourgeoisie, and in all this the sentiment of property is more important than that of religion. A programme which elaborated the need for an economy that met the needs of the population: workers control, wages linked to the increase in the cost of living, a programme of public works for the unemployed, out of NATO — all of this would propose a clear social alternative to the brutal stupidity of capitalism, in Britain and Ireland. Throughout Europe the forces of the Left are developing, as with the programme of the Jusos in Germany, for example, and sectors of the bourgeoisie manifest a lack of confidence in the future of capitalism. A united front of the IRA, the trade unions, the Left of the Labour Party, on a programme of social transformations would have a devastating effect and promote the downfall of the whole supporting social order.

turn to page 4

Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

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

315 FRIDAY 11 SEPTEMBER 1981.

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## EDITORIAL

### The world process stimulates the need for a profound political life in the Labour Party

The support given by the TUC to the Labour Party rejection of nuclear missiles and bases is an indication of the powerful united front which is developing in Britain against the policies of imperialism as it desperately seeks to prepare war against the Workers States. Such a united front is part of the whole balance of world forces which becomes more and more unfavourable to Yankee imperialism, the determining force in the organisation of the forces of capitalism against the Workers States. Yankee policy, such as the decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, was aimed particularly at intimidating the European bourgeoisie, but has not succeeded in unifying the alliance against the Soviet Union. No European bourgeoisie has been disciplined in this way, the fears and doubts persist because each bourgeoisie seeks its own reprieve from the inexorable course of history, seeks to develop trade with the Workers States, and does not want to centralise itself around a principle competitor — the United States.

#### FIRMNESS OF THE SOVIET UNION DISORGANISES YANKEE IMPERIALISM.

Nothing goes right for imperialism. Having provoked an incident with Libya, Yankee imperialism found itself largely isolated in the world and obliged to justify itself. Imperialism sought to weaken the world revolution by administering correction to Ghaddafi, and Libya promptly strengthened its links with Revolutionary States to defy it. France and Mexico criticise Yankee policy over San Salvador, thereby weakening its capacity throughout Latin and Central America. Even the leadership of Yankee imperialism gives an impression of disorder and lack of centre. Reagan was not informed of the Libyan events until all was over. The faction fight over the application of American policy is as severe in the Reagan administration as under

Carter — with the same disastrous effects for the authority of imperialism. Soviet policy gives a sense of firmness and harmony. After stimulating South Africa to attack Angola, Yankee policy found itself isolated on a world scale. The European bourgeoisie refused to sustain South Africa and Heath, representing sectors of capitalism who seek to breathe a little longer and not be dragged along by the Yanks, said that South Africa could expect no support as long as it maintained apartheid. All this confirms the total failure of the Ottawa Conference to unify the forces of world capitalism. Chasms open up within all the forces of world capitalism. Not only does the European bourgeoisie fear the consequences of American policy, but divisions grow between the top layers of capitalism and the lesser sectors, who see themselves being liquidated in the course of capitalist competition.

As a result of all this, the authority of the Workers States extends and develops, and the workers' parties have the opportunity to take advantage of the fissures in capitalism to develop forms of united front against the nuclear policies of Yankee imperialism, combining policies of social transformation with policies against nuclear weapons, and affirming the superior character of the Workers States. The electoral basis of the bourgeois parties is in crisis and well-modulated policies of the workers' parties and trade unions can influence and erode the forces of the bourgeoisie.

British capitalism is now in a state of dereliction, its forces demoralised and incapable. Massive unemployment is allied to an immense impoverishment of the social services and the necessary infrastructure of industry. The Thatcher government has no authority and, in a sense, the bourgeoisie has no unifying leadership. Moreover,

there is no doubt that the Brixton-Toxteth experiences and the process of the hunger-strikers are symptoms of a powerful underlying current — the masses are preparing for even more powerful interventions in the future to accelerate social transformations which will not be confined to the electoral arena. The fact that Livingstone of the GLC has suggested that British troops should be prepared to abandon the fight in Ireland shows that the conditions are well-developed for a comprehensive programme to link the struggle of the British and Irish masses with the objective of a Socialist Federation of Britain and Ireland, a unified Socialist Republic. The fact that this is not campaigned for at this moment is through the lack of preparation in the Labour Party and the lack of cadres.

#### FOR A BETTER POLITICAL LIFE IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The conditions are developing all the time for a better level of discussion in the unions and the Labour Party, despite the hampering traditions of electoralism and the accompanying lack of interest in ideas. The concentration of world processes is going to intensify the need for discussion. What is the attitude of the Labour Party over Poland? What have those experiences to say to the struggles of the British masses? If the policy of the Labour Party is for a United Ireland how is this going to be achieved, and what type of Ireland? Why make the abandonment of the Common Market a main aspect of the Labour Party programme when it is possible to develop a discussion with the workers' parties, both Communist and Socialist, for a Socialist Europe as opposed to illusory 'national solutions'. It is one thing to use Parliament as a means to put through legislation favouring Socialist measures, but new organs are required to develop a Workers State.

Turn to page 2

The triumph of Mitterand expresses the fact that the whole of Europe is ripe for Socialism. The overwhelming majority of the population who elected him did so with this objective of developing France, combined with a small minority of the bourgeoisie who wish to improve capitalism. We realise that a few bourgeois wanted to vote for Mitterand because they wish to stop the present crisis and also because Giscard acted like a king, a monarch, in the hands of high finance. These elections will have great effects on and give a good example to Italy.

All the great industrial and financial magnates are furious, while the British and Americans want to see what Mitterand will actually do. They all assess these elections with the thought that the Socialist programme of Mitterand will correspond to their old aspect; that is, that it will respect capitalism and keep faith with it. But the programme of Mitterand contains points which certainly contain no concession to capitalism: that is, seven nationalisations of a certain significance. They understand under 'true to capitalism' being on the side of NATO and the Americans and the rejection of the Workers States. But this whole policy of developing France which Mitterand will lead has to reckon with the Workers States and maintain the agreement of the former government with them over the building of a gas pipeline, and thus the Soviets have their hands on the gear lever.

One of the biggest crises of France is over oil, and thus the diplomatic ties with Libya and Iraq in spite of disturbances which this causes their allies in Africa. In order for these countries to sell France oil, France must provide them with arms, and has to conduct such a policy in order not to depend on American concerns, and that cost them Chad. Mitterand will have to do the same for, if he broke these agreements, the results would go against French capitalism itself for the latter has to compete with the Americans and the Japanese who produce cheaper cars than France. They turn to Japan to help the rest of capitalism 'see how the Soviet Union is advancing, the progress of Communism in France itself', 'you must reduce car production', 'we cannot do it, it is your crisis', 'you cannot export any longer to our countries', etc.

A new and gigantic concentration of big business is taking place. All these discussions and conflicts between the capitalist countries are the prelude to a new level of concentration, the logic of the capitalist system. They are seeking the way to limit competition, including Renault. The Soviets observe all that, for they can produce cars for export which in quality are not so good, but are much cheaper, while the capitalist cannot penetrate the workers states. In Spain, and above all in England, there are a rather large number of Soviet cars; they are cheaper, simpler and more resistant even if they do not have the power or the same accessories as those manufactured in the capitalist countries.

The crisis of capitalism is enormous. Without being the most important part, this crisis of capitalism is a part of the triumph of Mitterand. The attitude of Chirac expresses in part the fact that a part of the capitalists who feel this crisis are disconcerted. These sectors did not want to make possible Mitterand's victory, but they see that as capitalists they are losing out. The policy of Barre, minister of Giscard, meant the liquidation of a great number of competing factories. Giscard made a policy in favour of the big enterprises and projected a whole plan against the workers' movement. As part of this, there was the idea of repatriating the Algerian workers - the most inhuman thing to do. The garbage who speak about Afghanistan against the Soviets are silent on all this. In France, Algerian workers are arrested in the streets and put on the train and sent back without any concern for their wife, and children or anything they left behind them. They are thrown out without judicial process, with nothing. Giscard has given the police the power to replace the legal procedures. An immense protest was raised against that: 'Then there is no longer a division of powers'. The judges protested in defence of their own function: 'You are assuming the powers of the judges'. Now it is the same thing over identity papers: the police have the right to hold someone for two days who is without papers.

There is a very great concentration of capital in France. These sectors have made an immense pressure because they need to compete with the Americans, the Germans and the Japanese. The triumph of Mitterand has been an immense blow to them. In order to confront this situation, Mitterand is going to have to carry out a policy which will not be strictly capitalist, without which he will not be able to sustain the pressure which is going to be exerted on him anyway. Capitalism needs to increase its capacity for competition, otherwise it will fall. If France reduces production, two and a half million workers are excluded. What to do with them? They carry out a series of functions which the French do not. All the cleaning, sanitation and transport services are staffed with foreign workers (Italians, Moroccans, Algerians, Spanish and Portuguese). If they are thrown out, that is going to mean a confrontation with the proletariat of France. Mitterand is going to government with the programme of enlarging and increasing employment and improving the conditions of work, to establish the 35 hour week and increases in wages, and to carry out the nationalisation of a series of factories which have a fundamental position. He is going to have to carry it out.

When they speak about controlling the Japanese, it is necessary to remember that half Japanese capital is in American hands. The wealth of Japan is Japanese in name, but almost half is American. There are a series of agreements like this everywhere, but they are

even more important as regards the Japanese. All the development since the second world war has been due to North American capital. It is the same for Germany. Economic development allowed Germany to re-establish itself, and the Yanks have not been able to hinder it. It was the same in Japan, although to a lesser extent: Japan remains more dependent on the United States than Germany. Nearly half of its production goes to the United States. The Yanks have capital in Japan and made Japan their ally with the perspective of war. It is stupid. Japan has no value for war, although half the population could die in one.

It is not important for military strategy. It is a small island which would disappear under the first bomb. But the United States needs it as a shield so that Japanese, rather than Americans, die. They want to do the same thing with Europe. But a series of capitalists realise this, and that provokes disagreements. There are differences for economic reasons over business problems, economic orientation as a function of the governing sectors, but the depth of the difference is due to the fact that certain capitalist sectors are furious: 'We are a cover for the United States'. They say this all the time. The Germans say it in particular: 'The United States stay in the background and we get the bombs'.

The proletariat is going to feel stimulated to intervene more, and also the Socialists. We have criticised the French Communists who do not have a good tactic even if they are right programmatically; the Socialist Party is irreplaceable to advance in the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary, then, to know the policy that is capable of attracting it.

Without repeating them, present events in France are very similar to those of the 'twenties in Germany when the Communists were against the Socialists. Trotsky said, 'Do not be so brutal. The Socialists have a bad policy but they have sixty per cent of the proletariat and they decide 60% of the population. It is not possible to make a policy which distances us from this base. In order to win, it is necessary to address it and also the leadership.' But the Communists did not wish to know anything about it. Hence Trotsky criticised the Communists for having let Hitler come in. If they had made a united front in the elections, they would have got fifteen million votes and Trotsky said, 'The Socialists are conciliators, but if one makes a front with them one will push them towards a superior level. The other policy allows the development of the nazis'.

In France it is a little like that now. The Communists followed a mad policy. If they had conducted another policy vis-a-vis the Socialists, not only would they be in a more favourable position but they would also have impelled Mitterand to go much further. He would have had to make concessions to them in order to fulfil his hopes of becoming president. It is necessary to take into account that Mitterand comes from the bourgeois camp and even in part from the camp of imperialism. See the road he has taken! His wife has had some importance in this, as she is the daughter of a known Left Socialist. The Mitterands have two children and both are militants of the Socialist Party. That is, Mitterand is not just a careerist; partly, yes, but he based himself on the process of the improvement and renewal of France. In general, the Communists have not conducted the necessary policy.

This electoral triumph is a defeat for capitalism, but it is also the expression of a certain disintegration of capitalism. Mitterand was supported by former capitalist ministers, Jobert and two or three others. In the elections that played no great role, but is a significant sign of a destruction in the capitalist apparatus. Also the 'monarchical' Giscard, as a centre of capitalism, expressed in part the destruction of its political apparatus. After the war, French capitalism concentrated itself in several political groupings which were all weak. De Gaulle saw this weakness and seized the initiative in order to lead and concentrate the bourgeoisie, and in that he had to win the petit bourgeoisie. That was his policy for a time in which the Socialists were weak; now that is no longer the situation. De Gaulle was the result of a short and temporary stage. The Socialist Party, on the other hand, is a political organisation which, with the support of the intellectuals, workers and petit bourgeois traders, medium capitalists, corresponds in a certain form to the destruction of the capitalist apparatus.

The triumph of Mitterand is important, not on account of Mitterand himself but on account of the meaning of concentration in the Socialist and Communist parties in order to stimulate France. This is an event! It breaks the monopoly of capitalism - which thought it had such a monopoly - and will influence the whole of Europe, such as Italy where now it will be discussed. It will also stimulate the Communist Left in Italy and Spain.

J. POSADAS

12.5.1981

## The origins of the present counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State.

J. POSADAS

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Editorial from page 1

Why not make a political intervention towards the police, sectors of whom do not relish their function to defend capitalism against the population? And the monarchy? Huge resources are spent on a royal marriage, when places such as Toxteth are practically abandoned. There can be no justification in speaking of the need for fundamental social change while ignoring the monarchy, a device of capitalism to mask its conflicts and maintain links with the petit bourgeoisie - now wearing very thin. If there were a much more systematic discussion in the Labour Party which extended itself into the population, which discussed issues thoroughly.

discussed Marxism and cultural matters as well, the Labour Party would become a source of attraction and the means would be prepared for a politically educated cadre fundamental in the transformation of society, the overcoming of capitalist custom and functioning.

The Labour Party is now committed to nuclear disarmament, the 35-hour week, and is discussing a series of improvements in holidays, rest days, minimum wages and impelling the economy. This is excellent, and will guarantee it support; but it also has to look ahead to coping with the class enemy, attempting to impede its

legislation and the transformation of social relations, which is meant by the advance to Socialism. The population is not a passive force in social change. It does not cease to live once it has voted. The Labour Party has to prepare to live a life with the population, to transform its functioning, to prepare for popular organs which intervene independently in the factories, the offices and the schools, against the normal functioning of the system. The Labour Party cannot summon these organs into being just like that, but it has to foresee that they will arise and are a fundamental part of the construction of Socialism.

4.9.81

Although the attempted assassination of the Pope occurred four months ago, this article of Cde Posadas has lost nothing of its insight into the reasons for the attack and its link with the chain of assassinations throughout Europe — Bologna being one of the most atrocious — organised by the CIA and NATO as part of the intervention of imperialism in Europe. The fact that the Christian Democrats are no longer in the Italian government is a pointer to the failure of the terrorist agencies of imperialism to promote coups and governments totally docile to imperialism. The analysis over the attitudes of the lesser bourgeoisie is also of extreme importance.

The attempt on the Pope's life has to be united to the development of the world process of the class struggle, of the confrontation of imperialism in competition with other capitalist countries, and of all the capitalist countries against the Workers States. Together with this, it has to be linked to the stage in which Italy is living, in which the discussion of the referendum — particularly on abortion — has a very profound meaning. Before, the elections in France had a meaning; afterwards; they have the same sense, but extended and amplified.

After the elections in France the world bourgeoisie, the most important sectors of the Socialist Party, the electoral public in general, the petit bourgeoisie, the poor bourgeoisie, and the privileged sectors of the working class have seen that it was possible to enter into alliance with the Communist Party without any great commotion. On the contrary, they won. The Communists proposed rightly, 'You won through us'. Mitterand himself, without saying it, affirmed, 'We won because the Communists supported us'. That is to say, the Communist support is not an element of defeat or of containing, but of immense progress. This is the first aspect of the elections in France. The second aspect is that the working class was the directing force which concentrated the electoral will to vote for Mitterand. The numerical difference in the voting is not very great, but more than a million votes is significant, and the real difference is much greater because, on the bourgeois side, all those who could vote did vote. The youth between fourteen and eighteen do not vote, although they work, and on the bourgeois side there are very few between fourteen and eighteen who are working. In the working class and the petit bourgeoisie, above all in the middle and poor petit bourgeoisie, there is an immense percentage who have not voted and who work. There are more than two million foreign workers who form part of the country, who have lived for thirty years in France, who have French children and are of Algerian, Moroccan, Spanish and Italian origin, and neither do these vote. Thus, it is false to say that of the fifty million French people almost half were with Giscard d'Estaing. Less than thirty per cent were with him, taking into account all the population that works, less than thirty per cent voted for him. But all those who voted for Mitterand work in production, that is, seventy per cent; and the Communists also got an immense number of votes. The bourgeoisie has seen this and has judged that it is necessary to use some device to stop Italy going on the same path begun by the USSR in 1946 when Germany was defeated.

The attack on the Pope forms part of this process. It is a new assassination of a Moro which was made with the intention of assassinating the Pope. It was only by chance that he was not killed, because the intention was to kill him. Assassins went to kill the Pope days before an election which was fundamental, not over whether they accept abortion or not. This vote gives an opportunity for a concentration of workers parties with parties of the petit bourgeoisie and of the poor bourgeoisie who are the republicans, and a very distant sector of the liberals who, although they contain some important bourgeoisie, do not have political or social weight, nor weight of political thought. Thus the bourgeoisie wished to stop all this and prepared this attack, and it gives the impression that it was prepared at the last moment, not well prepared but done at the last moment. The assassin was selected, stimulated or drugged in some way perhaps, utilising some mental obsession, or was given the hope of receiving some later advantage, i.e. that he would escape or be given money. It was a stupid attack in the way it was done, and gives the impression that it was made precipitately and hence he was caught. It was made in the street to have the effect of smashing the 'no' and increasing the Christian Democratic Right, because the vote has an effect also in the Christian Democracy. There are important sectors of the Christian Democracy who vote for the 'no' and say that it is not a question of religion, of gods or of the Pope. But, at the same time, this shows the immense weakness of world and Italian capitalism which has to resort to such methods. Resorting to these means means a very transitory and superficial effect. It is important that this is going to have a considerable effect against the Christian Democracy. The attempt is also aimed to exert a pressure to encourage a coup d'etat, but there is such a situation that the organisers are going to come off worst.

This was organised by the CIA with the Christian Democrat Right to contain the process, not to maintain the Christian Democrat electoral superiority, but so that capitalism does not decline in its authority and to impede the Socialist-Communist united front which attracts the republicans, radicals and social democrats. This attack was made against this front. Hence the attack on Reagan and Kennedy, They are all attacks to cut short, to impede, sabotage the ascent of the anti-capitalist political united front which, although it is a front with republicans, social democrats and liberals, that is, not anti-capitalist, limits enormously the capitalist system. They killed Moro because, if he had lived, he would have continued with his task to make an agreement

with the Communists and, even without the Communists entering into the government, there was an indirect participation of the Communists in the government, and hence they killed him. Hence the Red Brigades are doing all that they are doing, and this is also an aspect which corresponds to what the Red Brigades are doing, and have done, with other assassinations.

THE WORKERS STATES ARE INCREASING IN INFLUENCE!

This attack is aimed to cut short the political ascent and the influence over the masses of Italy at the triumph of Mitterand, represented in the development of the united front of the workers' parties against the capitalist system. Although there may be differences in the programme, objectives or forms, there is a united front even for the abortion law, and it is a united front with the Communists showing that such things are possible, and that nothing terrible need happen. If they make a united front for problems like these which are so important, why are they not going to have one for the government? The bourgeoisie seeks to prevent this and to give room for the Christian Democracy to increase the support to the Christian Democracy. They are not going to increase the support to the Christian Democracy. They are not going to achieve either. The 'no' is going to win and by a great deal, and the Christian Democracy is not going to win any political advantage from this. The old hierarchy of the Church is not necessarily implicated in this. It is possible that they did not have any idea of what was happening, but the attack comes from the Right of the Christian Democracy with the top circles of capitalism and the Yanks. The latter were involved in the attack of Tejero and hence, when they asked Haig what he thought of this, he only spoke three days after. In Spain they said openly, 'You supported this', and he did not deny nor affirm and it is clear that he was expecting the triumph of the coup. It's the same in Italy where the Yanks are involved.

Imperialism in Italy finds itself in a very complicated position as is the case also with the Christian Democracy. They have to expropriate a great deal of land, including the most fertile for agriculture, in order to give it to NATO. This means investing a quantity of money which is ten per cent of the annual budget of Italy, whilst there is no money for the unemployed. The workers see that they want to impede the sliding scale of wages and the Christian Democracy sees also that this is not in defence of the country nor of sovereignty, but is in favour of the capitalists and NATO, and they are against NATO. There is a growing movement which is quite deep and extensive against the rearmament of Italy, not in the name of peace but of logical reasoning 'all this money which you invest there, why do you not invest it in work and production, why are you going to increase prices and lower the sliding scale'. 'This investment is not necessary. Let

them invest in work and wages.' There is a very great current among the Liberals and the Republicans who now reason in this way.

THE UNITED FRONT IN ITALY

This attack is to contain the process. It was made by a sector perhaps not organised in everything. It is not a Moro type of plan, but has the same conclusion as the attack on Moro. Thus the sense that they see in the triumph of Mitterand opened the gates to the entry of the Communists, to the united front with the Socialists, with the radicals, republicans and even with the liberals. Remember that the son of the President of the Liberal Party declared himself a Marxist, said it openly, and belongs to the Young Liberals. Thus there is no incompatibility between Marxism and these small managers and small businessmen; that is, the lower bourgeoisie, the first rung of the bourgeois ladder.

The CIA sees with fear the rapid development of the influence of the USSR, like the elections in France where they see the tendency for a united front against war. This process of the petit bourgeoisie, including the poorer bourgeoisie who do not have the means to compete with large and medium capital, makes them accept the policy of social changes with which they hope to live better than now, with economic transformations, nationalisations, a certain workers' control, control of finances, re-organisation of the judicial, economic and banking apparatus. This is very serious and also in France important sectors of the bourgeoisie say, 'We do not want war', and important sectors of Gaullism which are bourgeois support Mitterand in the name of an opposition to war, 'The war comes and we die. Why? In the name of the Yanks?'

It is very important to interpret in this way this process which is much more profound than the attack on the Pope because there is no motive for an attack on a religious basis; they take this as an excuse and also they are seeking to influence so that votes for the annulling of abortion favour the Right and the Christian Democracy. It is a political conclusion in various aspects, but the 'no' is going to win and by some way, taking into account that in these elections only those of eighteen and above vote, yet in Italy children work from the age of ten. A high percentage of the children of Italy — from 15 to 20% — work from the age of ten and do not vote, and from 14 to 18 they all work but do not

vote. This is an absolute swindle because the elections are not going to represent the will of the population which works, which produces, in accordance with their criterion, of the basis for eligibility to vote. People do not have this electoral right, and of those from 14 to 18 there are more than four millions, and two million of these are Communists.

Through the attack on the Pope they want to move, attack and intimidate the allies of the Communist Party so that they do not go into a united front with the Communists and vote for the 'yes'. But, at the same time, although the action of the united front is suspended (1), the declaration of Spadolini (2)

saying 'Whatever happens, it is necessary to vote for the 'no', we reiterate our 'no' in the vote', is very important because even weakening in the united front they appeal for a vote for the 'no' and seek to win a Catholic sector which votes for the 'no'.

This is the discussion and indicates the warming breezes which cross the Italian spring.

J. POSADAS 13.5.81

(1) This refers to the affirmation of the united front called by the Communist Party, Socialist Party, Republican Party, Liberal Party and the Party of Proletarian Unity for the 'no' vote against the annulling of the law on abortion.

(2) Spadolini is the principal leader of the Republican Party.

The 17 May was the date of two referendums, one presented by the Radical Party which asked for the annulling of the law on abortion in order to make a more flexible law where abortion is not controlled or regulated by the state; and the other referendum of the 'Movement for Life', supported by the Christian Democracy and the Fascists who asked for the negation of the present law and support for a new legislation which limits abortion and practically returns it to illegality. The Communist, Socialist, Social Democrat, Liberal, Republican and Proletarian Unity parties supported the present law on abortion and appealed for a 'no' to the two referendums. Throughout this period, the Pope intervened publicly and in meetings of support to the referendum of the 'Movement for Life', and there was a great polemic, above all of the parties of the Left against the Pope for this intervention in the political problems of Italy.

CORRECTION.

In the last issue of RF (314), paragraph 6, page 3, line 6 should read: 'The Socialist Party expelled it...' (not him)

## The advance of Poland increases the authority of the workers states

The process in Poland confirms all the analyses made by Cde Posadas in his last texts. It is a process of profound renovation as was shown in the success of the congress of the PUWP. The process has led to a massive purge of the most conservative sectors not only in the Party but in the administration, culminating in the actual expulsion of Gierek himself. Clearly the disorganisation of the Workers State is not the responsibility of single individuals, but the decision to expel from the Party the former leader is a sign of a desire to break with the past. The way is open for the development of new cadres nurtured, not in the past traditions of conformism and the traditions of Stalinism, the conceptions of conciliation and privilege, but in an atmosphere of confidence and with the way open to learn.

### THE VANGUARD CORRECTS THE PARTY LEADERSHIP.

The problem, as the Soviets now admit, is the absence of firm cadres who have a programme to meet the needs of the Workers State. Although bureaucracy has been dealt a massive blow from which there can be no retreat, bureaucracy in some form can continue, because it can only disappear with a total Soviet democratic functioning throughout the life of the country and with a type of constant discussion which prevents the development of independent apparatuses. But the fact that all that has happened has been the result of the action of the Communist vanguard actually changing its own Party, in fact leading its own Party, is a rare but significant reversal of the usual norms. This in no way alters the conception of the role of the Party, but it also corresponds to a stage of history where, in spite of limited or backward leaderships, the vanguard has the ability to intervene and correct. This applies particularly to the Workers States, but it has ultimately a universal significance. In the Soviet Union, the Party — immensely superior to the Polish Party — has carried out a series of major purges; but how much more important would the contribution of the Soviet Union be if the masses of the world saw a greater participation of the Soviet masses in all decisions and discussions!

The present 'disorder' in Poland is the result of a lack of programme and established leadership. Yankee imperialism has tried to use Poland as a justification for its coming attack on the Soviet Union, but it has had no effect whatsoever. The food shortage in Poland is entirely artificial — even so the 'ration' seems very substantial! There is plenty of arable and fertile land. The cause of any obstruction to food supplies — even apparently falling production — is the failure to meet the issue of the elimination of private property in land — apart from the small farmers there is a powerful contingent of wealthy farmers whose interests do not coincide with the Workers State. They particularly resent the attack on the

black market — the preserve of the relationship with the bureaucracy. Elements of scarcity have been provoked as a means of exerting a pressure on the government to modify the structure of the Workers State in the same way as the discussion over self-management is an attempt on the part of some sectors to decentralise the functioning of the Workers State. It is true that the proper functioning of the planned economy means a central plan which is then applied on a local scale, allowing the maximum of productive initiative in accordance with the objective needs of the workers' economy; but decentralisation on the level of self-management is no longer decentralisation but an attempt to limit the functioning of the Workers State. When sectors in Solidarity speak of 'authentic self-management' do they think of the Yugoslav experience which accelerated the emergence of special caste interests in the Workers State? All this has to be discussed.

### IMPORTANCE OF THE ROLE OF THE ARMY.

The role of the army — the fact that the premier is from the army — has also some importance because, in the absence of a firm cadre and with the need of a period for government and Party to develop, change and, above all, to think in Marxist terms, the army plays a role of stability: its history linked in blood and bone with the Red Army in the crushing of the nazis — the representative of world capitalism in the attempt to destroy the Workers States. In part, in this way the army substitutes for the Party; but only transitionally and limitedly. (Further on this will be published in a forthcoming book on Poland by J. Posadas, where he analyses recent changes in the army). The weight given to the army is also part of the preparation for the final encounter with imperialism to which the process of political and permanent revolution is indissolubly linked.)

In all this, the most striking feature is the behaviour of the vanguard and the masses. In the big demonstrations recently, there was an atmosphere of carnival in which the population gave flowers to the militia — this represents a new form of relation between the population and the necessary apparatus of the Workers State. Persuasion has replaced confrontation. In protecting the interests of the population, the Workers State is strengthened and gives an example to the world.

### ... Fermanagh

The conclusions of Fermanagh and Toxteth point unequivocally to the need for a common Socialist programme transcending the boundaries of Ireland and Britain, for a Socialist Federation

The struggle is not now one

A stage has now been reached in this process when the superiority of the Workers States is seen in the concrete example of the resolution of differences. Poland is a classic case, where the elevation of the Workers State is seen in spite of many problems, whilst world capitalism increasingly flounders in disorder and confrontation between the masses and the apparatuses of the bourgeoisie. All the attacks used by capitalism on the Workers States, accusations of repression, distortion of the truth, assassinations, are seen to be exemplified not in the functioning of the Workers States but in capitalism itself. A trade union leader of the air traffic controllers is put in chains in the United States, where it has also become customary to assassinate or try to assassinate the president. The morgue in Los Angeles overflows with dead bodies brought about by the high murder rate, and black youths are murdered systematically in Atlanta. The world sees all this and makes up its mind that Poland represents progress, and capitalism equals imbecility and homicide as a way of life.

Poland shows an activity of the masses participating in the construction of society, even if this is limited through the lack of Marxist cadres and Bolshevik tradition — capitalism shows only struggles between small rival cliques, as with the interminable number of financial scandals in Italy or in the brutal confrontation which led to the attempted assassination of Reagan. The problems of Poland are those of construction — construction on the solid bases of an economy which has to improve its collectivised functioning in order to advance; those of capitalism are the convulsions caused by its auto destruction brought on by the viciousness of its inter-imperialist competition, the inability as a system socially to compete with the Workers States, or control the markets of the Workers States.

The political revolution in Poland has raised the capacity of the Workers States to influence all the anti-capitalist forces in the world and the next stages of the political revolution in the Workers States, part both of the preparation to confront imperialism and the construction of the Workers State towards Socialism will reach levels far superior to the process in Poland. The consciousness of the Communist vanguard in the Workers States will augment enormously, re-affirming and extending profoundly the experience of humanity.

continued from page 1

simply of an independent Socialist Ireland. The conditions now allow the solution of national and social problems together. A Socialist Ireland requires a Socialist Britain, the struggle is joint and inclusive.

## Toxteth, Lothian and the Labour Party

Recent events in this country have emphasised the necessity for the Labour Left to adopt methods and forms of organisation which correspond to the necessity of the class struggle. Where the youth have been prepared to confront the capitalist apparatus, in working class areas like Toxteth or Moss Side, the present Tory government has retreated. These youths on the streets in confrontation with the police, had little or no political leadership, organisation, programme or policy, but the government retreated. In fact the Tory Government has found that there is money available for Liverpool, the minister Heseltine has made two visits, and the Prime Minister one. Even the Prince of Wales — who has a reputation for meanness even among his own circle — has found a spare £25,000 for the 'inner city' youth. It is true that the measures proposed by the Tory government cannot solve the 'inner city decay', because it is only an aspect of the decay of the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie have neither the capability nor the intention of solving the problems of the population. However, they have retreated in front of the mobilisation of the youth, they are doing all the things they promised not to do. They have retreated in front of the

youth in the same way as they retreated in front of the mobilisation of the miners against pit closures. These mobilisations have demonstrated the weakness of the Tory government and the capitalist system in general. Neither the mobilisations of the youth nor that of the miners was given a political leadership by the Labour Party or trade unions; but, in common with the Republican hunger strikers and the 30,000 voters in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, they draw confidence from the fact that they are supported by a world balance of forces which is favourable to Socialism.

### CAPITALISM IS WEAK

In contrast, the Labour majority on the Lothian Regional Council has been forced to surrender. Their policy of maintaining social and educational services in the face of government cuts in expenditure has collapsed. This is in spite of the fact that the Labour Party has the support of the working class and a large sector of the population in the region. This is proved by the fact that they were able to organise a successful 24-hour protest strike in the region. Now the government is cutting the rate support grant by £1.5 million a day, and the education service is to sack over a thousand teachers. There is a very simple conclusion to be drawn from the fact that the government puts money into Liverpool and takes it away from Lothian. The conclusion is that it is not possible to transform society, or even to defend the gains of a previous period, by administering the structure and apparatus of capitalism.

The crisis of the norms of Labour Councils functioning within the system is also seen in the recent referendum in Coventry, where on the issue of higher rates or cuts most of the population stayed away — which itself demonstrates that the issue passes beyond the usual electoral forms.

It is no coincidence that the youth of the major industrial centres intervened immediately after the election of Labour majorities onto the Councils in all these areas. It is a proof that the Labour masses voted for an aspiration — which the Labour Party, as a centre, represents — for social transformations and not for a Labour representation to administer the capitalist system. The intention of the youth of Toxteth and Moss Side was to stimulate and impel a leadership in the Labour Party prepared for a struggle to transform society. These youths have demonstrated to the Labour Left how to resolve the crisis in the Labour Party over whether to cut social, health and education services, or to increase rates, which means to lower the standard of living anyway.

### THE LEFT MUST TURN TOWARDS THE MASSES.

These events show — and this is what it is necessary for the Labour Left to discuss — that the government and the capitalist system is weak; that little or no reforms can be gained from the administration of the apparatus of the capitalist system; and that the working class and the population generally are a force for progress, and not simply voting fodder. There has been a considerable advance of the general Left within the apparatus of the Labour Party. However, in the context of local government, Councils like Lothian or London, which have Left-wing majorities, have been placed in exactly the same position as anyone else who confines himself to functioning in this apparatus. Of course, local Councils, like Parliament, provide a very good tribune to put forward programme, policy and ideas, but other forms are necessary to implement them. The Labour Left has to turn itself outwards towards the population and the working class at the base of the trade unions. Nationalisations demand workers control and factory occupations are a means of imposing nationalisations under workers control, even before there is a Labour government with such a programme. Above all, it needs at this moment for the Labour Left to organise discussions on these fundamental issues in the factories, in the workers areas, in the schools etc. It also needs the Labour Left to organise itself as a tendency which corresponds to this necessity rather than to simply win positions inside the apparatus of the Labour Party and within the confines of the electoralist structure.

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## EDITORIAL

## THE LABOUR PARTY DECISION ON UNILATERAL DISARMAMENT IS A POWERFUL ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRESS

No amount of statements by the bourgeois media that the Labour Party has been 'saved' can disguise the fact that the Labour Party conference represents a profound blow at the capitalist system. At a stage in history when all that the capitalist system has left to cling to is its war preparations, the Labour Party has committed itself to unilateral nuclear disarmament by a massive majority. This decision to disarm British imperialism represents a massive concentration of anti-capitalist forces. British imperialism has lost any possibility of having an alternative government, prepared to defend the capitalist system. In a previous stage, in 1960, the leader of the Labour Party, Gaitskell, was able to fight to reverse such a decision but the present leader of the Labour Party has to express his full agreement. The whole world balance of social forces favourable to the advance of humanity towards Socialism is expressed in this resolution of the Labour Party and in the speeches of Foot, both at the conference and after his meeting with Brezhnev in Moscow when he said that the Soviet Union seeks peace and Yankee imperialism the opposite. Without such a conclusion being articulated in a concise way, the whole tenor of Foot's intervention expressed the aspirations of humanity at this stage. Even if it did not form part of the discussion, the opposition to Yankee missiles in Holland and in capitalist Germany, indeed in the whole of capitalist Europe and, the weight of the Workers States, made itself felt at this conference. At the same time, the fact that the majority of delegates\* at the conference voted in favour of withdrawal from NATO indicates that the anti-capitalist process is much more profound than was expressed in this Labour Party conference.

### THE LEFT HAS MADE POLITICAL ADVANCES.

The struggle over the deputy leader of the Labour Party is very far removed from the reality of the balance of forces in the Labour Party. Nonetheless, the fact that Benn was very close to victory, despite all the manoeuvres and the use of the trade union 'block vote', shows the strength of the anti-capitalist forces in the Labour Party. In fact, the struggle over the position of deputy leader, in common with struggles over many other issues - including who decides the electoral manifesto of the Party - forms part of a process of constant collision between the anti-capitalist aspirations of the Labour Left and the apparatus of the Labour Party which was constructed in another stage of history. The Labour Left may have failed to gain this or that position in the apparatus of the Labour Party, but it has won a series of important political and programmatic victories: not only on the removal of nuclear bases, but on the question of controlling the police, on the struggle for the 35-hour week without loss of wages, and in securing from the Labour leadership the pledge that the next Labour government will impose control over the 'financial institutions' and increase 'public ownership'. Even the decisions of the Labour leadership to accept the idea of a 'united Ireland' represents an advance in the sense that it goes against the automatic acceptance of the domination of Northern Ireland by British imperialism. And this opens the way for a much deeper discussion on fundamental questions of the nature of the capitalist state.

It is true that the pro-capitalist sectors in the Labour Party have gained a number of apparent victories in changes in the NEC, and on other issues, but they have no real meaning. Indeed, these sectors can only maintain themselves on the basis of the apparatus. It is not at all a bad thing that the force of the Left was expressed in votes for Benn but, in order to advance, the Labour Left has to base itself on a discussion of political ideas and programme. The support for nuclear disarmament by Foot and much of the Labour leadership shows that it is possible to win these sectors to more advanced anti-capitalist positions. In reality, there are few fundamental differences between Foot and Benn on major issues. Therefore, it is not a question of confrontation but of an intervention of the Left on the basis of ideas and persuasive arguments.

### THE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES.

The results of the Labour Party conference show the need for the development of a deeper and continuous political life, not only in the Labour Party itself but in the working class and population

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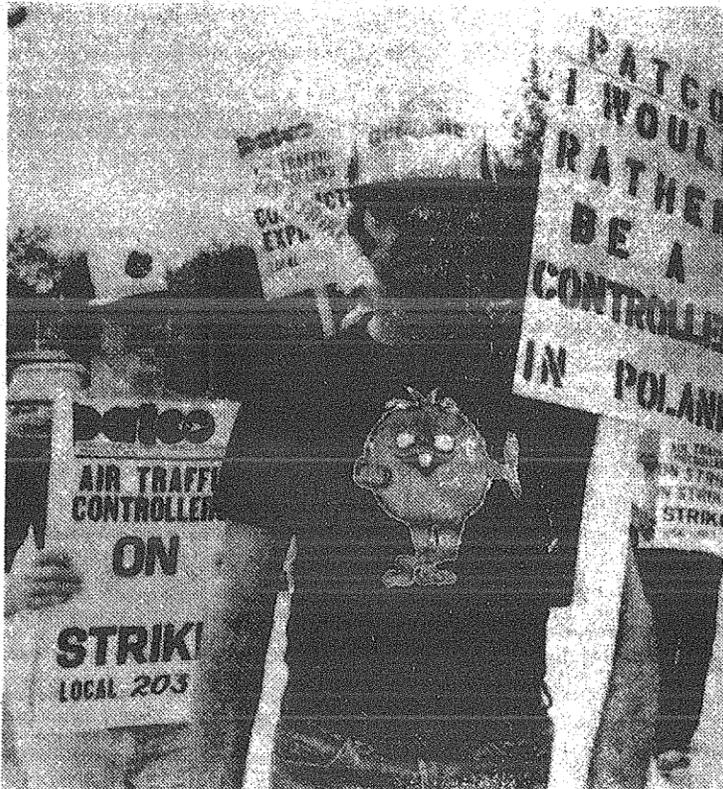
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## The Washington demonstration concentrates the American masses against the war policies of imperialism

The massive demonstration of a half million American workers in Washington is a considerable blow at the Reagan government and will tend to have important consequences in provoking a more profound resistance to the policies of US imperialism and intensifying the internal collisions within the American ruling class. The United States has appeared historically as the most immune to the effects of the world revolution. It saw the inability to construct an independent class party and the famous theory of 'exceptionalism', that is, that America was different from everywhere else. But, although the

and in 1978 ninety-six million Americans did not vote in the Congressional elections. Thus on an elementary basis, that is, the acceptance of the importance of elections for the capitalist system, is now decisively rejected in the United States. The American masses have no belief that their system can effect changes - they see that Poland can.



This demonstration, although its slogans were related to economic issues, is the result of an accumulation of experience from this stage of the world process. The refusal of the Soviets to concede to Yankee imperialism and the fact that the American masses see the progressive role of the Workers States in supporting revolutionary struggles throughout the world, the changes in Poland, the government of Mitterrand in France, are all points of support and stimulus to the American masses. All this contributed to the demonstration.

organs of the working class were unable to develop, it has proved to be impossible to insulate the United States from the objective course of the anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist world united front led by the Workers States. The most devastating fact which shows the enormous political and social weakness of Yankee imperialism is that, in the 'democratic elections' supposed to be the hallmark of popular support for capitalism, the majority of the population does not vote. Thus Reagan was elected by less than thirty per cent of the population,

The American trade union leadership is reactionary and its leaders act in support of American imperialism in trying to stimulate anti-Socialist elements in Poland, for example, but they no longer determine the internal life of the American workers. When they are obliged to denounce the effects of Reagan's policies, their abilities to contain are not as they were. On the contrary, whereas the apparatuses of the unions send money to stimulate reaction in Poland, the IRA receives great popular support in sectors of the American masses.

The pressure of the American proletariat will increasingly act as a leadership of the petit bourgeoisie, of the Blacks and all the most oppressed sectors of the community such as the eleven million Americans who live below subsistence level and the millions of illiterates. It is limited because of the lack of an independent class party. On the other hand, the Soviet Union could intervene much more powerfully towards the American masses not only by the road of explanations, and interventions towards the trade unions to facilitate an independent class party, with appeals against nuclear arms, but by the development of Soviet democracy in the Soviet Union itself giving the most complete example of the superiority of the Workers States. Poland influences because it is precisely part of this political revolution.

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# THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION AND THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The problems which arise from the process in Libya are the most important in history. In the history of the struggle for the progress of humanity, the process in Libya is a form in which the world process is expressed. Libya shows that the relation of military forces already developed and in action allow a very backward country, from every point of view, to make an impressive leap forward. It is not a leap of metres but of centuries. Libya passed from an almost complete absence of cultural, scientific, sporting life (before the revolution of 19 September 1969) to what it is today.

Libya did not have the strength by itself to do this. Making a comparison between Libya and the world, one sees that Libya depended on the world capitalist system and did not have the social strength of itself - that is to say, with Party and trade unions to make this process of transformations. Libya had a ruling oligarchy based on the army to dominate the country, and links with British, Italian, and a little with French, imperialism. These gave the oligarchy the military strength that they needed to dominate. The oligarchy had an army with the objective not to make war on neighbours but against the population and, in Libya, there was no tradition of Party, of trade union or ideas, almost no books, illiteracy was almost total, and women had no rights, not even in the family. Up to the arrival of Ghaddafi the husband could have seven wives.

The progress of Libya was possible through the relation of world forces and the influence of the USSR and of the Workers States, in the Middle East and particularly on a Libyan military layer. This team made a coup and led the country towards a nationalist position. From the beginning, there wasn't a formed leadership. There was a struggle which lasted some years, a more homogenous leadership was achieved programmatically which sought to develop the country, using oil which is the base of the economy for the progress of the country. This was done in alliance with the Workers States, even without signed agreements. The alliance consisted in the fact that the Workers States gave the guarantee and the security that Libya could act as it wanted, because imperialism did not have the strength or the capacity to intervene because of the existence of the Workers States. Libya was a backward country which arose in history with an immense leap because of the Workers States. No historian analyses in this way the process of Libya. They say that the soldiers who made the coup are 'audacious'. This is true, but this process did not depend on the audacity of the soldiers but on the historic and social possibility, and this is not resolved by audacity but depends on the relation of social not military forces; and the relation of social forces means the ideas, experience and capacity, and the necessity of the progress of history. It is for this reason that Libya could make such a forward leap.

Formerly, the Yanks did not speak to the big countries of 'breaking relations', but they invaded the country and bombarded it(1), but they had to say to Ghaddafi, 'You have to get out in five days', and apparently Ghaddafi replied to Reagan, 'We are accustomed to clowns'.

Yankee imperialism shows its weakness in front of Libya. It breaks relations to influence other countries so that they do not have relations with Libya in order to intimidate them. This is the basis of the rupture of relations, and it is the reverse of the proposition which imperialism wants, to show that it is strong. People see it as weak, that it is not capable of taking steps against the Libyans. It could not even say to Ghaddafi, 'You are a great twit'; nothing. They had to say diplomatically, 'Mr Terrorist, take the bombs from here and go'.

The process in Libya has a more extensive significance than that understood and conceived by the Yanks, because every small country now sees that the USSR is the centre of support for any progress, and they seek the Soviet Union. They see that Libya is not a poor country which needs economic help. Relatively, in proportion to the number of inhabitants and to the wealth, Libya is one of the richest countries of the world - immense riches and a small population. But Libya is utilising the wealth for progress. People see this, and say (to the critics of Libya), 'It will not be everything that you want, but the country develops. The people have work, homes and food; before they had nothing.' Before, there was King Idris who was a degenerate, with a hundred wives. Today, Libya exists and develops because of the USSR; objectively because the USSR exists, and organisationally because they seek the support of the USSR. All the countries who seek the support of the USSR have developed. Egypt, which broke with the USSR and sought support in the Yanks, has retreated. There is a camarilla in power, and Egypt is going to explode. It's a question of time, but it is going to explode.

There is no progress in the world which is begun, and then retreats to starting base - not even with Pinochet or Castelo Branco (2). As part of the progress which the revolution has made in Libya, there has been a liberation - even if it is not complete - of women. In the first place, women have been incorporated in the normal activity of the country. Before, this was not the case. Now they have abandoned the veil; they study, work, and can go alone through the streets; and before it was not so. They can undertake economic activities and work by themselves. It is a revolution in the Muslim world, which was not made by Mahomet. The example of the process of liberation of Libya is a demonstration of the world relation of forces.

Imperialism was impotent to prevent this process. It wanted to impede it, but did not find the means nor the strength because of the Soviet Union. The strength of the

Libyans was their decision, but was supported on the world relation of forces which, although without direct support or intervention of the Workers States, determined that the Libyan revolution and all the other revolutions in the Middle East developed. The existence of the Workers States was protection for this progress of history. This is the real basis of all the progress of Libya.

The programme of Ghaddafi and of the team which leads, which is not only Ghaddafi, was improved and elevated in the course of the revolution. It was based on the very good consideration of expropriating and statifying but, in that, they did not have a clear programme. On the march they made and re-made it. The point of departure of the programme was very simple. There was a struggle in the leadership and there wasn't a programmatic decision. But, a few months after going to power, the Ghaddafi team proposed and developed the programme towards a certain form of Workers State which ended as a Revolutionary State, and there are all the conditions for a Workers State. Everything is nationalised. Private property of any importance does not exist in Libya - or only in commerce and the artisans. All the principle centres of production, petroleum and other minerals, lie in the hands of the state. The Libyan leadership is based on the economic and social programme, on the experience of the Workers State. This is the true nature of the progress of all the countries of Africa, Asia, and also Latin America.

The Soviet Union is not a model, it is a programme. In order to advance from privation to development it is necessary to nationalise, plan, and make the masses intervene. This is what the Libyans are doing in a limited way. There is still not a Marxist programme, but the fundamentals already exist, so that in a few years the need for a coherent programme will be proposed, which is Marxism. Coherence, that is to say, that production must be programmed, and for this it must be nationalised. But, to programme production a leadership is necessary which has the understanding of this process.

It is necessary to consider that this progress of Libya, even if very important, shows a limitation in the political - and also military - leadership because it is limited in historic and political understanding. But, at the same time, it is a leadership of Muslim origin which was limited in theological: religious, social and human conception, and the Workers State influenced this leadership directly. What Libya has achieved is the future of Iran, because in Libya they have not decided as Muslims but as human beings, and they have convinced Mahomet that it was necessary to do all that they have done, and Mahomet said that it was good. This is the world relation of forces and is an example for all the Arab countries, and also for Afghanistan.

## ISLAM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

It is not Mahomet nor the Muslim conception which determines the progress of history, but the programme, policy and intervention of the population. All this has been done on the basis of the scientific conception of the development of history which is Marxism, and all that they have done is Marxism, and they do not make any direct attack against Marxism. They limit their relation with Marxism, but they do not reject it.

But, for the Muslim world this progress of Libya is fundamental. It is the example that, for the progress of history and of humanity, for social progress, it is necessary above all to resolve what to do with the economy, what to make of society, that is, with the capitalist state. Libya shows to all the other Arab countries that they have made an immense leap forward because they did what was done before in the USSR. The Arab masses understand this. They cannot say it, but they understand. They see that Libya before the revolution was nothing, and now capitalism has an enormous fear of Libya. They are afraid of the 'mad' Ghaddafi - as they call him - who one day says 'all must do as in Libya. Here there are no owners of houses; everyone has a house, school and work. All have enough to eat.' Before they had nothing. There is also the progress of women.

All this develops on the road of historic necessity and the basis is Marxist. It is not the Marxist programme, but the basis of the development of Libya is Marxist. It is a fundamental conclusion for all the Arab countries which is not imposed by the Muslim conception but through social necessity. The social example comes from the USSR, and also from Cuba, Ethiopia, Vietnam, Algeria, Angola and Mozambique. This process shows the tendency of history towards the unification of all the progress of the countries towards the line of the USSR, not only through the economic and social structure but through the historic resolution of the Soviet Union which animates all the small countries.

At the same time, it is necessary to consider the limitation of the process of the development of Libya through the lack of a coherent leadership. It is possible to do much more and, if not, it is through the limitation of this leadership. But Libya shows that the Arab world is not closed to the Marxist progress of history. Libya is an experience which shows this.

Another experience is Ethiopia, which was almost more backward than Libya. In order to develop, they took hold of Marxist progress. All the Arab countries and the Arab masses see this process. They do not remain in the Koran. They see and assimilate the experience which develops in all these countries which begin processes of transformation. This is the process in Libya, this progress of society is more important than Islam.

In this process the leadership and the intervention of the Workers States is necessary on these countries. It is the weakness of the Communist parties and of their non-resolved policy, the lack of programme, capacity, leadership, which has not allowed a greater influence on these Arab countries. Libya is not the smallest, but was the weakest of all. It had an enormous layer of sheiks who had a very great contempt for human life.

The process in Libya is an aspect of the world process which, although it is important, is limited because much more could be done. But this shows that there is an internal struggle which is still not public. Between the different sectors of the leadership there is still not the same capacity or the same programme. Some are more to the Left and are more conscious. There is an agreement between the different wings. Some show themselves to be less 'Muslim' than others, and closer to the Soviet Union. But there is an agreement between them.

## FROM REVOLUTIONARY ARAB NATIONALISM TO THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The lack of culture of the capitalist system is expressed in what it writes on Libya. They are obliged to characterise the progress of Libya but minimise and leave it at the level of religious obscurantism. They seek to minimise the progressive aspects. It is the fact that everyone has a house, there is no unemployment, no hunger, no poverty: that all this is eliminated. The principle aspect of the economy is satisfied. The woman does not have the veil any more. They see that she is dressed in a particular way so that the female form is not emphasised, which shows the society in its origins, the sadism which existed in this country. Egypt must do this. When they have to hide the female form to make them equal to men, it is in part to eliminate a base of sensual instigation. When they do it, it is because the previous social relations led to this conclusion. But also, at the same time, wearing trousers poses equality with men.

The historic depth of the use of trousers is for equality with men.

It was the Celts who inaugurated trousers. Why the need for trousers? And this indicates a development of Celt society that is very elevated, involving sexual relations. The trousers are to qualify the division of the sexes and to prevent sensual insinuation which must be very deep in this society. But it was not as today a motive of slackness, of the waste of women, but a development which in the absence of culture, of literature, of art and of science, took this road.

In Arab society, in Libya particularly as in Egypt, this is the essential base: the woman is the instrument of sex, not an instrument of man but an instrument of sex. As before in China. This society created by the revolution in Libya eliminates this, the woman now is

## J. POSADAS

not an instrument for sex or man. It is a progress of Libya and the capitalists say, 'Look, they put women in trousers'. They do not speak of the immense progress made in a few years; and it is a progress because they have to develop the country culturally in order to understand it.

The child today forms part of society in Libya. The child before was an object and the adult complained that he had to dedicate himself to the child. Now the child forms part of society and, at the same time that they pass from the very great limitation of the religious conception (not of Islam but of religious conception), they pass to the opening to ideas. These are the ideas which affect movements as in Libya, and not the religious conception. The monopolist monopolistic religious conception submitted the development of the human being to certain rules which come from the relation with God. Social development overcomes this. It does not overthrow, but overcomes it. Thus human beings elevate their social and scientific understanding through means of human social love and overcome the religious conception. This is not to overthrow God - so many years dedicated to gods - but says 'these are stages of human history which arose as a consequence of private property.'

In Libya this is being done, and this process is preparing an elevation of Islam, not overthrowing Islam but overcoming and concentrating it on social ideas of progress, the reasonable conception of Islam which is very good - much less so the Catholic religion which was to serve the class which led the capitalist world. Islam has a series of conceptions of progress which the leading layers, the sultans, placed in their service.

Libya was a country without anything. Before the revolution, if anyone was asked about Libya they did not know where it was. Now there is Ghaddafi, and that means anti-imperialism, development and support to the revolution, and being a friend of the Soviet Union. All this has developed with the Muslim sentiment, although it is not the first case. It was the USSR which first made the enormous progress of the Muslims, incorporating them into the Revolution - and they were first soviets and then muslims.

Libya is making an immense progress. Once it was a harem with an oil well. It began to have some significance with oil, before it was nothing, just desert. It has the worst part of the desert and hence no strength. From this desert a team of soldiers accompanied by civilians - because it was not only soldiers - had the decision to make this effort which is part of the progress of the world revolution. They did not do it for themselves, but for Islam. They develop the conditions which are preparing now the bases for a new leap forward to Socialist measures. The experience of people is showing, well, this is necessary now; that is to say, the programming and planning and development o

industry, irrigation development, the alliance with all the Workers States and unconditional support to every revolution, as Ghaddafi does although a little inconsistently because there is no Party.

Islam is feeling developed by social progress, the intellectual and cultural progress of the revolution. The revolution essentially appears as a process of financial relations and of extension of financial to social relations. Revolutions in this stage of history have essentially a direct and immediate expression in social relations in which the child unborn intervenes with the mother, and being born still continues doing what his mother does and the grandmother of eighty asks the grandchild 'teach me to read and write', while the grandchild carries out the function of revolutionary and does not ask food for himself. The children want to intervene in the construction of themselves.

### FROM REVOLUTIONARY ARAB NATIONALISM TO SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The process in Libya is one of the most elevated events in history, because it is the form in which the progress of the revolution penetrates the Arab countries that are without Communist parties. Libya does not have a Communist Party and people on the left were killed. Without Communist parties, the Libyan revolution proceeds through the influence on a military layer. This process shows the form that history takes, in which the most backward countries of the world achieve the most elevated forms, which is the result of the world relation of forces. When there is such a level it is because now the necessity of progress has been imposed, and there is an example. Hence Libya can pass from the dictatorship of the sultans to the development of the Revolutionary State, and rapidly. Even having the country dominated by the Muslim conception, the process is the same. This indicates the world relation of forces and how all the forms of Islam cannot impede the progress in the mind of the Muslims who see the progress in daily relations.

The Muslim masses see the experience of the USSR, of the Socialist countries which act as in the USSR; that is, the experience of humanity is not guided by the precepts of Mahomet but by the social experiences which exist. It is not a question of overcoming Islam, but of making it adequate to this social necessity of history.

The oil which exists in Libya is wealth for the capitalist world and hence it was a source of progress, but the element which gave the use for progress was the programme of the revolution.

This process in Libya was preceded by Egypt with the coup against Farouk in 1952. In Egypt there had been a regime almost the same as in Libya. The coup in Libya was stimulated and impelled by the progress of Egypt. This shows that the most difficult conditions created by religion are overcome through revolutionary progress, because this does not reject religion but seeks to express the needs of people, understanding that the economy, society and human relations are indispensable. Thus

they accommodate religion to this process. The revolution does not reject nor combat nor oppose religion, but leads and acts so that it disappears. On the road of revolution religion does not find points of support, but is overcome by the consciousness of people and, without the masses abandoning their conception or religious belief, they submit it to the need of progress.

Libya shows in a decisive way how a small country with few resources, a sultanate, can progress to very elevated forms. In the other Arab countries the same does not happen, the conditions are not there; that is, the combination of social and military base to impel them. In two countries of the Middle East this has happened - Iraq and Egypt. These countries have the example of Algeria which freed itself from French imperialism and gave a clear and decisive example. But also they have the example of Soviet support to every progress of liberation. The combative will of these military comrades who led the liberation of Libya, Egypt and Algeria was based on Soviet support and on the experience already achieved that capitalism has lost the strength and historic capacity to contain progress.

The Aswan dam (3) was a very great impulse to all the Arab world. It showed how the USSR, even at the cost of a great effort and an enormous investment which the Aswan dam meant, impelled the progress of history. At the same time, it impelled the USSR. Hence world capitalism, led by the Yanks and the British, killed Nasser through Sadat. Sadat killed Nasser, they killed Nasser in Egypt, but others are born in other places. Death is not permanent, death means other lives are born.

It is very important to understand this process because there is no education on the part of the Communist movement on these problems. The Soviets, yes, they tend to be based on this understanding. Through the objective necessity of its existence, the Soviets tend to be based on this understanding. The Soviets invested an enormous amount of money and of time in Egypt and Sadat now pays nothing, and believes that he can go on living. But Sadat is close to a dead man. He is a degenerate person who gives no idea about anything. He has a particularly assassin spirit against the progress of the population. Even so, although killing and killing and having to prohibit life in his country to continue existing, he has to depend on loans, investments or on Yankee gifts. Nasser gave himself the luxury of exporting the revolution. He paid to export the revolution. Sadat lives under the Yanks so that they give him loans and sell him arms for millions of dollars. He is compromised with the Yanks. Egypt is now used as a medium to impede the revolutionary process throughout the Arab world, and in other parts. He does it so that he capitulates to Israel, whilst Ghaddafi impels the revolution everywhere.

J. POSADAS 20.4.81

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EDITORIAL continued from page 1

generally. There is already a discussion in the Labour Party on the necessity for an intervention of the Left towards the trade unions. However, this cannot be developed on the basis of simply gaining votes in Labour Party conferences. It has to be an intervention of the Labour Left to develop a political life at the base of the trade unions, in the factories, workplaces and workers areas. In a sense, the decision to form factory branches of the Labour Party is an advance in this direction. So also is the fact that the Labour Party has organised demonstrations in the past year.

The Labour Left has to turn itself towards the working class and the population. It has to develop a political life outside the confines of the apparatus of the Labour Party. However, the impulse for the advance of anti-capitalist forces in this country comes from the world process. It is this world process which is the fundamental basis for the advance of the Labour Left. This is what gives the confidence to advance with an audacity which neither the struggle within the Labour Party nor the class struggle in Britain - or even in Ireland - can generate. There is, in fact, a Socialist government in France - with four Communist ministers - which is advancing with the programme of nationalisations, including nationalisation of the banks. There is a powerful development of the Left in the German SPD which is expressed in the support for the movement against Yankee missiles. It is also expressed in the clash between Brandt and Schmidt. Above all, there is the intervention of the Soviet Union in support of the revolutionary struggle on a world scale. The resolution of the Labour Party conference to support 'by all means' the struggle in Southern Africa is important, but it is the Soviet Union and the Workers States which provided the real material and political support for Mozambique, Angola, for SWAPO and the ANC. It is not simply a question of 'solidarity' or making 'fraternal' links with these movements, but it is a question of being based on this world balance of forces.

2/10/81

\* constituency

## THE USSR

### The function of the USSR in this stage of History.

J. POSADAS

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WASHINGTON DEMONSTRATION continued from page 1

FOR AN INDEPENDENT CLASS PARTY,

The Reagan administration is hampered in all its reactionary efforts by the resistance and the lack of support of the American masses. The electoral campaigns of American presidents increasingly speak simply to the various sectors of the American bourgeoisie. When Reagan is unable to crush the revolution in El Salvador by direct military intervention, it is because the American masses would not put up with it. At the same time, in full barrage against the Soviet Union, he resumes grain shipments to the Soviet Union. The American proletariat sees that the giant's legs are very wobbly, and after Gromyko's denunciation of American imperialism, the legs are even closer to collapse.

The demonstration in Washington had the character also of a united front of many sectors against imperialism, including groups for women's rights, pensioners etc. Reagan can organise nothing to combat this type of intervention, all that imper-

alism can do is assassinate, as they assassinated the trade union investigator into nuclear hazards or try to enforce backward laws against strikes as in the case of the air traffic controllers. There is no possibility of a Roosevelt type of 'new deal' with a democratic facade. Yankee imperialism has lost the fight to convince wide layers of the population that it has a future. It no longer acts with such a perspective, but only to repress and prepare to confront the Workers States. But the American masses see the perspective of the Workers States.

The Workers States, particularly the Soviet trade unions, should intervene towards the American masses - particularly linking the struggle against all the policies of unemployment and reduction in the public services of the Reagan government, with appeals for interventions against the actual preparation for war of Yankee imperialism, with campaigns against nuclear weapons and for social transformations in America, for an independent class party based on the trade unions.

## Poland and the trade union in a workers state

The national conference of 'Solidarity' in Poland has raised some fundamental questions on the road of the advance of the Workers State to Socialism. In particular, the call of 'Solidarity' for 'free' or 'independent' trade unions in the Workers States has provoked an important discussion of principles. Undoubtedly, trade unions that are independent of the state apparatus are necessary for the advance of the Workers States and, in the narrowest sense, 'Solidarity' was correct to propose this; but the form in which this appeal was made is not correct. Also the question of the role of the trade union in a Workers State cannot be considered in isolation; there are many more important aspects in the development of the Workers State.

In the first place, the demand for 'free' or 'independent' unions is, like the demand for 'workers self-management', ambiguous and open to interpretations which lead in the direction of the dismantling of the central aspect of the Workers State which is the nationalised, centrally planned economy. In the second place, such a fundamental matter of principle should never have been the subject of a simple and ambiguous appeal but raised in the form of a discussion, with documents directed not only at the other Workers States but also at the trade union masses of the capitalist countries. Also the question of the role of the trade union in a Workers State cannot be considered in isolation; there are many more important aspects in the development of the Workers State. The form in which 'Solidarity' made this appeal gave the impression of a confrontation, but the Soviet leadership responded not by threats of military intervention but by seeking to strengthen the developing political leadership in the Polish Communist Party (POUP).

It is true that the letters which came from the Soviet Union, from factories in Moscow and Kiev in response to the appeal of 'Solidarity', did not address themselves to the question of the role of the trade union in the Workers State, but they did emphasise the principle that a trade union in a Workers State cannot be independent from the Workers State and its interests. Above all, what the Soviet leadership underlined was the fact that, in order to advance, in order to continue, the Workers States have to confront a capitalist system which is preparing - under the leadership of Yankee imperialism - for war. The Soviets did not actually pose the question in such a clear and concise manner, but this is what clearly was being said, and this is particularly true of the letter from Kiev.

### DISCUSSION IN THE FACTORIES.

The fact that a great deal of what is said and proposed by 'Solidarity' is confused or ambiguous results from the limitations of the political leadership in Poland and in the POUP. It is to this problem that the Soviet leadership is constantly directing itself. The

immediate response of the Soviet trade unions from Moscow and Kiev were, it is true, limited; but they show that the Soviet leadership has to base itself increasingly on the working class in the Soviet Union. In contrast, there was very little discussion in the factories in Britain organised by the trade union leadership on the question of the election for the deputy leader of the Labour Party. At the same time, the Soviets were reacting to a situation in which 'Solidarity' called for 'free' trade unions in the Workers States but apparently said nothing of the imprisonment of leaders of the Air Traffic Controllers Union in the United States and the virtual elimination of that trade union (PATCO) by the state.

Also, the leadership of the AFL-CIO in the United States made efforts to 'aid' 'Solidarity'. However, these bureaucracies have more in common with the trade union bureaucracy which has been removed by the Polish workers than they have with the workers who are struggling in Poland to create forms of Soviet democracy. Therefore it follows that this 'aid' is not directed at advancing the role of a trade union in a Workers State. Indeed, the situation should be that all the experience of the Polish workers is transmitted to the workers in the capitalist countries in order to advance the most important task which faces humanity: that of finishing with the capitalist system.

### THE ELIMINATION OF CAPITALISM.

The discussion of 'workers self-management' is as important as - and related to - the question of independent trade unions in the Workers State. Clearly, workers management of industry - which means the application by the workers of a centralised state plan is correct. Self-management, on the other hand, means the functioning of each factory for itself and, whilst this does not put it back into the hands of private property, it does mean complete chaos in the economy, the creation of problems like unemployment which are parallel to those of capitalism, and the creation of a strata of bureaucracy which is closely aligned to the interests of private property. This has been the experience of Yugoslavia and, in part, China. In the event, the Polish governmental and Party leadership have come to an agreement with 'Solidarity' in which the factory management is decided by the workers and the government in conjunction. In this way, the government of the Polish Workers State has managed neither to confront the working class nor to surrender to those tendencies and individuals in 'Solidarity' - like Kuron - who are actually proposing self-management of individual factories. This is a compromise which emphasises the need for the development - as the Soviets have proposed - of firm Marxist cadres in the Communist Party and for a discussion, involving the whole of the working class and masses, of

*The present discussion about withdrawing Britain from the EEC does not correspond to the needs of the anti-capitalist process as it is developing in Britain. The problem is not correctly posed, because withdrawal from the EEC does not mean the end of unemployment, inflation, exploitation and domination of Ireland, war preparation etc. The preoccupation has to focus on how to resolve these problems, and the concentration on a problem such as membership or withdrawal from the EEC clouds the issue. It is not a crisis of the EEC as such that we are in, but that of capitalism. The idea that now 'Britain' can solve its problems alone is as incorrect as the idea that it could do so in association with the European capitalists. Britain is not one nation, it has classes engaged in the class struggle, where the masses are struggling for the same goals as the masses of Europe: against the war of imperialism, against the missiles, for the 35 hour week, against unemployment, for the dignity of life as much for the immigrants, the youth, the old and the workers.*

*Workers States like Albania, or the Soviet Union, have unified countries infinitely more distant apart from each other than the various capitalist countries of Europe presently are. It is the working class, as a class, which can unify countries and, in the instance, unify Europe. Europe can only be united on the basis of a state-owned and planned economy, to satisfy the needs of all the masses. Enough is produced in Europe each year to feed most of the world. It is capitalism that destroys and wastes. The Workers State, on the other hand, establishes elevated human relations on the basis of a rational and planned economic basis. The role of the Labour Left is to help this development, and put forward the perspective of the Socialist Europe.*

### CAPITALISM IN AN EVER DEEPER CRISIS.

*Previously, capitalism sought to combat the antagonistic competition of the Workers States against it by means of the European Parliament, the EEC, the IMS, the 'snake' etc. As it could not make counter-revolu-*

fundamental principles of Marxism and of the creation of the organisms of Soviet democracy. At this stage of history, the discussion of the advance of the Workers States to Socialism has to develop on the basis that the immediate task which faces the Workers States and the whole of humanity is the confrontation with the capitalist system, and its elimination, without which it is not possible to advance to Socialism.

## BRITAIN CANNOT RESOLVE ITS PROBLEMS OUTSIDE A SOCIALIST EUROPE

*tion, it sought to engage the various political parties of the working class in a parliamentary contest, whereas capitalism continued its class and extra-parliamentary activity of exploitation. But this required a minimum of cohesion in the capitalist class in Europe which is fast disappearing. The military preparations of Yankee imperialism fills all the European bourgeoisies with fear, and thrusts upon them military expenditures that make them weaker in their internal competition and in competition against the Yankees. The recent decision to raise the interest rates in various important capitalist countries shows that each capitalist country is driven into a policy of self-defence that widens its divergences on a world scale with US imperialism, and between capitalist countries themselves. The EEC becomes increasingly ineffectual and incapable. Meanwhile the turning inwards in each capitalist country exacerbates a violent process of clashes between the monopoly sectors, the financial sectors most linked to the multi-nationals, political sectors preparing for a war policy, and other sectors more tied to national interests. The capitalist class is enormously weak and divided, and sectors of capitalism itself are opposed to war preparations and its costs. To aim in the Labour Party at 'Britain withdrawing from the EEC' as an objective limits the capacity of the Left to conceive the process in terms of class struggle, out of which advance has to be accomplished using the contradictions of the bourgeoisie. The very idea of 'joining' or 'withdrawing' does not allow probing into the real cause of crisis, which lies in that the proletariat has now constructed states - the Workers States - which are throwing capitalism into total crisis. However, the very existence of these states stimulates the class and extra-parliamentary struggle in the whole of Europe, particularly in Germany but also in Britain and Ireland. To see this allows us to foresee the future, and to use the contradictions of capitalism in order to give a class solution to the problems of Europe and Britain.*

### THE MASSES ARE GIVING A LEAD IN EUROPE.

### THE LIBYAN REVOLUTION from page 3

(1) Reference to the breaking of diplomatic relations of the United States with Libya, when they said: "You have five days to withdraw your diplomats from the United States".

(2) General who took over the government after the Brazilian military coup in 1964.

(3) The project undertaken by the Soviet Union in Egypt in 1956.

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EDITORIAL

THE PEACE MOVEMENT SHOWS THE EXISTENCE OF IMMENSE FORCES FOR THE LABOUR LEFT

*The peace demonstrations in Rome, Brussels, London, Paris and, earlier, Spain have been a shattering blow to world imperialism because the masses have said clearly that the enemy is not the Soviet Union but the Yankees and their weapons. Whilst imperialism was powerless in front of a movement headed mostly by Communists it had to start a polemic with the Peace Movement to show it as 'misguided'. But one thing remains clear: it was misguided, i.e. guided away from imperialism and closer to the Soviet Union, whose social regime and peaceful intentions no one has put in question. The mobilisations in Potsdam of the East German masses against capitalism fills imperialism with terror, because it is clear that, when the masses of the Workers States will move, it will be to help the masses of the world to finish with the capitalist system.*

*It is the Soviet Union that decides the world, and imperialism has to move constantly to defend itself from what the Soviet Union says or does. By its abstention from Cancun, the Soviet Union has said: 'You are the exploiters, the gangsters who robbed the world, and you cannot solve world problems'. This educates the world workers and masses. Without the adequate political life in the workers parties, the masses reach very elevated conclusions. They are not impressed by anti-Communist campaigns, and join the Communists; everywhere the Communists intervene for the progress of humanity. This affects whole countries, and Greece can be expected to move more rapidly now towards the Revolutionary and Workers State. It is not just a Peace Movement that brought Papandreu to government, but the determination of the masses of Greece to construct Socialism. In this, the Soviet Union is their ally and NATO their enemy. The whole world sees this and learns from it. In turn, the unilateral disarmament decisions of both Labour and trade unions in this country influence the world, and announce big transformations all over Europe, and not just in Britain. The comrades of the Labour Left must discuss this, to see the immense possibilities now opened to their advance both in organisation and on the plane of a world-vision and dialectical method.*

CAPITALISM IS BY-PASSED.

*As imperialism offers the world the image of the tiny Reagan clique, mostly sceptical about sending military equipment to Saudi Arabia, one of their allies (whom they clearly don't trust any more), someone like Edwardes (of B.L.), is seen publically calling on Foot to come and sort British Leylands problems out! This is a picture of the world and of the way this country is part of the world. The reaction of Foot in support of the Leyland workers and the maintenance of the previous structure of the Left on the NEC show the strength of the Left in the Labour Party. Meanwhile the Tory conference has brought into the public eye such divisions in capitalism that can only take place when they feel, as a clan, the coming disappearance of the social order of private property. This is because the system is by-passed. Science, the means of production, technology, productivity, intelligence, have reached a level that capitalism cannot use. It can only think of sacking workers. However, Poland and the USSR - which were nothing only a few years ago - show that productivity can be used to produce more, and for needs, keeping everyone employed, simply expanding production. This cannot be done in the capitalist system, but the Workers States can do it. As it cannot be done by the capitalist class, then it has to be done by the working class and its Party.*

THE FORCE FOR CHANGE LIES IN THE ABILITY OF THE PARTY.

*Leyland brings into broad daylight the reality of the incapacity of capitalism. Capitalism cannot destroy the state sector, and it cannot manage it either. The working class draws its confidence from the balance of forces, in which it feels that the world is going to Socialism, Greece and France are advancing, and there is a very profound change in the Labour Party. Such events as the trip of Murray to Poland and his criticism there of the capitalist system are ways of measuring the depth of political consciousness there must be in the proletariat, but which is not used or mobilised by*

The Beatles and death of Lennon

9 12 80

J. POSADAS

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The demonstration in Bonn on October 10th of 300,000 people, representing every sector of the population from the Churches to the army, is a massive blow to the war preparations of imperialism. This 'peace rally' was, in reality, a massive demonstration of opposition to Yankee imperialism and NATO. There is a powerful movement of the masses against the war preparations of imperialism in every country of capitalist Europe, but the demonstration in Bonn is particularly significant because it took place in a country which has been,

capitalist system. This is the measure of the depth of the social crisis of German and world capitalism. Movements like this, do not express a political or programmatic clarity but they do express an unqualified rejection of capitalist values. This rally, and the peace movement generally, may not give a political leadership, but it was a political objective which attracted the masses to this demonstration. It was used as a means of supporting and stimulating the growing Left in the SDP. It served to deep-

Honecker, the leader of the German Workers State, said in a speech last year that the only path of a united Germany was through Socialism, and this was a direct appeal to the masses of the FDR. The Soviets sent a letter of greeting to this year's conference of the JUSOS, which was intended to weigh in the development of the SDP Left. The Soviet leadership has, for a longer period, taken advantage of the differences between the German bourgeoisie and Yankee imperialism, but now it seeks a greater direct influence on the anti-capitalist



GERMAN SOLDIERS AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS (BONN DEMONSTRATION)

in the economic sense, one of the most stable capitalist countries and one which was 'created' by imperialism as a bulwark against the influence of the Workers States. This struggle in Germany is not, at this moment, led by either the Social Democratic Party or the trade unions, but is an expression of the desire of the German masses to transform society. The German Churches who organised this demonstration have given the means for struggle which is developing inside the SDP and trade unions to find an open expression. In capitalist Germany (FDR), as elsewhere, the opposition to war preparations have a profoundly anti-capitalist significance, because the only perspective the capitalist system has, the only means it has to defend itself, is war. What the German masses were saying in this demonstration was that they had no interest in the continuation of the

en the crisis in the SDP and in the government. In the event, over a quarter of the parliamentary representation signed a declaration in support of the demonstration, and a large sector of the SDP, particularly of the youth, intervened in the demonstration. Every effort of the SDP apparatus, of Schmidt, have failed to prevent the growth of the Left. Even the expulsion of leaders of the youth (the JUSOS) have failed to stop this advance. This is because it is the product of the world balance of forces in favour of Socialism, the total crisis of the capitalist system and the advance of the Workers States.

The Workers States, the Soviet Union in particular, have played a crucial role in the development of the Left in the FDR. Not only by their existence which demonstrates their superiority over the capitalist system, but by a direct intervention.

forces in the country and in the SDP. It is part of a tactic to organise world forces in front of the war which imperialism prepares. The pro-capitalist Right in the SDP, represented by Schmidt, is constantly weakened by the fact that the German bourgeoisie draw closer to the Workers States because they know that the war will be the end of them, that Yankee imperialism is prepared to sacrifice them in its own interests.(1) At the same time, the economy of the FDR is more and more dependent - and the supply of gas from the Soviet Union is only one instance - on the Workers States. It is these conditions which create a favourable atmosphere for the development of the anti-capitalist Left in the SDP.

This demonstration in Bonn forms part of a process in the whole of capitalist Europe in which the

# THE ASSASSINATION OF SADAT AND THE WEAKNESS OF IMPERIALISM

The assassination of Sadat opens a new stage in the process in the Middle East, a new level of instability, as part of the preparations for the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States. The former are faced with a constant and gathering force of the revolution in the Middle East. The force of the world balance of forces favourable to the Soviet Union and the revolutionary world process determines more and more the process in any one individual country. The Sadat regime had been facing for a whole period a continuous and magnifying internal resistance, to which he replied with an immense repression, nothing in itself new, but in the circumstances of now, panic and fear were uppermost.

The assassination was clearly arranged at the highest level. It is not possible for a small group to achieve such a killing in the circumstances of a carefully prepared and rehearsed military parade without the high Command being involved.

The circumstances of the killing, particularly the apparent disappearance of the president's personal bodyguard, points to a prepared liquidation at the top level.

The internal isolation of Sadat was the other side of his isolation, stemming from the alliance with Israel, which meant collaboration with the enemy of the Arab masses, the enemy of social progress, a stooge of Yankee imperialism.

The policy of conciliation with Israel had led to a growth of Soviet influence in the Middle East and exacerbated all the internal opposition to Sadat, leading to his almost total isolation. A change was necessary in Egypt on all accounts, to facilitate a modification of American policy to the Arab states and to contain the accumulation of problems in Egypt itself which were becoming more and more serious. The turn to Saudi Arabia is part of an attempt to balance between Israel and the Arab states in the Middle East, but it will have no perspective because imperialism does not determine the process. Yankee policy seeks - as in the AWAKS deal to re-orient relations with Saudi Arabia and other Arab States. But it cannot abandon Israel and hence its policy is opaque and unsteady. Thus the liquidation of Sadat represents a blow at a whole line of former policy and there is no security in a new line towards the Arab States.

In all this, imperialism and the ruling cliques in Egypt are not taking initiatives which are the result of domination of the process; rather they are the responses to a situation which they do not determine and which they seek to contain. Thus, with death of Sadat the Yanks sought to weigh immediately to solidify the alliance with Egypt but, at the same time as Mubarak says he wants to continue the 'peace policy' with Israel, the removal of Sadat is a defeat for the policy of wholesale submission to the needs of agreement with Israel.

The insurrection that broke out at Assuyet signifies only a small indication of the vast hatred felt for the Sadat regime. Sadat represented a backward step in the development of the Egyptian people after the process of the revolution beginning in 1952 which led to the expulsion of imperialism from the Suez Canal and a mass of nationalisations and elimination of imperialist capital. But Nasser was liquidated by the group around Sadat who feared that the velocity of the process in Egypt would end ultimately in a Workers State and the final liquidation of the Egyptian bourgeoisie. Sadat's policy has been the crudest glorification of capitalism and the link with American imperialism; opulence for a few and immense poverty for the majority.

At the same time, the policy of Sadat has no historic perspective. His policy and that of the structured Egyptian bourgeoisie - much more structured than that of Iran - was essentially megalomaniac, because in a situation where the world system of capitalism was contracting and, at the same time, all the inter-capitalist competition was immensely aggravated, dreams of an Egyptian capitalist superpower were totally illusory. Hence the close analogy of Sadat with the Shah of Iran dreaming grandiose dreams of transforming his country by decree and Yankee support. The need to liquidate Sadat was imposed by events which neither the Yanks nor the leading teams in Egypt determine.

## EXPULSION OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM FROM THE MIDDLE EAST.

The growing weight of the Soviet Union has had great and direct effects on Egypt. The building of the Aswan Dam was a fundamental step in the progress of Egypt - which Sadat allowed to stagnate - and the influence of the Soviets became strong in the armed forces. Hence Sadat expelled the Soviets, but the fact that a former Chief of Staff is a leader in opposition to Sadat shows that sectors in the Egyptian army are against the link with Yankee imperialism. They are sectors also who are profoundly anti-imperialist, who seek a common front with the Arab masses against the Yankee base which is Israel, and reject the expulsion of the Palestinians.

The referendum supporting Mubarak is a farce like all the rotten expedients of the miserable Sadat. There is no discussion allowed in Egypt, and the rubber stamp referendum is a swindle.

The intervention by Yankee imperialism, its joint manoeuvres with the Egyptian armed forces, has met an immediate denunciation by the Soviet Union, making it clear that the Soviet Union regards Yan-

kee policy there as a direct threat to the security of the Soviet Union. Objectively this is so, because the strength of the Soviet Union is linked to the advance of the forces of progress in the Middle East - anything which goes against that limits the capacity of the Soviet Union.

Internally, the intervention of the Yanks is not going to contain a social situation that is daily more explosive. The progress of Egypt was interrupted by the Sadat regime, which was based on the tightly-knit Egyptian bourgeoisie of the textiles industry and linked to the extensive private farming sector. It is a bourgeoisie which works, nevertheless, in a vast nationalised sector. The majority of investment lies in this sector, which means there are large layers linked to nationalisation, which, however submitted to bureaucratic control, are a permanent source of weakness to capitalism. At the same time, the conditions of the mass of the peasantry have worsened. Moreover, although the proletariat is small numerically, it is strong, influential and explosive. The influences of Libya, Ethiopia and Iran, above all the influence of the Soviet Union, augment in Egypt. The Egyptian bourgeoisie does not have the strength to exert a confrontation with the masses. American military aid does not strengthen the economy, and American investment has no interest for Egypt.

The intervention of the Soviets is designed to stimulate the resistance of the masses and contain the Yanks, without an immediate head-on collision with them. The Soviets have sustained the revolution in Iran. Their presence has prevented retaliatory intervention of the Yanks. At the same time, relations with Syria have become closer, and relations have been developed with Saudi Arabia. Despite the Iran-Iraq war, Iraq is a Revolutionary State with a predominantly collectivised economy in the industrial and agricultural sectors. The bases for the extension of Soviet influence extend and extend.

It is necessary to develop the united front of the Arab countries and masses against Yankee imperialism to expel it from the Middle East, to incorporate the Israeli masses into the struggles against imperialism in a systematic way in the perspective of a Socialist federation, with self-determination for Israel in such a Federation. It is necessary to impel social changes in Egypt, taking the example of Libya. The process is one of incessant revolutionary progress shown already in the Syria-Soviet Union alliance and the united front of Algeria, Libya, Yemen and Ethiopia. The liquidation of Sadat is a sign of the failure of imperialist strategy and tactics

## SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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## Leyland

### THE CRISIS AT BRITISH LEYLAND AND THE NEED FOR WORKERS CONTROL.

The determination shown by the workers of British Leyland (BL) to confront the BL management and the Tory government has a profound significance. If the strike takes place - and at the moment of writing it is not certain - it could well play the role which the miners' strike played in the removal of the Heath government. The events at Leylands express all the desperation and crisis of the capitalist system. The proposal of Edwardes to confront the workers with a choice of accepting 3.8% - in reality a cut in wages - or the closure of the whole of Leylands is an act of desperation. The social, economic and political effects of such a closure - affecting as it would hundreds of thousands of workers outside Leylands - could spell the end of the Thatcher government and serve to stimulate the class struggle. The prospect of such a crisis frightens a whole strata of the bourgeoisie, and this is why there has been such a chorus of opposition to the policy of the Leyland managements and the government. It is a straight lie to pretend that Edwardes has an independent policy. He is simply a functionary of the government who runs Leylands for capitalist interests. Leylands underlines the bankruptcy of the capitalist system. It offers the workers a choice between immediate sacking or accepting higher levels of 'productivity', which only leads to sacking later on. To the country at large it offers the perspective of either a massive rise in unemployment or an enormous expenditure of state funds, which is largely absorbed in maintaining the bureaucratic management apparatus and high salaries of people like Edwardes.

The Leyland workers have been subject, like the rest of the working class, to a process of declining conditions of work, real wages and employment, and to a direct repression. The sacking of the Leyland convenor Derek Robinson, is a case in point. In all this process, there was not a major strike at Leylands. Why, then, at this moment? The political advance of the Left in the Labour Party, as shown in the decisions of the Labour Party conference, opened the perspective of a consistent, anti-capitalist leadership in the Labour Party, and this acts to stimulate the workers. At the same time, this vanguard sector of the working class moves, in turn, to encourage and stimulate the Labour Left. The very fact that Tony Benn spoke to a meeting of Leyland workers has an importance. Whatever the content of Benn's speech, his intervention reflects a growing sense in the Labour Left of the necessity to act as a leadership in day-to-day development of the class struggle. This needs to go much further, in the sense of allowing a greater participation of the working class itself in the discussion and development of ideas.

The AUEW leadership supports, for the first time, the actions of the workers at Leylands because they sense that the process is much deeper than simply a struggle for a wage increase. In fact, the Leyland workers, even if it is not expressed in a clear form, are putting the control and the running of the enterprise into question. Leylands is state-owned, but is run in the interests of the capitalist system. The crisis of Leyland is the crisis of the capitalist system, and that has no perspective. Millions of pounds are sunk into Leylands in a process of frantic competition for profit, while the needs of the population, in every aspect, remain unanswered.

The Leyland workers are responding to this lunatic situation in which there is massive and rising unemployment, coupled with a shortage - not only in this country but on a world scale - of all the basic necessities. The trade union leadership, and the Labour leadership generally, still looks for solutions within the capitalist system. There are none! It is only under workers control that state-owned industries and enterprises can function for the needs of the population. It may be that the conditions - in the sense of leadership of the Labour movement - are not yet ready; but the strike at Leylands could be extended beyond the question of a wage increase to a general mobilisation for workers control in all the nationalised industries, and the end of the Thatcher government. There is a need for the formulation of a programme for this by the Labour Left and the trade unions, coupled with a plan of production, initially for the existing nationalised industries, to function for the needs of the population.

## THE CRISIS IN THE POLICE

The outbreak in Toxteth and Brixton has intensified the process of crisis in the police force. It takes the form of a discussion over community policing, but basically it is a discussion over the function of the police. Already in countries such as France and Italy the civil police have objected to being used for political purposes in suppressing the population. In this country capitalism has been obliged to develop a special corps of thugs, the SPG to deal with interventions of the population against capitalism

The old imperial structure of Britain rarely confronted a type of

crisis which divided its police force. But now that this structure is decomposing and the pillar of imperial empire has disappeared and humanity has an historic alternative which guides and impels it, that is, the Soviet Union and the Workers States, the functioning of the police is openly in discussion. The upsurges in Toxteth and Brixton show that sectors of the youth and the most oppressed sectors are not prepared to tolerate the imbecility and brutality of the capitalist system, the exclusion from participation in society, the lack of perspective within capitalism, and the coercion of the capitalist state. Sectors of the police who are more

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This article was written some time before the death of Comrade Posadas and has importance in its analysis of the Beatle phenomenon in relation to the process of change in Britain. Lennon and his group belong —ed to a stage which has now passed. British imperialism is decomposing rapidly and the brutal regime of the Thatcher government is the sign of a system which is worn out, has no authority over the population, and seeks to survive as an atomic base for the Yanks. In the formative years of Lennon the influence of the Workers States was very limited. Now it is augmenting constantly and lays the basis for a superior culture on a world scale. Much of the work of the Beatles is a melancholy protest, pitched at a non-combative level against the social order. The world that produced them is vanishing, but to see their role is to see something of the process at work in Britain.

The basis of the music and of the voice of the Beatles is sadness, melancholy. As for the rest of pop music, it is one of sexual exaltation, sensual and completely individualist. The important aspect in analysing the Beatles is that they appeared in a Britain which was in a process of losing constantly, incessantly and uninter-ruptedly its function as centre of big business, of the world competitive force in the economy, science, art and sport, and it was declining — until today it is one of the less important countries. Any country can compete with it.

At the same time there was a process in which the working class was developing in Britain and with great power. Three governments of the working class, Labour governments, took office; although these governments did not carry out the necessary policy for the working class, did not develop the historic necessity and policy of the working class — that is, the struggle to transform society.

To transform society is the policy of the working class, not only the struggle for wages, to defend wages and purchasing power and trade union rights. It was the bourgeois Labour leadership which impeded the development of this historic capacity of the British working class.

In this last period there has been a retreat at all levels in the function of Britain in the world, in competition with the rest of capitalism and with the Workers States. But there has been a constant influence of the Workers States in Britain, which is now expressed in the triumph of the Labour Left in the Labour Party in imposing the leadership of Foot.

In Britain after the war there were strikes of the civil servants and sit-in demonstrations, and there were demonstrations of the petit bourgeoisie who attacked the homes of the very rich and said that 'homes are for all and not just for those who have three houses'. The petit bourgeoisie did this, stimulated by the war.

These were experiences which prepared large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie in the resolution to intervene in social struggles and problems. The proletariat influenced the petit bourgeoisie a great deal and a proof of this was how it attracted them to vote for Attlee, through whom they imposed in a decisive form the first Labour government.

This triumph, the progress of the struggles of the proletariat, the actions of the petit bourgeoisie with the massive occupations of houses, created the conditions in Britain of

the crisis of capitalism. The world capacity of Britain in science, technology, the economy; in production, in culture and in sport; was restricted. At the same time, the influence and authority of the working class increased over the petit bourgeoisie, although it was not a constant leadership over the petit bourgeoisie.

In the world after the war there was a very great advance of the Workers States. All the intelligent and combative petit bourgeoisie of Britain did not find in the country the means to develop itself. It is for this reason that certain deviations arose — in the first stage there were the motor cyclists who competed with each other, acted like vandals, and ended up dead. The anger of the well-off petit bourgeoisie or the sons of the bourgeoisie drove them to this. They were the expression of feeling disconcerted as a result of what was happening, the arrogance of the sons of the bourgeoisie who felt displaced. They wanted to show that they were the leadership, to call attention to themselves, and then they perpetrated killing and degenerated human life sexually or with the life of drugs. This social layer experienced disappointment and impotence because it clashed with the progress of history, which was represented by the working class of Britain, by the advance of the world working class and of the Workers States. This layer decomposed and other layers of the petit bourgeoisie arose, who were not organised nor elevated by the Labour people because the latter fulfilled a function of adaptation to the capitalist system. The sons and daughters of the well-heeled bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie showed through the motor cyclists the brutality of the capitalist system and they reflected it in feeling that everything was crumbling. Other layers, also of the petit bourgeoisie, arose with the antecedents of the 'sit-in' of 1945, with the occupations of empty houses and the proposal to give them to those without dwellings, and from the stage of the Labour government — who introduced a series of social benefits in transport, social services, sanitation and milk in the schools for children.

With this process, the Communist parties did not develop an anti-capitalist policy and in this way could not influence the Labour Party except very modestly and simply as an opposition to capitalism. They did not influence to promote struggle against the capitalist system while in the world revolutionary struggle developed new Workers States and an immense quantity of Revolutionary States or revolutionary movements triumphed within a few years.

## WORKERS STATES DID NOT ATTRACT THESE SECTORS.

Thus other sectors of the petit bourgeoisie came on the scene. The richness of culture, of intelligence, of scientific and technological capacity of the British created in the petit bourgeoisie such layers which were not more profoundly and socially impelled to the creation of the Workers State because there was neither Party nor leadership. In the course of this, sectors like the Beatles developed. This layer of artists and musicians was formed with a certain limitation in representing the power of Britain, because they did not see their country or the Labour people at all capable. In their songs, while there are criticisms — very general — of society, a whole combination of sentiments is expressed which come from the disappointment arising from the lack of social transformations. In the absence of social transformations, there was no guide for their songs and hence their songs have bases in sadness or melancholy, of anguish and of criticism, but very general criticisms. At the same time, these were combined with vices which were acquired in this movement, because it was not a movement of ideas, of programme, of policy and objectives, and neither did the Labour Party accompany them with a movement of ideas.

The music of the Beatles expresses in a combined way criticisms and complaints against society — in a limited form and not as militants for Communism — at the same time as integration with certain vices from capitalist society. At the same time that they developed so did brutal crises of capitalism — German, French, British, North American and Japanese. The crisis increased, and so also the disappointment of the petit bourgeoisie in front of capitalism, but they did not feel attracted by the workers parties because these did not have the programme of social transformations. Hence arose the current of the homosexuals, the feminist movement, and a whole series of currents which originate in the petit bourgeoisie, in not feeling attracted by the workers parties of the capitalist countries; but these movements do not arise in the Workers States because there is no reason for them.

They exist in the capitalist countries where social insecurity develops which all these people transmit. All these people transmit insecurity and this comes from their family, from certain antecedents; but the social historic base is the insecurity which society transmits.

It is not true as the Press says now that Lennon and the Beatles had the importance of the Kennedys or that millions wept over Lennon. It's not like this, because only thousands listen to them now. In the United States there is an audience, more now than in Britain. In the United States the social weight of the petit bourgeois movement is infinitely greater than in any other part of the world. They have two hundred million inhabitants, and it is a petit bourgeoisie which has no organised

political, scientific, cultural life; but it has good sentiments and wants to oppose capitalism, and hence it does not accompany the Yanks in the struggle against the USSR. No North American government has been able to gain the support of the masses to call meetings to inform the people of all its reactionary policy, but all the presidents speak to the House of Representatives, they do not call meetings as occurs in other European countries or in the Workers States.

## THE BEATLE MUSIC — A PURELY TRANSITORY PHENOMENON.

The North American petit bourgeoisie did not accompany imperialism either in the Korean war nor in Vietnam, nor now in the policy against the Soviet Union. All these contradictions in which the North American bourgeoisie live is expressed in these people who follow the Beatles. They are the ones who take drugs and alcohol. It is a repudiation of the old society. They do not take drugs for the sake of drugs, but as a repudiation of society and as an expression of their lack of support for this society. At the same time they are not attracted by the Workers States.

The Beatles sang for that public and hence their music combines the frenetic with the sad; the depth of frenetic music is sadness. It was not the frenzy of Elvis Presley which was simply walking sex- The Beatles, even with

frenzy, have a certain harmony. Whilst Presley was the frenzy of sexual sentiment, the Beatles was the frenzy of sadness. It was not a vibrating rhythm, but sad because they cannot be vibrant on the basis of the decadence of capitalist society and without being attracted or organised by the Workers States and Communist thought.

Hence the character of their music. This song they recorded, 'Girl', has much harmony. John Lennon was the one who composed best of all, the most intellectual who made political statements unfavourable to capitalism; somewhat eccentric, but against capitalism.

They are the product of the decomposition of the capitalist system and the lack of consistent life in the Communist movement to affect these layers. To analyse the Beatles serves to give a cultural notion of movements, of small nuclei which have a certain importance as this was expressed through music. At the same time, it is necessary to see that the music of the Beatles, like all this type of music, is transitory and superficial. It is not music of social profundity, but expresses transitory sentiments and hence it is basically sad and melancholic. It is not a vibrant music which constructs, but tends to accompany people appropriately in the United States and Britain, where they had success through the existence of petit bourgeois layers who live in the conditions which we have analysed previously. Thus their most successful reception was not in Britain, but they went to the United States in search of their public.

J. POSADAS 9.12.80

## Editorial

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*the leaderships. For instance, what would be the result of mobilisations of the working class by the side of the 150,000 'peace marchers' in London? When McGahey was allowed to speak to them alongside Foot and Benn, it was because the mass of people who demonstrated for peace were in favour of the presence of the British miners, and in favour of the Communists being in the leadership.*

*Through the Communists, they were seeking the Soviet Union. The bourgeoisie did not report this, because it is terrified that the 'misguided' people are being guided indeed, by a superior clarity, on who is the perpetrator of war — the system of private property.*

*The 'peace marches' all over Europe are the result of the world balance of forces in which the Soviet Union and the Workers States are seen as superior, and not as the enemies. The masses are making the very simple comparison between the Socialist democracy there is in Poland — the right to sack managers, to remove whole teams of leaders in the Communist Party, in the state, the government, the prime ministers, the presidents — whereas, in Britain, the workers cannot change their leaders. The workers see that capitalism would like to dissolve the trade unions (as they tried in the US with PATCO). But, in Poland, the workers decide: and Poland, as a Workers State, corrects itself and learns to let the workers govern. This is what teaches the broad masses. It is not true that people are defecting from the Labour Party. The Labour Party can and will attract people. Those who are leaving are agents of capitalism who were in the Party only to hinder it from a Socialist course. The immense numbers of peace marchers are potential supporters of Labour, but have not been called upon to participate in the transformations of society which they seek.*

*The Social Democrats don't represent any strength for capitalism because, while being no good to the Labour movement, they are no good either to the war plans of capitalism. The disarray in the Tories is truly immense and expresses their historic fear of disappearing as a class and as a system. The world decides in Britain and Britain influences in the world only inasmuch as it participates increasingly in the process of world transformations. This shows that the Left can and will advance towards a world-wide vision of the progress of history, that is determined by the proletariat and the Workers States. We call on the comrades of the Labour Party to discuss the immense force that lies outside the Party, and that one day will be — and must be — the force for the social changes without which there can be no peace of progress.* 31.10.81

# THE TRIUMPH OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY IN GREECE, AND THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE COMMUNIST VOTE

The Greek elections are a continuation of the process expressed in France. The masses show in the triumph of the Socialist Party the desire to defeat imperialism and its war, and to unite with the Workers State. In the case of Greece, the increase in votes for the Communists who support the USSR means a corresponding advance to the Left of the Socialist Party supported by the Soviet Union. The masses prepare themselves to adopt the form of the Workers State, with the support of the USSR.

The Soviet Union, by its intervention in Afghanistan which checked imperialism's war preparations, has given confidence to the world. Whole sectors of the population and bourgeoisie are attracted to the programme of nationalisations and opposition to war, while even bourgeois sectors are historically detached from their class allegiances and do not struggle for the triumph of their traditional bourgeois parties. The bourgeoisie of Greece is weaker and has been more oppressed than many other bourgeoisies by the rest of imperialism. This gives scope for an immense advance to the Left, whilst the Workers States are seen - like Poland - to allow continuous progress and advance of the masses in the function of leadership. All that imperialism demonstrates is that it is antagonistically opposed to the advance of the masses anywhere (and in the US itself), and prepares militarily against them and against the Workers States. This vote in Greece represents the preparation of the masses for social transformations, and is a fundamental blow to the war preparations of imperialism against the Greek masses and against the Soviet Union.

The Left won more than 70% in an electoral process. When you consider that the masses could not speak, could not discuss, and that the electoral campaign was dominated by those who have most money, it means that the social will of the masses is infinitely greater than

the 70% expressed in votes. This vote has the significance of a mobilisation, and the advance of the Communist Party indicates that there is an advance of the sectors of the Left in the Socialist Party too. This means that it is a pro-Soviet advance, a pronouncement of the masses in favour of the Workers State and of the USSR. As in France, it is a sign of the mobilisations to come, which will not be limited to France but will unite all the countries of Europe and the Middle East to the Workers States in the event of imperialism launching war.

Greece is surrounded by Workers States. The masses of Greece were tortured, put to death, suppressed and crushed for the sake of the 'free world'. But they have thrown off their chains, like those of Portugal and Spain. They were able to do this because Stalinism has ended and the changes taking place in the USSR - the support which the USSR gives to the world revolution today - have given confidence to the Greek masses that there will not be another Yalta. Today, the Soviets are denouncing the proposals which the Yankees came to Moscow with, of carving up Europe. The Soviet leadership of today, far from making an agreement to share the world with the Yanks, are denouncing the visit of Cancas, US leader who went to Moscow to discuss a possible carve up of Europe with the Soviets (denounced by the Soviets on 23.10.81). This is what gives the masses confidence that they will not be betrayed and sent back forcibly to the slaughter of imperialism by an agreement of a Yalta type (made at the time of Stalin). The significance of the Socialist vote is immensely greater than a simple support for the programme of nationalisations and anti-imperialist policies of Papan-dreu. Even if the leadership of the Socialist Party does not immediately apply this programme, this vote shows that there is no hope to keep the masses waiting for ever: they show that they are prepared to struggle.

The vote for the Communist Party is much more important than appears on the surface. The Communist Party obtained 10% of the votes when all the other parties were wiped out, increasing its vote from last elections. It means that the masses have voted against Euro-communism, against reformism and conciliation. For historic reasons, the masses have a large Socialist Party and will impel progress through that centre. But the vote for the Communist Party comes from the secure, conscious and militant cadres of the Greek working class, which has much experience and maturity. This is a conquest of humanity which no bomb will ever destroy. In Greece, our Posadists comrades supported the Greek Communist Party pro-Soviet ('of the exterior'), and the justification for doing so lies in this. Also, this vote is integrally for the Socialist Party and has to be counted with the Socialist vote. It is a vote against NATO, against war, against imperialism, against the EEC and for social transformations. The 10% expressed electorally for the CP represent 90% in social terms, because they can and will lead the rest of the population in the process of the construction of the Socialist Republic.

The Soviets have made an immense progress and shown flexibility in supporting the Socialist Party of Greece. Indeed, it is the Socialist Party which could and did win the elections, and it is part of the progress of the USSR leadership which sees that the Communists are not always the centre of world policy. It means that the Soviets are learning to use the forces of the masses to intervene as a system against imperialism and its war. The advance of the Left in Greece in this way is doing much harm to the military alliance of imperialism and this is true even in the event that Greece does not withdraw immediately from NATO. This increases the sentiment of imperialism that war will mean its final destruction.

continued from page 1 ... against Nato

masses seek to confront imperialist war preparations. The appearance of soldiers in uniform from the armies of Holland and the FDR at the Bonn rally means that not even the armed forces are prepared to defend capitalism. There were delegations from practically every European capitalist country present on the demonstration. If the aspirations of the masses to transform society are expressed in such

events, it is because the war is the final encounter between capitalism and the system of the Workers States, and because, in general, the workers parties in capitalism do not lead in this process. The question of war is the most crucial and dramatic issue, but the class

struggle develops in all its forms. In the FDR and Holland, in particular, there is a very large movement against the shortage of housing - what is absent is a political leadership prepared to link, in a programmatic form, the opposition to the Yankee missiles and NATO, with demands for social transformations in every other field. In industry, housing, the social services, education,

The existence of a Socialist/Communist government in France and the electoral victory of PASOC in Greece express the favourable conditions which exist to unite the anti-capitalist movement in Europe. The Labour Party in this country, which has adopted a programme of

unilateral nuclear disarmament is a particularly important influence in this process. The Labour Left can have an even greater weight by making direct appeals to, and organising discussions with, the movement in the rest of capitalist Europe. These appeals have to be made not simply on the basis of opposition to the Yankee missiles - which is correct anyway - but on the basis of a programme for Socialist transformations.

(1) The same is shown in the Liberals (FDP) with Borm, the FDP president saying at the Bonn rally that 'Europe should not allow itself to be an accomplice in the world struggle of the Yanks against the Soviet Union.

## ON THE SO CALLED AFGHAN "RESISTANCE"

J. POSADAS

Terrorism against invaders is logical and correct, as in Ireland. But terrorism against the Soviets is not correct, because there is no invader. An invader is one who enters a country in order to prevent it developing and to submit the country to the interest of the invading country. The Soviet Union is developing Afghanistan, and does it to protect the USSR which is the force which is developing the progress of the world; that is, there is no invasion independently of the fact that the Afghan government called in the Soviets, and it is true, it called them in. The fact that the Soviets may have put in this government has nothing to do with it. It is the government which the people recognises.

None of those who write against the Soviet Union can say, 'There was such and such a meeting' in Afghanistan. In one area they say that they killed all the Soviets, those who were there and those coming. But they killed them on paper. It is no great task in reports to kill three or five hundred, or only one. There is not a single example from the Press which says, 'Here there is a committee which functions, which develops the economy, which has relations with the people; there is a normal life of the school and the factory'. There is nothing of this. A guerrilla appears in the films which capitalist television make, saying that he is a guerrilla and an Afghan, but he is very well clothed and straight from the trouser press, with watch plus new strap, and they are supposed to be returning from battle. The true guerrilla is exhausted through the fighting which can be seen in the eyes and the movements, but in these films we see concern for filming, and then showing off new and large armaments.

Previously they showed on the television Afghan 'guerrillas' in

heroic form, making arms to throw out the invader. They would show a forge and two people with an anvil and a hammer making a revolver in the mountains, and the idiot who spoke from Europe said, 'In this room the heroic and brave Afghan guerrillas make arms to conquer Soviet injustice'.

Then in the newspapers it appeared that 'these guerrillas who made their arms, shot down a Soviet plane'. It was shot down while flying at five thousand feet, and they say it was shot down. How? With a hand gun? They showed someone making a rifle and they say, 'Such heroism of those who have to make a rifle out of nothing'. They show someone making a gun and say, 'With this they stopped and destroyed a Soviet tank'. A tank appears, but no one is around, only the tank. One sees a figure from the back and a tank from the first world war. This tank, however old, needs at least artillery to destroy it, not a rifle or 'having a fighting spirit' as they say.

Afghanistan is a new preparation of war by Yankee imperialism and a sabotage to exert pressure on the Soviets, and also on the capitalist countries so that they support and let the Yanks intervene. Thus they have to justify their position by saying there is a resistance movement in Afghanistan, and they do not have a team to justify it. They could get hold of any group - there are thousands and thousands of Afghans who come and go between Pakistan and Afghanistan - and pass near the Soviets who let them go on. They are nomads, and have always done this as with the frontier with the Soviet Union. None speaks English as they show them on television, but the dialect of Afghanistan, Pakistan and, partly, the nearby zone of the Soviet Union. J. POSADAS 12.5.81

### ... THE POLICE from page 2

sensitive to the attitudes of the population seek to associate with them and thus overcome their own isolation. They do not want to be used to batter the population, to act as defenders of a system which has nothing to offer to the mass of the population but racialism, unemployment, poverty, bad housing, decaying cities and violence. A type of polemic has been in evidence for some time between the two sectors of the police. Those most linked to the capitalist apparatus are only concerned to arm the police more thoroughly but, when there is a layer which does not accept this, it is because the need for social transformations is influencing the police.

It is important also that the Labour Party is in part at issue with the usual conception of the police. A member of the Liverpool Labour Party Police Authority was obliged to say that the inhabitants had no choice but to rebel, and unqualified support was not given to the police. But there is opportunity for a much more profound discussion and orientation. There must be an intervention towards the police as citizens and voters, for their

right to organise a trade union, to strike, and to reject participation in anti-trade union actions. The police structure is a political formation to defend capitalist interests. It is necessary to impel discussion of this inside and outside the police force.

A sector in the police has even spoken of how the term democracy is to be interpreted, even posing an Athenian model. Such issues are raising decisive aspects about the nature of society. When a sector is prepared to raise such issue, it shows that the decomposition of capitalism has gone very far. sectors most linked to it through discipline and training fail to accept its pre-suppositions.

The process of interior pre-occupation and lack of confidence in capitalism is going to augment in the police even if the police apparatus in part manage to contain it, because the system has only one perspective - to get worse. The Labour Left has to intervene consistently and deeply on this issue, which means publications and discussions stemming from a better life in the Labour Party.

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THE DISCUSSION IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

16.2.81

J. POSADAS

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Monthly organ of the

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EDITORIAL

The elevation of the forces of the left in the Labour party allows a more flexible political life

The strength of the forces against nuclear armament in Western Europe impelled as they are by the Workers States who have no interest in world war but are not prepared to conciliate with Yankee imperialism, has obliged imperialism to try to mask its intentions and discuss moderating the arms race - which it of course foments as part of its aggressive character. Rarely has world imperialism given such an abject image of itself as now. Its attempts to orientate a new policy following the assassination of Sadat, of trying to counteract Soviet influence over the Arab bourgeoisie, has little perspective, particularly when the massive bomb explosion in Damascus shows the real face of Yankee imperialism - support for Zionism, assassination and war. The rival currents in American policy neutralise its capacity. The Seychelles episode, an attempt by the South Africans to overthrow a Left government, has brought out their inability to act with the necessary force and to resort to putchist methods.



CELEBRATION OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION IN RED SQUARE.

WORKERS PARADE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR PLANS AND NUCLEAR MISSILES.

At the meeting of Brezhnev and Schmidt in Bonn, the Soviet leader made it clear that there was no possibility of a limited nuclear war confined to Europe - nuclear war would involve all the continents. The Soviet leadership speaks in a firm and confident language. It wants peace, but there is no question of a new Yalta with the Yanks. At the same time, it influences the German bourgeoisie by augmenting trade links and supplying an indispensable gas pipe line. The German bourgeoisie is unwillingly linked to the Yanks in the common interests of capitalist private property, but they are also competitors and do not wish to submit totally to Yankee imperialism. Thus, Schmidt is obliged to say that the Soviets want peace and tries to balance between Yankee imperialism and the Workers States. All this weakens the world system of capitalism. This weakness and the disintegration is shown also in the attitude of a whole layer of ex-NATO commanders from all the countries of Western Europe. This attitude is paralleled by the statements of Heath, a former leader of the Conservative Party and prime minister of British imperialism, who says that the West has no leadership and criticises Yankee policy severely, as recently over Polisario with whom he is in favour of negotiation. Such attitudes reflect a most profound defeatism and rejection of centralisation within the ranks of capitalism. The attitude of the NATO generals and Heath is objectively casting doubt on the value of the capitalist system even if they do not draw all the conclusions. It means whole sectors of capitalism, including quite high layers, are in their hearts abandoning conviction in the possibilities of the system. Without accepting Socialism, they are a weight against capitalism.

Even without the massive intervention of the Labour Party and trade unions, the Thatcher government has failed hopelessly in its objectives - that is, to give a new lease of life to capitalism by breaking the working class and developing a virulent hostility to the Workers States. It has all failed and brought about disillusionment within the Conservative Party

turn to page 3

The struggle at Leyland poses the need for workers' control and the socialist planning of the economy

The strike at Leyland's Longbridge for the 39-hour week without loss of benefit is one of principle. What is at stake is that the benefits of automation have to go to the workers and not produce unemployment. The decision to make the workers pay for the lowering of working hours out of their much-needed rest time (Longbridge has the higher productivity level in the Leyland car division) is an action of war by capitalism and requires national and mass action to counter it.

This action at Longbridge shows that the previous decision of the workers not to strike for a higher wage increase did not mean that the workers accepted the plans of capitalism. All that it meant is that there was not the leadership adequate for the battle, and the workers were well aware of it. The workers could not be engaged in a struggle which would have involved the problem of the government without a leadership. However, they are not going to accept the war of capitalism either. As a result, there is a continuing strike at Longbridge which - for all his talks and threats - Edwardes has not been able to put an end to by sacking every one. Indeed, the Leyland management is now proposing not to implement the cuts in relaxation time.

The decision by the Leyland management to sack 4,100 workers and close down the bus and truck division in various parts of the country, is possible only because management knows that the trade union leadership is not prepared to confront them, with all that it means for the nationalised industries and the government.

It is also a blow at the trade union leaders who argued that it was necessary to accept a small wage increase in exchange for keeping jobs. What happened was the truck and bus division settled for

the management's pay offer, on the basis that their jobs would be preserved, and immediately after this they were faced with the sack! The battle is not about wages only; it is about who decides and controls!

A FEW DECIDE FOR 'THE COUNTRY'.

A struggle for a leadership adequate to this stage is going on in the workers' organisations, in the trade unions and, indirectly but fundamentally, in the Labour Party. The workers were told that they would not be sacked if they took a wage cut. Workers' leaders, able to visualise capitalism as the inexorable enemy, confident in the sole ability of the working class to lead and control, are going to arise. It is more and more evident that nationalisations under workers' control are the very condition for higher wages, better working conditions and... a job at all.

The truck and bus division to be closed was kept going with 'public money' (which is essentially the money of the working class)

However, the decision for closure was not taken in the name of that 'public' who pays, but in the name of the ruling class and for the benefit of very few people indeed. The heads of nationalised industries are not in 'conspiracy' with the government. What there is between them is an identity of interest, a belief in and respect for private property. The nationalised industries are made to serve the interests of private property and don't even compete on their own account against the private sector. The managers of nationalised industries, even if they don't own the company, think and act like proprietors and the whole structure of the industry is designed to fulfil the requirements of the private market. The government simply ensures, to a greater or lesser degree, that the enterprises serve this well. Previous Labour governments have not done much to

change this reality, in part because they were not interested, but also in part because this reality cannot be changed in the present state structure.

THE WORKING CLASS REPRESENTS 'THE COUNTRY'.

The working class is the sole protagonist of its own interests. For this, it needs its own leadership, its own economic and political planning, its own form of state. This action at Longbridge points in the direction of the necessity of workers' control. In a sense, by not striking for a wage increase but over working conditions, these workers are seeking a more advanced programme, one which answers the needs of social transformations. The same goes for the occupations at Lawrence Scott and the P & O ferry. By these actions, a sector of the workers' vanguard is pushing the Labour movement towards the conclusion that there is no future in trying to gain concessions from capitalism. They show that the struggle is firmly about who controls and which class leads, for whose interests; and that it is the workers themselves who are interested and capable to put the economy at the service of society.

This is a much more profound struggle than appears on the surface. It is influenced fundamentally by the Workers States, particularly by Poland which is showing how the Workers State is the form that allows the intervention of the masses in the leadership of the economy and society. There is an awareness in the workers' vanguard that these fundamental problems cannot be solved in isolation, and they seek to stimulate a national and political movement. If the organised Labour Movement launched a unified struggle for the 35-hour week, without loss of pay or conditions, this problem at Leyland would be settled very quickly and conditions would be laid for immediate and fundamental advances like work-sharing.

Turn to page 4

# THE DISCUSSION IN THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE FAILURE OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

16.2.81

J. POSADAS

The trade unions have to intervene in politics, and politics has to intervene in the trade unions, and the Party has to intervene in both aspects: the trade union and the Party. The nature of the problems determines the function of the trade union and in this case, and now the nature of the problems comes from the world crisis of the capitalist system. It is not a consequence of its own economic structure but of its social crisis, the product of world competition and antagonism with the Workers States. Any important progress has as a norm the Workers State, not the right to vote at nighten but the right to send capitalism down the tubes.

The concept of democracy and its function is determined by the world relation of class forces and this is based on the existence of the Workers States. All the initiatives come from there. No country of the non-aligned group in their last meeting was animated to speak of the Soviet Union when they criticised the actions of 'some countries'. Every one of them fears the reaction of the Workers States and the reaction of their own masses, particularly India which has two of its most important states led by Communists.

The progress in the internal discussion in the Italian Communist Party is one of the great events of humanity. It opens the gates and develops the conditions for the influence of the experience already made of the masses of the world, and concentrates in the development of the Workers States. This influences the Communist Party and teaches it to discuss. Even if the reference made by Berlinguer in a UNITA article is very limited and short (UNITA, paper of the ICP), that 'we want the experience in Poland not only for Poland but also for Italy', it means that the Communists are extending the experience and the evaluation of the process to apply it in Italy. This time they refer to Poland not to criticise the USSR, warning 'don't intervene' but to propose that the example of Poland is useful for Italy, to see how the trade unions discuss in a democratic Socialist form and to impel the country.

The difference between the democracy of Italy and that of Poland is that Italy is a bourgeois democracy, in that democracy expresses itself in agreement with the power which the class who governs has - and if it is a revolutionary leadership, it is not now the power which leads but ideas and reasoning. In Poland Socialist democracy exists: between the trade union, Party and army there is a unity in the objectives which is progress. Hence in Poland the trade unions can discuss with a general of the army and come to an agreement.

All this process is helping to develop the judgement of the Italian masses, not only of a sector but of everyone, and this is going to be expressed in the internal discussion

in the Communist and Socialist parties. The world weighs not only in conditions of revolutionary armed movements, but also of trade union, political or social revolutionary movements even if they do not reach the level of armed confrontation as in Italy.

In the Communist cadres and leaders, world events have their effect and they see and observe, because in all their minds they see what is happening in Poland and how they resolve problems. The Polish workers do not make a single complaint against the Soviet Union, but they threw out twentyfive leaders of the Party and the government. The Italian masses see this and ask, 'And why cannot we throw out our leaders who work as a function of bureaucratic interest which drives them to ally with capitalism'. The masses see that in Poland they have thrown out the top leaders of the Central Committee, of the government, including the president. This is an event of history. This is not China. Poland has more importance than China. No one takes China as an example. No one takes as an example 'the trial of the gang of four'. On the contrary, people joke about the Chinese leadership. But, in the case of Poland, no. The masses see that Poland is correcting the functioning of the country, that the workers who are on strike discuss, mobilise, and the conclusion is that they are throwing out the bad leaders. The Polish workers say, 'We do not make great demands, but want to throw out the following.. etc.' The Central Committee does not say that they are bandits, but still throws them out.

In this process the Workers States develop towards a superior level of functioning and, as a consequence of better intervention of the masses through Socialist democracy. The masses are seeing what Socialist democracy is, and that formal democracy is dried up. Berlinguer proposes this in part over the problem of FIAT when he calls upon the workers to intervene. FIAT is not Italy. Italy has FIAT which is a result of the strength of Italy, and where the workers have to intervene and resolve. It is not the same, but similar to the engineering factory 'Viborg' which had about 40,000 workers in Russia. In the beginning of the revolution, the Bolsheviks said, 'This is a Russian factory made by the efforts of the Russian people, not of the capitalists.'

In part, Berlinguer is proposing the same for FIAT, but basically he is taking the image of the Russian Revolution. FIAT does not belong to a family, it belongs to Italy. Now it has an owner, but everyone constructed FIAT. Together with these propositions over FIAT, Berlinguer also proposed that it is necessary to take the example of Poland, and the latter does not mean only that the workers secure demands from the government, but that they throw out rotten leaders.

In the Communist Party there is a line of change, a line which is aimed to impel the Communist Party to block the Right and influence the Socialist and Christian Democrat Left. The declarations of Berlinguer express this. Within this, there is the polemic over the representation which each trade union centre must have (Communist, Socialist and Christian Democrat) within the trade union federation. The Communists proposed rightly to the Socialists, 'We represent fifty per cent of the working class, and you ten per cent, and you do not accept the right that we have more representation, more delegates. What type of democracy is this?' If the Communists have fifty per cent members, democracy should mean that they have a representation which corresponds to this fifty per cent. But, in turn also, if the workers have decided to make a strike, the trade union leaders have to respect this decision and to carry out the decisions and discussions voted upon. But the trade union leaders resolve by decree. This has a certain similarity with the methods of fascism. Fascism says, 'You are ignorant and do not know how to vote. I will vote for you'.

The trade union leadership partly do the same, and say to the workers, 'You cannot decide, we are the ones who know'. Berlinguer confronts Benvenuto in this problem (general secretary of the Socialist trade union) and the reaction of the Communist Party is logical because it sees that Benvenuto wants to make a bourgeois apparatus. For Benvenuto to extend democracy is to make the technicians intervene, the bosses and the professional workers. He is seeking an improved alliance with capitalism.

There is a confrontation still limited to the plane of discussion, of a part of the Communist Party, but on the part of the tendency of Berlinguer there is a decision to go further.

## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TRADE UNION LEADERSHIPS.

These are the worst conditions in which Italian capitalism finds itself. There is a reaction of the Communist Party which limits all the plans of Italian capitalism of surrendering to the Yanks. Now is a moment in which capitalism needs the policy of the 'historic compromise', and the attitude of the Communists delivers a blow to this as does the attitude of Marchais. The result of the policy of the PCF even being mistaken in tactics is quite good from the programmatic point of view and obliges Mitterand to have to say, 'We continue with the programme of the Popular Union' and, in his going to China, there is no attack on the USSR and, on the contrary, he goes to North Korea which is entirely different to the Chinese. Mitterand proposed that the Soviets are Socialists who seek peace, and that it is necessary to seek disarmament. He did not come out in open defence of the Yanks,

but he made a declaration which was not favourable to them. He criticised the Soviets but proposed to the Chinese that whoever threatened peace was not the Soviets but the Yanks, and that they are all exposed to attack and to be destroyed. Mitterand cannot have his own policy because it is not possible. European capitalism does not have its own policy. The French Socialists, as Socialists, are under the influence of what is occurring in the European workers movement, which is going to the Left.

The events in Italy indicate an advance in the opposition to the Communists which is going to have an influence in trade union activity. Berlinguer insisted a great deal in one of his articles that they wanted a real trade union democracy where the workers could elect freely and directly their leaders. The other aspect is the better ordering of the political thought of the Communists. On the problem of FIAT, they are preparing a new offensive, and hence Berlinguer proposed, 'We cannot depend on FIAT'; that is to say, on the leadership of FIAT. It is necessary to defend FIAT because it is a conquest of Italy, but who manages it? This is the depth of the proposal of Berlinguer. He is proposing the problem in terms evolutionary-democratic-revolutionary-democratic-revolutionary. This is the definition because he is proposing, 'We cannot submit ourselves to FIAT, we want to intervene, to see what we can do with this industry'. On the need to increase production and improve it he proposed that 'it must not be at the cost of the workers but on the basis of a rationalisation of production. We are in agreement with increasing productivity, but not at the cost of the workers; otherwise it means greater wealth for the boss at the expense of the workers. The increase in productivity must be accompanied with the increase in the standard of living, of the conditions of life of the workers. But now the opposite takes place, such that the productivity goes to the benefit of the capacity of competition of the capitalists and against the Italian masses.

Berlinguer partly proposed this and reproaches the trade unions that they have not been concerned with these problems. Without saying it openly, he says that the duty of the trade union is to be preoccupied with these problems and that freedom and democracy are to resolve them. His intervention is very decided, because it is an internal confrontation against the bureaucratic wing of the trade unions. The proposal of Benvenuto on the factory councils and his criticism of them is because he seeks to make the technicians weigh more and replace the workers with technicians in the leadership of the factory councils, but on the contrary the technical cadres must be under the leadership of the proletariat.

The strategy of imperialism, of the Italian bourgeoisie - whether in a common or in an independent form, is to prepare the weakening, the isolation of the Communist

Party to push forward an attack against it, to weaken, to wall it up and to make it abandon positions to make the Communists break with the Soviet Union, which means a break in the Party. This is their objective: to break the Party, and this is the function of Craxi and Longo (secretaries of the Socialist Party and Social Democratic Party respectively). It is not the same with the Republicans and the Liberals, for whom it is not convenient. The Liberals feel that they have no perspective, and besides, have no notion of history. But it is convenient to the Socialist and the Social Democrats. Their game is this, and all their social base circulates in an ambience that is anti-Communist and anti-Socialist, particularly the Socialists whose right wing is not all Craxi. There is another sector more to the Right, and Craxi is a mediator and this plan which they all had has failed them.

## THE TACTIC OF CAPITALISM HAS FAILED.

This offensive of Berlinguer means that within the Party he seeks now a stable majority, and to assail the government knowing that the Soviets are going to support them. Berlinguer has the opportunity of criticising the Soviets and to gain the support of the bourgeoisie, but over Poland he proposed that no one must intervene in Poland, which is not only aimed at the Soviets but at imperialism, which the Communists have recognised is intervening.

This is an aspect of the strategy of imperialism which has failed. The offensive which Berlinguer develops is founded programmatically, although it is not a very extensive programme. It is an anti-capitalist programme of a re-ordering of the leadership which tends to throw out the bureaucracy of the trade unions and to substitute workers and which answers the concern of the vanguard which sees that it has a centre. The vanguard sees also that among the Socialists and the Republicans there is a Left quite close to measures of transformations. This includes a son of one of the leaders of the Liberal Party who said he was a Marxist. These layers of small proprietors, small traders and financiers see that the 'big shots' are taking them over.

They seek protection in defence of private property, but they have not achieved this because the 'big shots' are the ones who dominate. Thus they have to navigate with the parties of the Left. This creates the conditions for the acceptance, on the part of these sectors, of measures which are not capitalist. These sectors, as a current, do not accept Marxism but, in one or another way, they have to accept it, accepting the Communist Party.

The programme which capitalism

# THE CONCERT , MUSIC, SPORT AND SOCIALISM.

J. POSADAS

12.5.81

The present form of playing music is going to be surpassed in Socialist society. In the concerto, some play and others listen. Thus, between the executant and the listener there is no unity because the one who goes to listen goes for the satisfaction of his or her concern, of musical interest, or of transitory interest in understanding, in knowing, in being entertained, or in seeking a form of calm, rest, tranquility or security. But, between the intention of the one who listens and the music, there is a difference. The musician has the intention of playing. He can have the same intentions as the listener, but cannot have them in the act of interpreting, and the composer is also independent of the musician and the audience.

The composer has the intention of creating music and afterwards it is played with another conclusion in the form of interpretation. In Socialist society the composer, musician and listener will be integrated. It will be a part of human activity to concentrate relations through music. Then it is an integration and the one who composes music will do it with this intention. Between audience and interpreter and author there will be identity.

MUSIC WILL BE INTEGRAL WITH SOCIAL RELATIONS.

This is not the case now, because society is divided into particular interests and, as a consequence in different cultural levels which are not always based on social or economic interests. Socialism will not have such social differentiation and thus music will be a part of human relations. Millions and millions will be able to listen at once, but it will be a part of human relations. Now it is not the case; now music has a specific character in which it is possible to see the function of the artist in society. In Social-

ism the artist will not have this function, it will be infinitely superior, but the creation will also be superior. This is not going to equalise or level out all creative qualities, but is going to equalise the social intention and necessity of creation in music etc.

SOCIALISM ENDS THE OBSTACLES TO THOUGHT.

In Socialism, the dance will change. Even the popular dance which has no sensual intentions but is an excuse to forget things or enjoy entertainment, even this provincial, local, domestic, regional dance, all the different forms of expression in the music of local origins, are going to be surpassed by a world basis. Without the elimination for a time of the initiatives which come from peculiar places or different places, the human being is going to integrate knowledge, consciousness, intelligence and capacity, is going to eliminate every social and economic obstacle, to eliminate from thought the problems of war, the trade union, the strike and the Party. Humanity is going to eliminate every aspect which leads to confrontation and to a certain basis of antagonism. It is going to eliminate, consequently, also the struggles of fractions and is thus going to make a level of knowledge and of culture, so that the most elevated invention is going to be accepted immediately, and at the moment of being accepted will be surpassed. This is going to be the permanent process of the development of intelligence whose source is that all the problems which obstruct, make difficult, attack and assassinate the objective development of human thought, money, exploitation, dividend and competition are being eliminated. Hence, I said in the text on the Moscow Olympics (1), 'In Socialism sport will be an activity destined to unite with nature'.

The best athletic and sporting activities are still not being attained. Even in part, the Soviets and the East German State, who are the most elevated, have not done it. There is still in sporting competition the national or local sentiment. For the Workers State, although it is legitimate to be represented as a particular country to influence the world, this limits in any case the limitless possibilities of development of sport. In the future sport as we know it will not exist. Sport today is a particular activity, but will become a normal activity of humanity. It is not going to be as now the sport of competition, of winning and losing, but an organisation with the effect of uniting with nature: which means that the runner will do the maximum to unite with the wind, the stars, the light and the sun, means that are a hundred thousand times more elevated than those that exist now will be found in jumping, running and swimming.

Everything will be accompanied by the harmony of human relations. Hence sport today is aggressive because relations are like this. But the Olympics of Moscow were harmonious. It is not possible to measure sport today with Socialism. Sport today has a series of effects. It provides security, calculation, precision, concentration of the will, because relations outside sport in capitalist society demand this. But Socialism is not going to need anything of this. Thus sport will be a means of elevating the relation of humanity with nature, respiration and movement, in relation with the sun, air, night and day. Hence there are Soviet and non-Soviet scientists who believe that the human being can live for two hundred years as a norm.

(1) 'The Triumph of Humanity in the Moscow Olympics', 3.8.80

J. POSADAS 12 May 1981

has to weaken the Communist Party (that is, in provoking an uprising in the army and in the police) has failed them completely. It is not that they are going to continue promoting repressions, uprisings, but the plan of uprisings against the Communist Party has failed them. They are going to try to return to it. This is the plan which they have had for many years, but now there a very great number of terrorists who see that what they are doing is stupid, and they will finish with killing. The terrorists have killed many people, but quite a few of them have also been killed. Many of them say, 'Where does this lead to, what guarantees do we have?' As regards many of the terrorists who repent and then give information this is not a manoeuvre. They were

given a plan that they were going to win and they now see that this means nothing. In part, this is the product of the influence of the Communist Party through the working class. The Socialists have not contributed to this. They do not do anything, but the working class, through the Communist Party, did. All this is a clear symptom of where Europe is going.

If Mitterand wins, as is possible he will have to go to the Left inevitably, even with all his oscillations, and this is going to influence the Communists of Italy. France is going to have a very great influence in Germany, and this is going to go very badly for the Yanks. Within imperialism there is a sector which says, 'If we launch a war now

against the Socialist countries, we will lose before we have begun' - because they see that there is a great resistance in their own capitalist countries. The depth of the speech of Giscard d'Estaing is this: war means not only external but internal risks. He says apparently, 'military expenditure is very great, it is very expensive', etc. but in reality what concerns him is that the preparations of the war of capitalism are being made in the conditions of the Left Front; in France, the latter has reached fifty per cent, that is half the population is against capitalism. Electorally it is necessary to consider that 20% of the people who vote for capitalism are no use, have nothing to do with life. From the social point of view, capitalism has thirty per cent, the

Editorial continued from page 1

itself, that is, in wealthy bourgeois sectors some of whom seek a solution in the Social Democrats. In the final analysis, the Thatcher line, as that of Reagan, has been defeated by the existence of the Workers States which does not give room for domestic repression of the necessary character nor success in the field of foreign policy - that is, reversing the tide of world revolution. The victory of Shirley Williams in Crosby was fundamentally secured by votes from the Conservatives - Labour votes for the SDP were to help ensure the defeat of the Conservative candidate. If the Labour Party had a more consistent life and application of policy, such voting would not occur or would not be felt to be necessary. Crosby has significance because it is a profoundly bourgeois area and the inroad of the Social Democrats indicates the disintegration in the ranks of the bourgeoisie and those petit bourgeoisie under their influence. As part of the generalised debacle of capitalist institutions, the issue of the Scarman Report also has importance. Here, a sector of capitalism criticises the functioning of the capitalist system, the coercive system of the police and the bad social conditions in which whole layers of the population are obliged to live. When a sector of the top judiciary is prepared to condemn aspects of the system, then it is clear that capitalism is losing support in its own precincts.

## IMPROVE THE FUNCTIONING OF THE PARTY

If the Labour Party and the trade unions had been adequately prepared the Thatcher government would long ago have been dispatched to the shades, but the crisis of the capitalist system also passes through both Labour Party and unions. These organisations were constructed in the period when British imperialism could offer goodies to the aristocracy of labour, and later on the onset of Stalinism in the Workers States allowed the forces of the Labour Right to impose a ruthless control of ideas where only the desert could flourish and the combative Socialist was either domesticated or thrown out. Now history has gone in reverse, and the ideas of the Right no longer apply. The Right are being ejected by the Party but there is still a lack of consistent functioning and application of a consistent political life. The trade union structures are also non-representative of the new phase of human history - much conservatism, lack of life and lack of communication with the population. The liquidation of the Right, the various controversies within the Party - such as that now over parliamentary democracy - the noises over the Militant Group in the Labour Party are all symptoms of a very deep and continuous process towards a transformation of the Labour Party. It is a very healthy process. It is not one of decline - as is the crisis of the capitalist system and its culture. The discussion over parliamentary democracy shows the search for the way beyond electoralism, the search for organs which meet the needs of the population and take politics out of the hands of a few and gives it to the many. Inevitably, it raises the most profound issues which cannot be dismissed as 'extreme Left', full stop. Certainly parliament can pass important laws against the functioning of the capitalist system, but Socialism requires a transformation of the whole functioning of society - whenever has any social system accepted this without using all manner of means to survive? Parliamentary democracy corresponds to certain phases of history. There is nothing eternal about it. It has its uses, but parliamentary democracy is very limited and has to be accompanied, even in the limited functioning of electoral campaigns, by mass demonstrations, meetings, mobilisations and discussions. Occupations, factory committees are all fundamental aspects of popular intervention in which the population directly participates and contain a more elevated democracy than purely parliamentary elections. But all this has to be discussed logically and fully, not in one exchange of opinion but regularly and with publications where all the forces of the Left can participate. Marxism has a fundamental contribution to make in all this, Marx, Lenin, Engels Trotsky and Posadas. The Labour Party and trade unions are accompanying a fundamental world process led by the Soviet Union going towards Socialism. Poland has given an indelible example that it is possible to get rid of bureaucrats without reverting to capitalism, that collectivised property is superior to capitalism. The activity of the Polish masses has achieved in a year more than parliamentary democracy throughout the whole of its history - and in spite of the limitations of the leadership and Party of the Workers State.

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rest are sectors of the medium petit bourgeoisie, which even living from big business are not against social progress, but electorally do not express this behaviour because there is not a social confrontation and thus they vote for capitalism. This is the situation, and this is going to happen shortly in Germany.

In Britain also there is a very important situation. The effort to form the new Social Democratic Party with the dissidents of the Labour Party has no great echo. In spite of the departure of these sectors of the Labour Party, the polls continue to give the Labour people more than 40% of the votes. These dissident sectors can reach at a maximum twenty per cent, but take from the Conservatives. At least

fifty parliamentary representatives of the Conservatives voted against many motions of its own government. The intensification of the struggle in Ireland is very great, and now the strike of the transport workers is being prepared and they have Left leadership.

This situation in Europe is influencing the progress in Italy and the discussion in the Communist Party.

J. POSADAS

# THE DISINTEGRATION OF SPANISH CAPITALISM.

Throughout Europe the political and social structures of capitalism are falling apart. The failure of the Thatcher government, the election of Mitterand, the victory of PAKSOS, the stricken government of Schmidt and the non-alignment of the Spadolini government with the principle interests of Yankee imperialism and the decomposition of capitalist authority in Belgium create an ambience which gives no support to any one capitalist government. The agony of the whole world capitalist system deprives them of will, imagination and capacity. They tend to be disorderly supervisors of their own obsequies. There is no way in which any capitalist country can free itself from the web which links it to the whole structure of world capitalism, to its world market and its incapacity in face of the antagonistic world system of the Workers States. There is no third way out of this mess. The European bourgeoisie whimpers at the United States which imperiously seeks to dictate to it and submit its interests to the needs of the world strategy of Yankee imperialism. Everything is reduced to chaos and criminality.

The abortive coup last February is an example of the disorder at the heart of Spanish capitalism. The dissolution of the Franco regime in the final analysis did not favour Spanish capitalism. Various gentlemen rapidly donned 'democratic' clothes, although these were peculiarly ill-fitting. The workers parties and workers commissions began to move but, at the same time, the Francoist apparatus remained in the army and the police. Spanish capitalism remains in the historical weakness of the time of Franco, even if the economy is more productive. It cannot compete with the great capitalist powers and, at the same time, it has to confront a proletariat which has triumphed over Franco and is sustained and guided by the existence of the Soviet Union. Like all capitalist countries, Spanish capitalism has to cope not only with its own proletariat but historically it confronts the Soviet Union. The disorder over the February coup reflects ultimately the disorder and indecision at the heart of Spanish capitalism. At the same time, its feverish political agitations lead towards another coup. Since the February episode, there has been no serious purging of the Franco apparatus - indeed, the cynicism of Spanish 'democracy' has been exemplified in the award of a medal to General Bosch, one of the organisers of the coup, by the Spanish commander in charge of military awards! The Spanish army still remains apart from any contact with the life of the population, a caste with its separate interests linked to private property.

## CRISIS OF EURO-COMMUNISM.

All the political structure and parties in Spain receive the effects of the world confrontation of system versus system, and this includes the workers parties, particularly that of the Spanish Communist Party which is now going through a profound crisis. This has an historic significance because the crisis has developed through the struggle over eurocommunism.

The most recent split, in which a sector of the Communist Party has fused with the Basque nationalists, is the logical conclusion from the steady abandonment of Scientific Socialism. The people who have gone have no belief in Communism and, in fact, go towards the other side - the class enemy. This split is linked to the whole layer in rebellion at the last Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, with their conceptions of third ways and giving less importance to the proletariat. At the same time, the Left of the Party has tried to maintain basic class positions.

capitalism in its progressive phase, which meant the unification of a country on the basis of a national market. Nationalism has now collapsed into regionalism. The latter is the result basically of the failure of Spanish capitalism to develop the country. Thus the local sectors of capitalism, in face of the multi-nationals and with no security in future prospects, fall back into regionalism. The workers parties have tended to adapt themselves to this situation instead of proposing the logical organisation and centralisation of the economy on the basis of Socialist planning. A whole game has been set up - even worse in

reaffirmed the programme against NATO and called for the nationalisation of the banks.

The struggle against the eurocommunists in the Spanish Communist Party, show the search for a policy and programme to answer the needs of the population. It is not only the proletarian masses which confront capitalism but the spirit of the rejection of capitalism has affected the youth even of sectors of the bourgeoisie. Thus, at the last UCD conference, the youth sectors came out to oppose military service and to reduce the officer caste. Such demands go against the interests of capitalism and show the

mortal agony. All its structure is falling and, at the same time, this provokes crises in the workers parties, posing the end of conciliating with the Spanish bourgeoisie on the basis of defending 'democracy'. It is necessary to defend democracy, not in a passive way but combining the struggle for democratic rights with the struggle for social change, for a statified economy under workers control, not separating minimum trade union demands from the struggle for fundamental social transformations. The struggle against NATO, against the military, against nuclear weapons which will be aimed not just at the Soviets but against the masses of Spain and the rest of Europe, requires the united front of the broad masses against the positions of the bourgeoisie. This is also the way to unite Spain and diminish the weight of regionalism.

The Spanish Cortes recently passed legislation in favour of entering NATO, but the struggle against the war plans of world imperialism knows no boundaries, and Spain is not exempt from the laws of the class struggle. As for the economy, the class differentiation is sharp. Agriculture and industry have mass unemployment and unemployed agricultural workers do not even receive unemployment pay. Thus a profound crisis links town and country in Spain. The attempt to modernise the Spanish economy takes place in the ambience of a previously very backward country.

There is no contradiction between local initiatives of local cultural life within the framework of the centralised economy. The Soviets particularly intervened well on the diplomatic plane to weigh against NATO. What is necessary is the elevation of the struggle against nuclear war with the Socialist struggle for social transformations. The parties lack sufficient political life and cadres, but develop in a favourable world ambience. The coup which capitalism is trying to organise is part directly of the preparations for the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States, and logically the workers parties and centres should denounce these preparations and signal their support for all the struggles against the Spanish reactionaries.



THE SPANISH MASSES DEMONSTRATE AGAINST NATO.

Yankee imperialism has been preoccupied to secure Spain within the system of the NATO alliance and, at the same time, they would naturally prefer a 'stable' regime of the Right, which means support for a military coup. This in itself is a sign of enormous social and political weakness.

A military coup tends to favour the multi-nationals and the top layers of business and the banks. Thus the army is the party of the bourgeoisie, but only of a sector.

The will of capitalism to undertake a coup is sapped by the great fear of the direct resistance of the masses, who are far more disposed to intervene than their leaderships. The massive intervention after the military coup and the recent demonstration against NATO are forces which deter the bourgeoisie and disorganise their decision. The Spanish employers, by withdrawing from the tripartite pact with the government and the unions over wage stabilisation on the grounds that they reject government subsidy for the unions social fund, are trying to force the Sotelo government to take a harder line against the masses as part of the preparation for a more authoritarian regime.

The decomposition and the incapacity of Spanish capitalism has been demonstrated very clearly over the whole autonomy issue. This brings out the morass of Spanish capitalism. The 'autonomy' process is a retreat on the whole function of

Belgium - whereby the full force of the centralised class struggle is diminished by local and regional preoccupations. On the other hand, for the top layers of capitalism the degree of decentralisation is not convenient. It means that there is a fall in central authority, and again the forces of coercion tend to be the only forces which possess centralised authority.

The complications of the 'autonomy' issue have shown themselves in the disputes in July, in which the Basque and Catalan parties boycotted meetings with the other major national parties on the efforts to curb local 'rights'. All this makes it appear that somehow the regional issues have a life which is independent of the class struggle. On the other hand, the top layers and the military are preoccupied with the disintegrating effect of regionalism. Thus capitalism is caught in hopeless contradictions, allowing objectively a powerful response of the workers parties and the unions. But all the latter have been caught within the web of the existing political arrangements and have been unable to express an objective and consistent class position.

But the most significant aspect of the process is the beginnings of currents in workers parties who do not accept the status quo.

In the Congress of the Socialist Party Gonzales declared against social transformations but the Left

possibility of a united front of the population to proceed on a programme of social transformations. Sectors of the UDC youth even came out to destroy the Spanish military structure, quite rightly attacked for being 'Prussian'.

The fact that such a demand on the army is put forward in the bourgeois camp shows the enormous weakness within the camp of capitalism. A coup is an urgency for capitalism, and hence the atmosphere of killings and assassinations to encourage a coup, carried on for some time - as in Italy - through 'groups', including Basques, who are utilised by the CIA

## TO 'DEFEND DEMOCRACY' MEANS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

The struggle against Spanish capitalism takes place in a situation where all capitalism is in

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production for need, re-conversion of industries for the production of necessary goods and for exports. There is a tremendous need for buses and trucks all over the world, and the idea of shutting this branch of production is simply ludicrous. There is a need for a political leadership from the Labour Party essentially, and from the trade unions. There is nothing to prevent the Labour Party, as a Party, and the unions pledging themselves in support of factory occupations and workers' control.

This can all but shorten the life of the Thatcher government and

centralise support - even in the electoral sense - for the Labour Party. Clearly, neither the Labour Party nor the trade unions can be pushed to this position overnight, but the conditions are ripe for a political and programmatic discussion - not just inside the apparatus, but in the factories and workers' areas - for workers' control and the need to let the masses and workers produce for the need of the masses and country and not for a few capitalists who spoil and ransack 'the country' and its means of production.

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The process in the Labour Party and the trade unions is immensely progressive, but it is necessary to develop all the organs of discussion, to encourage publications on the new stage in the Party, to discuss what is meant by democracy, and to develop a Party that lives the needs of the population, the world process of the advance to Socialism. In this way a new bond is made with the population which, in turn, elevates and impels the Party.

5.12.81

# Manifesto for the the First of May



REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
(TROTSKYIST)  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL  
(POSADIST)  
24 CRANBOURN STREET LONDON WC2.

This manifesto for the First of May 1981, published in the name of the International Secretariat of the Posadist IV International in 1981, was formulated by comrade J. Posadas who died a few weeks later. We reproduce it here as a salute to his memory, and because it retains all its relevance as a document for a whole historic stage.

J. POSADAS

MANIFESTO FOR THE FIRST OF MAY 1982

MAY 1981

The crisis which the world situation produced in the Communist parties and the necessity for a world united front have to be taken, on this First of May, as a fundamental part of the present stage and development of the confrontation, system against system. A United Front must be made with all the workers parties, the nationalist, popular, progressive movements, beginning from local united fronts impelling the struggle for national and social liberation against the capitalist system.

Poland is an example of the progress of history. In Poland, and in all the Workers States (Socialist countries), there is in train a process of preparation and development of leadership which puts order into the advance to Socialism. If there are contradictions on this road, they are not produced by the system of the Workers States but by the leaderships. These contradictions are the product of the gap which exists between the Workers States and the social regime they develop, and the leadership which does not respond to the necessity of the Workers State. The problem in the capitalist system is another one entirely, because all the capitalist leaderships are the direct expression of the capitalist system. In capitalism, the system itself is responsible for the problems, but in the Workers States it is the leadership which has to be changed and is being changed, as much in the USSR and Czechoslovakia as in Poland.

The most important events of history are constituted, in every shape and form, by the principles of social progress which - from the smallest to the most elevated - all represent anti-capitalist progress. Capitalism is preparing the war, but it cannot do it when it likes, as it likes, and where it likes. Imperialism seeks to unify the whole of the capitalist system under its leadership. It attempts to do this in an attitude of desperation, in order to contain the progress of the world Socialist revolution, but it makes this preparation in the midst of the greatest contradictions of the regime, and in the face of the flood-tide of the process of the liberation of the world masses. The masses of the least cultural level, and those of the greatest, tend to unify among themselves because the road to progress is the anti-capitalist struggle; this is what unites them. The liberation movements are not, in the strictest sense, simply movements of national guerrillas. They are both guerrilla movements and revolutionary armies dedicated to social transformations.

This is the Front of the progress

of history. It is the Workers State which stimulates, impels and organises the resolution, decision and programme to progress of any movement in any part of the world. Moreover, this progress can only be achieved through social transformations. This is why everyone - from the six-year old child to the 90 year old man or woman - intervenes equally in the struggle and they participate as humankind and not simply as members of a family. They do not abandon the family but their conduct is determined by their consciousness of participating as part of humanity. This can be seen in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Africa, in Ethiopia or Madagascar. There can be seen how the process develops towards the progress and unification of humanity. There are no progressive movements of any kind in the world, from the 'Greens' (Ecologists) to the Communist parties themselves, which do not seek anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united fronts. They all have to end up in adopting the programme of the anti-capitalist struggle. This means that they are led to measure, to observe, to judge movements and countries according to programme and objectives. It is true that method of struggle and forms of struggle are important, but they are secondary in comparison with programme and objective, which is what - in the last instance - decides the methods and forms of struggle. All this demonstrates that the world wants to progress, and that from Africa and Asia to Latin America, they progress by unifying themselves with the example of the revolution of 1917.

Moreover, this phenomenon has to be discussed in the world Communist movement, in all the Communist parties of the world. There is no impediment to prevent them from criticising the USSR or its leadership if they choose to do so, but they must discuss, however, that progress has to be anti-capitalist. There is no progress in the world which is not anti-capitalist. Any crisis at all in capitalist countries, like Britain or Italy, is determined by the crisis of the system itself, and the capitalist system has no solution. There are no longer any lifts which would allow capitalism to rise higher... The lifts which exist in history today are of no use to the capitalist system because they are outdated. The way in which to get higher today is with Soviet rockets, which are both more rapid and know where they are going.

Appeals have to be launched to the Communist parties, to the Communists, Socialist and Left movements, to the Greens (Ecologists) and revolutionary movements, to unite for social progress on the

basis of the programme and objectives of anti-capitalist struggle. Appeals have to be made for a united front of all the anti-capitalist movements against the war which imperialism is preparing. Appeals for the development of the revolutionary anti-capitalist struggle and appeals to the North American and Japanese peoples. We call for the trade unions of the Workers States, of the USSR, of Poland, of Nicaragua and those of all the world, to make appeals to the trade unions of the United States for a struggle against North American capitalism. They should condemn those who dedicate hundreds of thousands of dollars to sabotage Poland, whilst this money could be used to make North America progress. Let them look at the example of the Soviet Union, Poland and of the other Workers States where the masses are free to discuss, to intervene and to learn how to construct the Workers State. In this way, the masses of the Workers States are progressing on the basis of discussions, and superseding, expelling and casting aside bureaucrats and camarillas which the Workers State has to get rid of. These (bureaucracies) are the result of the state of backwardness in which historically the Workers States were born. This backwardness is not just an economic problem but it means also a political backwardness of the leaderships. However, in North America they murder presidents! In North America they resort to killing presidents in order to solve their problems, whilst in Poland they have not killed anyone.

This shows the stage of history which we are in. It is not a stage in which there is the perspective of years of progress, but a stage of final decisions. To make any country progress a United Front is needed - which proposes nationalisations and planning - of the workers, Communists, Socialists, radicals, ecologist movements. This United Front must declare that the progress and maintenance of the economy, of either Italy, France, Britain or Germany, cannot be made at the cost of the workers. There is no need at all for it to be this way. On the contrary, it is capitalism which cannot resolve any problem and this is proved by the crisis which can be seen from Germany and Japan to North America and Italy, in the capitalist system. There can be no solution or arrangement inside the capitalist system. This is why the call has to be made for a United Front with a programme of anti-capitalist struggle, and of unity with the Workers States. We appeal for the Communist parties of the world to make a United Front with the Communist parties of the

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We salute this May Day celebration 1982, which symbolises the fact that the process of advance in Britain forms an integral part of the world process. At the centre of this world process, a determining centre is the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States, whose existence and advance determine the advance of the whole of humanity to Socialism.

The Workers States represent the social, scientific, cultural, human and even economic progress of humanity. The level reached by the world economy, and productive forces, demands a superior form of social organisation, of property relations and of planning. Capitalism wants to stop this necessity with the war it is preparing against the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and with the deployment of first strike capability in Western Germany and Europe. But the Soviet Union has acquired the confidence that the struggle with imperialism is an antagonistic one, and makes no secret that it does not depend on missiles in Europe to attack the USA directly. Imperialism cannot crush the progress of the Workers States any more than it can prevent Socialism. Socialism is a necessity of the economy, of science, of culture, human relations, and life itself.

The confidence of the masses of the United States to oppose the war preparations of their ruling cliques is based on the feeling that the Workers States determine the world balance of forces today, and have the initiative. This decomposes imperialism, right to the core, inside its state and military apparatus. An increasing number of top ranking military leaders of imperialism have opposed the nuclear war prepared by imperialism against the Soviet Union. The resignation of Carrington in Britain contains some of this and forms part of the historic weakening of the moribund capitalist regime. The drawing close of the final settlement of accounts fundamentally debilitates and divides the ruling teams of imperialism, whilst it continuously strengthens and renews the leaderships of the Workers States.

The changes in China are slow but in an anti-imperialist direction. They tend to draw China closer to the Soviet Union, if only because any Workers State, in order to live, has to stop co-existing with imperialism. Poland breaks its links with the World Bank and comes closer to COMECON and the Soviet Union, the same as all the other Workers States. In front of this decisive unification of the forces of progress and Socialism capitalism has no answer but counter-revolution and war.

The masses of Britain, like those of the world, express the advance of the world balance of forces favourable to Socialism in their extra-parliamentary and political progresses. The elections in Southern Ireland - a completely unforeseen event by capitalism that strikes at its war preparations - form part of the impulse which the Irish masses give to the advance in the Labour Party, and have been in part motivated by the advance of the Labour Party themselves. The 'peace' movement advances in strength and maturity, linking itself each day more with the trade union and Labour movement. There are movements like that for 'natural birth' which mobilise thousands of people preoccupied not by the obsession with nuclear war but with leading a conscious and dignified life, human relations and relations with nature. The source of strength and inspiration for this lies in the Soviet Union and the Workers States, which allow people to prepare themselves without fear, conscious that all problems can be resolved.

Whilst capitalism fills its papers with slanders against the Workers States and news about its own crisis, like the Malvinas Islands, the USSR investigates space, builds a complete orbital space station, explores Venus by remote control, and proceeds confidently with the investigation of this planet and the cosmos. The confidence with which it does this is that of a regime that has no doubt about its superiority, military included. The formidable confidence and security of the USSR in the face of the first strike Yankee nuclear missiles being deployed in Europe is immensely more important to characterise the Soviet Union as a regime than its bureaucratic limitations, which are each day weakened.

In the face of this, any sort of progress in capitalism is rendered impossible. Capitalism is exhausted. Any proposal of progress, like the 'fares fair', meets with the opposition of the judiciary, the police and the Law Lords. The masses learn that, for capitalism, 'democracy' is what serves its interests of accumulation, domination, undisputed power. The support given by the Thatcher government to the elections in El Salvador is an epitome of this. For capitalism 'dictatorial' is all that allows the workers to decide in the leadership of society, free of all bourgeois hindrance. The capitalist conception of nature and history is essentially subjective, limited purely to the defence of its crude class interests. The masses are learning to differentiate between their own class interests and those of British Imperialism, and the changes in the Labour Party are about the break of Labour from imperialism.

Capitalism is incapable of allowing any change that spells progress for the masses. As its crisis deepens, the social regime of capitalism becomes more and more antagonistic to even the most simple and common elements of progress. The policy of negotiation with capitalism to obtain

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Workers States: a United Front of Socialist, Communist, Radical and Left movements, with the Left Liberal movements and the Ecologists is also needed. This has to be on the basis of the programme of social progress in every country, to form part of the fulfilment of the national necessity for social progress. It has been proved already that none of this will be done by capitalism, which is preparing for war instead. The installation of missiles in Europe, in common with all the preoccupations of imperialism, is intended to organise a base from which imperialism can prepare itself secretly against the system of the Workers States.

In Poland, there is not a process of rebellion of the workers against the Workers States, but rather a process – and an outbreak of process – on the same lines as Dantzig and Stettin, to put order into the functioning of the Workers State and to develop a leadership that responds more directly, or directly, to the necessities of the progress of the masses and of the Workers State. All this process in Poland is to make the Workers State progress. There is not one demand put forward by the Polish workers, or by the workers of any other Workers State, to return to capitalism! Far from it! Any demand put forward by the workers there is to impel the Workers State. But those put forward by the workers of the capitalist countries support the struggle against the capitalist system. This is the judgement which the Communist leaders must make. These are the criteria and conception which must animate the Communist, Socialist and Radical leaders when they make a judgement. It is not a problem which can be solved by criticisms or dissent against a lack of liberty. In reality it is the stage of confrontation, system against system, in which what allows an advance is the road of the construction of a new Socialist society.

A United Front of all the Communist parties with the Workers States is necessary. Let the Workers States – the USSR in particular – launch appeals to the masses of the United States, and stimulate them to make demands for the elevation of their standard of life in the United States, and to end the massacre which is being made of Black Children, following the massacres that have been made of Black adults. Today, in the United States, they have descended to the level of murdering Black Children and this illustrates all the degeneration of the ruling layers of North American imperialism.

An appeal has to be launched to China. A public and open discussion should take place on the problem of the crisis in China and in Yugoslavia, as well. These are the problems of the construction of the Workers State, problems of the construction of the leadership of Socialism. They are certainly not problems of any sort of crisis or corruption of Socialism. It has to be seen that it is a matter of constructing leaderships for a new society entirely, and that this construction has to be made in the face of the war preparations which the capitalist system is making. Moreover, the Workers States also have

to correct all the previous defects – particularly those from the epoch of Stalinism – in order to progress now in the construction of Socialism. Thus, at the same time as an appeal is made to discuss the political barbarism of the Chinese leadership, which makes an alliance with the capitalist system against the progress of the world revolution, the USSR, Vietnam and the other Workers States, an appeal has to be made for them to finish with this policy.

All this must be discussed in the world Communist movement, which must also formulate a programme for the anti-capitalist struggle in each country. They must call for a United Front of Communists, Socialists, Left Radicals and Ecologist movements, as part of the world United Front for anti-capitalist struggle.

This stage of history has proved that all the fundamental conquests that have been won are due to the existence of the Socialist countries which determine the progress of history. The continued existence of backwardness, all the retreats in history and in life, are due to the existence of the capitalist system. This means that it is necessary to seek the incorporation of the North American masses into all the struggles. One has to be concerned to make appeals to them. We appeal to the trade unions of the Workers States and to those of the large capitalist countries to hold public and anti-capitalist debates. This process will reach the North American masses. We call on them to make appeals to China to sever its links with the capitalist system. Calls have to be made to the Chinese government, the trade unions and masses of China, to intervene to stop the leadership making an alliance with the capitalist system against the system of the Workers States.

There must be appeals of the Workers States, and the Soviet Union in particular, to support all the revolutionary movements; and, whilst it is fully justified to make anti-bureaucratic criticisms in judgement of the Workers States, it is also necessary to support the Soviet Union in all the developments which it has allowed in the revolutionary struggles. There must be more measures of public and anti-capitalist discussion in all the Workers States, China included. These measures will clearly demonstrate that it is the capitalist system which feels moribund, and not the Workers States. The crisis of capitalism is so deep that it reaches all its component parts. This is expressed by the level of competition between the capitalist countries of Europe and Yankee imperialism. This competition is, essentially, political rather than economic. Inter-capitalist competition motivates massive rows and struggles amongst all of them. It motivates struggles which are expressed in the form of disputes, assassinations and crimes against each other. The blowing-up of the Yankee 'Radio Free' station in Munich is an instance of this.

The depth of the class struggle and inter-capitalist competition is highlighted in Europe where French and German capitalism try to make

a front of resistance to the pressure of the Yanks, who would like to launch them against their will against the Soviets. Moreover, in each capitalist country there is a process of crisis of the system, which leads to a new recession. It is clear that they will try to make further attacks on wages, trade union and political rights. Capitalism intends to do this; but it is in conditions where it does not have the strength to succeed. We are not in 1939! Today, there is the system of the Workers States which constantly feeds the struggle of the masses of the world and fuels the anti-capitalist struggle. No doubt, capitalism will try – but it will not, and cannot, impose itself on the masses. Poland is an example to the masses of the world, because they see that in Poland it is a problem of political leadership, but in the capitalist countries it is a problem of social structure and antagonisms.

The fuss which imperialism has made over its space 'shuttle' is part of this. However, the masses see the difference between the way imperialism resolves problems and the way they are resolved in the Workers States. In the Workers States they are broaching the problems that arise out of progress, rather than the problems that stem from one expropriating from another. They solve them by separating leaders (from the function of leadership), by simply casting them aside and not by shooting or murdering them. At the same time, all that it is possible to do has not yet appeared, but this is the general line. What there is in the Workers State is a cleansing, whilst in the capitalist system it is all murder and crime.

The launching of the space 'shuttle' is part of imperialism's competition with the Workers States. It was done by imperialism to try to gain some authority over the rest of capitalism, over the scientists, and over the culturally educated sectors of the population. It was only done to try to gain authority. Regardless of the fact that the launching and return of the astronauts was successful, it was done for the purpose of competition. and capitalism is incapable of doing any better. In fact, all this was done to prepare negotiations between themselves rather than to advance humanity. The Workers State, for its part, does these things to impel, to educate and to prepare the conditions for the elevation of human relations with the Cosmos. And this has nothing to do with the problem of negotiations, commerce or war. Also, the delay in the launching of the Yankee 'Shuttle' was not explained by the reasons they gave; indeed it was the result of their lack of preparation, together with a fevered panic produced in them by the competition of the Workers States. This competition of the Workers States is what goads imperialism into trying feverishly to appease, deviate or contain the criticisms which come from North American public opinion; it is to appease the criticisms of the petty bourgeoisie and even the upper layers of the proletariat, who see the inferiority of imperialism. In other words, the depth of this enterprise was an attempt to reassure the North American petty bourgeoisie and the world bourgeoisie.

If, in this stage of history, the existing regime – capitalism – prevailed, then the liberation movements would not be anti-capitalist but would try to develop capitalism instead. However, the reality is far from this, and any movement – whatever its nature, whatever the means at its disposal – seeks the opposite of capitalism. This highlights the fact that the course of history has already taught the poorest and most backward masses of the world that progress is done through the struggle for Socialism. History has taught them that Socialism is not achieved by asking permission, but rather that it has to be imposed; and this means to expropriate the ruling capitalist layers which itself had expropriated the peoples of the world. Thus, it is necessary to show this unity which exists between movements of lesser or greater social importance and weight. They are all unified in the anti-capitalist struggle, in the way in which progress develops.

We call for this to be discussed in all the Communist parties, and for the Communist parties to animate an internal political life with a process of constant discussions and literary preoccupation. We call on them to be preoccupied and to intervene about China, Albania and Yugoslavia. We call on them to make appeals for anti-capitalist struggle, and for the opening up of a discussion in the world Communist movement, which poses that imperialism is preparing for war. We call on them to draw the conclusion that it is necessary to prepare a movement of anti-capitalist struggle to cut across the war preparations which are being made by a sector of imperialism. We call

on them to discuss the fact that even though imperialism may well launch the war, it does not have the strength to impede the development of the revolution. In this way, the movement stops being determined by what imperialism does or does not do, and it demonstrates that we don't have to wait until capitalism has launched the war to call for the stimulation of the revolution. In fact, it is already demonstrated that the revolution has well proven that it can advance in spite of capitalism.

Appeals must be launched by the Workers States for them to conduct a better democratic trade union struggle and a better Socialist democratic life. They must animate meetings and discussions. The trade unions, the workers centres, the Party cells, the regional committees must all hold public debates and meetings in which all the problems are discussed. They must hold meetings in which Poland, China, imperialism are discussed, where an interchange of ideas in full plenaries can be seen to take place publicly. It must be seen that there is the right for every one to participate, to speak and draw anti-capitalist conclusions. All the masses of all the Workers States must intervene and make appeals to the masses of the world, particularly to those of North America. It may very well be that, for one reason or another, the Soviets will not do this right away, but this task has to be done all the same. Calls must be launched for support to the masses of El Salvador, to the struggle of the masses of all the small countries, as well as those of the larger countries, which struggle for national and social liberation, be it in Africa, Asia, or Latin America.

**J. Posadas**

*more reforms for the workers by the trade union movement has become obsolete. Any improvement of working class life will have to be fought on a political plane and against the interests of capitalism. This demands a political functioning of the trade unions. All those who have displayed the greatest interest in the smallest detail of the Polish workers' strikes and struggles for the right to control society, production and their own Party, must show equal concern for the blatant attacks launched on the British workers, most of whom are severely impoverished and four million of whom have no right to work. The most logical preoccupation is to support strikes and demonstrations, factory occupations, against closures, against unemployment, for the right to life, and against the Tory government.*

*On the First of May 1982 we call for a United Front Labour/Trade Union and Communist Party, the Left groups and organisations, the 'peace' and 'anti-nuclear' movements, based on a struggle to overthrow the present Tory government and prepared to implement, with the direct intervention of the masses, an anti-capitalist programme to deal with the lack of housing, unemployment, the lack of social and health services, the absence of cultural and fraternal human relations. It has to be a United Front that includes the masses of Ireland, involving mass links and organisations. The perspective is for a Socialist Republic of the British Isles, and this requires an alliance with the Workers States, particularly with the Soviet Union.*

- CLOSURE OF ALL NUCLEAR BASES
- OUT OF NATO
- FOR THE PLANNING OF THE ECONOMY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION
- FOR A UNITED FRONT OF THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME AND A MOBILISATION OF THE POPULATION TO THROW OUT THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT AND ESTABLISH A LABOUR GOVERNMENT COMMITTED TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS .
- UNIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLES OF THE BRITISH AND IRISH MASSES UNDER A COMMON ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME. FOR THE IMMEDIATE WITHDRAWAL OF BRITISH TROOPS FROM NORTHERN IRELAND
- FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC OF THE BRITISH ISLES