

Workers of the world, unite!

EDITORIAL

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE POLICIES OF CAPITALISM REQUIRES A MARXIST LEADERSHIP OF THE L.P. AND T.U. LEFT

The nazi-type bombardment by Israeli planes of Lebanese civilians after all manner of imperialist protestations on preserving peace through the 'multi-national' force, shows the reality of the plans of world imperialism. What Israel does with the instructions of United States imperialism is what they intend to do to the Workers States and the masses of the world. But they cannot decide the timing of the conditions for the all-out war on humanity because the force of the Workers States provokes the development of profound defeatist currents within the central teams of Yankee imperialism. When Jackson, a candidate for the Presidency, goes to Assad and gains the release of an American airman against the wishes of Reagan and the people who move the strings behind Reagan, it is because there is a profound crisis in the Yankee bourgeoisie, sectors of which resist the criminal schemes of the layers dedicated to war with the Soviet Union. People like MacNamara, formerly of the 'hawks', seek to pull back from the nuclear arms race.

Whereas North American imperialism lurches into endless crises of decomposition, the Soviet Union conducts its internal purge without weakening but, on the contrary, immensely strengthening its life of thought and social development. The figures - which bear out the foresight of Cde Posadas - are outstanding. Thus twenty of the first regional secretaries have been replaced since the death of Brezhnev alone and nine of the twentythree departments of the CC have changed leadership. All this is part of a highly conscious struggle to terminate with the abuses of bureaucracy and develop a genuine elevated relationship with the population. This characterises the progress of the Soviet Union and it is a profound limitation in the forces of the left in the Socialist parties in Europe who do not base themselves on this fact and its concomitant, the unflinching support of the Soviet Union for all countries which seek social progress - Angola, Ethiopia, Cuba etc. This would give far more security and audacity to the forces of the left who otherwise tend to remain in the margins of capitalist thinking.



SOVIET MASS DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE WAR POLICIES OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

THE SOCIAL WEAKNESS OF CAPITALISM

The Thatcher government is an atrocity against the masses. The proposed attacks on rent and rate assistance to the five million of the poorest sectors of the population is typical of a regime which works entirely for the class interests, the putrefaction of capitalism. Huge sums on missiles, vast costs for a war against the Irish masses in Northern Ireland, and vast sums for the Malvinas war. This is a class war and the left in the Labour Party and the Unions have to assimilate the experience of what is meant by the battle of the classes. Marx is not an effigy to praise but a method of understanding and changing the world. The Thatcher regime is trying to erect a police state, and the left does not have a consistent tendency to develop a programme and policy to terminate with this. Capitalism objectively is extremely weak, but it seeks to survive in Britain on the basis of the active co-operation of a sector of the trade union bureaucracy and the very limited opposition of the Labour Party. The trade union bureaucracy opted for Kinnock in an effort to develop a more conservative leadership and with the expulsion of the militant tendency hoped, through this, to contain the superior forces developing towards Marxism in the Labour left.

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THE DEFEAT OF THE DICTATORSHIP AND OF THE PERONIST RIGHT IN THE ELECTIONS IN ARGENTINA. (EXTRACTS).

3.11.83

RESOLUTION OF THE IS

The recent elections in Argentina have been a heavy blow against the capitalist structure which sustains the military dictatorship. Its result has also been a blow at the dictatorships of Chile and Uruguay and gives an impulse for the struggle of the Chilean and Uruguayan masses to finish also with their reactionary and murderous regimes. Imperialism experiences the boom-erang effect which the invasion of Grenada has produced. At the same time that the electoral result has been a condemnation of the regime of assassinations, tortures and disappearances, it has also been a condemnation of the Peronist right which was involved in the repression with the creation of the Triple A and the establishment of the military dictatorship.

It has been the influence of the world process of the revolution which has encouraged the centralisation of the masses in this expression of anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist forces, because the local leadership was not able to regroup the strength represented by almost 90% of the votes with this anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist character. Ignoring the 10-15% of the radical votes which come from the camp of the bourgeoisie, the votes for Alfonsin, the more than 40% of the Peronist votes, and 2.5% of the votes of the Intransigent Party, make a total of almost 90% of the votes for the progress of Argentina through anti-imperialist social transformations and for the development of democratic rights to achieve and develop such measures.

Neither the oligarchy nor imperialism, nor the military right wing, have been able to have a party or a candidate of importance which regrouped or even got 3 to 4% of the votes. These have been the principle forces defeated in these elections, and the bourgeoisie expresses its weakness in having to conceal itself behind Alfonsin, who is a candidate with left and

anti-imperialist positions. Alfonsin reflects the existence of radical anti-imperialist and anti-Socialist currents and his position against the dictatorship and for democratic rights have had an effect on extensive layers of the population which want to finish with all the policies of terror. These sectors of the population see that Peronism contained leaders who were responsible for the dictatorship which began with Isabel Peron. The bourgeoisie who voted radical, that is about 10% of votes, now want to weigh more than the rest and to try to contain the process, but this is going to clash fundamentally with the character of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist vote which the masses have given to the radicals, as to the Peronists and the Intransigents. The world bourgeois press - as also sectors of the radical right - want to show the result as one of party and social division and the liquidation of Peronism, when in reality a more extensive movement for social unification than ever before has appeared in the Argentinian masses, to terminate with the dictatorship, to expel imperialism and the oligarchy, for full democratic rights, for the investigation of all the previous repression and for disorganising the power of the army. Neither Peronism nor the Peronist right which believed that they could hide all their murderous intentions as regards the masses behind the images of Peron. The electoral result indicates a profound condemnation by the masses of all this Peronist leadership of Lorenzo Miguel and Iglesias. The sector of the masses who before voted Peronist and now inclined to Alfonsin, still maintains its anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist conviction, seeing in Alfonsin a candidate to be influenced in this perspective. Hence there is no defeat of Peronism, but there has been a defeat of the bourgeois leadership and the Peronist bureau-

cracy. The masses condemned their methods, their arrogance and their participation in the regime of the dictatorship.

The central point of the campaign of Alfonsin, which has had an effect on layers of the petit bourgeoisie, was the struggle against the dictatorship and for democratic rights. Also the Peronist masses even voting for Peronism went to meetings to reprimand their leaders for involvement with the dictatorship. Thus, there is no social division between the masses who voted for Peron and those who voted for Alfonsin, and hence now they make demonstrations together. The masses celebrated the blow to the dictatorship which contains the electoral result, and show their intention to intervene in the decisions of the country in the next stage.

It is for this reason that there is no social division nor separation between the working class and the petit bourgeoisie. The working class in its majority has maintained its centralisation and voted for the lists of Peronism. The vote for Peronism fell by 10% in comparison with the elections for Campora. This fall represents small layers of the workers' movement and, above all, of the petit bourgeoisie who stopped voting for it but not against Peronism, nor the anti-imperialist programme with which it before supported Peronism. It has rejected voting for all the present Peronist leaders. If these sectors have oscillated it is also because the working class has not been able to take the leadership in time so as to attract them. The leadership of Miguel and Co. has prevented the working class appearing much more as leader in the social process of Argentina, whereas in the recent strikes the working class paralysed the whole country.

The working class, the Peronist left, has not been able to make a

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Turkey since the war has seen a permanent process of disequilibrium and instability which is the result of the pressure between the old landowner layer which governs the country and

new layers of the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie have an interest in economic development in linking with the world but without ceasing to have interests in the land. In Turkey there is no solid industrial bourgeoisie, but there is a large landowner bourgeoisie with feudal customs and with very little modern economic development. There is a large base of poor peasants who have no place in a country which develops and expands in population. Hence there are a million Turkish workers in Germany and half a million distributed in other countries.

Even with the remittances which the workers who work abroad send, Turkey is one of the poorest countries in the world and its industrial and scientific development is very low. There is an intellectual and cultural development which is much more advanced than the economy of the Turkish bourgeoisie. The combative will of the masses also develops as part of the influence of the world and of the Workers States. Hence it is the army which decides elections in Turkey; there is a vote and an election, but it is the army which decides - much the same as in Bolivia. There it is more outrageous because in Bolivia there is a cultural, social and political power infinitely superior to Turkey, because the miners are organised and have an experience of power. But, if in Bolivia there is a bourgeois power there is no power of the petit bourgeoisie, and thus it is the army which is the political and social representative of capitalism. Turkey is like this, and hence the military coups.

The struggles of Turkey to control the local islands, which costs them a great deal to occupy and maintain, is aimed to influence Turkey internally and make people feel the 'greatness of Turkey', to intensify national sentiment in the petit bourgeoisie, to receive support and substitute for the lack of providing ideas, money and work. This is the depth of the history of Turkey in a simplified form.

THE PROCESS IN TURKEY J. POSADAS

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Written shortly before his death, two and a half years ago, this article by Cde Posadas explains the structure of the process in Turkey confirmed by the most recent events. The military have no solution for Turkey and the new government of Ozal strives to solve the impasse of Turkish capitalism at the expense of the masses. But a policy of total rejection of the Workers States is not possible and it is interesting to note that the new Foreign Minister is a former head of the Turkish Mission in Moscow.

The formation of the party of Ecevit (People's Republican Party, with social democrat orientation) developed after the war. Ecevit is Socialist of the "modern" type, that is social democrat, although a little more to the left than the usual social democrat but not much. The poetry of Ecevit (he has published various books) is better than his politics. It is necessary to say to Ecevit 'why don't you govern with your poems?'

In Turkey, a constituted bourgeoisie with influence over the petit bourgeoisie does not exist, and there does not exist a strong petit bourgeoisie, the product of industrialisation - that is to say, developed economically, culturally, socially, and technologically. In not having power, the bourgeoisie has to develop by substituting for its lack of social weight and thus, at the same time, to put up with Ecevit.

It is necessary to consider that, if Ecevit came to the fore after the war and not before, it is in this sense a result of the ascent of war. The most important of the financial and economic weight of the bourgeoisie is directed to the war, to NATO, and lived and lives bound up with it. This makes it cautious, uninterested in, and seeking to impede economic, social and cultural development - and thus it depends on imperialism and the landowners. The sector of the industrial bourgeoisie is very small; the sector of development in science and culture which develops consequently political understanding and capacity is very slow, and hence Ecevit arose. He is the result of this process which is the result of an internal political move-

ment based on the development of industry as a result of culture, technology and science; but it is also on the world influence of the progress made in a Socialist form. As Ecevit does not represent Marxist ideas towards Socialist policy he stays with poetry and a little Socialism, and hence yields in policy. Ecevit has not organised a movement, party or cadres, and hence also the Turkish proletariat is weak within Turkey, although outside it is strong.

The bourgeoisie itself, those who discuss the coup, act foreseeing the weight of the proletariat which is outside affecting Turkey internally. The world bourgeoisie is conscious of this process but cannot impede it, so that - in going to other countries, above all Germany - the Turkish workers are nourished with an enormous cultural social and political understanding but also with something else. These are the contradictions of capitalism, and there is no party the trade unions organised in time which elevates this culture to provide revolutionary, social, political culture.

The previous military coups, and those always in preparation, do not express the real force of the tendencies in the army. There is a development of tendencies of the left in the army, and hence Ecevit could assume the presidency - not only as the least evil but because they believe him to be necessary. There are many soldiers of the left influenced by the development of Socialism in the world. These are not soldiers individually, but very great currents.

The backwardness of Turkey is not inevitable, but the bourgeoisie

is backward. Bolivia is not backward, it is the bourgeoisie which is backward. The workers of Bolivia and Turkey have shown that they develop with the most elevated levels of culture and science, which they express in policy. They struggle for statification, for planning the most elevated aspects of science and culture. It is the backward bourgeoisie which maintains private property and impedes the development of science, technology and culture. But, in backward countries like Turkey and Bolivia where there is little development of the economy, science and culture develop through political struggle. Hence the military coups are made to impede an inclination of the influence of the Workers States and of the masses of the world to impel the trade union and political leadership of Turkey towards the left. These coups are made to break the external influences; to impede the maturing of currents and tendencies which show that in order to emerge from backwardness, it is necessary to get rid of the bourgeoisie. This is the source of the military coup of Turkey, even without there being a defined tendency, because there is an agreement between the different sectors as in Bolivia. It is an agreement between different tendencies in which also there are tendencies which propose that it is not necessary to retreat. Hence they have given increases in wages to maintain the internal market and develop the economy.

There is a combination of industrial and landowning sectors in Turkey but it is the landowners who have a greater weight who decide. Hence the army has a heterogeneous combination. The problem of Islam is maintained by the landowners and

the reactionary sectors of the army as a means of keeping the sentiment and thought of the Turkish masses paralysed. But the world is over-coming Islam. It is being taken, isolated, and made to march with the revolution. That is to say, it is not a fundamental problem to decide and polemicise, up on but it is necessary to elevate the religious people and the masses theoretically, politically and socially. It is of fundamental importance to make the masses live the world.

In order to overcome the backwardness which the bourgeoisie signifies, it is necessary to make a movement which shows that the paths of the bourgeoisie have no possibility of development. The bourgeoisie wants to develop and escape submission to the landowners, to develop a certain base of the economy even in the sphere of arms manufacture. In other words, it wants a certain independent development. This is the basis of the present coup. When the coup was made my first opinion was that it was very like the 1943 coup in Argentina (1). It is necessary to see. There are other conditions but taking Peron as a representation of the process, in this sense the process opened by the coup in Turkey has not ended. There is a struggle between tendencies which is expressed in the increase of wages. They allow some freedom at the same time that they contain the workers' movement so that it does not have freedom of action and cannot be used to gain advantage. Hence the suppression of political parties and trade unions so that they do not propose an activity which organises their forces, because the military is not strong. Above all, because if the trade unions and the parties continue they will influence the army and give form to existing tendencies.

There is an absence of political and trade union life, of the life of ideas in Turkey, which is also through the situation of the country where it has not been possible to push forward a free life before and now. But before, even with Ecevit, Communists, like the Socialist left and the groups, could have raised a task of political clarification and culture. But they have developed a life of attacks and disputes. Conflict is right when there are

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SINN FEIN from page 4

The weakening of the whole unionist apparatus in the North, the crisis of the government in the South, is not the result of local conditions but of world conditions. Without the existence of the Soviet Union and its readiness to confront imperialism at every turn, British imperialism would still be very secure in Ireland. To see the role of the Soviet Union and the Workers States is fundamental for Sinn Fein to elevate still further its political perspectives. The fight to be rid of British imperialism is not confined to Ireland. The logic of the evolution of Sinn Fein is to break with a purely nationalist standpoint and see that the liberation of the North and the implementation of Socialist

policies in Ireland requires a unified programme and policy towards a Socialist Federation of Britain and Ireland. There is not going to be a 'nationalist' solution where Ireland achieves a withdrawal of British troops and that's it. British imperialism will not and cannot allow a Socialist development in Ireland to proceed and, in any case, it is maintaining a battlefield in the North as its training ground for preparations for civil war in Britain, and seeks to incorporate Southern Ireland into NATO.

Moreover, the Southern bourgeoisie are in an immense crisis even with a collaborating Labour

Party in its government. One minister has resigned precisely over the issue of statification, and the intervention of Sinn Fein in the South represents a serious threat to the whole tottering structure of politics in the South. A common class war engulfs Britain and Ireland.

That is why British imperialism is trying to break the link between Sinn Fein and the Labour left. A continuous elevation of the political understanding of Sinn Fein is a missile aimed at British imperialism which can do immense damage, and that is the reason for the 'frame up' of Sinn Fein in the Harrods bombing.

British imperialists sent many to their deaths in the Malvinas war for its class objectives, and when they speak of 'horror and outrage' over the Harrods bombing it is to their class interest to say so, because they could not care anything for human lives - as when they sunk the Belgrano or connived at the Yankee invasion of Grenada.

OUT WITH SOUTH AFRICAN TROOPS FROM ANGOLA AND NAMIBIA

THE DEFEAT OF THE DICTATORSHIP

leadership structured in time, as the substitute for the apparatus of the trade union bureaucracy and of the Peronist right. An important element to consider is that, even with the leadership of the right, the working class has worked in a centralised and cohesive way by voting Peronist. The 40% vote which has been achieved has not been effective electorally, but socially represents the decisive economic and political sector, the proletariat, because it is the sector which has gone through the richest experiences and because it is going to be the centre of the next struggle in the country. Its cohesive vote for Peronism, at the same time that it maintains and elevates the criticism of its leadership, shows that it is preparing to intervene and that it constitutes the most solid force for any process for the transformations in Argentina. Even the most simple of democratic rights cannot be achieved without the active participation of the working class. It has voted Peronist to keep itself unified, and also understanding that. In pushing Peronism to government it could place itself in more direct contact with the leadership of the country. The proletariat has security in the fact that the process is going to accelerate the stages towards liquidating the Peronist right and to transform the process into one superior to that of Campora. This attitude of the working class arises through its function in the economy and in society, through its political experience which in Argentina has always meant working in a centralised way and through the influence of the world which daily elevates its understanding and security. The Peronist working class has seen that Yankee imperialism, which is much more powerful than Lorenzo Miguel and his killers, cannot smash Nicaragua or Cuba, and can hardly put foot on little Grenada, as it explodes under it; thus the working class understood that these rotten leaderships would not have been able to contain it in a process where it could intervene more directly through a Peronist government. The petit bourgeoisie, which is the force which massively decided the triumph of Alfonsín, seeing this perspective with the experience of previous Peronist governments, did not feel secure to vote with the working class. In the workers' vote the class intuition decided, which in the absence of leadership was not extended to the petit bourgeoisie. But, although voting separately, programmatically socially and politically, proletariat and petit bourgeoisie masses are united. All are convinced that it is necessary to expel imperialism and expropriate the oligarchy, and that the masses have to intervene in the decisive problems of the country.

It is necessary to value enormously what the Peronist working class has done. It has understood that it was not only a question of winning elections but of the revolutionary political leadership for social transformations. Peronism has now had many elections, but this has been insufficient because in the process the movement has not succeeded in structuring the leading

cadres in a programmatic anti-capitalist movement. The internal process in Peronism is going to continue and it is necessary to intervene to accelerate the cleaning of all the old leadership to develop Peronism into an anti-imperialist movement for revolutionary social transformations. Hence, the working class has to be able to intervene and has to develop a programme of trade union rights which includes the defence of centralisation in a single CGT with full rights for different revolutionary tendencies. It is necessary to impose the immediate expulsion of Miguel and Iglesias. The masses have now expressed their opinion of them in the most recent meetings, not allowing them to speak and hissing at them. The working class has to take positions on all the problems of the country and the world, through free discussions in the factory committees and in the trade union, supporting the proposals of Alfonsín, tending to recover and to develop democratic rights and measures aimed to be independent of imperialism, and to regulate internal trade for the benefit of the population.

The tactic as regards the programme of Alfonsín and its possibilities is going to be important in the next stage in the process of the formation of the leadership in the workers' movement and the left. Alfonsín placed the centre of his campaign on the question of democratic liberties, 'non-alignment', and has proposed to investigate and renegotiate the external debt. In the middle of the campaign, Alfonsín declared against the Yankee invasion of Grenada and made a series of trade union demands, such as the sliding scale of wages; and all these proposals cannot be resolved within the capitalist structure of Argentina. As soon as Alfonsín takes office he is going to have to confront imperialism and, for this, will have to resort to the social support of the working class and the masses. The masses see the situation which is opening in the country, and for this they have celebrated together to prepare to intervene in a process which goes towards a confrontation with imperialism.

It is for this anti-imperialist programme that the petit bourgeoisie was inclined to support Alfonsín, and it shows the maturity reached by these social sectors which is the product of the influence of the revolution on its consciousness, its sentiments and its course of action. The progress of Nicaragua, of Cuba, and of the little big revolutions — like Grenada — have been educating these social layers who are losing confidence in the capitalist system, at the same time that they advance in the understanding of the need for the way of planning of the economy, nationalisation, and the intervention of the masses in all the problems.

In order to develop the productive apparatus of Argentina, financial means are required which imperialism has no interest in giving, nor has European capitalism (despite the hopes of Alfonsín), except for some special branches in which it is interested. The only aspect in which world capitalism is interested is the paying of the debt

and it is not going to help to develop those aspects of the economy which could compete with itself. Even supposing there was success in stimulating the productive apparatus, the question is then posed — and the market? With the wage increases, it is possible to extend the internal market; but this will be insufficient for Argentine industry which, at one time, traded with all Latin America. The Latin American market has now narrowed because all the countries are up to the neck in debt to imperialism and, in so far as the domestic market grows, the European bourgeoisie are also going to seek to use it; and they can produce the same products as Argentinian industry at half the price. Thus, there is no solution on the capitalist path, but there is a solution through placing the economy at the service of the population, with workers' and popular control. There is a solution by programming the economy as a whole of the countries of Latin America, breaking the dependency of imperialism and extending the relation and agreements with the Socialist countries.

An expression of this process experienced by the Argentinian petit bourgeoisie is the movement of the women whose relatives disappeared under the government of the military assassins. Even in proposing one aspect of the struggle against the dictatorship their movement is important, but it has not remained at one aspect only, it has maintained a consistency and continuity in struggle which is not normal to the social sector from which it originates and has taken on a profound anti-capitalist meaning.

Within the radicals also a crisis is going to occur whether it's because Alfonsín was not expecting to receive such a tremendous vote or because the radical right is going to seek to contain the revolutionary content of the majority of the Radical votes. When there is such a massive voting tendency in which all the remaining bourgeois parties lose their base of support and concentrate around the Radical candidate; when also the Peronists lost a part of their votes which go to Alfonsín, this is possible because the masses have seen that the positions of the left of the movement of Alfonsín are shown to be accessible to the intervention of the masses. The anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist progress of the world is expressed in this massive action of the petit bourgeoisie of Argentina, as also in the progress of the Alfonsín movement which affected the leadership of the Radicals based on the sectors of the youth who have a Socialist orientation. The only leadership which is now absent in Argentina has been provided by the world process of the revolution which has orientated the intervention of the masses in these elections, through the vote to the Radicals as to those of the Peronistas and the Intangentes on the one that, in order to eliminate the reactionary dictatorship and military power, it is necessary to act as in Nicaragua and Cuba, to expel imperialism and expropriate the oligarchy. In the same way that the world process is going to continue advancing in favour of the revolution, the masses of Argentina are not going to await

the radical government, but are going to intervene to impel a process to the left.

In this process, it is necessary to consider the question of the army. It has always constituted, as Cde Posadas analysed, the party of the bourgeoisie and of the agrarian and financial oligarchy allied to the Yanks. Alfonsín and his layers of the bourgeoisie have the intention of depriving it of the power of making coup d'etats.

In order to achieve such an objective, it is necessary to modify the structure and the objective of the army. The proposals of Alfonsín to make a more democratic leadership of the armed forces similar to the European armies is a progress, but insufficient. It is necessary to democratise the whole of the army, to make a profound investigation of what occurred during the regime of the dictatorship, and to expel and expropriate the corrupt and assassin elements, and to punish them all. It is necessary to use the weakness in which the armed forces have remained, to deprive them of all the power which they have used. It is not a question of liquidating the army now, but to provide a programme which breaks with the structure of the army, of the hierarchy, and which gives complete democracy to the soldiers, to the left, and to nationalist officers and NCO. It is necessary, also, to dismiss all the reactionary soldiers, re-incorporating those who were expelled for progressive ideas, to expropriate the property of those who enrich themselves, making use of military power and declaring the incompatibility between military responsibility and participation in the management of private firms. The armed forces can participate in economic development, but through staffed party and supporting an anti-imperialist policy and programme.

Anti-imperialist policy is not only a question of election but it is the 'sine qua non' to extract Argentina from the backwardness in which the military government has left it. Imperialism cannot now establish relations with the countries of Latin America as before, in which it shared certain benefits with sectors of the oligarchy and the local bourgeoisie. Now, the external debt of these countries is not the result of business or investments which serve to extend the economy and the capitalist social base, but it is a consequence of the fact that the Yankee economy makes world capitalism pay for its desperate counter-revolutionary course against the Soviet Union, against Nicaragua, against the Arab and Palestinian masses in the Middle East, and against Grenada.

been paralysed because the dictatorship represented oligarchic interests which benefit by selling the products of agriculture and were not interested in the projects of development which the Soviets proposed. The maintenance of these agreements has served for the education of the masses that it is possible to advance in relation with the Socialist countries (it is necessary to record that these supported completely the Malvinas struggle) and also served to break the imperialist front against the USSR when Carter proposed the wheat boycott and Argentina did not participate. It is necessary to programme these agreements so that they serve the development and the progress of the country. For this reason they cannot remain in the imperialist oligarchic commercial structure and the Soviet Union, but it is necessary to establish relations directly with the state in a way to plan with the income from the sale of grain and meat with the development of the country.

This demands also changes in the country which necessarily must lead to confrontation with imperialism, the oligarchy and the top sectors of the bourgeoisie who enriched themselves during the epoch of the dictatorship. It is necessary to expropriate the large imperialist and oligarchic properties, to return to the hands of the state all the key plants privatised during the military government, to make a public investigation of the external debt with imperialism in such a way that the whole of the masses can intervene, with the trade union, political, student and youth organisations. It is necessary to open a public discussion on where Argentina is going and on the necessity to break with imperialism. Imperialism has been the principle cause of the backwardness of the Latin American countries, the same system which, to defend all the relation of backwardness, invades Grenada; well, to this system Latin America must pay imperialism more than \$40,000 million, and what is the result? what is the price of progress? But the Workers States who all have a plan of progress for the country, and which impel the progress in the world, are the debtors of Argentina.

The recent elections in Argentina have shown the maturity of the masses to advance in these discussions and in the structuring of the revolutionary leadership for the next struggles which will put on the agenda the need for the anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist programme.

3.11.82

The trade agreements with the Workers States, with the USSR principally, even with the dictatorship, could not be retreated upon. They express a necessity for the economic and social progress of the country. Many projects, like that of the Panama River development have

IS POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

conditions close to the taking of power in which it is not possible to expect that some will understand, i.e. it is necessary to go to power and then the doubters will understand on that basis. But this is still a stage where it is necessary to understand and thus to polemicise and, in polemic, to argue. To argue means the most specific form of culture. Culture is knowledge, and it is necessary to organise understanding and persuasion and thus culture develops.

In Turkey it is necessary to develop discussion, taking into account more than a million Turkish workers in emigration and the influence over the Turkish women who still maintain a previous tradition, but this is now breaking down. It is still there but it is fragile. The Turkish women are going to become the equal of men, as the men quite suddenly outside Turkey are developing experiences, sentiments and consciousness – including the children, and they are going to weigh, and weigh already on the family. In Europe Socialist sentiments are developing, not simply an industrialisation process. They cannot do so in a more profound and constant form, because they cannot develop the necessary political life. It is not necessary to take as representative the number of Turkish workers who come to Europe to get money to live well – it is a minimum percentage. The majority of the workers and Turkish petit bourgeoisie come to work in Europe because they need to, but they also assimilate the culture of the world. The most elevated form of extending culture is to develop Socialist ideas.

It is necessary to develop in Turkey an activity aimed to explain the process of the world, in order to create the cadres who can aim or create the means of a discussion with the effect of seeing that it is the conditions of the world which determine the individual behaviour even of Yankee imperialism – the world relation of forces based on the superiority of Socialism led by the Soviet Union. If the Yanks were the ones who decided, the war would already have broken out. Thus this relation of forces imposes on the Yanks this murderous passivity which it cannot use, or uses only limitedly as in El Salvador. It is not the imperialists who decide but the Workers States. The masses of the world, including the Turks, see and feel this. They do not have the scientific and university knowledge, but they have the practical experience and proof.

It is necessary to develop a political activity to explain matters for the petit bourgeois and intellectual layers of the Ecevit movement, to show that the failure of the government of Ecevit and the triumph of Demirel and the coup against Demirel – not Ecevit – arose because they saw that this structure was falling. The organisers of the coup are a tendency which performs a reactionary function in the name of a bourgeoisie which is trying to establish itself and wants the support of everyone that is not breaking with NATO and not breaking with the Soviets, accentuating that they are not against the Soviets. Hence the agitation of the Yanks who, ten minutes after the coup, gave their

support. They knew that the coup was coming and feared that within this a pro-Soviet military tendency which exist would develop: hence they said 'We support', in order to affirm the pro-Yankee tendency against the tendency which – without being openly pro-Soviet – seeks Soviet support in disputing with the Yanks.

It is necessary to push forward a cultural and trade union class struggle and, at the same time, one of preparing cadres to act today. The weight of the world is going to determine the conditions of Turkey. It is not Turkey which is going to determine the world. The blows which they are giving can last some years, but new forces of the bourgeoisie are not going to crystallise. It will weaken, break, fragment, and different currents will arise. In Demirel's movement there was a fascist current, but another which wanted an agreement with Ecevit, and this is because the bourgeoisie has no perspective either economically or politically and thus neither socially nor militarily.

J. POSADAS 28.10.80

Note

(1) This refers to the military coup of 1943 which overthrew the constitutional President and opened a period of struggle between diverse tendencies in the army – one of which was represented by Peron, who was Minister of Labour and in 1945 he became leader.

SINN FEIN AND THE FAILURE OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The Harrods bombing is being utilised by British imperialism to justify increased repression in Northern Ireland, closer links with the Southern Irish bourgeoisie, and increased surveillance and repression in Britain. A whole campaign of 'moral outrage' has been conducted by British imperialism over the past few days with massive coverage in all the organs of capitalist opinion, and the need, therefore, to accelerate repression. Thatcherism goes over to Northern Ireland where the Catholic masses are subjected to brutal intimidation and speaks about the necessity to defend 'freedom and democracy'. Although her speeches do not make this clear, she is referring to the right of the capitalists and their organs of repression to kill, imprison and lie. That is the democracy British imperialism applauds.

Sinn Fein leadership specifically denied its role in this affair, and there is no doubt that whatever the people involved in this bombing it is a form of collusion between British imperialism and the right wing sectors of Irish nationalism. There has been, and continues to be, a struggle over the line of the Sinn Fein, and the election of Adams meant a real triumph for those who put weight not only on the military but also the political and social programme against imperialism. The various killer organisations linked to British imperialism in the North have been especially active over the recent period. The sectarian killing of the Protestants in church and the RUC killings of Catholics are to be seen as a systematic campaign of British imperialism and its allies to counter-act the growing influence of Sinn Fein.

British imperialism has two pre-occupations – to block the growing weight of Sinn Fein in Ireland where it is intervening more and more in both North and South, and also to cut the links which are developing between Sinn Fein and the Labour Party. In the former case, Prior

speaks of the danger of another Cuba in Ireland and, although such a thing is unimaginable before the final encounter, there is no doubt that the influence of Sinn Fein is now a serious menace because it is not only struggling to free Ireland from the grip of British imperialism but, in this, has a Socialist perspective for Ireland. Sinn Fein is trying to develop a weight in the Labour Party so that, at some date, they hope to induce a sufficient weight of opinion in Britain for withdrawal from Ireland.

It is the balance of forces in the world favourable to the advance to Socialism and unfavourable to imperialism which has resulted in the qualitative leap by the forces of Sinn Fein. As Cde Posadas analysed, the H Block hunger strike was evidence of a profound wish for major social transformations, and at that moment the struggle was limited to a conflict over a hunger strike, but since then the political current for major re-orientation of policy has become more and more clear. At the same time, Sinn Fein could go much further and influence much more the process in Britain.

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In the short run this can, and has had, a limited effect, but it is not possible to block the development of left forces in the trade unions and the Labour Party simply because capitalism now has no perspective to offer save decline and war. Kinnock is obliged to affirm the most anti-capitalist demand – rejection of nuclear arms and the need to remove them from Britain. On the other hand, the left has to confront the pro-capitalist sectors in the unions in a much more vigorous way on the basis of theoretical clarification. The Chapells, Murrays, etc., have nothing to do with Socialism. They respect all the norms of capitalism. They particularly accept the capitalist conception of democracy: i.e. democracy for those who possess property and try to smash the population of Northern Ireland. The TGWU, NUR, NUM who oppose the collaborationist positions of Murray and the other attempted undertakers who seek to bury the independence of the workers' movement, must do so not just with strikes or repudiation but with a superior class position, an open clarification of ideas: i.e. the role of the statified economy and the experience of the Soviet Union. The discussion has to go beyond the limited and parochial discussions on secondary picketing. This is very important, but the necessity to arm a new left unionism and left in the Labour Party requires a world view to smash the capitalist conceptions in the unions, to purge these sectors whose only function is to maintain the workers subject to the norms of capitalist society. When people like Murray denounce as madness organised opposition to the Thatcher regime, it is because, for them, it really is madness to think outside the norms of capitalism. They are affronted by the ideas of Marxism or the progress of the Soviet Union, much as the capitalists are.

Millions are now unemployed, but neither the Labour Party or the Unions have been engaged to organise a life of combative opposition and discussion. All has been left at the level of passivity. The Labour Left should have publications which discuss and orientate the various strike actions of the workers, and they should seek to develop a life with the masses. The experience of the Toxteth riots are likely to be repeated in various forms in the future because the population will not forever tolerate repressive impoverishment at the behest of a suppurating social system. The left in the LP and the Unions should take cognisance of this, and prepare to intervene to harness the capacity of the population in mobilisations which can weigh on the rest of the petit bourgeoisie. Otherwise the strength of the proletariat and the most oppressed is not seen and capitalism gains a social breathing space. Capitalism is also preparing to confront civil war with a regime of repression. It is necessary to meet all this with mobilisations and, above all, mobilisations with ideas and programme, confronting the norms of capitalism. It is only the lack of preparation of the workers parties and trade unions which allows capitalism to take initiatives – the situation at Peugeot in France is another example of the limitations of the workers' leaderships in front of the positions of capitalism. It is true the Thatcher coven is full of contradictory elements and the Conservative Party is rent with factions, but this capitalist opposition is not the force which will smash capitalism – that depends on the workers' movement.

It is necessary to raise the slogans in the trade union opposition to capitalism for the statification of the economy, workers' control of industry and public works, to meet the needs of the unemployed.

The left can advance much more than it is. There is still not an adequate appreciation of the levels of bourgeois disintegration. When Healey, who speaks for sectors of the bourgeoisie, rejects the installation of the Cruise missiles here and the women of Greenham Common continue their struggle against the policy of missiles, it is because large sectors within capitalism have no confidence in the perspectives of American imperialism and do not wish to be annihilated for the sake of American imperialism. This weakness could be capitalised much more by the Labour left and the CND movement is going to continue, and is open to, a policy of social transformations – because the struggle cannot remain at the general struggle against war, but against the causes of war, against capitalism. The CND leadership has basically recognised that it is not the Soviet Union which is the source of the process towards war, but Yankee imperialism.

This Conservative government cannot organise any economic 'recovery'. Any economic 'gains' will go solely to the capitalist class, and only limited sectors of that. At the same time, it confronts the rest of European capitalism in the ECM and thus all the system is weakened. Capitalism is contracting irretrievably in its social support, nationally and internationally. But the Workers States are everywhere, sustaining the process in Bolivia or Zimbabwe, sustaining the peace movement, sustaining the massive process in Argentina or the steady decomposition of Spanish capitalism. It is only on the basis of a world comprehension that an organised Marxist left can emerge in Britain in the LP and the Unions.

EDITORIAL

FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS WITH THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The total world crisis of capitalism expresses itself on every level, but primarily in the war preparations. The affair of General Kiessling, of NATO and capitalist Germany (FDR), is part of this crisis. Kiessling is at best uncertain about the war which imperialism prepares against the Workers States, and probably opposed. Indeed, a large sector of the German bourgeoisie are frightened of a war which will mean their own liquidation. Yankee imperialism was behind the trumped-up charge of homosexuality against Kiessling in an attempt to remove an unreliable element from NATO. They have failed in this. Kohl has been forced to retreat, even though he was under pressure from the right wing of the German bourgeoisie, represented by Strauss and by Yankee imperialism. This means that he was under enormous pressure from anti-war forces inside the FDR.

The Kiessling affair represents a considerable crisis in NATO and a division between Yankee imperialism and the European capitalists. When he visits Rumania, he is not confronted by demonstrations against the Soviet Union and its weapons, but Reagan is faced with

true for world capitalism in general. In other words, the world capitalist system - led by Yankee imperialism - is intent on launching the war against the Workers States but it does so in the worst possible conditions. The Yankee invasion of Grenada which has done nothing but halt the progress, for the time being, of the Grenadian people, is a measure of the weakness and uncertainty of imperialism. It wants to launch the war against the Workers States and the world revolution, but the best it can do, at this moment, is to invade a tiny island like Grenada.

The world imperialist and capitalist system is riddled with uncertainty and defeatism. The intervention, the confidence and preparation of the Workers States, in particular the Soviet Union, feeds this defeatism. Imperialism sees that the Soviet Union knows that it is preparing war and that the Soviet Union is prepared to confront it. Gromyko, for example, has said openly in the last days that imperialism is preparing for war. When he visits Rumania, he is not confronted by demonstrations against the Soviet Union and its weapons, but Reagan is faced with



DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST ATTACKS ON THE METROPOLITAN COUNCILS.

this represents for capitalism. This crisis exists in the very heart of Yankee imperialism. Republicans, as well as Democrats in the United States, oppose the military intervention in Lebanon which is a confrontation with the Soviet Union in the Middle East, and part of the war preparations. The visit of Thatcher to Hungary is another aspect of this crisis.

Her visit is the product of the necessity for British imperialism to trade with Hungary and the other Workers States. British imperialism is the closest ally of Yankee imperialism in the preparations for war but, at the same time, it has to rely on the Workers States to maintain its economy. This is an immense source of weakness and it is

massive demonstrations against imperialism in any capitalist country that he visits. At the same time, Gromyko visits a factory and talks to the workers - not about the price of bread but of the world process and the imperialist war preparations. He denounced the Yankee actions in Central America and Lebanon. The Soviet leadership is preparing the masses of the Workers States to confront capitalism. It is a conscious intervention to draw together the forces of progress.

THE INTERVENTION OF THE SOVIET UNION.

This is part of the strength and confidence of the Workers States. The whole world sees the weakness

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THE CRISIS IN THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY AND ITS RECENT CONGRESS

28 DECEMBER 1983

RESOLUTION OF THE IS

The recent Congress of the Spanish Communist Party, the dispute and the transitory agreement arrived at within the leading sector shows how the acceleration of the process of crisis is expressed within all the Communist parties. The basis of this crisis is the lack of preparation of these parties in front of a process of history which concentrates the total crisis of the capitalist system which has no other solution than to prepare the war to try to contain the growing authority and influence of the USSR and the Socialist countries and, on the other hand, there is the immense intelligent maturation of the masses, including those of Spain which impel social transformations.

The Congress of the PCE and its conclusions have not served to contain the pronounced disintegration and dispersion of tendencies in the leading apparatus. The whole struggle in the apparatus has impeded the discussion of ideas and analysis around the development of the world class struggle, and in Spain. With the rich process which exists in the world and in Spain the discussion of the Congress was reduced to compose the bureaucratic interests

between 'gerardistas' and 'carrillistas'. There is no reason to disperse forces in Spain when the masses have provided proofs of a great centralisation and unification in the elections of 1982, in which they imposed the government of the left via the Spanish Socialist Party. It was an anti-imperialist declaration which showed the unification of

the masses with the world process of the revolution. From the recent Communist Congress no ideas have arisen, no foresight and no organisation of the Party for this process in Spain. They have not discussed where Spain is going.

The 'unity' which they say the two currents have achieved with this Congress are not based on programme or policy, and it is a fragile and relative unity. It can continue like this for a period, or there can be other breaks. Also, Carillo manoeuvred with the intention of avoiding new breaks, but he thought to achieve the leadership of the Party and is going to continue the struggle in the apparatus. The polemic over the re-incorporation of all the old leaders of the Party, thrown out before by Carillo 'opening the Party' and transforming it into a 'lay' Party, is badly conducted by the two currents, even if certainly Carillo is right. All these expelled people have no theoretical or organisation value, but are people whom Carrillo included in the leadership, and provided with positions in the previous stage to contain the left; these advanced in the Party when this advanced with 'euro-communism', with 'pluralism,' the criticism of the USSR and Leninism. When all these corrupted the life of the Party, Carrillo threw them out - because they did not adapt to the changes which the process imposed.

Also, differently from Carrillo who is a Communist, all these people have nothing to do with Communism; on the contrary, they are opposed to it. Iglesias wants to go back to them, to use

them for the same function which Carrillo used, and Carrillo is opposed because he sees the danger which they represent for the Party.

Even if some of these who speak of re-incorporating had some value, this is not the way to 'open the Party', which for the present leaders is to open the leadership to these people. When Lenin and the Bolsheviks procured unity and sought to attract valuable people like Plekhanov, or Trotsky who was afterwards won to the Party, they did not do it by conciliating or modifying the character of the Party. On the contrary, they intensified the life of discussion and argument, but maintaining firm the objectives of the Socialist transformation of the old Russia.

It is not possible to speak of an important unity achieved when the discussion of a greater or lesser support to the Socialist government has not advanced much further, when matters are reduced to re-incorporating or not the old leaders, the world situation of confrontation between systems is taken very superficially, and the preparation of the activity of the Party in front of the war which imperialism is preparing is not discussed. The recent Congress has shown the insufficiency of the Communist Party to intervene in these conditions of history. It can lead trade union struggles or proposals of confrontation with the reactionary measures of the government, but it cannot answer to the crisis of Spanish capitalism.

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The previous declarations of Carrillo that he was never anti-Soviet, that the responsibility for the war rests with Yankee imperialism, which has to be confronted, means a complete change — as it was he who preferred the king to Brezhnev. In the epoch in which he was leading the Party, Brezhnev appeared as a gorilla in the caricatures which they made in 'Mundo Obrero'. The important aspect of these declarations is that they contain the thought of the Communist vanguard, of the Socialist left, who arm their understanding of the world process and of their own experience now that these leaders a day before said the contrary. But it is also a change in Carrillo, because he saw that the previous policy had no place.

All the Communist parties who assume the policy of 'euro-Communism' are changing. The French Communist Party has abandoned it, and has grown in political weight and authority to adopt positions closer to the Workers States. If this is still not expressed electorally, it is because they are putting forward in the country a policy of adaptation and they do not have a policy to make the government of the left advance. The Spanish Communist Party is divided with important currents which declare themselves to be pro-Soviet and, even with the quantity of these that have come out of the Communist Party, almost half of the representatives to the Congress defend positions which are not anti-Soviet. The Italian CP also changes, even without understanding the function of the Socialist countries and the USSR. It has been modifying its position in front of Poland; has supported, and supports, the plan to disarm Europe by the Soviets; and now they place the centre of criticism in the preparations for war by imperialism. They all have to accommodate themselves to this stage of history, which in Europe is expressed with the maturity of movements like the peace movement which passed in a few years from ecological protest to question seriously the war policy of imperialism and world capitalism. This impels changes in the Communist parties and, in turn, this process has different canals and modes of expression in changes in the leadership, according to the particular Communist Party.

The SCP is the weakest link in the Communist movement, not through its number but through its weak theoretical and political formation, and hence the crisis within it is expressed in a form of struggles and ruptures in the leading apparatus which has given rise to the creation of tendencies, some of them with a certain weight like the Catalan CP. All this that exists now is the result of the process of previous formation, which has already been analysed by Cde Posadas. The SCP, after the

.....physical and political blow which it received during the civil war under the Stalinian policy and leadership, was re-structured in exile — maintaining the conciliatory methods and conceptions of the Stalinist epoch and in that one of the most damaging elements the question of regionalism, which has its origin in the links with the bourgeoisie of the regions to confront Francoist power. There can and must be such alliances, but not at the cost of the dispersion of the strength of the Communists in the regional Communist parties. Today the recent Congress, even with 'unity' achieved, has maintained such vices. The 'Madridians' support Carrillo, the 'Asturians' Iglesias in positions, and the songs are centred around regions. This makes the ability to unify through ideas the objectives of Communism, although the majority of them want Communism, much more difficult

All this life of the SCP prevents it participating much more in the process in which the Spanish masses live, and they live intensely the world process of the revolution. In the elections of 1982 the Spanish masses passed over the regional fractioning of the policy, programme and thought which sustain the workers' parties, and have worked intelligently and in a centralised way to impose a government of the left. The mobilisations which they continue against the North American bases on abortion as also the trade union mobilisations of Sagunto and Seville, have shown that the masses want to intervene in the decisive problems of the country, to impel the government of the left and, without depending on it, the Communists and the Socialists diminish this capacity demonstrated by the masses.

If capitalism has no ability to produce, then the workers — with the trade unions — have to present a programme of expropriation and the planning of production. For instance, in Greece there are no adequate services for the people, there are no transport or irrigation, no running water and no hospitals. As regards hospitals, there is the need for at least four times as many and those which exist have to be practically re-built. There is little transport and that which there is is antiquated. The streets are in a poor state of repair, both in the cities and outside them. In other words, there is no objective shortage of employment for people and plenty of commodities needed by people. A plan of production is needed for this, and it has to be discussed by the trade unions. The trade unions must intervene to discuss plan and programme of production in agreement with the needs of the people. The workers parties must put forward plans and raise discussions in the factories, in the trade unions,

The Socialists in the government have acted very weakly and have not called upon the masses to demonstrate, not even for these progressive measures which can count upon the clear support of the population, like the education law which is in discussion. The Socialists are afraid that the masses may intervene and deepen the revolutionary process, beyond what they are ready to do. The democracy that they defend is bourgeois democracy, not the democracy so that the masses can intervene so as to impel the progress of Spain. Democracy on this basis means only that the Socialists can be in the government, and from there to take certain measures which damage the power of reaction. But the means which they are taking leave intact the centres of this power in the economy and in the armed forces which are conspiring against what democracy has acquired until now.

The Socialists are afraid of the right as also of the masses, and hence all their doubts and proposals indicate weakness. This can be seen with the doubts and resistances of a sector of the Socialist leadership to allow a popular referendum on the participation of Spain in NATO. It is necessary to consider that a whole sector of the bourgeoisie and of the Spanish right are interested in keeping the Yankee bases which for them are an important source for the dollars, although they are of little use to the economy of the country now that the payment by the Yanks is made with credits for the purchase of arms in the United States. With the planning of the economy and the reduction of military costs, it would be possible immediately to substitute for the benefits which they obtain through the

renting of the bases to the North Americans. On the other hand, there is the political aspect — as Cde Posadas analysed — that the bases do not serve the war against the Workers States but are aimed at Spain. In reality, what the Yanks rent is the support of the Spanish government and of support to reaction in the armed forces. In the elections of 1982 the masses declared for an anti-imperialist policy which included the removal of the North American bases. Even sectors of the bourgeoisie who supported Gonsalez were favourable to a removal of the North American bases because their presence is a pressure and an impediment to the economic development of Spain.

When the centre of the orientation of the Communists is in competition with the Socialists, it is because they do not have a better programme to transform Spain. They compete because they compete with the same programme of reforms within capitalism of the defence of democracy against the right. If they had a programme to make Spain progress through social transformations, there would be an understanding of the nature of the Socialists and how to intervene, supporting themselves on the political maturing of the Spanish masses, which includes, in an important way, the Socialist left and the masses

All the Socialist movement is to be found in a crisis, the product of the existing contradictions between their policy and the traditional programme of administration on the basis of the reforms of capitalism and the present situation of the agony of capitalism, in which there is no room for 'reform' nor for the 'third way' between the Workers States and imperia-

lism, the progress of the Workers States and of the objective front between the Workers States and the masses of the world before the final crisis of capitalism. As a result of this process a left is developing within the Socialist movement, which sees the necessity to overcome the capitalist system, seeks solutions outside it, and in the area of the Workers States. This left is quite developed in Socialist parties like the Spanish and the Greek, and transforms even parties like the German Social Democracy which, in its last Congress, drew up resolutions against imperialism and its war plans. The Spanish Communists must understand and intervene in this process of maturing of the Socialist left by giving an impulse to the front of the left, between Socialists, Communists and trade unionists, attracting the other national and regional currents. It is necessary to give an impulse in this front for a debate on the future of Spain and the need for the anti-capitalist programme, with arguments and explanations aimed at giving to the Socialist left the political life which it does not possess in its party. This requires a life of ideas superior to that in the SCP.

The anti-capitalist programme for Spain of the programming of the economy and production for the benefit of the masses and with workers' and popular control is the programme which answers to the necessity of the progress of the country, whether through the level of intelligence of the masses or because Spanish capitalism cannot give any solution to the backwardness of Spain. A measure of the state of the masses is their massive participation in the demonstration against the war preparations of imperialism and against NATO. These have

THE TRADE UNION AND THE PARTY

J. POSADAS 10-80

ALTHOUGH SEVERAL REFERENCES INDICATE THE TEXT WAS ELABORATED IN GREECE, THE ANALYSIS IS TRUE FOR THE FUNCTIONING OF THE TRADE UNIONS, WHATEVER THE COUNTRY.

in the workers areas — about all these problems. However, the trade unions have to do all this without waiting for the workers' parties. The function of the trade unions in intervening towards the population, explaining that the trade unions can play a part in society and in planning, has to be elevated.

It is not true that the trade unions have to be only pre-occupied with salaries and work conditions. We are in a new stage in history, and are in the midst of the total crisis of capitalism — which means that the trade unions have to draw closer to the Party and the Party to the trade unions. The role of the two are not antagonistic. On the contrary, the trade union and the Party cannot fulfil their role without having the same anti-capitalist programme. True, they differ in their particular roles and in their particular places of

work; but they do not differ in their objectives. At this moment no trade union can obtain a real increase in wages, an increase to raise purchasing power. The capitalists may give 10%, but commodities will then go up by 20%. Equally, if there is not an increase in prices of 20%, the quality of the goods purchased will be decreased by so much. These are the problems the trade unions must discuss.

The trade unions should have discussed the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan. Why don't they discuss Afghanistan? Is it another world? No. It is not another world. Even if it were — the doors would be open to discuss it anyway. It is necessary to discuss Afghanistan in the trade unions.

If Afghanistan were discussed in the trade unions it would not produce divisions in that movement. On the other hand, breaks

and instability are produced in the trade union movement through a lack of political life, where the trade unions and the Party do not discuss politically and bring no political life to the trade unions. In these circumstances, bureaucratic cliques form themselves in the trade union. The trade unions have to intervene on everything. They intervened on Vietnam, did they not? In the course of the Vietnam war the trade unions gave a part of their wages for Vietnam and organised discussions and conferences on Vietnam. In some places they worked extra hours to help Vietnam. This took place all over the world, in Italy and in the Workers States.

The trade unions should discuss the organisation of work and production, a plan of work and production. It should discuss all this and attract the population. An intervention must be prepared through the trade unions, in the factories, in relation to a plan of production and to give a leadership in the economy. It has to be said by the

been the declarations against capitalism in the aspect in which it concentrates all its energies on a world level, that is, with war. Also, the trade union demonstrations in defence of the steel industry and in the shipyards are not only demonstrations in defence of work, but express the fact that the working class is decided upon participation in the programming of the country's economy; that while the government supports a reconversion of industry to make it more competitive with the rest of capitalism, the masses want to transform Spain for the benefit of the social and cultural progress of the Spanish people.

The law of education in discussion is important because it allows the continuation of state support to private education (very extensive in Spain, fundamentally religious) only with the participation in the control and the elaboration of the courses by the parents and the state. It is certainly a blow at the centre of reaction and the Church. It is necessary to include in the debate the discussion of the objectives and the plans of education, to prepare the knowledge for the social progress of the country which is only capitalist. The right has made demonstrations but even bringing all their forces into the streets these did not go beyond 50,000 people, and this included using many students. But the government has not appealed for the demonstrations of the masses in support of such a measure from fear that the masses would impel more profound measures.

Another aspect which has to be taken into account in the crisis of the SCP is the difference in social composition compared with other CPs, that is, in relation to the weight that the working class has in the Party.

This experience serves to compare also with the SCP because, in this case, the Communist masses as a criticism of its leadership stopped buying 'Mundo Obrero' which began to come out as a newspaper with a sale of 15,000 copies. It was first reduced in quantity, and then became a weekly review.

It is necessary to understand this difference between the CPs as the working class weighs in them in different ways, because at the level of the leaderships they have all been formed in the same stage of Stalinism and they bring along the same vices and corruptions.

In this sense the SCP does not have the determining weight and composition that the working class has in the French and Italian Communist parties. The Spanish working class and vanguard is also represented in the Socialists and in some left and regionalist groups. In this sense it is more difficult to weigh over the CP to correct it, as in Italy or France, where the working class is identified with the respective Communist parties, which they sustain as fundamental instruments for the transformation of these countries. Recently the ICP made a special edition of its newspaper 'Unita' costing 5,000 lira (it daily costs 500 lira) in support of the paper. They produced a million copies which were exhausted by mid-morning and not only did they incorporate hundreds of sellers but also people went to the sections to ask for them. Normally people give more money or give money, if not for the newspaper, once the issue is exhausted. Daily they sell 80,000 copies and on Sundays, with a militant sale, they succeed in selling around 150,000. Such a limited sale compared with the social maturing which exists in Italy is due to what they write

trade unions that, since private capital is not interested in the production of certain commodities, then these commodities have to be produced by themselves. This means that the trade unions have to say to the state: 'Expropriate this enterprise, produce what is necessary for the population'. This is the function which the unions must fulfil in this stage of the final crisis of the capitalist system. An obvious and simple fact is that the cost of living rises rapidly in all the capitalist world, and this fact requires a programme against increases in the cost of living by the trade unions. But what programme? In fact, the unions have managed to force wages up periodically. However, this is in itself not sufficient; a programme is needed which responds to the daily increases in the cost of living. In other words, a sliding scale of wages (all wages to rise with the cost of living).

There is a high level of unemployment in all the capitalist world. Capitalism has plans for the automation of industry,

automation is introduced in all spheres such as printing; the workers are not opposed to technology development as such, but they are opposed to the use of technology against their interest. In the printing industry the bosses have introduced a high level of photographic technology and, in the process, sacked a large number of workers. The trade unions and workers' parties have to say, when this takes place, that technological advance is fine but that it must not end up with sackings, because then there is no progress whatsoever. All the progress which technology means then is for the capitalist and not for the people. This means that, in reality, there is no progress at all. Of course, the capitalist will say that it is not possible for him to compete if he does not act in the way he does. In this case the capitalist cannot compete but has to be expropriated.

This is the sort of programme that has to be put forward. We cannot simply cling to the pro-

gramme of ten years ago. The programme has to be one of this stage. For example, there is a need for a programme for women. They give up to one year's leave to workers in both the Soviet Union and East Germany when they are going to have children. In some cases the husband is given three months each time, to participate in the birth of a new child and in the immediate care after birth. These are very important conquests, and when capitalism says that it cannot give these benefits, that it has not the funds for it, the workers will say: 'Well, if he cannot pay let us get rid of him'. It is necessary to nationalise and plan the economy. The level of production in Greece cannot compete with production in Britain or Germany. But, if the Greek economy were planned, it could compete, and it is possible to have a plan of production to respond to the necessity of the population.

The French working class, its Communist vanguard, has known how to wait in the historical process and has changes stimulated in its leadership. Marchais was the principle stimulator of 'euro-communism' and now, without giving any explanation, he says the opposite - and all the people that he based himself on for this policy have had to be thrown out; that is, the Althussers, Ellensteins, who were all anti-Communists. The Italian Communists do not speak any more of 'euro-communism' and have stopped mentioning the 'historic compromise', and they also do not explain why they have ceased all this. The changes are incomplete and slow, because they are put forward by the same leaderships who continue to show themselves unprepared in front of the process of history which has as a centre the progress of the Workers States.

In the leadership of the Soviet Workers State they continue to cleanse so that, after the previous plenum, they removed 16% of the secretaries of the federa-

that, in comparison with those in Europe, the Greek capitalists are very poor. They haven't the capacity to compete. If they continue to manage, it is at the cost of the Greek masses. In this case, then, the trade unions must propose planning or expropriations, and this must mean that it will be the trade unions that will decide. Let this be discussed in the workers' areas and in the factories! Let the trade unions develop in learning how to intervene in all the economic problems and not just in defence of wages or jobs. The function of the trade unions must be extended.

Today, one cannot continue to demand better wages and work conditions without considering

tions of the Party and; in the last CC, deepened the criticism of the most backward layers of the bureaucracy. The criterion of the cleansing is morality and efficiency and, in the previous plenum, Andropov included in the discussion the necessity for the incompatibility of the top positions of the Party with those of the apparatus of the state, which is the return to the principles of Lenin. Poland is also correcting itself. Thus, the recent decision to revoke the general increase in prices to take place from the beginning of 1984, after February or 'even later', shows the superiority of the social regime of the Workers State. In no capitalist country are increases withdrawn, nor much less do they announce that proposed increases are withdrawn. The equivalent of the movement of 1970 or 1980 now occurs in the Party where there is a great questioning and discussion of the economic policy of the government, which shows itself tolerant and weak in front of private property in the land. The Communist cadres protest because the increases serve to enrich these sectors. That is important, because the leadership welcomed the complaint and made a correction because such a correction is going to have to express itself in more profound changes later. The groups of clandestine provocateurs, Solidarity believed they could utilise in the situation of discontent, but they have only found the void again. China is also in a period of correction where all the structure of Teng Xiaoping is falling. The campaign begun by him against bourgeois vices, and the return of Mao Tse Tung which they speak about, goes against all the reactionary camarilla. All this process in the Workers States influences enormously the masses of the world in the peace movement

and, above all, within the CP and the leadership of the Communist parties. The ICP, which maintains its condemnation of the Soviets over Afghanistan, now brings out in its newspaper articles which show some of the successes of the Karmel

government which is the first government in the history of the country which has been able to unify it in greater part and to have it under its control with agreements with the whole of the most important nomads, while the rebel appeals are nostalgic landowners supported by the United States. These Communist parties cannot put on one side the reality of this process of history.

All these problems have been absent in the discussion on the tactic towards the rest of the forces of the left, among them those of the currents freed from the Spanish Communist Party, such as the Catalan CP and the recuperation movement. The life of all these tendencies - like that of the SCP itself - cannot depend on the crisis of the others. It is necessary to elevate the political discussion in Spain towards the unification of the forces of the left and of the Communist currents. The appeal of Carrillo to the Catalan Communists to re-incorporate themselves in the SCP is not enough, nor is the negative correct; but the unification must be done through public debate, with the whole of the left, with the participation of the masses above all, on where Spain is going. The Catalan CP and the movement of recuperation which have good positions on the USSR and on the anti-imperialist policy in general must accentuate the intervention in the debate in search of the anti-capitalist programme for Spain. It is necessary to discuss the problems of war and the necessity to throw out the military

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broad agreement, as has already been done in the car industry, to eliminate rivals and competitors. They say that they have to reduce car production because cars cannot be sold. But this is a lie. What is being done is that the capitalist reduces the workforce through the introduction of automation.

The whole base of capitalist production structure lies in cars, coal, oil, steel, machinery and the installation of plants. This is accompanied by massive increases in expenditure on arms. Capitalism spends 40% of each yearly income on war preparations. A very simple instance is shown in the case of the uprising in Korea. It was not anything they could blame the Soviets for, because the Soviets had nothing to do with it. It was only the Koreans who intervened there, but didn't the Yankees mobilise all their fleet and intervene? Well, this naval mobilisation alone cost the Yankees 500 million dollars! Just for this one intervention! Three

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RESOLUTION ON SPAIN:

bases from Spain, to bring Spain out of NATO; and also the problems of the economy, such as the Common Market.

Carrillo has begun to pose the inefficacy of the entry of Spain into the ECM. Such an entry means no progress for Spain. If Spanish capitalism wants to compete with the rest, it is going to be at the expense of the masses, and the element that is going to benefit is a small sector of the Spanish economy and the improvement of capitalism is characterised by the Sagunto experience. Thus also, the rest of European capitalism does not accept this entry in front of the contracting market and the pressure of imperialism. Besides, the investments which capitalism makes in the so-called third world cannot resolve their problems. The backward countries ascend in progress and in the possibility of consumption by means of anti-imperialist movements and revolutions, which immediately seek the support of and relation with the Socialist countries. Hence in Latin America, where Spain is the 'mother country' and has the same language, it is not Spain which increases its political and commercial relation, but the USSR. The crisis in Spain has no solution on the capitalist road or with the ECM,

but requires planning of production, and planning of aspects of the economy with other governments of the left so that they serve economic and social development of countries, and to develop agreement with the Workers States.

The attitude in front of the government of the left is one of critical and independent support for those measures of progress, such as the law of education, and attacking with public polemic and argument measures like the law of the so-called 'industrial conversion' or the legalisation of temporary work. This form of work is the result of the backwardness of Spanish capitalism which sees they do not have to pay the masses, besides, because this form of contract work renders difficult the political organisation of the workers' movement and the masses who are the real support for every progress to the left which the government and the workers parties want to make.

It is necessary to develop this discussion within the forces of the left. The current of the movement of recuperation is the result of the resistance of Communist layers to the policy of the SCP toward the USSR, and the Workers States. The

process is expressed in this way in the SCP which, even with the manoeuvres of the leadership of Iglesias who left the current of Carrillo with a very small representation, had to abandon previous anti-Soviet language and, in the final resolution of the Congress, reassert their participation in the world Communist movement. It is the process of the world that allows no room for the CP to retreat to social democratic movements.

The SCP, such as it has emerged from its recent Congress, is not a useful instrument for the process of the class struggle through which Spain is living, which includes an important progress in the intervention of the masses and the existence of a government of the Socialists. Internal struggles are going to continue. There is a necessity for ideas and analyses as all this life of struggle impedes the SCP from contributing to the process in a superior way. A profound process of discussion is necessary in the left and in the Communist forces which give opportunity to the programme and policy for the construction of Socialism and eliminates the apparatus and bureaucratic intentions and interests.

28.12.83

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

of imperialism, its inability to advance the lives of the people; and it sees the strength and confidence of the Workers States. The world sees that a third of the territory of El Salvador is now controlled by the forces of progress and Yankee imperialism

— for all its military power — can do nothing about it. At the same time, a statement by the Soviet Union of support for Angola results in a withdrawal of the South African troops that had invaded the country. Also, whilst twenty million people are below the poverty line in the United States, the Soviet economy grows by between 4 and 5½%, and it dedicates more of its production to improving the lives of the people. This is the world balance of forces!

The intervention of the Soviet Union is not just to the masses of the Workers States. It is of particular importance that the Soviet trade unions have appealed to the British building workers' trade unions (TGWU and UCATT) not to engage in the construction of nuclear bases. In this, the Soviet Union is giving a leadership to the British proletariat over the heads of the trade union leadership. They have underlined the situation in which the trade union leaderships vote in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament, and then do nothing about it. The Soviet Union has intervened, in a limited way as yet, to substitute for the leadership which is not forthcoming from the British trade unions. It is an intervention which is going to increase.

The attempt by the British government to suppress trade union right of its employees at CGHQ, Cheltenham, is yet another aspect of the crisis of capitalism. Clearly, the Thatcher team would like to eliminate all trade union rights, but this is not the most significant aspect of this affair. The removal of trade union rights from what is part of the war apparatus of imperialism means that capitalism can no longer trust these employees. It means that it cannot trust its own apparatus. CGHQ is very much part of the apparatus of war. What the government is saying about the disruption caused by trade union activities is true, and nobody denies it. British imperialism discovered that, at crucial times like the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the British invasion of the Malvinas, employees in its espionage service were on strike. Clearly these technicians give no respect or authority to British imperialism. On another level, they are in a better position than most to see the war preparations of imperialism and they demonstrate by their actions that they are opposed. Thus, British imperialism has to rely on the Workers States to maintain its economy; it continues to try and discuss with the Soviet Union, which no longer wants to discuss; and finds its apparatus disintegrating under it. At the same time, all the economic plans and perspectives of British imperialism have not been fulfilled. Unemployment continues to rise, the economy declines, inflation is set to rise, and taxes have not been reduced as promised. In reality,

the image of British capitalism is not of an 'iron lady' but an empty shell.

In these circumstances, there is no reason that the trade union leadership should go cap-in-hand to discuss with Ministers over trade union rights at CGHQ. To discuss with this government is to give it an authority which it does not possess. This government can not even command the support of its own members, and is in a complete confusion over CGHQ. Anyway, there is a very large question to be raised over a trade union leadership which, in the majority, supported actions against a Workers State in Poland in the name of 'trade union rights', but which is not prepared to confront a capitalist state over the same 'trade union rights'. On top of this, it has failed to initiate any actions or produce any programme to confront the massive rise in unemployment and the cuts in social services.

THE ACTION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The working class is not inactive. There is a constant process of action, like the strike of local government employees, the occupation of shipyards, and the overtime ban by the miners — but these struggles receive no leadership. The Labour Party expresses support on occasions, but nothing more. It is true that nearly half the TUC General Council voted to support the NGA in its confrontation with the anti-trade union laws. However, there was nothing to prevent these trade unions, which included some of the biggest, from initiating action themselves. In the event they did nothing, but hid behind the TUC decision against action. They also do little to support the massive movement against the Yankee missiles, even though this movement already has links with the working class.

Even with the lack of leadership and a national centre, the working class does give a leadership. The workers of the Leith shipyard, Henry Robb, are giving such a leadership because, in occupying their shipyard against closure and holding a submarine, they combine two important aspects of the struggle. They are showing that the development of the economy has to be based on nationalisation under workers' control — in order to plan the economy for the benefit of the people — and at the same time they are disrupting, in a minor way, the war preparations of imperialism. The Labour left have a programme which combines the two aspects. It is urgent that it is put into action. There is a great necessity for mobilisations based on a programme against the nuclear bases and for the 32-hour week — without loss of pay — for all wages to rise with the cost of living, for the defence of all health and social services, and for the nationalisation of all major industry under workers' control, with immediate occupation of any factory threatened with closure.

times as much as this would have provided Greece with a two years' income. Why was this not discussed in the trade unions? All this has to be discussed in the trade unions. However the workers' parties treat this question as if it were only their own business, and not that of the workers; and, on top of this, they don't even discuss it themselves! But these problems have to be discussed in both the parties and the trade unions. They have to make factory committees where such problems can be raised, and unite factory demands with protests about the Yankee fleet in South East Asia. These two things must be united.

This is what the role of the trade unions has to be. The workers are human beings who, apart from working, think, read, discuss and have needs. One of their needs is to unite their struggle for wages with that of maintaining and improving their standard of living. Moreover, to increase their standard of living these problems have to be united with the struggle against the capitalist system. The mobilisation of the Yankee fleet in South East Asia was made in the name of the capitalist system. At that moment the parties of the working class did not discuss it in this way. The leaders of the workers' movement say that such matters are outside their sphere of interest and alien to trade

unions. However, it is not possible to consider that a situation when the capitalist sends boats to kill the people of South East Asia, whilst making the people pay for what it costs, is not within the realm of the interests of the trade union.

The crisis of the capitalist system, the development of the Workers States, the development of the revolution in Africa, Asia and Latin America, elevate the function of the trade unions. These conditions elevate the political role and function of the trade unions without making them fulfil precisely the same function as the parties. In reality, the struggle against unemployment is not a 'trade union affair'. The struggle against unemployment is a struggle against the capitalist system. It is a political struggle which has to be fought by the political parties and the trade unions. Moreover, the trade unions have a greater possibility of doing this than the parties have. In fact they can start from the factories, the factories' districts, and make factory committees and workers' areas' committees; and they can raise a political life which unifies the life of the factory with the interests of the progress of a society. We can take Greece as an example.

This is the role which the unions have to play. It is true that conditions did not exist

quite like this previously. But they do now. The trade union CGT in France, led by the Communists, is a very good example. In 1968, the Communists opposed the revolutionary general strike in May; they opposed it furiously. The opposition of the Communists was an essential factor in the defeat of the French May; Comrade Seguy, general secretary of the CGT, wrote a book called 'The French Way', in which he analyses: 'We were against this tumultuous and barbarous movement, and we will be against it if it happens again.' This was written in 1970. Today however, Seguy doesn't hold this position; he says that now the trade unions have to act on the actual situation. The French May of 1968 was an explosion against the capitalist system which expressed itself through the trade unions. It was not an uprising for an increase in wages. No. It was an uprising against the capitalist system. The French May of 1968 was a spontaneous explosion which had no leadership and in which grand opera singers and playwrights took part, together with workers from any factory. The whole of France rose, and Italy too. The French May of 1968 shook the whole world: in a sense, the French May was a Party. In this the masses worked as a Party, but without having programme, policy or leadership.

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TEXT OF TELEGRAM SENT TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE SOVIET UNION IN MOSCOW ON THE DEATH OF COMRADE ANDROPOV.

We grieve at the death of the Communist comrade Andropov, salute the advances made under his leadership with confidence in the continuity of the Soviet Union as the world beacon of Socialism.

*British Section
 Posadist IV International.*

FAREWELL CDE ANDROPOV

We express our profound sorrow at the death of Cde Andropov, whose interventions in the foreign and internal policy of the Soviet Union have been an outstanding contribution to the progress of all the forces in the world which seek to terminate with capitalism and advance to Communism.

All the most progressive forces of humanity feel this loss but, at the same time, especially in the course of human history as it is now, although death cannot lose its sting, the new forces released in the Soviet Union as part of the work of Cde Andropov are going to continue and develop this work. In the words of Cde Chernenko, 'continuity is not an abstract notion but the living reality, and it primarily implies moving forward without stopping.'

It is most important in the statement of Cde Chernenko that a central issue is made of the need to separate the functions of the Party from those of the economic administration. The preoccupation of the Soviet leadership with more elevated social relations can also be seen in the statement that 'it is important that social justice be strictly observed in everyday affairs'

Now the leadership of the Soviet Union has to confront the war preparations of imperialism but, as in the days of Lenin and Trotsky, it constantly acquires confidence and security in the rightness of its perspectives. We give all our support to the elevation of the Soviet leadership and in assisting the improvement of tactics and policy in this process.

The Soviet Workers State is the creative force in world history. Not only is the Soviet leadership preoccupied with raising the conditions of life of the working population but audaciously seeks to impel the Socialist revolution wherever this is possible in Angola, Ethiopia etc., and impelling the Communist parties to more advanced interventions whether in Spain or Italy, Colombia, Venezuela, India etc. Hence the conditions for the world anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front constantly advance, and the Soviet leadership in part acts as the Third International in the time of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party.

LONG LIVE THE WORK OF CDE ANDROPOV !

FOR THE FUSION OF THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA AND ALL THE WORKERS STATES ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST AND ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT !

DOWN WITH ALL THE FORCES OF IMPERIALIST WAR AND OPPRESSION !

FORWARD TO COMMUNISM !

FAREWELL COMRADE ANDROPOV, THE NEW LEADERSHIP OF THE SOVIET UNION WILL CONTINUE YOUR WORK.

SUPPLEMENT

The Death of Andropov and the Progress of the Soviet Union.

A Resolution of the International Secretariat of the Posadist IVth International.

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EDITORIAL

THE CGHQ STRUGGLE SHOWS THE ISOLATION OF CAPITALISM AND THE NEED FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE LABOUR AND TRADE UNION LEFT

The struggle over trade union rights in CGHQ has been the central issue dominating recent events in this country. The government now claims a victory on the basis that the majority of civil servants have accepted the abandonment of their trade union rights. But this is a pyrrhic victory. Formally capitalism may appear to have imposed its will on the majority, but in practice the whole process has simply shown that capitalism has no strength of its own and has to rely on the lack of preparation of the opposed leaderships. Moreover, this process is merely an episode in the class struggle, of no vast importance in itself and one in which the masses are seeking for a new type of leadership. Capitalism, through its own historic crisis and degeneration cannot gain new support and cannot answer to the most elementary social needs as the economy which is subjected constantly to the needs of war preparation.

Central sectors of the proletariat - the car workers, shipbuilders, transport workers and the printing workers, apart from the civil servants - showed the desire of vanguard layers of the masses to impel

a struggle against the government. If there had been a prepared leadership it would have been easily possible to launch a major general strike. The issue of trade union rights is basic, and the mobilisation could have been massive. The trade union leadership, committed to conciliation, was obliged to fight - but most unwillingly. Murray had previously spoken of a readiness to concede a no-strike clause, and he and the sector he is associated with, whatever their protestations of outrage, are not capable of any consistent class action. It is purely the balance of class forces that made them call for a workers' intervention and even then half-hearted and defensive. Capitalism in the Thatcher tendency has no other option but to attempt to smash opposition, even at the cost of humiliating devoted supporters of the system such as Murray and Duffy. Highly comical, but most instructive. One of the most absurd aspects of the 'official' trade union opposition to the government has been the attitude to national security. The trade unions are opposed to nuclear weapons. It is therefore the utmost crassness to be preoccupied with the national security

of a system which has just introduced Pershing and Cruise missiles. The government is only concerned with its own class security, yet union leaderships accept a supra-class position.

The participation of central sectors of the proletariat in the intervention against the policy over CGHQ is paralleled in the mass demonstrations in Liverpool, the attitude of the miners to Macgregor, the demonstrations against the attempts of capitalism to control local government in London, and, finally, the development of left forces in the Labour Party shown in the victory of Benn in Chesterfield. There the left won very well, and the Conservatives suffered a heavy defeat. Although this is a parliamentary victory and Benn does not represent the extent and intensity of the process, the election is an indication of the strength of the left in the Labour Party.

All this process, still not homogeneous and lacking an organised current, is continuously fed by the

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London DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST THE DENIAL OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS IN GCHQ.

THE INSTALLATION OF THE YANKEE MISSILES IN EUROPE AND THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

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The installation of the Yankee missiles in Germany, Britain and Italy, shows that the capitalist system has no other policy than the preparation of the war, and at the same time it is in the middle of the most profound crisis of its existence: the final crisis of agony. The installation of the missiles does not mean that imperialism is going to launch the war tomorrow, but the stages towards the war are being shortened.

The installation of the missiles does not change the general relation of forces. Capitalism does not increase its strength militarily much less socially or politically. The change means essentially that the installation of the missiles forces the Soviets to destroy part of Europe in case of war, and this is what the Soviets are saying to the European bourgeoisie: 'It is a stupidity to believe that these arms are going to make you triumph; on the contrary, it means that we will have to destroy them'. Important sectors of the European bourgeoisie see that this is so. At the same time, with the missiles the Yanks have a greater military dominion over Europe. But, even this is very relative because the crisis within the military apparatus of NATO is so profound that the Yankee command knows that it cannot place confidence there it is for this reason that they control the arms. The Yanks work without taking into account the governments, the parliaments, and even less the population, of the countries of Europe. They ignore them in order to decide, because they work in accordance with the needs of the capitalist system as system, but they do have to adopt an infinity of measures to seek to deceive the population - and this shows their weakness. It is enough to see that, as regards the missiles, they had them in Europe for some time as part of the press have denounced, and even so they make a film of the arrival of the planes with the missiles, in part to make an impression and in part to sustain the farce.

There are sectors of imperialism who make a pressure towards measures which are more profound; these are the ones who organise the military action with the South Korean jumbo, which imposed the invasion of Grenada, and organised the killings in the Lebanon, the provocations against Yankee troops, and the aerial attacks against the Syrians. But this does not mean that this sector can impose itself now. On the contrary, when, to achieve its objectives, it has to make actions of this type, it is because they have no security and because there is a furious desperate fight in Yankee imperialism and in the whole of the world capitalist system. But it is the policy of capitalism, as a system, to prepare the war. Whatever the Yankee government, Carter or Reagan, they have to make this policy.

The decision to install the missiles has provoked and deve-

loped an internal struggle in capitalism, which gives an image of how things are going to be in the war. European capitalism is obliged to accept the missiles, to feel itself secure in front of its historic enemy: the Workers States. The Yanks impose the installation of the missiles as part of the plan for war, but politically the principle objective is to maintain the European bourgeoisie, particularly of Germany, France and Britain, united to them in the objective of confronting the Communist and workers' movement, and to accompany in a more pronounced form the preparations of war against the Soviet Union. In this sense, it seeks to make the European bourgeoisie pay for the costs of the preparations of the war to gain advantage in the inter-capitalist competition. That is to say, the historic objective is misdirected; the war against the Workers States with the daily objective of the competition against the other capitalist countries.

In the calculations of the capitalist system, of the Yanks, it was foreseen that the installation of the missiles was going to reinforce the structure and the centralisation of the capitalist system on a world scale. They expected that the European bourgeoisie would feel more secure in front of the Workers States, the USSR and the workers' movements of every country. As a consequence as capitalist systems they would be able to prepare the war against the Workers States with greater homogeneity. Above all, they hoped that - in doing this - the Soviet Union would end by yielding politically: that is to say, it would make a new Yalta. The Yanks, with all the threats and demonstrations of force which they make, seek to force the Soviets to make a new world agreement which 'conciliates' the interests of capitalism with those of the bureaucracy of the Workers States, as they did in the time of Stalin. That is, they wanted the Soviets to stop supporting the revolutionary processes in the world or allow the intervention of the Yanks. The essential reason of the failure of the calculations of the Yanks and as a result of the enormous crisis that the installation of the missiles develops in the capitalist system, is that even with the existence of the bureaucracy in the Workers States, the bureaucracy does not work in

accordance with the interests of the group, of the camarilla, but in accordance with the need of the Workers State. The Soviet leadership, without being the leadership, genuinely representative of revolutionary Marxism, is the representative of the understanding that, in order to progress humanity - and of this progress the USSR is the base - it is necessary to smash the capitalist system, and that this will not accept leaving history without making the war. This understanding is already installed in the Soviet Union and it works for this as a consequence. It was the firm conduct of the Soviet Union in front of the Yankee missiles in Europe which provoked the crisis in the bourgeoisie and impelled the pacifist movement.

The capitalist governments of Germany, Italy and Britain resolved to install the missiles in the worst conditions and in the middle of an enormous uncertainty, which means that until the last moment they are seeking an agreement with the Soviets. Some in the hypocritical form of the capitalist system, but others no. The first are of the Strauss type who want rearmament but do not wish to break with the Soviets, and thus they try to want to convince the Soviets 'do not look at the missiles' - as if to say 'yes, I have the missiles pointed at you, but don't take any notice, we will continue negotiating with you.' On the other hand, there are sectors who see that the war is the end of capitalism, and hence they say to the Soviets 'we can still send back the missiles, we will reach an agreement'. There are sectors of the bourgeoisie who are terrified and who want to prevent the missiles being made operative, and who propose to delay in the installing, saying that nails are missing and that they must be painted another colour: that is to say, all the forms which show the insecurity and lack of confidence of capitalism itself in front of the future. This is the attitude within the sector which supported the installation of the missiles, because there is a whole part of the European bourgeoisie which does not want war and which seeks a certain logical reasoning, partly expressed by Brandt.

Brandt represents an important sector of the bourgeoisie which sees no future for capitalism in war and feels that it is the USSR which determines history. Thus the

political conduct of this sector is not to do anything that may mean conflict with the Workers States, but the maximum of agreements to 'see if we can survive'. But, within the German Social Democracy there are much more profound currents against the war and, above all, against the Yanks, because they see that these are imposing on Germany the function of military base, advancing against the Workers States, to protect the territory of the United States. The Soviets say this to the Europeans, and in Germany they see that this is so. There are also sectors of the German army which have demonstrated this thought, contradicting the Yanks on the offensive character of the Yankee armament. A high commander of the army of capitalist Germany, in a declaration to the press some time ago, said 'It is logical that the Soviets take measures of defence in the frontier zone with Germany. It is necessary to remember that there have been two wars, and in both Russia was invaded by Germany. Any military command would have done the same; to see this as an aggressive action is not to see the facts.' They are arguments against the Yanks, and important layers of the bourgeoisie think this, besides the immense majority of the German population.

There is no change in the nature of capitalism and of the bourgeoisie but, in the stage of the final settlement of accounts, elements of disintegration develop in the structure of the class which is disappearing. It loses power and social historic strength to be able to survive. Without the conduct of the bourgeoisie changing, it is necessary to expect a development even deeper of internal crisis and the development of tendencies of the bourgeoisie who are going to seek to impede the war plans of the capitalist system. These are not sectors who determine the conduct of the capitalist system, but which weaken the capacity for action and political and social reaction which is later reflected in the military capacity.

The principle which is affirmed in the experience of the discussion on the missiles is that, for capitalism, against the overwhelming majority of the population of its countries, has installed these arms: that is to say, it responds to the need of the system, not to the will of the people. It is necessary to discuss in the Communist and Socialist movement, the experience of the installation of the missiles and how capitalism accentuates its anti-democratic character and how it tends to resolve its internal struggles, through the forms of coups in the apparatus. In Germany when it was seen that the process within the Social Democracy was developing so that this would oppose the installation of the missiles, the Liberal Party, which has 5% of the votes, with a flick of the wrist determined the change of government. It is in this way that capitalism imposed the installation of the missiles. It is a complete

lie that democratic methods decided the installation of the missiles. The Communists do not discuss or propose this.

It is enough to see in Germany the farce they have made of the discussion in the parliament. At the beginning, the Kohl government was discussing against it. It had to concede in front of the mass movement, but, knowing that this did not affect the already existing decision. Thus the German parliament has no authority according to the law imposed by world capitalism to revoke a decision of NATO. Germany is submitted to a law which comes from the war in which the decision of the countries who occupy it militarily - the United States, France and Britain - are above the government, the parliament above the government, the parliament of the country. But, of these countries, those who determine are the Yanks, because the others have only a symbolic military force but the Yanks control the country militarily. Hence, this occupation law, the decisions which the Yanks take, must only be communicated to the German government and afterwards the parliament and no other German power can put it in question. Hence, an important layer of the German bourgeoisie and of the petit bourgeoisie feel occupied by the Yanks - and that is the case indeed. This is the 'democratic' form of decision. This has to be discussed because, in this way also, they will make the war.

The Italian Communists do not discuss this and, as a consequence, they create a whole illusion that they can make capitalism change. The experience of the installation of the missiles confirms that the capitalist system, in front of the historic objectives, utilises all the means to impose their interests. It is not true that they are submitted to democratic rules. They are preparing even more assassin actions against the masses, because the process is going to increase the resistance of the masses against the war plans of imperialism. Capitalism is going to make mass assassinations, including using the neutron bomb, which Cde Posadas foresaw as a basis of revolutionary actions against the NATO bases which the peace movement was organising legitimately, and will continue to do Britain and Germany the peace movement is organising to impede the use of the bases and are completely right; the workers' parties, Communists, Socialists must support this. They are mass actions to defend life, against the arms of imperialism over which the government itself of the country do not have the control. It is logical, thus, that people struggle to defend their sovereignty. This is a concrete and precise form of defending the sovereignty of the country. The masses are not only against war, but against the use which capitalism makes of these arms.

Capitalism did not foresee the development of the peace movement in the more extended and profound

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Publications

OF

J. POSADAS

form and, in particular, its objective alliance with the Soviets. This does not change the war plans, because capitalism is not based on the opinion of the people, but this is none the less the new fact: capitalism is preparing for the war and has, within its countries, a movement with petit bourgeois and bourgeois layers which are pro-Soviet, because its base sees that the Soviets are right, not the Yanks. It is not Communist, but it is anti-capitalist and affirms that it is the Yanks who are preparing war. This is the most important political result and the most profound blow which the capitalist system received. The masses above the Communist and Socialist parties unify with the Workers States against the war plans of capitalism. This is intelligence and reason. The Communist parties that maintain the most critical attitude against the Soviets are having to change like Carrillo and the Italians.

This forms part of the process of elevation of the world Communist movement led by the Soviet Union which is harmonising the world.

The establishment of the Yankee missiles is not a decisive factor for the war because, even with modern arms, the Soviets already have the reply. Much more decisive is the political and social process which developed in Europe and in the world in this period. Soviet influence has increased over the population in capitalist Europe and among layers which before the Workers States did not influence. In this sense, it is very important that, at the moment in which the missiles were installed, through the mouth of Brandt, of the British Labourists, and of the Italian Communists, the question of NATO was posed, and, within this, of the Yankee leadership. On the part of the Italian Communists it is an imposition, because they see that the war is a reality and see that their previous policy now makes them prisoners of NATO, which is the same as depending on the Yanks. But the German Social Democracy and the British Labour people also speak in the name of sectors of the bourgeoisie.

Sectors of the European bourgeoisie do not see the Yanks with the

capacity of decision and, as a consequence, they lose confidence in them. They see the security and strength of the Soviets, who withdraw from the negotiations of Geneva without making a great noise, but affirming serenely - as they did with the installation of the missiles - that there is no point in discussing. It is not a propagandist stunt, as the press says; on the contrary, it is a political step of preparation for the war on the part of the Soviets and which is going to have a very great influence on the masses, particularly on the petit bourgeoisie. It is going to impel it to intervene against the capitalist government. Basically this is also the fear that the bourgeoisie has over the Soviet withdrawal from the discussions. The Soviets said 'they were going to withdraw as soon as capitalism began to instal the missiles, and they did withdraw - and now a sector of the European bourgeoisie, which supported the installation, is taken aback, and in part this expresses the attitude of Kohl.

This is a superior level of the crisis of the capitalist system and a more elevated phase of the centralisation of humanity with the Soviet Union. The peace movement is not just one experience more which shows that it is a continuation of the May of 1968, but more mature, with more elevated objectives. The peace movement seeks to change society and goes in search of the causes of war, which is the capitalist system. Hence, the Socialist and Communist leaderships themselves did not succeed in imposing that the peace movement would declare equally against Soviet and Yankee arms. They understand and accept that the argumentation of the Soviets: 'Our arms are to defend the Socialist system'. They accept it because it is the historic experience which shows that the Workers States have not utilised arms to smash or to exploit. On the contrary, in the Second World War, they were the principle instrument to defeat the nazis and, after, to help the revolutionary processes, the movements of social and national liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is the historic experience. Even those who do not share Soviet methods, whether in Afghanistan or before in Czechoslovakia, see that the objective is not oppression;

they see that the countries' progress - while Yankee imperialism, where it intervenes, does so to affirm more reactionary and miserable regimes like Chile, Paraguay, South Africa, and before in Vietnam.

At the same time, it is necessary to help the political maturation of the peace movement, and for this the Workers States must intervene more as a political leadership. It is necessary to discuss that the struggle for peace must be united to the transformation of the country. It is necessary to struggle against the government who instal the missiles, but who work as a representation of the capitalist system; and this has to be discussed. In not having this clear objective the peace movement loses the strength and capacity to influence and change events, whatever numerical strength it has. Berlinguer, in a discussion in the Central Committee, proposed that the peace movement in Italy was not sufficiently large to change the government; when, in one day in Rome, a million people were mobilised. It is true that it could grow much more, but the essential reason is that, in not having a clear programmatic content to the movement against the installation of the missiles, it could not weigh in a more decisive form. For example, why did the Communists not discuss and organise in Italy a general strike as, even symbolically, was done in Capitalist Germany. In not uniting the struggle against the installation of the missiles with the struggle against unemployment, against the factory closures, the cuts in money for health, education - then the social and political capacity of the movement remains very limited, above all because it develops the illusion that it is possible to impede the war or rearmament by means of pressure. Experience in all these countries was that, however great has been the mobilisations, the governments and parliaments voted and decided to instal the missiles. Thus it is necessary to unite the struggle against the missiles with the struggle to impose a government which does not instal them, but works in accordance with the will of the population and not of the capitalist system.

9 December 1983.

ON THE INEVITABILITY OF Extracts THE WAR 1 POSADAS

We have said that the war is inevitable, and that capitalism is going to launch it. But, Socialism will be constructed, in spite of the capitalist war. This is because Socialism is a necessity of the development of human history, of science, of the economy and, above all, of human intelligence in which there is the function of the working class. The atomic war is going to cause many deaths, hundreds of millions of dead. But what it will manage to destroy, however, is only the material expression of progress, but not the capacity nor the intelligence which have determined progress itself. This capacity and intelligence will remain. Capitalism is going to destroy people, buildings, machines; but not human capacity, human experience and human security. This has been achieved.

Socialism does not spring from atomic ruins. This is not the way to interpret the process. It is capitalism that makes war! It is not that we want the war, but capitalism will resort to war before being crushed - because it has the means at its disposal. If capitalism does not launch it, all the better! Well, we would be disposed to wait for Socialism another thirty years. But it is capitalism which does not have any other thing to resort to in history but to make war. This is part and parcel of private property. It is the same way of proceeding as in the case of competition, the conflict through competition. It is the same thing as the war which the capitalists wage among themselves in their commercial, financial and war competitions.

As regards ourselves, we do not want the atomic war: neither an atomic one nor any other war! The war, however, is the consequence of the capitalist system. Our concern is to interpret; the same as we do as regards competition, unemployment, inflation or in the case of what is called over-production, when people do not have anything to eat. All these things are the consequence of the capitalist mar-

ket. These lead to social antagonisms. It leads to competition amongst the capitalists and to resorting to wars. It is enough to read the history of private property to see that the most outstanding activity which the system of private property has ever conducted is war, war, and war.

Therefore, it is not correct to say that we want to construct Socialism on the atomic ruins. We have interpreted that the capitalists are going to make the war and that, in spite of their making war - in which they are going to cause massive destruction of human resources and human riches - all the same, we will construct Socialism. And this is so because Socialism is already a conquest of the consciousness of humanity, of its intelligence, and the most remote inhabitant today of the Islands of Oceania, of Africa, and in the countries of Asia or Europe, knows what Socialism is. Already, there is the security in humanity that the economy is not a mystery, that property plays no function in history and that intelligence is the product of the development of human relations on the basis of the economy, but that - once science has developed - it surpasses the economy and allows the development of the objective form of intelligence. Once the proletariat became the ruling class, it could not do this by building up new classes but by liberating the whole of humanity. The proletariat has to do this to liberate itself as a class and to progress as a class. The instrument which is representative of the progress of history is the proletariat.

These are not political resolutions. They are analyses and conclusions on the process of history. It is enough to see that 40% of capitalist resources go for war preparations. It is not going on just military expenditures, but everything which means war - including counter-revolution, the secret services, and police. All in all, it is 40% of the wealth of the capitalist world.

J. POSADAS 6th April 1978.

WE CONDEMN WITH ALL OUR REVOLUTIONARY PASSION THE EXECUTIONS OF THE IRANIAN COMMUNISTS CARRIED OUT BY THE CLIQUE AT PRESENT GOVERNING IRAN.

THESE PEOPLE ARE DESPERATELY TRYING TO CONTAIN AND DISTORT THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION. PREVENTING THE INSTITUTION OF ANTI-FEUDAL AND ANTI-CAPITALIST MEASURES IN THE LAND REFORM AND THE EXTENSION OF DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS. THE WAR WITH IRAQ HAS BEEN CHANGED FROM AN ACT OF REVOLUTIONARY DEFENCE INTO A BLOODY MASSACRE DESIGNED TO EXHAUST THE MASSES OF BOTH COUNTRIES AND TO PREVENT THE DISCUSSION OF THE NEED FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN IRAN. WE CALL UPON THE LABOUR PARTY AND UNIONS TO CONDEMN THIS MASSACRE OF COMMUNISTS, AND THE CONTINUATION OF THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR WHICH EXHAUSTS THE MASSES AND OBJECTIVELY ONLY BENEFITS WORLD IMPERIALISM.

THE ROLE OF THE U.S.S.R.

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THE CRISIS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THE LEFT IN FRANCE AND THE ADVANCE OF THE MASSES

The election of the government of the left in France was a major blow at the world capitalist system, and this election corresponds to the balance of forces which favour advances towards the Workers States and the world downfall of the capitalist system.

The presence of a Communist Party in government is a mark of the profound loss of equilibrium in capitalist society.

The problem has been, and still is in France, that the workers' parties and the government were not based in their consciousness on this process.

Because of its previous Stalinist education, the FCP failed to maintain its weight in the French population and on the electoral plane, the Socialist Party gained in the sixties and seventies to become the electorally larger party. The Socialists have a left wing but, in the main, their education is social democrat. The masses voted for social transformations, but the leadership of the Socialist Party and government thought fundamentally in terms of progress within the terms of the capitalist social and economic system — much as the tradition of the classical social democracy. They sought to combine updating the economy with more technological development and research in modernising capitalism, and thus providing the masses with social benefits. It was an effort to 'transcend' the limitations of the system. The intervention of the state in the economy was increased as a result of the measures of the private Bank nationalisations and extensive take-overs of nine major industrial groups. Thus in France now 32% of all industry is under state control, which includes 75% of the arms industry and 80% of the iron and steel. This is a mark of the great structural weakness of French capitalism when it requires so much nationalisation to sustain it but, on the other hand, the way the statified sector is run is a submission to the overall needs of French capitalism. Thus there is no workers' control in the statified areas. The policy of Mitterand has been an effort to square the circle, and advance social progress in this way.

After the initial concessions to the population in the form of social benefits and wage increases, the augmentation of the world economic crisis of the capitalist system resulting fundamentally from the massive expenditures on war against the Workers States led to steps by the French government of a capitalist type against the masses — i.e. measures of austerity. The language of the government via the Delors Plan was the normal language of capitalism — the need to combat inflation and the need to terminate the unfavourable trade balance.

Sectors of the petit bourgeoisie have withdrawn their support in elections but, on the other hand, the over-

whelming base of the working masses has continued to support the government of the left.

The foreign policy of the Mitterand government has followed the line of defending French imperialist interests in Africa, Latin America (supporting British imperialism over the Malvinas war) and the Middle East, at the same time as resisting imperialism over Grenada. The latter, in part, would also correspond not only to the wishes of the base of the Socialist Party but also to some sectors of the lesser bourgeoisie, frightened at the drift of Yankee policy. Although France is not within NATO, Mitterand and the SP leaders — apart from the left — consumed with fear at the advance of the Workers States and with no understanding of this process, has, through this, actually made some appalling declarations in support of Pershing Missiles in Europe (doubtless Mitterand has delusions about playing off US imperialism against the Soviet Union, but there is no such solution for the masses of France).

Giscard d'Estaing was quite bold in class terms in balancing between imperialism and the Workers States. Mitterand does something of the same, but fears to approach the Soviet Union too closely, because this would release forces in the Socialist Party and the masses which he would then find difficult to contain.

The right is trying to use the grievances of the small peasants — confronting the monopolist policies of the ECM — against the government. But, in reality a correct policy of the workers' parties can win all these sectors in a massive united front to impel discussions and changes in the policy of the government. Only a policy against the monopolies in capitalist agriculture can offer a solution to the peasants.

After much prevarication the FCP has come out forcibly against the policy of unemployment. But this has to be accompanied by discussions and mobilisations. Moreover, the masses do not wait on successful persuasive discussions. They are also interested in persuasive actions, i.e. demonstrations and occupations which facilitate both discussion and change.

The struggle at Peugeot over unemployment again X-rayed the lack of preparation of the workers' leaderships. Neither Socialist nor Communist leadership raised the issue of statification under workers' control. Provocations were organised by capitalism, but this opportunity only occurred because of the differences in the SP and CP leaderships. Even on the electoral plane the leaderships of capitalism

show enormous weakness. The fascists made electoral gains at Dreux, but that is a sign not of capitalist strength but weakness, because racist fascism has no perspective. It has failed everywhere. The fascism of this epoch is nuclear war.

The road hauliers' strike is a political effort to destabilise the Mitterand government, trying to take advantage of the policies of the government that weaken its links with the masses. But the conditions for a French Chile do not exist.

The FCP has to enter much more into all the issues, international and national, and adopt unambiguous class positions against nuclear weapons and France's pseudo 'independent' deterrent. To a great extent participation in the government tended to diminish the independent activity of the Party (although this was not necessary). Now the sheer pressure of events dictates changes. It is necessary to develop a discussion over the Workers States on a much more profound level, to explain the Polish experience and its successful outcome, to explain the world wide confrontation of classes, and develop a policy and programme for France based on the world balance of forces. The FCP is decisive in this, through its role in the vanguard and the relation with the Soviet Union.

It is not necessary to be dominated by fear of not staying in government. An audacious policy can weigh much more in the unions and the Socialist Party. Mitterand has taken reactionary steps precisely because he was not confronted by adequate discussion and mobilisations.

The intervention of the various proletariats much more directly in Europe is going to impel the process much more. The miners' strike in France is an example of this. These and other class actions will weigh more and more to stimulate re-orientations of policy and programme.

But the Communist Party will have to overcome its nationalist limitations. Thus it expressed doubts over the Soviet intervention towards the Spanish CP, as a form of interference in 'internal affairs'. This attitude clearly undermines the need to explain the role of the Workers States and their evolution towards a more elevated interior and exterior functioning. Objectively it creates a barrier to the influence of the Soviet Union.

Editorial from page 1

dynamism of the world process and the evolution of the Soviet Union. World imperialism has suffered a major reverse in the Lebanon. The Yanks have seen their ally Gemayal destroyed, and this is because the weight of the Soviet Union has encouraged all the forces opposed to Yankee imperialism.

Yankee imperialism has all manner of devices left to it to intrigue in the Middle East but is not the creative force. That is the role of the Soviet Union. Similarly, in Latin America the tour of Shultz to galvanise support for Yankee imperialism turned into a hopeless failure.

Internally in the United States the social debility of the system can be seen in the development of currents in the Democratic Party in particular who do not share the line of the war party, seek 'nuclear freezes', and the limitation of Yankee intervention abroad.

The dominant role of the Soviet Union was shown in the funeral of Cde Andropov, where the number of delegations from the European bourgeoisie was more numerous even than in the time of Breznev's funeral, and the representative of Yankee imperialism could not afford to be bellicose but had to speak about the need to negotiate, and Thatcher likewise. After all their vicious campaign of nazi-type lying, they had to moderate their language — because, in the eyes of the masses of the world, their policy of confrontation with the Soviet Union is rejected. Imperialism cannot help but be warlike, and when it has to change its formulations and tack with the wind in its comments on the Soviet Union, that is the measure of its weakness and incompetence.

The Labour Party is in a stage combining programme and policies which are anti-capitalist with a functioning which is parliamentary and bourgeois. The turn Kinnock has made over the Common Market is an example again of a mixed process in which he is attempting to associate with a 'Europeanism' opposed to both the Yanks and the Soviet Union, at the same time speaking of opposition to the multi-nationals and the big agricultural consortiums, and the need for nuclear disarmament. This is an aspect of the moving out of Britain into the world, whatever qualifica-

tions and turns may ensue. It is the left which is the creative force in the Labour Party, and Healy, who represents a sector of the bourgeoisie, weighs against the centralisation of capitalism and his expressed admiration for Gromyko is an example of this resistance to the needs of the system.

The most recent events have confirmed that in Britain the apparatus and functioning of capitalism are in the most profound disarray. The discussions over the CGHQ have aroused profound opposition in the Conservative Party, including from Heath. Thatcher has to rely on a small clique and rules through a small sycophantic court. Thus, whole sectors are alienated in the centres of capitalism, because the drive to war and class confrontation dissolves the normal functioning of capitalism. The opposition within the Conservative Party to the rate-capping exercise and the attacks on fascist affiliations in the party all show the profound crisis of decomposition within capitalism.

It is this malaise which the left in the Labour Party has to grasp in its depth. The old leaderships in the trade unions are an incumbrance but there is no need for them to weigh as they do. It is necessary that the Labour left attempts to function as a political force, on the basis of analysing and drawing conclusions on the role of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. It is necessary to seek to overcome the gap between a progressive programme and the absence of a real functioning with the population outside electoral considerations. It is necessary to develop a functioning which makes a balance of world and national events and draws conclusions in order to intervene politically and with mobilisations. The process is infinitely superior to a parliamentary functioning and requires a preoccupation with ideas and analysis tending to develop an homogeneous tendency of the left in the Labour Party. This can then concentrate the forces of the population which, at this moment, are diluted precisely because there is a lack of a political centre in which the Labour Party corresponds to their aspirations and capacities.

2.3.84

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THE DEATH OF CDE. ANDROPOV AND THE PROGRESS OF THE USSR



15th Feb. 1984

**THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT of
the Trotskyist Posadist IV International**

THE DEATH OF COMRADE ANDROPOV
AND THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF
THE POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL

15.2.1984

We render homage to comrade Andropov for his participation in the developments and advance of the world role of the Soviet Union, which takes place in a process of historic transformation towards Communism, lived by Humanity in this stage of history. Andropov had developed a sense of responsibility as leader of the Soviet Union, and leader of the Party created by Lenin undergoing a process of return towards the principles, the life and the experiences of the First Seven Years of the Russian Revolution. These principles have been the foundation for the historic experience and success of the working class in the leadership of society. The current progress of the leadership of the Soviet Workers State is directly linked to the advance of the role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in developing the economic, political and military capacity to confront the war preparations of imperialism. It has also advanced in its relations with the world Communist and Revolutionary movements. The leading role of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is advancing as part of the necessity to extend the progressive role of the USSR.

Capitalism tries to take advantage of the changes in the Soviet leadership; capitalist leaders speculate as for example in this letter of Reagan requesting a "half-way" meeting with Chernenko . The immediate election of Chernenko, his declaration of continuity in the Soviet policy for the world revolution, the declarations of Gorbavov , at the end of the Central Committee Meeting supporting the election of Chernenko - and calling for the unity of the Party - have belied all the capitalists' speculations. This is because the actual Soviet policy is not the consequence of one or other leader, but the result of the Soviet Union having to respond to an established structure of relations determined by the existence and progress of the Soviet Union; and by its confrontation with the world capitalist system .

This confrontation has pushed the USSR to the helm of the anti-capitalist struggle, for socialism. It is this structure which decides the selection of the leadership, and the leader who appears has to respond to the social-historic objective of the Workers State which is the construction of socialism. The internal struggles of the Soviet bureaucracy are not, as capitalism said, the fights "for succession". far from it they are the struggle resulting from the discussions in the Soviet Union on tactic and programme to confront the war imperialism prepares, and the problems of the construction of the Party. In addition to this, there is the discussion on the means by which to increase social participation in the Workers State, the role of the State, of the Party, the correction of bureaucratic deformations, on Poland etc.. In these discussions, there are different political ideas which represent different sectors and interests inside the leading apparatus. Capitalism sees that this is happening but it has no idea what it means. Inevitably, capitalism compares this with its own

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murderous way of conducting internal struggles .
What capitalism will never understand is that these internal struggles will never change the historic role of the Soviet Union, as the center of the progress of Humanity to Communism.

It may be - at times - a greater or lesser emphasis is put on one or other aspect, like support for the world revolution, changes in the internal economy or democratic life, in the discussions of policies in the Soviet leadership. These are different emphases about application of policy because we are still dealing with a bureaucratic and not a marxist leadership. But it is a bureaucratic leadership that corrects it self, away from Stalinism, towards marxism. The historic legitimacy of the Soviet workers State, is the factor that speaks for the boundless capacity of the USSR to undergo correction, as it has already done in its progress from Stalinist degeneration to the present Partial Regeneration.

This is what makes the U.S.S.R. the actual leadership of any human progress today. This fact has been profoundly understood by Comrade Posadas, and this is why, in the homage to the activity of Comrade Andropov, we also underline the role of J. Posadas in having understood the inexorable nature of this process of Regeneration. J. Posadas concentrated all activities and theoretical elaboration on influencing and supporting the progress of the Soviet leadership : ". Our criticisms of the Soviet bureaucracy are not aimed at paralysing the Soviet Union or its leadership. On the contrary, they are aimed at influencing, stimulating and aiding the development of consciousness, and political ability. They are also aimed at raising the sentiment of

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feeling onself the constructor of Communism and therefore of helping the process of History. The Soviet Union is an instrument which - in order to live - has to impel the Revolution on a world scale. It has to advance Socialism on a world scale, and therefore to oppose the capitalist system. This is the condition 'sine quanon' for the existence of the Soviet Union. It cannot live with the capitalist system. It cannot go along with the capitalist system. The Soviet Union does coexist with it, but meanwhile it seeks to negate it. It is like this because it is a question of either the capitalist system disappearing, or of the Workers States! This is the experience that come from the 63 years of the existence of the Soviet Union .." (Homage to the Soviet Union on its 63rd Anniversary, 7.11.80 - J. Posadas). *

* Obtainable on demand £1.35.

Partial Regeneration - This concept elaborated by J. Posadas, was put forward by him long before it was clearly observable in the USSR and the

THE SOVIET UNION HAS NOT
FALTERED IN ITS SUPPORT FOR THE WORLD REVOLUTION

In considering the leadership, or a particular leader in the Workers State - such as Comrade Andropov - we must consider how he responded to the fundamental needs of the Workers State and how he acted in the world struggle for socialism. It is important to understand that we are dealing with a leadership whose origins and customs have led them into habits of thinking and working bureaucratically. This means that the progress of such a leadership has neither the rhythm nor the dynamism necessary. They do not respond fully to the possibilities and necessities for Revolutionary progress.

In the stage of Andropov, however, Soviet support for the world revolution, Cuba, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, and the Liberation Movement of El Salvador - and the Arab revolutionary movement - was maintained. Soviet support was at hand for the guerrilla struggles of Jumblatt and the Lebanese Muslims. Basically, the Soviet Union provided Syria with the military support that disintegrated the "multinational force" and threw the Yanks out of Lebanon. In less than a year, the Soviets have rearmed Syria sufficiently to be able to deliver a blow of this magnitude to imperialism in the Middle East.

The invasion of Grenada has not signified a substantial change in the world relations of

other Workers States. Posadas based himself on the fundamental principle of Trotsky that if the Soviet Union was not eliminated, and was to extend in the world (and it did), this would lead to the process reverse to that which brought Stalin to power. Posadas has analysed this in all his main works.(Edit)

forces in favour of imperialism. In fact, this invasion was the result of an internal struggle in the upper echelons of imperialism, a struggle which resulted from Yankee impotence to launch counter revolutionary attacks of any size or importance, as a direct invasion of Nicaragua or Cuba. This is not to say that it has ceased to plan to attack these countries, but its distinct lack of historic perspective and power of decision limits it to a huge military deployment in Central America ending up in the invasion of tiny Grenada from which it had to depart immediately. In short, imperialism has drawn neither political, -social, nor military advantage from this invasion of Grenada. It did not have the effect of intimidating the anti-imperialist movement in Latin America, as anticipated. The proof is that there were four anti-imperialist electoral results in the region: Argentina, Peru, Venezuela and Ecuador. The progress now being made continues and meets with the necessary support in Latin America for its continuation. In the Middle East - focal point of confrontation between the two systems - the Yanks have been obliged to withdraw and the Soviets have increased their authority and presence.

The liquidation of the spy-jumbo (South Korean Airliner) and the military operation that was mounted behind it, has had considerably more favourable effects in the field of the world struggle for human progress than Grenada's invasion. The liquidation of the jumbo was a decisive action of the Soviets which did not stem from the leadership of a Communist Party meeting, but from an on-the-spot decision with the same intentions, the same programme and the same understanding that prevails in the Central leadership of the Party with regard to the global confrontation with the capitalist system. When there is such capacity for decision, it means that there is a

very great progress in the Soviet Communist Party itself, even if it still suffers from a certain lack of homogeneity. It proves that any vital and important step can be taken in the U.S.S.R. by entire sectors, informed of the aims of imperialism, and prepared to confront them and liquidate it.

Imperialism has to continually increase its war preparations and all its energies and policies are geared to this end. The Soviet Union, obviously has to continually resist these preparations. The resolve of the USSR in this respect has further deepened all the divisions in the imperialist camp, and meanwhile provoked a movement as socially important as the "Peace Movement". Comrade Andropov never ceased to make proposals for agreements on a balance of nuclear weapons. These proposals were aimed at breaking the capitalist front without conceding anything regarding the defense of the Workers State and the Socialist camp. Hence, the USSR swiftly responded to the deployment of Yankee missiles in Europe by re-arming and suspending the Geneva negotiations. Even if this was done incompletely in the sense that the withdrawal from the Geneva talks should have gone hand in hand with appeals by the CPSU and the mass-Soviet organisations to the "Peace Movements" (to help them become anticapitalist movements) - even then, it did have the effect of unmasking the real war-mongers: imperialism and world capitalism. This conduct of the Soviets has also orientated the "Peace Movements" of Europe and the United States which are going towards anticapitalist positions anyway.

What is important about the suspension of the Geneva talks lies in what this means in the internal relations in the leading Soviet apparatus. Relations and talks with world capitalism

formed part of the programme of the most backward sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy, who think it is possible to maintain a stable relationship of coexistence with capitalism and liquidate it gradually. The walk-out of the Soviets at Geneva, shows that it was not these sectors that were in charge. Stalin made a non-aggression agreement with Hitler and .. he believed in it! But the present Soviet leadership leaves the Geneva talks and unlike Stalin, prepares to confront world imperialism. It is prepared to confront it, up to the ultimate consequence, the complete liquidation of private property and the world spread of socialism. World capitalism is quite desperate to get the USSR to return to Geneva.. This is particularly true of the Yanks who feel the pressure of the petit bourgeoisie and want to appear in front of it as being "for peace". Whether or not the USSR return to these discussions in Geneva will change nothing in the significance of these conclusions.

Capitalism prepares the war to confront human progress, whilst the Workers State prepares itself to be transitory medium for the triumph of progress; transitory in the sense that it has to take actions against the capitalist system which will not go away of its own volition. This is why the capitalist leaderships preparing the war break their links with society as a whole .

They are faced with ever increasing movements of opposition. As for the Workers States, also preparing for the war, they do so by improving their relationships with the masses. They improve the relationship leadership-masses. A series of changes and corrections are being made in the Workers States' leadership; these lead to an increase in productive capacity and the conditions of life of the masses- as well as military capacity. Under capitalism, war preparations mean more hunger, unemployment, robbery and plunder of

productive capacity. This is why the Workers State cannot generate - as some Communist Parties hope - independent "Peace Movements" or leaders. The masses of the workers states and of the capitalist countries see clearly that the war is not a necessity of the Workers State. It is capitalism that needs the war, and the masses of the world see clearly the process towards war is distinct in the Workers States and in capitalism.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ELEVATION OF THE ROLE OF ITS COMMUNIST PARTY

The discussion in the world Communist movement on the character of the internal changes in the USSR and the changes that took place during the life of Andropov, has to be deepened. The changes during the life of Andropov form part of a very deep process that was in part applied, and in part discussed; it announces even greater changes to come. In the discussions, they have dealt with the problems of the economy, the Party and socialist democracy. This forms part of the necessity and progress of Partial Regeneration. The leadership is still heterogeneous and political tendencies and ideas appear; but they do not impede the development of a coherent Soviet policy.

Comrade Posadas analysed that the Soviet leadership was making a greater progress than was apparent in the external policies and relations with imperialism. This means a progress in the development of soviet democracy, one way or the other. The process is slower internally (in the USSR) because changes there are made by the bureaucracy itself, and it has to cope with a strong sector of the apparatus which holds on to its privileges. This sector is now an important impediment in the development of the economy and the dynamic intervention of the Party. The USSR and the other Workers States

prepare for the war, and they cannot do it amidst internal upheavals. This is why there is a continuing process of removing those sectors that impede the development of the economy, and a more extensive world anticapitalist policy on the part of the CPSU. The internal changes made under the leadership of Andropov form part of the deepening of the process of Partial Regeneration. The important discussions that have arisen around the question of the "aims of Communism" - the stages towards Communism and the forms to allow a greater participation of the masses in the leadership of Soviet society, cannot be discounted. It is important to highlight the creation of the "Works Collectives" in the USSR and the renewal of the role of the local Soviets. Today, the latter have a better scope to apply policies and to intervene on the questions of the central plans than before. The question of distribution "according to need" goes on being discussed. This discussion comes from the time of Breshnev who had said that: "There are not yet the conditions for distribution to each 'according to need'", at the time of the New Soviet Constitution (1977). This was not a rejection of the proposal, but a postponement. At

that time, comrade Posadas analysed that a proposal from an important sector in the USSR including a part of the Soviet leadership laid behind Breshnev's reply. Comrade Posadas suggested the possibility of actually passing to distribution "to each according to necessity" at least partially in the USSR and some other Workers States. Already, he explained, such a principle does not depend only on the development of Soviet economy, and it can be produced by the level of social understanding reached by the Soviet people. A good example was to be found in the distribution of salaries. This was considered partially and superficially by the leadership of Andropov who stressed the aspect of the importance of social salary. Also

some reforms were introduced by Andropov by which the salary received became more linked to necessity, number of children, their age, number of people to look after in the home, etc.

This discussion is still confined within the bureaucracy - and so, it does not have the necessary depth or objectivity. Part of the lack of objectivity is due to the fact that important aspects of the life of the Workers State are still not analysed in the light of historic truth. This is a legacy of the Stalinist period. However, many leaders, including Andropov himself, have put forward important criticisms, even if they are still done in a limited and superficial manner. Nonetheless the process of correction is profound; Andropov said that the Soviet Union had once had a form of distribution "to each according to necessity" but that this led to bureaucracy which was due to an insufficient development of the economy, and a lack of social understanding in the Soviet masses. According to him, it became necessary to return to distribution "according to capacity", and to intensify productivity, bonuses etc. against inefficiency. However, Andropov in doing this, eliminated a good deal of inefficiency, corruption and privileges - all of which is the reverse of the policy of Stalin. Stalin wanted distribution according to capacity, in order to create a privileged bureaucratic apparatus to support him in his policies of alliance with capitalism.

This discussion is limited but it is by no means means a retreat because it forms part of the process through which the structure of the Workers State seeks to advance. The same is true of the discussion on the complete centralisation of the nationalities in the USSR, the creation of the Soviet human being and the discussions on the elimination of the State and the discussions on the

standard of living not being confined to eating and sleeping, but meaning the culture of the Soviet people. All these discussions are limited by the bureaucratic leadership, but they go on. And they are further limited by the war imperialism prepares because that war demands the concentration of the preoccupation of the leadership to arm against it. This is why comrade Posadas had analysed that: "It is difficult for bureaucracy to accept distribution according to necessity today". It is difficult because that leadership is pressurised by the impending war and it has to improve the economic and military capacity all at once, in conditions where it is frightened of making greater internal changes. Andropov and the sector he represented faced up to the need to make a greater clearance inside the apparatus. This is why 45 out of a total of 180 Regional Secretaries of the Federation of the CPSU were replaced under Andropov. This is more than at the time of Krutchov and Breshnev put together. Under Andropov scores of Ministers and leaders of the State were removed together with lingering remnants of private property as in the case of the Kolkhoses where the small private plots were further diminished. At the same time, the Kolkhoses were brought into closer association with the Sovkhos and industry through the "agro-industrial" complexes. There, private initiative is increasingly submitted to the centralised state plan. This centralised state planned is applied through the "agro-industrial" complexes.

At the same time, the discussion whether a Party leader can also be a leader of the State is raised. It was established at the time of the New Soviet Constitution in 1977 that the same leader could hold positions in the state and the Party. This is when the Party Secretary became President of the Soviet Union also. In turn, the majority of the leading members of the Party acquired posts in the Soviet Government. Now, after several years the problem is reposed. There is a proposal to separate the posts; this goes in the direction of returning to Lenin's principle that Party leaders should not hold state positions. It means that the discussion is still going on. When the New Soviet constitution established that Party leaders could have state functions, comrade Posadas analysed that this represented a means through which the Party was able to control the State, even though this was an incorrect measure from the point of view of principle; but it helped to impose the point of view of the Party and the global interests of the Workers State, on the bureaucratic and technocratic sectors of the State. Now, they are returning to the principle of Lenin of separation of posts which is correct. This return is taking place even though there is not yet a sufficient level in socialist democracy to prevent the state generating sectors and tendencies seeking liberty to use the state, production in the factories, etc., as they like and without Party control. However, as far as the Party is concerned, it is going to be a great progress to free itself from all these layers that impede a superior political advance, and impede particularly a better relationship between the leadership of the country and the masses. The question of the separation of Party and State positions demands a better intervention and decision by the masses and working class in the Trade Unions and the political life of the State. This could be done via the Works Collectives or some other ways.

The world capitalist media attacks the method of electing Chernenko, that it called 'conservative' and anti-democratic. But the masses have a means of making an immediate comparison with the electoral process in the United States. The election of Chernenko - even if with limited and bureaucratic forms - is a thousand times more democratic than the elections in the United States. Everyone knows the opinions of Chernenko: support for the Liberation Movements, no military advantage to be given to imperialism and a commitment to further the construction of socialism. On the other hand in the US, the elections are a farce; a president like Reagan could be elected with only 26% of the votes and it is generally accepted that candidates make false declarations "for the campaign". The capitalist press acknowledges this openly. It admits that: "Ah, he said this just for the campaign". They make all manner of promises that will never be applied and talk demagogically as in the case of Reagan when he talks about peace. The one that wins the elections in the United State, is the one most linked to the financial and industrial sectors closest to production for war. This is because these sectors decide politically and the Yanks cannot have any other policy but to prepare for the war. They cannot resolve the crisis between themselves and with their social-antagonist (the Soviet Union and the camp of Socialism) in any other way but war. Yankee leaders are making a campaign in which they declare that they are for "peace" but they do everything for war. There are tendencies in the Yanks with different opinions as to the stages leading to the war, but they all see that they cannot escape this historic conclusion.

In contrast, the policies and objectives of the Soviet leadership and Chernenko - this includes Gorbachev whom the capitalist press presented as an opponent of Chernenko - are explicit. They propose the extension of the conquests of Soviet society to the whole

world, and the construction of Socialism. The Soviet Union contributes to the advance of the conditions of life in such backward places as Afghanistan, and the Yankees can do nothing to help 40 million of their own US people - the majority of them negroes - who live in hunger. In other words, the immense economic power of North America serves only to enrich a tiny reactionary minority.

All this forms part of the cultural and political education of the masses of the world. It forms part of the constant progress of the Soviet Union which is an immense support to the world masses. In this way the masses of the world judge the relative development of democracy in the Workers States, and in the capitalist countries. The Italian Communist Party participated in part in the bourgeois speculations regarding the changes in leadership in the Soviet Workers State. It thought that the changes introduced by Andropov would give greater scope to private property in the Soviet Union. And, as far as the Italian Communist Party is concerned, it considers that State ownership engenders bureaucratic power. This is why it supports experiences like those made in Yugoslavia and China. It does not investigate the problems facing the Workers States today, or the experiences of history. An important part of these experiences is the fact that Andropov advanced progress in internal democracy, whilst increasing the centralised power of the State. He did the same thing in relation to the countryside. The world communist movement should discuss the problems of the Soviet Union and what to do in a more objective way. This discussion has to start from an acknowledgement of the progressive role which the Soviet Union has in History.

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J. POSADAS

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EDITORIAL

Strikes, meetings demonstrations to extend the activity of the miners!

The miners strike has advanced the class and anti-government struggle in this country considerably. It has brought into the glaring light of day the essentially undemocratic nature of capitalist society and the repressive nature of the bourgeois state. It is not however simply a local affair. It is part of a world process. When a numerically small sector of the proletariat like the miners, launch themselves into such a struggle without an adequate leadership from either the trade unions or the Labour Party, it is because they feel that the world balance of forces is favourable to the advance of humanity. It is the world that decides. There are no local conditions to give the miners such a confidence.

Of course, the miners feel that they have the support of the British working class and masses but the major influence on them is the world situation. They see the comparison between the crisis of world capitalism and the confident advances of the Workers States (Socialist countries). United States imperialism is still feeling all the effects of its defeat in Lebanon. It was defeated by the Soviet Union in Lebanon, acting through local forces like Syria. Lebanon has had a profound effect on the masses of the US who oppose the war preparations of imperialism. If this were not so, the contenders for the Democratic presidential nomination would not make so much of their criticism of Reagan over Lebanon. They only do this because they feel that it is the opinion of the masses of the United States. All the attempts by Yankee imperialism to incorporate the European bourgeoisie in its war preparations - and in the meanwhile to unload a great part of the expense of those preparations on the European bourgeoisie - have failed. The proposal by Reagan to develop weapons in space, has found no support.

Among the most glaring differences in the capitalist camp is that between British imperialism and the Yanks. The visit of the Queen to Jordan, immediately after Hussein's condemnation of the United States and all its works, her expressions of support for the "rights of the Palestinian people", and her criticism of Israel, is a slap in the face of Yankee imperialism. Also the condemnation by bourgeois parliamentary sectors of the Yankee invasion of Grenada continues. In the end, there is no way British imperialism can separate itself from the Yanks because it is the whole system of private property which is going down the drain, but the British, are reacting with fear and uncertainty in front of the rapid advance to the war on the part of Yankee imperialism.

THE SOVIET UNION ACTS IN THE INTERESTS OF ALL HUMANITY

In contrast, the Soviet Union intervenes with certainty and confidence. The manoeuvres of the Soviet fleet were designed to show NATO - which was meeting at the time - that the Soviet Union is prepared to confront the war that imperialism is going to launch. The immediate result was to open up the already wide divisions in the capitalist camp. Also the advances by the Soviets in space exploration expresses all the confidence they have, and the confidence the system of the Workers States have also, in the future of humanity. By taking a representative of India with them in their space mission, the Soviet Union is showing that it represents the progress of all humanity. Whilst capitalism exploits what is called the "third world", with the resulting hunger and poverty, the Soviet Union takes one of their people into space. What a comparison!

The miners strike is emphatically not a local event because it forms part of a considerable mobilisation by the proletariat of capitalist Europe. As the miners mobilise in this country, there are mobilisations in France by the workers of Lorraine, and the enormous mobilisations by the Italian workers, led by the Communist trade union centre in Rome, against the policy of the Craxi government which is to lower the living standards of the Italian masses. There is the struggle of the German (FDR) workers for the 35 hours week and the previous general strike of the Belgian workers (now preparing a new one). Since capitalism has no solution to any of the problems of the masses, to bad housing, inadequate social health services and unemployment, these mobilisations are going to continue and grow. As there is now a European "Peace" Movement, so there is also a European movement of the working class.

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THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE IRAQ-IRAN WAR. RESOLUTION OF THE IS

From the beginning of the Iran-Iraq war until now, the characterisation which Cde Posadas made of it has not changed. It is a war which does not have the objective of defending the progress of the two countries but the counterposed interests of the two bureaucratic castes - the Iraqi and the Iranian - and motivated by the camarilla of Saddam Hussein who invaded Iran, hoping that imperialism would support it and that the internal differences in Iran would lead to the military sector rebelling, liquidating Khomeini, and reaching an agreement with Iraq (where the reward would be to give Iraq a few islands) but, above all, to liquidate the revolution in Iran and its influence within Iraq. (From a conference of Posadas, 15.11.80).

The plans of the Iraqis failed. From then until now the nature of conflict which has continued has not changed, particularly the situation in Iraq. What has largely been modified is the relation of forces within Iran where there has been a containing of the initial revolutionary response - and then the world crisis of

the capitalist system, above all, of Yankee imperialism, has deepened, which comes from defeats like that in the Middle East, where it has had to suspend abruptly the plans of intervention against Syria and the Lebanese left.

In Iran, the religious right has contained the programme of transformations, the agrarian reform, the intervention of women; has contained all the means of economic and social progress which were stimulated by the revolutionary advance of the stage after the fall of the Shah. Nevertheless, it has not been able to annul or interrupt the revolutionary process in the masses, but to contain the level which was very profound. The external policy itself of Iran continues being anti-imperialist against Israel and in support of the Arab revolution. Internally, the fact that the repression of the left and of the Communists continues shows that the internal struggle is not resolved nor the relation of forces completely favourable to the right, although it may be this which dominates the apparatus of decision. The Soviets have just ended by offering Iran a pro-

gramme of economic aid which was supported by Khomeini, a demonstration that they have not been able to eliminate the sectors who seek in the alliance with the Soviets an instrument by which to make the country progress.

Hence, in every way, the recrudescence of the war is going to pose in a short stage in Iraq, but above all in Iran, a new phase of the deepening of the revolutionary process and of the questioning of the religious leadership. A continuation and at once an extension of the war is going to prepare the conditions for this perspective. Until now, the war has served the Islamic right, so as to reinforce its power over the base to impede the process of changes in the country. It has had to repress not only the Marxist and revolutionary left, but the sectors of the progressive bourgeoisie represented by Bani Sadr, who tried to push forward a programme of the development of the economy - not in a centralised form - and which was going to require a certain political and

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Miners Wives in support of the Strike (Chesterfield).

trade union development of the masses, which any way affected the power of the religious caste. But this was going to affect it, not through the depth which the bourgeoisie could give for the intervention of the masses, but because the democratic development was combined with a profound revolutionary movement which, in the long run, was going to determine beyond its bourgeois character, giving rise to revolutionary tendencies within the Islamic movement itself and, above all, in the working class. Hence, Posadas immediately after the fall of the Shah defined the process in Iran as a process of permanent revolution which was centralised transitorily in a religious leadership deprived completely of ideas and of programme to develop the country, and which similarly would not be able to substitute for the function of the bourgeoisie.

The religious right wing supported itself on these conditions and made use of this centralisation of the masses in the religious leadership to obtain definitions favourable within the internal struggle and against a left which was forming. This as a result was deprived of a sufficient understanding to intervene within the religious movement, at the same time that the necessary tradition was missing which would allow it to have a greater authority over the masses. Even so, it was only through the war with Iraq and the concentration of the whole country in this objective that the Muslim right achieved in great part its objectives.

This is a contradictory process which has been able to develop under these forms, because at the same time different conditions have come together: on the one hand, a profound social revolution of the masses had not occurred before in the whole history of Iran which overthrew the power of the Shah. That regime had appeared omnipotent as it was sustained by an immense military apparatus constructed by imperialism (it is necessary to remember that at this moment the military capacity of Iran was the most powerful of the zone where the CIA had 45,000 agents besides a sophisticated electronic instrument of control and espionage against the Soviets - which was dismantled). At the same time, the revolution meant an immense development of the left influ-

enced by the world, supported in a socially very profound movement but politically weak, through the lack of previous trade union and political life and of a Communist Party with sufficient authority over the masses. Finally, there was a very weak bourgeoisie, almost non-existent as an economic and social force. All these conditions impeded a rapid development of the left within the religious movement itself, which did not understand in time the permanent character of the revolution and the need to develop the leadership without opposing the religious movement.

The religious right, if certainly it was affirmed in the struggle against the progress of the left, has had to support itself on the anti-imperialist character of the mass movement. The proof is that the repression of the left and the containing of the programme of transformations has not meant an increase of the strength of imperialism in Iran or a retaking of the positions which it had in the epoch of the Shah. This is not only through the anti-imperialist will of the masses, but through the influence of the world revolution on Iran, and particularly of the existence of the USSR which has worked as a fetter on the Yanks. Hence, at the beginning of the war when the Iraqis invaded, the Yanks worked cautiously expecting a coup within Iran, just as the camarilla of Saddam Hussein expected this. But the calculation went wrong.

In the first stage of the war when Iranian territory was occupied, the religious right sought to mobilise only militarily in order to limit the social results of the war within Iran, and so that this was transformed into a religious war. This allowed it to push to the limit the blows against the left and Bani Sadr. Even so, the military withdrawal of the Iraqis was not due so much to the military capacity of the Iranian army, whose reactionary structure sought to make a sabotage in order to give a blow against the revolution, but to the heroism of the soldiers and the masses who defended the country and the revolutionary process already begun, and who were conscious that a military defeat in Iran would have meant a blow in favour of the Shah. It is not true that they went to die in battle blinded 'by religious faith'. It was the expression of a process which affected the country in a most profound way and which the masses defended

although the religious right had interests opposed to the masses.

Anyway, this social behaviour is shown more clearly when the Iraqis advanced into the territory of Iran. Afterwards, and in all these two years of the 'forgotten' war, the religious leadership sought to maintain it as an instrument to retard the process and resolve the internal struggle in its favour. But, partly what it has done, is to dominate the apparatus but not the masses, who are going to seek in the next stage to settle accounts with its leadership.

The Iran-Iraqi conflict, as Posadas analysed, was not determined directly by imperialism. This could not intervene openly in favour of Iraq from fear of the Soviets. The character of the process in Iran will push Iran to seek help from the Soviets in front of an imminent defeat. It is not that the Iranian leadership is going to seek such help explicitly, but the Soviets cannot allow an eventual military defeat of the Iranians leading to an increase of the power of the Yanks in the zone which borders the USSR.

Moreover, the Iranian masses have maintained the anti-capitalist sentiment and see in the Soviet Union its natural ally. The latter for its part seeks to stop the war and find an arrangement between the two countries which are anyway adjacent to the USSR. If the Soviets have not succeeded in gaining a greater influence, it is not only through the responsibility of its present policy but through the anterior development of the Communist parties in these two countries, owing to the policy of Stalin. In part, the Soviets - seeing this deficiency - intervened in Afghanistan to respond more in front of a possible intervention by the Yanks in the zone, as in part was made with the attempt of the Yankee landing to recover the hostages in the American Embassy. In this aspect, the objectivity of the Workers State was shown as Posadas analysed - which differently from Stalin - did not wait for the enemy to reach its frontiers before intervening.

The whole of capitalism finds itself divided and without knowing how to intervene, although it's a question of extracting advantage from the conflict. But the defeat of the Yanks in

the Middle East and the affirmation of the Soviets in this zone is a lesson which is present and prevents them entering in depth in a conflict of these characteristics. Notwithstanding the Yanks, with much difficulty, are seeking to increase their influence over Saudi Arabia and the countries of the Persian Gulf 'threatened' by the Iranian danger. The game of the Yanks is now in part this, without excluding direct intervention in the conflict but one which they cannot now programme beforehand. It is for this reason that the European bourgeoisie, seeing this game of the Yanks, does not accept a unilateral intervention in the zone because afterwards, the Yanks are going to dominate the oil. It is thus in defence of its interests and in competition with the Yanks that, in part, France, Britain and Germany intervene. In this aspect the situation of the Middle East is partly repeated where the European bourgeoisie accepted participation in the multinational force also, so as not to let the Yanks be there alone and to prevent them imposing only their interests. It is part of the inter-capitalist competition which, even at the edge of the war with the Workers States continues to be a factor of internal disintegration, impeding an homogeneous response to the whole of capitalism. On the other hand, the political point of view cannot offer any peaceful solution to any conflict as it develops in the Middle East or in any part of the world.

It is necessary to discuss in the Communist movement the conclusions of this conflict. The analysis proposed by Cde Posadas in 1980 is maintained; it is necessary to cease the war and to unify the two countries on the basis of a programme of development towards Socialism. Neither Iran nor Iraq can resolve the problems of frontiers within capitalism. Neither of the two existing leaderships are in agreement with such a conclusion, but there is no solution to a conflict which has no social or political roots of progress, but in defence of camarilla interests. It is not only a question of the need to stop the war, because this in itself does not resolve the problems of the progress of the two countries, and anyway the conditions for war will be created again.

It is necessary to discuss at the same time the perspectives of this war. In the present conditions of the existence of the two camarillas in power, none of

the two countries can win militarily. But, particularly in the process in Iran, if the continuation of the war has served the objectives of the religious right to detain the revolutionary process, the continuation and extension of the conflict is going to go against it - because the right dominates the apparatus, but does not control either the masses or its anti-imperialist will. Thus, a military triumph can only come with an elevation of the social revolutionary intervention of the masses of Iran, which is what the religious right attempt to impede. Hence, on the eve of this new offensive, Iran has shot ten Communist soldiers. Some time ago, the Communists intervened and maintained a relation within the army, not in a clandestine but in a public sense. The fear then of the religious leadership is to organise a military offensive which gives the possibility to the sectors within the army to change the objectives which they want to give to the war. To some extent it is the same that Stalin tried to do, when before the war he repressed the best officers of the army, among them Tukachevsky, to contain the revolutionary levels of the war against the nazis; but the result was that, after the war, fourteen Workers States emerged.

The fear of the Shiite right is that, if they resort to the masses, these are going to go beyond them and transform the character of the war which thus must necessarily be accompanied by a deepening of the revolutionary process within Iran towards Socialism, now that within capitalism Iran cannot develop economically and socially. Besides, the war develops within a revolutionary world process which is very profound, and which is going to influence and weigh within Iran and Iraq.

Capitalism, for this reason, is afraid not of the Islamic influence but that the Islamic right is going to be incapable of containing the revolutionary process in Iran which has not been smashed and which is present in one way or another in all the Arab countries. Hence it is necessary in Iraq to liquidate the reactionary camarilla of Saddam Hussein, and in Iran to overthrow the reactionary religious right which obstructs and blocks the anti-imperialist character of the mass movement, including the religious movement of the left which it is necessary to support. This is in order to elevate both countries to a programme of Socialist development and of alliance with the Workers States, as the only possible form of progress. This is the perspective for this conflict.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT 8 March 1984

ON THE CHINESE COMMUNES, fail and to justify then the need to contain the revolution. This showed the type of struggle which was made through the lack of a Party, and thus they used these methods because everything was decided in little camarillas, in small groups, so Mao Tse Tung, Lin Piao, Deng Xizping and Chou en Lai were

electd. At one time Chou en Lai and Lin Piao were both in the leadership. They spoke on the same platform with Mao Tse Tung in the middle, and they gave two different speeches. Chou en Lai declared, 'In school, it is necessary to study; in the army it is necessary to defend the 'motherland'; the army must dedicate itself to military

knowledge and the university to scientific knowledge'. While Lin Piao affirmed, 'The army is to defend Communism and thus it is necessary to impel political life in the university'. All this was the expression of the lack of development in the life of the Party.

J. POSADAS 18.11.1980

VICTORY TO THE REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR!

THE PROGRESSIVE FUNCTION OF THE SOVIET UNION

28 2 80

J. POSADAS

Some parties of the left consider that there is a crisis in the Soviet Union. This interpretation is based on a lack of scientific knowledge and of understanding of the progress in development there. They continue to analyse the USSR today as if Stalin were still living. They do not see that there is no longer any historic reason for Stalinism to exist. That means that the leading layer of the Soviet Union has objectively an interest in the progress of the world revolution. This is the opposite of Stalin. The present behaviour of the Soviet leadership is anti-Stalinist. Stalinism means conciliation with the capitalist system and the whole bureaucratic apparatus served this policy: the crimes, the assassinations of revolutionaries of members of the Central Committee of the Bolshevik Party served this policy. The present leadership, on the contrary, must uphold and support all the revolutionary movements, including the smallest, in confronting imperialism directly. It does not do it for motives of propaganda, but because the development of the Workers State demands it. As the Workers State develops, economically and socially, that must express itself equally in the leadership. Stalin was the expression of the withdrawal of the Soviet Union into itself and of its slowness in relation to the capitalist system. It is the reverse today.

It is not possible to affirm that the present policy of the Soviets is the consequence of the fact that they are in crisis. What has to be judged is, if this policy is worthwhile or not. It serves progress or not. A policy of impulsion of the revolution is not accomplished under the effect of crisis. In order to conduct a revolutionary policy, it is necessary that all the fibres of society act consciously in support of this policy - which is completely the opposite of a crisis. Where does one see the crisis which will motivate this policy of the USSR? There is neither an economic nor a social crisis. There is certainly an enormous struggle of the apparatuses, but the latter do not dwell on problems of agreements with capitalism, but of measuring at what level to confront capitalism. The sectors which live bureaucratically and have doubts about confronting capitalism are not agents of capitalism but are bureaucrats who seek some accommodation without any necessity for it. But we consider that the present Soviet leadership, in spite of its contradictions, represents the Soviet Workers State.

The comrades who have made such analyses have the same mentality they had fifty years ago. They deceive themselves completely because they do not understand the progressive function of the Soviet Union. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and the support to the development of this country stimulates the revolutionary

movements of the entire world, including the United States.

At the same time, it weakens, disorganises, and disintegrates the efforts to make a blockade of the Soviet Union. The Yankee reaction to the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan has nothing to do with the defence of liberty and of democracy, but responds to class interests. The entire world sees that the United States wishes to stop the progress of the Soviet Union and to force it to withdraw from Afghanistan and not to intervene anywhere else. But, as they know that the Soviets are not going to withdraw, they make this campaign to try to make them not intervene elsewhere. Anyway, the Soviets are still going to intervene. The Yanks had already launched the same campaign in 1962 over the installation of the missiles in Cuba.

The Soviet leadership does not fix its policy as a function of one or other discussion but as a function of the structure already acquired by the Workers State, which must coordinate itself with the world process of the anti-capitalist struggle. It conducts this policy under a bureaucratic form. For example, why does it not make the Soviet masses intervene, the trade unions, or the regional committees of the Communist Party? All these organisms must make appeals to the North American, the French, and the masses of the entire world. Neither the trade unions nor the Soviet masses intervene. That weakens the strength of the Soviet action, but does not hinder it. On the other hand, the Soviet leadership does not make such a policy to extract advantage for itself. For what reason would the Soviets swallow Afghanistan? How would that serve the Soviet Union? Those who say that are lying.

The comrades who speak in this way have no idea of history. For the Soviet Union, it costs ten times dearer financing Afghanistan than to leave it alone. What it defends is not Afghanistan but the Soviet Workers State itself as a centre of the construction of world Socialism. It is for that reason that it must defend itself and seek to extend its points of support.

In order to pose the discussion correctly it is necessary to say: who do we support? Imperialism, which threatens to advance its fleet in the Persian Gulf (about which these comrades do not open their mouth), or the Soviets, who impel the revolution and show this in Afghanistan by their contribution to agrarian reform and in overcoming illiteracy? It is necessary to measure socially the conclusions of one and the other function. What is the function of the Soviet Union? to statify, to make the agrarian reform, to develop the economy of the country where it intervenes, and not the USSR itself

All those who have accused the Soviet Union of having 'invaded' Czechoslovakia have not written a single line showing that the Soviet Union profited economically from Czechoslovakia in 1968. The intervention of the Soviet troops in Poland, in Hungary in 1956, or in Germany in 1953, did not have the same sense as the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968. The movements in Poland, Hungary and Germany were anti-bureaucratic protestations against Stalin. The Hungarian movement in 1956 was led against Rakosi, who represented a camarilla of assassins. But the situation in Hungary today, is it the same as in 1956 or is it better? It is not the little countries who decide the progress of history, not those who struggle for democracy in the abstract; but those who fight for anti-capitalist democracy. In the Soviet Union it is necessary to struggle for Soviet democracy, but the point of departure is to support unconditionally the Workers State, against the capitalist system. It is thus that an instrument of history must be supported, to elevate it in the function that it accomplishes and not with the object of destroying it.

The Hungarian movement of 1956 was a mixture of revolutionary and reactionary mobilisations. But those who had the determining force were the reactionaries like Mindsenty. But, in the general movement, there were revolutionary bases who sought to profit from the occasion to impel trade union democracy and a certain democracy in the Communist Party. The same process developed in Poland and in Germany. In Hungary the workers (of whom were a great number of Trotskyists) intervened in struggle against Mindsenty and to develop Soviet democracy in the country. In this struggle the workers and the Communist militants (including the Trotskyists) united against the reactionary sectors who threatened the existence of the Workers State itself. Imperialism sought to involve itself in this movement, but it was not able to do so because the masses were against it. They wanted to regulate the problems of the Workers State by elevating Soviet democracy, and not in restoring capitalism as Cardinal Mindsenty declared.

The will of the masses is not arbitrary but depends on historic reasons. In Yugoslavia, the masses chased out the bureaucratic camarilla who wanted to ally with capitalism, and they went as far as throwing the managers of the enterprises out of the windows. In the Soviet Union, the masses threw out Stalin. The progress of the Soviet Union was led by the Soviet masses, who were not discouraged and never supported Stalin.

Stalin assassinated the whole of the Bolshevik leadership, accusing them of betrayal. Was it legitimate

to consider that all the Bolshevik leadership - which made the revolution, liquidated capitalism, constructed the Workers State - had then betrayed it? It is pure invention. It served to justify a bureaucratic policy which led the Soviet Union to retreat. It was the masses who hindered this retreat, who maintained the structure and the economy of the Workers State. Stalin even had to finish by adopting the economic programme of development of industry which had been advocated by the left opposition.

All these problems are in discussion. Soon they are going to arise in China, in the same way. They are going to discuss in China what is the type of alliance which it is useful to make: with capitalism or with the Workers States. Even Sihanouk has renounced all alliance with the Khmer Rouge of Pol Pot which he regards as assassins. The Communist Party of Thailand has also broken relations with the Khmer Rouge and revealed facts which go back many years and of which they had not spoken until now. It said squarely, we kept silence over the assassinations which they committed although we knew about them.

All these problems are now for the Communist parties, even if they do not date from today. But the Communists are forced to interpret them again. It is not the Communist parties but the Workers States who decide history. The Communist parties run behind events. It is absurd to believe that the Communist parties, whether of France, Italy or Japan, are going to determine the course of history - just as it is absurd to believe that there exists a third way or a particular Socialism. Socialism is a unity whose historic basis consists in expropriating capitalism, installing

workers control and the planning of production. Socialist democratic development is determined by the relations of force which each time are more favourable to Socialism.

The comrades who make points about the Soviet Union are deceived because they live a life outside the world process. The struggle for Socialism in a country is inseparable from the anti-capitalist struggle on a world scale. If they separate themselves from it, then they favour in the Communist parties and Socialist parties currents, little cliques - and there exist a lot of them - linked in a thousand ways to capitalism.

Whereas in the Soviet Union in the epoch of Stalin those who prospered were those involved in rip-offs and robberies or installed sweet or fancy hat factories for the wives of the bureaucracy, today it is the greatest number of Party leaders and trade union leaders or factory managers who are liquidated on the grounds of corruption. Corrupt leaders have been shot! If the present Soviet leadership formed a usurpatory bureaucratic apparatus of the Workers State it would not act in this way. It would have a need of these corrupt types in order to organise usurpation. It liquidates them because it must advance.

The movements who struggle for their independence, such as that of Eritrea, have no possibility of contributing to the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to unite ethnic problems, historic and national problems, to the struggle against capitalism. It is thus that all these problems will be resolved as a result.

28 February 1980. J. POSADAS

ON THE CHINESE COMMUNES

18 11 80 J. POSADAS

The revolutionary objective and intention of Mao Tse Tung, Lin Piao, Chang Chin and the others. was shown in the creation of the communes. The creation of the communes impelled the revolution in the country with industry, to develop the peasant as proletarian and the Communist consciousness determined by this. It was a great development of the economy, of the political capacity of society. This was the programme of Mao Tse Tung, Lin Piao and the other leaders of the Chinese revolution.

In this epoch the Chinese made the children and the old people participate. It was a social development in which the women, children, grandparents all intervened in the equality of social and political conditions and the army formed part of all this; that is to say, of the effort to construct Communism. Thus all this judgement which they make shows the fraud of this present counter-revolutionary leadership of Deng Xiaoping and the rest. We share all the errors of the communes although we were not in agreement with everything, but we share the difficulties because it was an effort to want to advance without knowing how, but an effort to want to advance. Thus, we supported it. Besides, I was moved when the communes developed with an immense joy, the same as with the Cultural Revolution. The communes prepared the present phase of Deng Peng was excluded and he collaborated to sabotage and make this experience like the 'gang of four'.

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THE SEARCH FOR A NEW LEADERSHIP IN THE TRADE UNIONS

Editorial from page 1

The intervention by the Miners' Union is of immense importance, not least because it is linked to the growing weight and success of the Soviet Union. The crumbling condition of the Thatcher government, the isolation of her clique even within the Conservative Party itself, the fact that she has had to separate herself in part from the super-aggressive actions of the United States' imperialism are not the result of the foresight of the Labour and trade union leaders, but the objective effects of the total irrevocable crisis of the capitalist system which cannot compete politically and socially with the Workers States. Scargill is linked to a whole current in the workers' movement who value the role of the Workers State, see that it is not the Soviet Union which provokes international conflict but world imperialism. It therefore means a workers' leadership in a union which has a long history of being central in the class struggle in Britain.

Clearly the occasion of the strike is the ruthless policy of pit closures which have no value for capitalism within the terms of its main interests

— money for war or for investment abroad. The flying pickets of the miners are a revolutionary weapon and are a direct expression of the class struggle. The Thatcherites are trying to build a police state and to intimidate anything which rejects its perspectives. Thus the combats with the police by the miners are not just the expression of a dispute over the closure of mines but have a transcendent importance — the proletariat with class security and confidence directly enters into collision with the bourgeois state and thus impels other class forces to intervene. It anticipates anti-capitalist actions such as mass interventions, indispensable support for any electoral success Labour may win in the future. Without question, it will reinforce the left in the Labour Party but politics is not only political life but action, and the miners have acted. What is criminal is the attitude of the TUC which sits apart and does not mobilise the population against the vicious methods of the police.

The intervention of the Miners' Union in the form of flying pickets, and the resolution and decision shown in the confrontation with the police, has an importance far beyond the initial cause of the strike actions — the policy of the closing of the pits by the Thatcher government.

The Thatcher government was returned by a massive electoral fraud — still not denounced by the parliamentary leadership of the Labour Party — and has only been able to increase unemployment to monstrous levels and oppress the population, not because of the iron laws of the capitalist economy nor the need to compete on the world market or on the basis of the sectors who support it, but because the

opposition of the Labour Party and the trade unions has been ineffective. This has principally arisen through the monstrous collaboration with capitalism of much of the trade union leadership, with the justification that the government 'has been democratically elected and thus has to be obeyed' or what can you do? i.e. in some way the laws of the capitalist economy have inexorable consequences which have to be accepted. This was the standpoint in practice adopted by the Murray tendency and others, such as Chapell, Duffy and Basnett. The current most opposed to this servile osculation of the rump of capitalism is led by Scargill and the Miners' Union. This sector receives some support, as from the NUR for example. Other union leaderships, such as NUPE, also tend to the left but as a whole the forces of the left need concentration and a more decided strategy and policy in order to weigh. This is why the intervention of the Miners' Union has great importance.

The clique of the right in the TUC leadership, accompanied by the vacillation of other union leaderships, could recently boast of the particularly successful outcome to their miserable policy — the quite unnecessary capitulation over the NGA strike, where the respect for 'the law' led to the denial of normal trade union solidarity to the printing workers at Warrington. The Murray tendency also believes in discussing with this government, although the express policy of the Thatcher hoodlums is to oppress the mass of the population.

But, although the calculators of this monstrous variant of 'company unionism' and the submission of unions to the corporate state conception appear to be triumphant, at the last TUC meeting — with the additional effort to isolate Scargill over the Korean Jumbo shooting down — they are undermined by forces which they cannot understand — the world and the Soviet Union. They cannot understand this because they adopt the standpoint of capitalism: hostility to the Workers States. Thus, although the TUC summit apparatus does not represent the real balance of forces in the unions, the fact that now Murray has been forced to abandon the MEDE discussion shows that the process is developing towards more serious attacks on the policy of collaboration.

The unions leadership include sectors who identify themselves with the capitalist class and are quite content with unemployment as they hope it will reduce the combative level of the proletariat. Others are anti-capitalist but limited in political audacity and preparation and frequently fade into defensive positions or belief in the policy 'pressures to make changes'. The tendency of the miners' leadership is more determined and more responsive to the desire for combat — Scargill originally had 70% of the miners' vote in his election, which was unprecedented.

The methods of the flying pickets — including even intervening on the motorways — are a very profound tactic. They are a method of civil war. In a limited sense they approach a form of dual power, the complete rejection of the power of the bourgeois state. Certainly they will exert a powerful influence on the Labour Party but the tactic is also a fundamental expression of the will of the proletariat to meet the onslaught of a doomed capitalist society with extra-parliamentary force. It is not a substitute for political life, but it is an expression of all the forces that stem not only from the miners but from the rest of the population in opposition to capitalism, and which the union functionaries attempt to contain.

The flying pickets are an affirmation of the will to struggle against all the conciliators and those who prostrate themselves in front of capitalism. It goes against all the policies of parliamentarianism and Socialism to be achieved only by Parliament. It is not possible to compromise with capitalism. The closing of the pits is in line with the wholesale destruction of human and material resources carried out by capitalism, because it is now only capable of destruction and has no creative ability. The attitude of the TUC — obliged to criticise the police but asking for the government to intervene — is characteristic of this organism which fears the struggle accelerating and going beyond the dispute over pit closures. The miners can rely on the support of transport workers and sectors of the NUR, but the struggle remains confined and the miners' leaders themselves, faced with the difficulties of the situation do not have the preparation themselves to go further. We share these difficulties but the fact remains that it is possible through the miners' intervention objectively to raise the whole discussion of what has to be done to oppose Thatcher. There could be a polemic with the TUC, impelling the many forces in practice to reject the abominable and useless leadership of the TUC.

It is necessary to relate the miners' strike to the struggle of the masses against unemployment, for workers' control, for the statification of the economy, for an economy under the control of the masses. Objectively, the flying picket is the rejection of the functioning of capitalist society and the need for social transformation. All this should be discussed by the left of the Labour Party and conclusions drawn for the transformation of the Labour Party so that it is an instrument which interests in struggles such as these with policy, programme and orientation. The Labour Party left has to become the political expression of movements such as the flying pickets.

Correction:

In the article on the crisis of the government of the left, the term 'small farmers' should be substituted for 'peasants'.

The miners strike has served to emphasise the essentially undemocratic nature of capitalist society and the repressive role of the capitalist state. In their brutal opposition to the miners, the police are not defending any law — there is no law preventing people moving from one part of the country to another, but the interests of the capitalist class. We have to question the nature of trade union and labour leaders who were very vocal over the situation in Poland, but who remain remarkably silent in front of the brutal repression of the miners which resulted in at least one miner being killed. We have to draw the conclusion that these people are against anything which disrupts the capitalist state and are in favour of anything which might damage the workers state. The Thatcher government has responded very weakly to the miners strike, it has not used the laws it has — that were used against the NGA strikers — for fear of heightening the confrontation with the miners. What it has relied on, is its allies in the Labour movement. In this, we are not dealing with workers leaders who are mistaken or cowardly, but with people who support the capitalist regime.

THE CONDITIONS ARE RIPE FOR A GENERAL STRIKE

In this confrontation the miners are not alone. They act in common with large sectors of the population like Sarah Tisdall, for example, or the "Greenpeace" people who tried to stop the contamination of the coastline by radioactive waste and were fined tens of thousands of pounds for their pains. The miners have come into collision with the capitalist state in the same way as the Greenham Common women. In other words, the capitalist state apparatus confronts the mass of the population in the interests of a tiny minority who own the means of production. This is the nature of bourgeois democracy. A young woman is imprisoned for six months for giving information about the installation of the Yankee missiles. However, 70% of the population is opposed to the installation of the "Cruise". What sort of democracy is it when the minority can impose itself on the majority?

The miners strike has underlined the leading role of the proletariat. There have been important changes, and a move — ment to the Left in the Labour Party. The Labour left, has maintained its programme against nuclear weapons and imperialism's war preparations. There have been important changes in the trade union leaderships, not least in the election of Jimmy Knapp as general secretary of the NUR, and Arthur Scargill as president of the NUM. However, it is the proletariat that is leading the anti-capitalist struggle. And the miners are conscious of their leading role. This is the significance of the "flying pickets" which are not simply organisms to put one sector of the miners in contact with another but to put the miners in contact with the working class and other sectors of the population. In this sense, they are organisms of leadership.

All the conditions exist at this moment for a General Strike. If there had been a prepared leadership nationally, in the trade unions and Labour Party, a General Strike would have been called at the moment when a miner was killed, at the moment when miners were prevented from moving from one part of the country to another, or when the Greenham Common women were evicted. After all, the policy of the Labour Party, and the Trade Unions is against the Yankee missiles. Why then, was there silence and no mobilisation in defence of the Greenham Common "Peace" women?

At this moment, it is impossible to tell what the precise outcome of the miners strike will be, particularly given the limitations of the trade union and Labour leaderships. However, the miners are intervening to advance an adequate leadership in this particular struggle, and will draw conclusions from the actions of their present leaders. Whatever the final outcome of the miners strike, fundamental questions are being raised about the nature of existing leaderships in the Labour movement, and the means necessary to advance the process of social transformations.

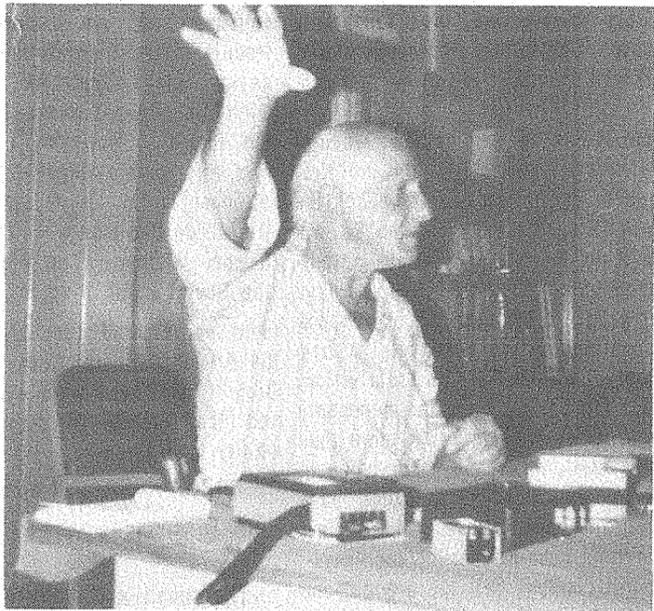
ELEVATE THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND FLYING PICKETS

In the absence of a prepared and adequate political leadership and Party, the trade unions have to play a political role. They cannot substitute for the political party, but history does not wait for the perfect instruments and the trade unions are the most accessible instrument of the working class. The first step would be to put forward a programme to solve the problems of the masses. Unemployment is not inevitable, it is the product of the capitalist search for profit. Logically, the number of workers unemployed could be utilised to provide for the population. For example, building workers are unemployed whilst there is a housing shortage, skilled engineering workers are unemployed whilst people die for want of kidney-machines. What stands in the way is private property. Therefore any programme has to be based on the nationalisation of the means of production in order to plan the economy — and therefore, under worker's control. The other important aspect is to extend the role of the "flying pickets" into organisms which allow the masses to express themselves, intervene and decide. All this has to be discussed in the course of the present struggle of the miners.

J. POSADAS

GENERAL SECRETARY, POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

(1912-1981)



This is the third anniversary of the death of Cde Posadas. We record our profoundest admiration for the depth of his historic conclusions over the Soviet Union and the opening of the road to Communism, the evolution of the Soviet leadership, and the rapid disintegration of the forces of world imperialism as they advance towards war all confirm his analysis. The growing Soviet interest in the cosmos echoes the conviction of Cde Posadas that humanity seeks unification with the cosmos. In the near future we will be publishing a homage to Cde Posadas by Horacio, a leader of the International.

EDITORIAL

FOR THE LP-TU UNITED FRONT TO SUSTAIN THE MINERS STRIKE

The miners' strike is of the masses and is a consequence of greatest social and political importance. Despite a massive police intervention of practically a military nature, the miners have continued their mass picketing and based themselves on the support of the population. In spite of the lack of support of other trade union leaders, apart from some support of the transport and railway workers, the miners have continued their struggle in the security and confidence that, whatever the circumstances of the hostility or incapacity of the trade union and partially of the Labour leaders, they could triumph. Certainly the Labour Party actually made a levy of members to support the miners, even if the leadership did not use parliament as it could be used to denounce the putrefaction of the Thatcher regime and propound the means to liquidate it on the basis of a policy of social transformations.

FAILURE OF CAPITALIST REPRESSION.

The strike has shown a marked elevation as it developed. The intervention of the women in a decisive and secure manner indicated an elevation of social relations which comes from the heart of the experience of the

the advance of the Workers States. At the same time, the participation of the miners' wives with the women of Green-ham Common, together with pensioners, against the first strike strates the force of the united front in this country against the war policies of capitalism and its accompanying policy of exploitation.

All the efforts of capitalism to club the miners into submission have failed. The most fascist layers of the police leadership have done all in their power to prevent discussion between miners and, having created very provocative conditions, have proceeded to arrest miners' leaders and to try to intimidate them. For a period, the bourgeois press was also in full spate about the need for a national miners' ballot, but the mathematical theory of formal democracy has played no role in this particular phase of the class struggle. All the capitalist expedients have failed to such an extent that one of the leaders of the police federation has been obliged to say that it is not possible for the police to be continually used in this way. Now the Coal Board is seeking to negotiate. At this stage, it is

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ON THE AGREEMENT OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

14.3.84

The important aspect to consider on the agreement reached between Angola and Mozambique and the reactionary regime of South Africa, is that the world relation of forces prevents South Africa from exercising fully its function of imperialist gendarme in the region and smashing these revolutionary regimes. At the same time it shows the difficulties through which these revolutions pass, the lack of local and world leadership and, fundamentally, through the backwardness from which they come. The state of war, aggravated by flood and droughts, has left the situation very critical in these countries which, via this agreement, seek to gain some breathing space. The Revolutionary States of Angola and Mozambique have had to make concessions, above all over the support to the liberation movements of Namibia, but they have not retreated in any way from the revolutionary conquests achieved internally. Moreover, the reference to the withdrawal of the Cubans is not an important concession, it is not a question of these going now, but the agreement gives a stage for this.

The agreement is a transitory arrangement because South Africa has not renounced its counter-

revolutionary essence nor have Angola or Mozambique changed their anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation. The bases of the antagonism persist, and thus the possibility of future confrontations. The agreement is the result of the fact that the relation of world forces prevents South Africa from smashing these revolutions, as was recently the case with the invasion of Angola. The South African army has had to withdraw, imposed by the determination of the USSR which made a military airlift and put limits to South African pretensions

At the same time that the world impeded the reactionary intentions of South Africa, the revolutionary process does not progress in a homogeneous way, through lack of leaderships which can use to the maximum the conditions of progress which develop. Meanwhile, it is necessary to affirm the revolutionary conquests which have been made and reach agreements with world or local capitalism, at the same time that the world conditions for its liquidation develop. Hence, with this agreement, it is necessary to point out not that it is going to limit support to SWAPO but that two revolutionary conquests, Ango-

la and Mozambique, are affirmed.

This agreement does not mean that South Africa will desist from attacking Angola and Mozambique, but with this agreement the world capitalist united front is weakened which supported the reactionary objectives of South Africa. It has been part of the world bourgeoisie which impelled South Africa to this agreement against the intentions of the Yanks to make of every region of the world a focus of war or military provocation. This is the important concession which exists in the South African agreement. The latter corresponds to Israel in the region and hoped to have smashed Angola and Mozambique, but it makes a pact of co-existence with them.

It is necessary to take into account the origin, the process which has been lived through, and the difficulties which the Angolan and Mozambique revolutions have to overcome. Evidently, in these world conditions, with another leadership it would be possible to gain more advantage and make more favourable agreements; but it is not this which is important to emphasise but that none of the two leaderships, even

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The process which is unfolding in the world points to a strong resistance by humanity to the war preparations of imperialism and its counter-revolutionary sabotage of the Workers States, particularly of Poland. It also points to the slowness of some Communist leaderships which tend towards a de-centralisation from, and an opposition to, the Soviet Union. The workers and the Communist cadres, on the contrary, do not distance themselves from the Soviet Union and do not oppose it in any way. When they make criticisms on a particular issue of the USSR it is as a normal thing, but no more than this. The Soviets have already learned to accept this type of criticism.

This is the stage where all the component parts of progress come together. The centre of this process is the Soviet Union. As the process has developed, humanity has one centre, and this is the Soviet Union; it is a social centre, first and foremost – and, after that, it is a military centre. The prime importance of the Soviet Union is social. The North American masses have their eyes on the USSR not because it has atomic weapons but because it does not have the aberrations that exist in the United States. There are no killings of children or adults in the USSR, neither Black nor White, Japanese, Russian or Italian, or any other. There is no such thing in the Soviet Union; but, in North America, it is happening all the time, starting with their Presidents. Have you ever heard of murders in the Workers States? No! It is in the United States that you hear about this, and about killing Presidents.

In capitalist Germany there is an immense resistance to the Yankees and it reaches the high layers of the bourgeoisie; the latter feel that Germany is occupied – and Germany is indeed occupied by the Yanks. The German bourgeoisie also feels occupied and its wings clipped, in as far as competitive ability is concerned. The bourgeoisie keeps its mouth shut about this because the Yanks are there to protect it, but it expresses resistance to occupation in other ways – such as when it demands compensation from the Yanks. This happens inside various military circles in Germany and amongst people linked to the Defence and the Foreign Affairs Ministries. They feel that their dependence on the Yanks negates them and that they cannot develop their own bourgeois roles.

THE OBJECTIVE OF CAPITALISM IS WAR.

Capitalism has been ready to go to war for thirty years now, certainly from Foster Dulles onwards. Since 1951 the war could have broken out at any moment. In the event, imperialism has had to continue to postpone the war, but today it spends 60% to 70% of its income on making new weapons, throwing out old weapons in order to make continuously newer and more modern ones. If there had been such an

ON THE NATURE OF THE PREPARATION OF THE WAR

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J. POSADAS

accumulation of weapons in previous times, war would have broken out almost automatically. Today, imperialism has enough weapons to make twenty wars, but they have to discard them. This continues because we are not dealing with war as in a previous stage of history. What we are dealing with now is the final class war, in which a whole cycle of history – the cycle of private property – is coming to a close.

Various capitalist leaderships are aware of this process. They aren't actually conscious of capitalism being totally cornered – not because they can't think but because they are unable to draw such a conclusion, which is as good as committing suicide. As capitalism cannot remain motionless and as it cannot think in terms of having no future at all, then it makes a virtue out of necessity by trying to organise its survival. This leads it to play for time in the stages that go to the war, and this has reached such a degree that it is difficult to tell when the war will actually break out. Certainly they are preparing the war under Reagan more feverishly than they were doing before, but it is changing nothing.

Those that trust the Yanks to protect them are plain fools, but even they can see that the Yanks have no superiority of any kind; the 'space shuttle' included, with which they are preparing to put atomic weapons in space – obviously not to protect anybody!

The Soviet Union is far ahead in relationship to space exploration and, if it wanted to, it could very well take advantage of its superiority to actually put atomic weapons into space when it liked, and in whatever quantity it decided. The Yankee 'space shuttle' is a very unwieldy vehicle, but the Soviet Soyuz is agile and capable of carrying atomic weapons of such capability that three of them suffice to wipe out the United States. This is precisely what Brezhnev told the Yankees (when Carter was still around) – at a time when relations were not as bad as they are now – when he said: 'One minute after we receive the warning that a weapon is directed against us, the United States will disappear'. Carter did not respond by saying that this wasn't true, or that the Soviets could not do it. Indeed, he did not even think of saying: 'You will disappear yourselves'. He just said it was an 'exaggeration'.

Imperialism should have launched the war many years ago from the point of view of its own interest, but it is still preparing it and it has now completely lost the ability to decide when, where and how to launch the war. The Yanks have to launch the war, and it is sure that they are going to launch it, possibly after a coup d'etat in the United

States. But it is not easy these days to launch coups d'etats just like that and, anyway, coups d'etats are not the best preparation for war.

The anguish of the capitalist world is expressed in its internal divisions. We are dealing with the final settlement of accounts and, in these circumstances, capitalism should act in exactly the opposite way; it should be united like rats in a trap. The capitalist world is thoroughly desperate: they shout insults and abuse at each other and exacerbate all internal antagonisms. The war preparations are not taking place as in the last war, which was an inter-capitalist one. The USSR did participate in the last war, but it was essentially an inter-capitalist war. The Soviet Union started to decide the character of the war towards the end of it. But the war was an inter-capitalist one in character, and the various capitalists took the USSR for a puppet which they thought they could fight each other with. In the end, of course, it turned out that the puppet was the stage director who decided upon the creation of fourteen more Workers States! Capitalism was unable to decide anything. According to the plans of capitalism the USSR was going to be the scapegoat that would pay all the costs and would be turned on by all the thieves in the end. The result, finally, was very different. The Soviets came on the scene in full command and defeated the nazis. This war, the coming war, will be a class war from the very start, unlike the last one which was primarily inter-capitalist.

Capitalism is unable to decide when it is going to launch war. This is why we have repeatedly said: 'Capitalism prepares the war, it will launch it tomorrow if it can,

but it has no idea of how, when or where to launch it'. In the first place, capitalism has to launch the war in such a way that the Soviets will not be able to retaliate instantaneously. The Yankees would have to launch a total spread of weapons simultaneously in order to give them the guarantee of no retaliation. But the Soviets have the necessary retaliatory weapons and, more than this still, they have other types of weapons which the Yankees have not, and cannot, have. The Soviets have half the masses of each capitalist country, half the armies, and half the military High Command of those countries. Neither Yankee imperialism nor Spanish, French or British capitalism – indeed, no capitalist of any country – can count on such a support. But the Soviets can.

The soldiers in the capitalist countries know that the war is stupid and senseless, and that the other side is bound to win because it is right. It is really something like a play in which the actors are not preparing to play their set roles but want to play the parts they have learnt in the streets. Vietnam was a real saga of utter incompetence on the part of Yankee imperialism. This incompetence was the result of the activities of the North American people and the Soviets. It was essentially the Soviets that stopped the Yanks, but the North American people also helped because it rejected the war. The conduct of the

North American people found its expression even in the High Command of the Yankee army. People in the High Command were saying things like: 'We remember Dien Bien Phu; it was a lesson for the future'. However, capitalism was very much stronger – infinitely stronger in fact – at the time of Dien Bien Phu than when the Yanks bombed Vietnam. The Vietnamese, the Soviets, and also the Chinese (who participated too) obliterated the French Officers' Corps at Dien Bien Phu. These were wiped out, and the French Officers' Corps wholly decimated.

NORTH AMERICAN ARMED

MIGHT IS IMPOTENT.

The people and a sector of the North American military who think as soldiers respect this because they realise that they are confronted with an organisational ability and a relation of forces superior to their own, which they do not know how to defeat. It makes them feel helpless, and this is what prevented the Yankees from sending more and more soldiers, more and more troops into Vietnam, in order to continue to perpetrate their atrocities. They would have liked to return to Vietnam and burn it all; to spread poisons in countryside and forests in order to prevent the Vietnamese from ever growing anything at all. But the Vietnamese have repelled all this, and recently there have been reports of their successes in reconditioning the earth and making the land arable again.

The Yanks tried everything, but they were defeated; and one of the

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS: the need for a United European anti-capitalist programme

Labour's manifesto for the European parliamentary elections is laudable but abstract. It poses a series of demands for better housing and social services, for a solution to the problem of fourteen million unemployed in capitalist Europe, which the European parliament cannot implement. It completely avoids saying how such demands could be attained and, for this reason, it is abstract. It does not actually say that there is any possibility that the European parliament will attain these demands, but it does not make it clear that the European parliament has virtually no power. In the absence of a clear analysis of the reality of the European parliament the implication of such a manifesto is that the demands can be attained by parliamentary decree. It is right that Labour should campaign in these European elections on a programme of social transformation in Europe, but it has to make it clear, at the same time, that such a programme cannot be

implemented through the European parliament. There can be no illusion as to the nature of the European parliament. It is like the EEC, an instrument of the 'multi-national' which is the form that imperialism takes in this historic stage. Its purpose, as far as capitalism is concerned, is twofold. It is a medium for trying to solve inter-capitalist disputes and differences, and it creates an illusion for the European workers' movement of a democratic instrument. It further intends to feed careerism in the workers' movement. This is the use to which capitalism puts this euro-parliament. The lack of enthusiasm for these elections comes from the fact that the majority of people know that the euro-parliament is impotent.

A VOTE LABOUR AND ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The European parliament is no great

extension of democracy, but it is certain that abstentionism in the euro-elections, as proposed by some elements of the Labour left, solves no problems. Abstentionism in these elections is the same as the 'no' to the EEC, it is an attempt to find a national solution within the confines of the capitalist system when, in reality, the problem facing the masses is capitalism itself. Therefore it is necessary that Labour has a programme, an anti-capitalist programme for Europe.

The euro-elections have to be treated as any other election or parliament. It is necessary to intervene without illusion and to use them as a platform to speak to the masses and to explain to them that the euro-parliament only represents the interests of the owning class. An example can be taken from the German (FDR) 'Greens' who have maintained their presence in parliament without limiting their extra-

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reasons why they were defeated is that they were not able to employ their full force – the North American people would not have allowed them to, neither would the Soviets nor the Chinese. Even various bourgeoisies – like the French with their indelible memories of Dien Bien Phu – are opposed to a renewed Yankee intervention. The French bourgeoisie have been taught some of the most complete lessons in history: first in Dien Bien Phu, then in Algeria! These will remain historic examples for all to learn from.

French imperialism was at one time one of the most powerful imperialisms in Africa, but it lost everything and there is hardly anything left of its power now. French imperialism had to embark on a course of making retreat after retreat. This was the result of the historic decadence of imperialism and of the up-hill progress of the Workers State.

The peoples of the world and many capitalist military circles have been able to see for themselves that progress and the existence of the Workers States are inextricably bound up with each other. Progress and the Workers States are united. The capitalists try to use Poland against the Workers States, and they may have more tricks up their sleeves, but the fact remains that people have reached the conclusion that progress and the Workers State are the same thing. This is why one must expect the Yanks to launch the atomic war at any moment. This was the reason why they promoted Reagan as President; and also why they have recently demoted him with a bullet!

J. POSADAS 21st April 1981

parliamentary activity in any way. The reactionary nature of the EEC itself, or the fact that it is the Council of Ministers, rather than the euro-parliament, which makes the decisions, is not an excuse for an isolationist policy. In the final analysis, isolationism is reactionary and simply one facet of bourgeois policy. Like the 'no' to the EEC, it supports national capitalism as opposed to international capitalism.

Labour has to intervene in the very rich process in Europe and to make common cause with the forces of progress advancing in Europe. There is already some evidence of hesitant steps on the part of Labour in this direction. The statement of Kinnock, for example, that it is necessary to co-ordinate the campaign against the Yankee missiles on a European scale, is part of this evidence. As is his participation in the activities of the Dutch 'peace' movement in Holland. This has to be a central point in the Labour Party's programme for the euro-elections. The majority of people in Europe are opposed to the siting of Yankee missiles, and the 'peace' movement is a major force. The aim of Labour towards Europe has to co-ordinate with this movement against capitalism's war preparations. As a programme of demands, Labour's manifesto has a value, because it

ON THE AGREEMENT OF ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE WITH SOUTH AFRICA.

with the difficulties which they have, has betrayed the revolution to the enemy.

Both Angola and Mozambique have been revolutions which have been a direct product of the world crisis of the capitalist system and of the progress of the revolution, above all on the world stage. Locally the liberation movements which, based on the guerrilla struggle came to power, have had great importance; like Mugabe in Zimbabwe. But Angola and Mozambique are the result of the revolutionary process which Portugal lived through in 1974, with the 'revolution of the carnations'. Without the anti-imperialist and Socialist military movement which overthrew the dictatorship that had governed Portugal for fifty years, the conditions would not have been created for the triumph of the Angolan and Mozambiquan revolutions.

NO EXPERIENCE OF THE PARTY.

Thus these movements came to the leadership of countries that come from a backwardness of hundreds of years without having a Party of the political experience of a relation with the masses; this, they had to begin after obtaining power. It is necessary to emphasise the decision of these movements which, even in these conditions, have resolved to lead these countries and have made progress of great importance. It is important to consider this relation of the African revolution and the world process of the revolution, because it is determining for the tactic which has to be very flexible towards these leaderships. Hence the critical opinion on this agreement expressed by UNITA (organ of the Italian Communist Party) is incorrect as they say the agreement is a concession on the part of revolutionary leaderships.

Having come to power, they immediately nationalised the most important aspects of the economy. They have resolved important aspects of the life of the population – health, education, cities and housing – which have enabled many many tribes to settle. The child and the mother, who have lived in the most backward conditions of submission and promiscuity, have felt considered and have participated in the revolutionary process. The leadership has let itself be influenced through this process, creating committees of popular participation, and has posed the necessity of the creation of the respective parties and as a means of developing to the maximum the creative and leading capacity of the population. But the difficulties which they have to meet are many, the organisation of a poor economy dependent on imperialism and partly on South Africa, and the constant sabotage and provocation of the mercenary groups in the service of imperialism.

On the other hand, the support given by the Workers States and the world Communist movement is still insufficient. There has been a substantial support on the part of the USSR, economic support, above all in Angola, and also military support now that the presence of the Cuban soldiers forms part of the decision of the Soviets to sustain these revolutions. Hence it is that when South Africa recently intensified its attacks, it has been the USSR which put an end to them by means of an immediate airlift comparable to what it did in Afghanistan. But an aspect in which the Soviets have shown themselves very weak has been the question of political intervention, the intervention aimed at the formation of the Party and the revolutionary leadership in these countries, which have not been able to make an accumulation of trade union, political and democratic experience, and now they must do all these tasks, control the economy and defend themselves from imperialist encirclement. The question of the political leadership has importance in these revolutions which, in their first steps, must make agreements under duress with world capitalism. Angola did this with imperialism, so that the latter continued to exploit Angolan oil, and also Mozambique – one of whose principle sources of income is a hydro-electric plant which sells electricity to South Africa. If Angola had thrown out the Yanks who already exploited them and put all their technical resources into petroleum technology and re-structured all this, it would mean for them a great economic and social effort which would impede them dedicating this energy to other more important activities, like agrarian production and mineral output. Similarly, in Mozambique, with its electric centre, they do not have regionally nor throughout the country, the industrial development which makes the use of this electricity convenient. In this way it is worthwhile that they can receive an important money income from trade in South Africa, which certainly can use it (it was made for this in the epoch of Portuguese domination). Thus these movements must develop these agreements while they await the development of the revolution in the neighbouring countries, and do not submit to these agreements nor to capitalist interests.

Lenin was the most audacious in the proposal and put into practice alliances and agreements with capitalism, making use of inter-capitalist disagreements. He got the support of the German bourgeoisie so that he went in the closed wagon by which, in 1917, he returned to Russia to lead the revolution. The leaderships of Angola and Mozambique do not have the same capacity, experience and formation as Lenin and the Bolsheviks, and have to acquire it.

The Soviets and the Cubans, who must contribute immensely to this process, still do not do this sufficiently; partly because it presents new aspects for them and also because they know that every

progress of these revolutions is going to accelerate the reaction of imperialism.

PROBLEMS OF ECONOMIC

BACKWARDNESS.

Both countries have suffered great floods and droughts, which have ruined a great part of agriculture and provoked immense starvation. The Soviets must help immediately, even if they find certain resistances like those they have found in Mozambique. If they helped they would promote an immense social mobilisation of the

trade unions and of the Party in the Soviet Union in support of Mozambique and this would have a great effect for the political education of the Angolan and Mozambiquan masses. It is the essential task of the Workers States, together with the revolutionary African leadership, to develop the means for the social participation of people. The masses have no notion of what Socialism is. It is necessary to make them understand, making a plan of production and development for people, where they feel considered in the objective of production and in the elaboration and implementation on the way. The masses advance, being won to the conviction and support to the revolution, to the stability of the revolution, to the extent that they feel the revolution will resolve their very great problems in these countries. It is not possible to ask them for sacrifices or to postpone these solutions in the name of Socialism, and much less of internationalism, as in the case of supporting the guerrilla movements against the assassins of South Africa. The Angolan and Mozambiquan masses know well that it is necessary to confront South Africa, which is a threat, and hence they support and sympathise with the Cubans who help this function; but they must be incorporated more massively in the economic and social process of the country. It is necessary immediately in the two countries to develop a plan of agrarian production, and of technical facilities, and utilise the masses. The Workers States must help in this.

The signed agreement with South Africa does not mean a retreat in the process of the revolutions of

Angola and Mozambique, nor a demonstration of weakness towards the enemy. It is South Africa which appears without the strength or the world support to smash these revolutions. On the other hand, the liquidation of South Africa, a nuclear bastion of imperialism in the region, does not depend only on SWAPO, nor Angola or Mozambique, but forms part of the global confrontation between systems: capitalism or Socialism. Angola and Mozambique have not renounced intervention, but recognise that the

task of liquidating the racist regime surpasses them. They cannot resolve it, nor do it now. It is not a recognition of or submission to, the regime.

That Angola and Mozambique diminish support to SWAPO and the ANC has some importance, but does not put at risk the existence and development of the liberation movement. Now the liberation movement is not a product of them, but of the black anti-colonial revolution in the struggle for Socialism. All these movements count on the very great social support within Namibia, and South Africa, and besides there is the crisis of world capitalism in which a sector exerts a pressure to concede the liberation of Namibia from South Africa. Moreover, the fact that South Africa is committed to not supporting the counter-revolutionary groups like UNITA, is important although it will seek the way to continue assisting them, because they are mercenaries and deprived of social support, maintained on funds coming from South Africa and imperialism. Angola and Mozambique seek with this agreement to win time to impel the social and economic mobilisation which will allow them to develop and control their own countries. At the same time that they await an extension of the African revolution now that all these countries cannot develop themselves in an isolated way, they need to programme and complement their economies. The Workers States, the Revolutionary States, the world Communist movement must contribute to the Socialist progress of Angola and Mozambique.

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THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS

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links the struggle against the Yankee missiles, against capitalism's war preparations, with proposals for social transformation. However, it is indicative of its abstract nature that it talks about solving the problem of fourteen million unemployed, and even of a 'rapid advance to the 35-hour week' without mentioning the strike of the German (FDR) engineering workers for such a 35-hour week, without loss of pay. What it is necessary for Labour to do is to pledge itself to the generalisation, on a European scale, of the German workers for the 35-hour week. Of course, the reason why Labour's manifesto does not propose this is that it cannot be coordinated through the euro-parliament as an institution, and neither can the 35-hour week be attained by parliamentary decree. The abstract nature of Labour's manifesto comes from the fact that it does not say clearly that the social transformations that it proposes cannot be attained through parliamentary reforms.

Labour has to intervene in the very rich process in Europe. Conclusions have to be drawn from the experiences of the Socialist governments in capitalist Europe. Certainly the experience of the Socialist/Communist government of Mitterand in France is a rich source of conclusions. The programme on which the French Popular Union of the Communist and Socialist parties was elected is similar to that adopted by the British Labour Party. Initially, important reforms were made to the benefit of the mass of the French population by this Popular Union government. But the very limited possibilities of reforms within the capitalist system were quickly exposed. Today, the Mitterand government is taking measures to try to solve the problems created by capitalism in its death agony at the expense of the French masses. Certainly, the Communists and Socialists in government wanted to advance French society, but they failed to nationalise fully major industry and the financial institutions under workers'

control, which would have allowed them to plan the economy, with the participation of the masses, for the benefit of the masses. They did take some measures of nationalisation but they were insufficient, and they were forced to retreat. Whereas, in the early days of the government the unemployment rate began to diminish, today this same government is closing the steel industry and creating unemployment in much the same way as Thatcher. It is important that the Labour Party, and the Labour left and trade unions in particular, discuss this experience. Conclusions have to be drawn in order to avoid the same mistakes under a Labour Government in Britain.

The most backward aspects of the proposal to withdraw from Europe into a national preoccupation is that it not only cuts the British Labour movement off from its allies but also from a very rich experience.

The war preparations of capitalism is only one expression — although the most important — of the final capitalist crisis. War preparations, the Yankee missiles or unemployment, are not in themselves the problem. The real problem is the capitalist system itself. Therefore a link has to be made between capitalist war preparations and other anti-capitalist demands. In part, as we have said, Labour's manifesto does this, but it does not propose the means by which such demands can be attained. It has to be proposed to co-ordinate the demands of the 'peace movement' with the struggle of the German workers for the 35-hour week and the struggle against closures by the British miners and the French steel workers and the car workers. What has to be generalised is not simply the demands but the methods of strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations. The Labour left has to add this missing element to Labour's manifesto: the mobilisation of the masses of capitalist Europe in an anti-capitalist campaign.

The left does not have to fear being a minority in this euro-parliament because it is not the determining centre and, in the real world of the class struggle, the balance of forces is in favour of progress.

THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE

There is, of course, the fact that half Europe is in the system of the Workers States (Socialist Countries) and there are also governments of the left, in one form or another, in France, Spain and Greece which represent a progress for all their limitations. At the same time, the masses of Europe are mobilising. Even if, initially, a European campaign was only on the demand for the 35-hour working week without loss of pay, it would have immense effect.

The balance of forces inside the euro-parliament is as nothing compared to the fact that half Europe consists of Workers States. This is the real balance of forces, and Labour has to base itself on this fact. The Labour left, in particular, has to recognise the immense force and progressive nature of the Workers States. It has to recognise this, and appeal to the Workers States for support. By doing this, it will gain in confidence and audacity. In this way the Labour left can play a role in stimulating a European anti-capitalist campaign. It may not yet be possible to propose the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe at this moment, but such a united European anti-capitalist campaign would lead in this direction.

We call for a vote for Labour, in this euro-election, on this basis:

Editorial

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not possible to foresee the results of any negotiation, but it is clear that Thatcherism has failed to contain the masses and that the experience of the miners' strike tends to elevate the capacity of the forces of the left in the unions and the Labour Party.

Certainly it is true that the union leaderships emerge from this struggle as either conciliatory or weak. The NUR settled independently of the miners' struggle, although capitalism retreated in its rationalisation schemes so as to separate the railway union from the miners. It is precisely this problem of the union leadership which has to be confronted by the left developing in the Labour Party. At the same time, the fact that Murray should decide to resign in the middle of this crisis is a sign that the old guard of the trade union conciliators do not feel confident to confront new forces developing in the unions. The 'new realism' dreamed of by the apparatus has entered the dustbin with great alacrity, which does not mean that a new union leadership can be rapidly constructed. It will only be constructed in the actual course of the class struggle and is closely related to the intervention of the Soviet leadership and the quality of that intervention.

THE UNITED FRONT OF THE MASSES AGAINST CAPITALISM.

The forms of united front developed between the miners' struggle and the Labour Party are very important, tending to increase the weight of the proletariat in the Labour Party. Here — as in the unions — there is a considerable path to be traversed. The central problem remains that as a party the Labour Party does not draw sufficient conclusions or discuss political experience adequately. For example, there was never a full discussion on the nature of the Thatcher electoral 'triumph', i.e. the electoral swindle. Even over the European elections, although Kinnock has made an intervention towards Holland, sustaining the campaign against nuclear weapons — which is a progress, a form of unification with the European movement — there has been no discussion over the need for a 35-hour week without loss of pay, which is the slogan of the German workers. To speak of reflatting the European economy without taking into account the experiences of the capitalist economy and the Mitterand experience tends to make the discussion abstract from the start. Even so, the attitude of the Labour Party goes against the war plans of imperialism and is a blow at imperialism.

The confrontation between Workers States and imperialism tends to accelerate. Cde Chernenko has said quite specifically that imperialism is preparing to attack the Soviet Union because it fears the world-wide victory of Communism. The Soviets have repudiated the Olympic Games in California because they reject participation in the prostitution of athletics to the commercial frenzy of capitalism, and they are decided in this attitude. Ustinov warns the United States that it can be liquidated in eight minutes. All this projects a greater political intervention of the Soviet Union towards the masses and the workers' parties and unions throughout the world. All that world imperialism has been capable of doing is to organise a campaign around that long-dead political corpse, Sakharov, which raises no echo save around the small circles of the bourgeoisie.

Whereas the Soviet Union, as a result of a series of internal modifications of its economy, is liquidating corrupt elements and encouraging those with a Communist attitude, the economy of imperialism enters crisis.

Two United States banks have verged on crashing, and Bolivia now partially repudiates its foreign debt — all of which indicates the precariousness and lack of future for the capitalist system. The savage interest rates of the United States and its huge budget deficit, accelerating the economic and political war with its allies in Europe, all portray a system going towards its doom in confrontation with the Workers States.

It is in this world perspective that it is necessary to discuss the miners' strike and see the richness of the process in Britain, shared by all other countries in the struggle to advance towards a Workers State. The Labour Party and the trade unions in united front have to make the conclusions of the miners' strike in the light of these world conditions. There is no separation between the miners' strike and the growing weight and decision of the Soviet Union.

Whatever the outcome of the negotiations, it remains essential to appeal for support to the miners from all sectors of the masses. The trade union and Labour Party leaderships have not wanted to extend the strike into a general confrontation with capitalism, but that is not the attitude of the population who have created an ambience of support for the miners.



Miners' wives demonstrating in Coventry in support of the strike.

All the time it is the world process which is determining the

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
(TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL
(POSADIST)
24 CRANBOURN STREET LONDON WC2.**



JUNE 1984

DECLARATION OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS OF THE

POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL

26th May 1984

VOTE FOR THE SOCIALIST AND COMMUNIST PARTIES
FOR A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN EUROPE AGAINST THE WAR
YANKEE IMPERIALISM IS PREPARING!

The electorate of the 10 countries of capitalist Europe is now being called on to vote a second time for the European parliament. The question is, what progress has that parliament made for the masses? It has passed resolutions and pronounced itself hundreds of times, in defense of 'liberty', 'the rights of man' etc. But it has been unable to stop the process of capitalist concentration, the pollution of the environment - which has reached a very grave level- the rise of unemployment, the misery and insecurity people feel towards the future. It has been unable to stop all the preparations for war of the capitalist system, and the deployment of the Yankee missiles. This "Europarliament" and the EEC are presented by the Socialist and Communist parties, as some basis for a perspective of advance towards a more democratic Europe, the Europe of the workers. This is part of the idea of a "Euro-left" and "Eurocommunism".

The Posadist IV International, in 1979, through the texts of comrade Posadas (1), demonstrated that the capitalist EEC was no more than a multi-national of major European capital. It showed that the European parliament was a safety valve designed to defuse the struggle of the Socialist, Communist and Trade Union masses. It showed also how the capitalist regime is incapable of unifying Europe, and that the Lenin's slogan "The United Soviet Socialist States of Europe", is as valid today as when Lenin produced it; it is an absolute necessity for the progress of the masses. The texts of comrade Posadas showed how to put forward this slogan by using the European parliament as a tribune. This is why the Posadist IV International calls to vote for the Socialist and Communist parties, with the aim of making them see the European parliament in this light and to form a United Front between them in order to denounce capitalism's plans against the masses and war preparations. It is a vote for the Communists and Socialists to formulate an anti-capitalist programme and support it, for the crucial struggles in which the European masses are now engaged.

Today, without waiting for the 'Euro-elections', the working class and broad masses of Germany, Britain, Belgium, France, Greece and Spain, have voted against capitalism! They have voted for capitalism to pay for its own crisis, in defense of the right to work, the work to dignified living conditions, the right to live without war. This is the true unification of Europe. Millions of people have mobilised against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Europe. Millions are engaged in strikes, demonstrations, factory occupations, for the 35 hour-week, to stop the closure of mines and steel foundries; for wages to rise with the cost of living; in defense of previously conquered social security payments from the capitalist system since the last war. They all want this. The true unification of Europe lies in the fact that Left-wing governments have been brought about and pressurised to take an anti-capitalist direction. The masses of this portion of capitalist Europe, are already quite clear in their own mind that the capitalist system is sick and that change is needed. They are clear that this society has to be profoundly changed.

In the period since 1979, all the 'human rights' of the people - so much propounded by the bourgeois leaderships and by mistaken comrades of the Socialist and Communist leaderships, - have deteriorated in capitalist Europe. All this fuss the bourgeoisie makes about Sakharov

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is going on in the capitalist part of Europe where millions of workers do not have the right to vote for any parliament - European or any other. On top of this, these millions of immigrant workers have to struggle for the right to survive and the right not to be slung out of various countries, after years and years of capitalist exploitation there. The European bourgeoisie demands the right of Sakharov to be treated in the West, but for the masses of Europe the problem of Health care grows daily, and the threat to life is being stretched to unheard of limits. Nature, the environment and foodstuffs are polluted; the cost of health care for the masses becomes constantly greater.

There is a wholesale diminution in the democratic rights of the masses. They may have a vote in the European elections, but they have no right to a job, to a school, to houses, to social and human relations. As its crisis deepens, capitalism opposes those in work against the unemployed, the natives against the immigrants, men against women, youth against the old - in a race for the means of subsistence. The mockery European capitalism makes of democracy and 'human rights' has to be denounced and the campaign for the European elections has to be turned in this direction.

Since 1979, European capitalism has undergone an immense concentration and rationalisation of its productive apparatus, to put itself in a condition to fight the furious competition of Yankee and Japanese capitalisms. Also, the capitalist market in general has to defend itself against the compenetration of the Workers States.⁽²⁾ Capitalism seeks to use all the technical and scientific discoveries, the new sources of energy, the computers and automation to fight for survival. The EEC has not one plan for economic development or progress for the population of (capitalist) Europe. All what they call industrial 'reconversion' is modernisation and concentration of production into the hands - and for the benefit of - of a decreasing number of capitalist enterprises; it is no more than a concentration of capital into the hands of the strongest: German, French and British capitalisms at the cost of the other and weaker countries of the EEC, and at the cost of the petit bourgeois, peasant and small industrial producing sectors. The latter are removed from the capitalist market by the hundred of thousands and this means millions of workers being thrown out also. Since 1979, unemployment has risen from 6 to 14 millions and these are the official figure. In reality the figure is more than double.

The needs of the masses in the Europe of the 10 are immense. There is a lack of housing, schools, hospitals, and public meeting places. There is also a lack of public transport and agricultural machinery. This means that there is a need to produce even more steel, but all capitalism does is to close industries. The Italian masses have suffered a new earthquake but they are still living in the sub-standard accommodation provided after the last earthquake. Millions in Europe live on the edge of hunger whilst the EEC destroys both foodstuffs and the means to produce them. This is how the EEC has to be shown in these elections! What has to be demonstrated is the collapse of the capitalist regime, and the accent has to be put on all what means progress for the population of (capitalist) Europe.

The European parliament has neither the power to stop the headlong process of disintegration of the situation the masses are in, nor the power to prevent the domination by the capitalist multinationals. The Communist and Socialist parties, the left Catholic tendencies and the Ecologists have proportionally less representation in the European parliament than they have in the parliaments of each country. This poses the question of how such a representation, where it exists, is to be used. Its only use is as a tribune to agitate for a United Front of the Left Parties in the parliament, and a United Parties/Trade Unions Front in all the countries of capitalist Europe; for the benefit of the population, which is not attainable except through social transformations.

The European parliament has passed dozens of motions proclaiming 'the rights of man' in Afghanistan, Poland and the Soviet Union; but it has passed nothing in favour of the rights of the masses in the countries of capitalist Europe. What this parliament burbles about is 'liberty', whilst Yankee imperialism overcomes European resistance and installs nuclear missiles. There is no possibility of the Communist and Socialist parties ever having a majority in the European parliament, but they must use the latter to discuss and propose a programme for the interests of the exploited masses: the working class and the majority of the population. This programme must answer all the bourgeois campaigns against the Workers States (socialist countries). A comparison has to be made between the economic, social, scientific and human worth of the Europe of the EEC and that of the other Europe, that of the Workers States.

When Europe and the EEC are confused (as if to say it is the same thing), it is an interested lie on the part of the bourgeoisie, and on the part of the Socialist and Communist leaderships, it is an interested oversight. The latter allow themselves to be submitted to the idea of capitalist democracy. In no European Workers State - outside the Yugoslav one, which follows more closely the norms of capitalist economy - is there any unemployment

or insecurity concerning the future. Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and East Germany (GDR), emerged from the second world war and have developed from the most backward conditions existing in Europe at that time. Difficulties and contradictions did not prevent them from developing in the interest of their populations - and not against them - in the fields of the economy, culture, science and social relations. The great campaigns by world capitalism - and European capitalism in particular - against Socialist Poland, failed to arouse the European workers in any way and certainly did not divert them from the Socialist objective. This is because the comparisons have been made by the masses, and they have no doubt in their mind concerning the superiority of the Workers States.

It is not possible to propose the unification of Europe - a Europe to fulfill the needs of the population, without opening up towards the European Workers States, and planning integration with them. When the European bourgeoisie set-up the EEC, they did so partially to counter the influence of the Workers States and the extension of their programme. Even so, they cannot ignore the tremendous development of the Workers States. In fact, in its acute competition with American capitalism, in order to give itself more breathing space, European capitalism seeks economic and commercial relations with the Workers States. The European bourgeoisie goes as far in this as to put themselves in a position of dependency on the Workers States in order to confront their main ally - and competitor - North American imperialism. This single fact shows that capitalism has failed to construct a Europe based on its power and on the regime of private property.

The unification of Europe - to include the Workers States - on the basis of the expropriation of capitalism and the planning of the economy for the masses' needs, remains a historic necessity. It remains the only way in which to progress. Equally, it is an infinite source for the development of the productive forces, the technical ability and very high scientific level of the European population to serve the progress of Europe and contribute to the progress of the world.

The European masses in all their struggles, seek to achieve social changes against the capitalist regime. The struggle by the German workers for the thirty five hours week without loss of pay, is a blow against the power of capitalism. Capitalism closes factories, removes workers from production in an attempt to have a docile and submitted work-force, pressurised the existence of millions of unemployed. In the struggle for the 35 hour week, the proletariat poses that if there are increases in automation and rationalisations of production, it should not be at their expense and must lead instead to the distribution of the remaining labour amongst all the workers, without loss of pay! This demands has to be spread and generalised to the rest of capitalist Europe. Strikes and mobilisations have to be made for the 35 hour week by the Trade Unions and the (workers) Parties, right now. The struggle for this demand has to be raised particularly in the electoral campaign for the European parliament. The struggle for the 35 hour week has to be generalised now, with or without the European parliament! The same must be done with all the most elevated demands of the European working class. A common programme of the principle demands has to be formulated to unify all the European workers. A resolute defense of the sliding scale of wages, which the masses of Italy have come out in the streets for; the intransigent defense of all jobs, in steel works, mines, and all other industries has to form part of this programme. This is what the British miners are engaged in, as are the steel workers and metal workers of France, of Spain and Belgium. The programme has to say no to 'industrial modernisation' which is, in reality, only the concentration of capital in order to confront inter-capitalist competition. This is what 'industrial modernisation' means! Any 'modernisation' or 'reconversion' has to be part of an economic plan formulated in common by the masses of Europe and in response to their needs. This is why the struggle against factories or mines closures, must be united to that for the expropriation of capitalism in all the main means of production, and the integration of these means of production into a plan to fulfill the needs of the European masses!

This programme has to be advanced in the parties of the Left and the trade unions during the European elections and after, in the European parliament and outside of it. It has to be advanced in the common struggle of the masses of the EEC countries. The European parliament should be used as a tribune to do this, and to unify the Governments of the Left - or the Socialist governments that the masses have already imposed in the countries of the EEC. Proposals for common economic, social and political relations between countries like Greece, France and Spain, have to be put forward together with an anti-capitalist programme. The masses of these countries show clearly that they do not accept either capitalist 'modernisation' or the submission of their governments to the logic and necessities of capitalism. At the same time as the masses support these governments, they struggle to force them to develop

plans and programmes for the satisfaction of their needs and to prevent them being submitted to the dictates of big capital. We call for a united front of the Socialist and Communist parties, with the Trade Unions and Left Wing Movements, to discuss and propose a common programme for the governments of the Left in Europe.

There is a necessity to unify the struggle for a programme of social transformations with the struggle against the war that imperialism is preparing. The latter - Yankee imperialism - is trying to whip-up the whole of capitalism and the population of Europe against the USSR, the system of the Workers States and the world revolution. Millions have mobilised against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Europe, and they united with the millions of workers engaged in a struggle not to pay for the crisis of capitalism.

Out with the Yankee missiles and the war plans of imperialism! The masses have no need at all for war against the USSR or against the Workers States. On the contrary, they need to unify with the Workers States!

We call for an intervention in the Euro-elections in this manner: to vote for and to support the Communist and Socialist parties in the various countries of the EEC on the 17th of June. To advance a programme against war, and for social transformations!

European Sections

Posadist IV. International
26th May, 1984

Note (1) - Order from the Party's address: "The EEC, the Progress of Europe and the role of the Socialist and Communist Parties" - J. Posadas, December 1978

Note (2) - 'Compenetration' - a term used by J. Posadas to indicate the degree of penetration of the Workers States in the capitalist system, particularly in Europe, whereby European capitalism can't function without some aspects of nationalisation and without an ever increasing degree of dependency - economically, socially, politically - on the Workers States, against Yankee imperialism. In war, it will be the ally of Yankee imperialism but it will be unable to triumph and will be engulfed.

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OBTAINABLE ON DEMAND

MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY 1984**of the International Secretariat of the
POSADIST IV. INTERNATIONAL***Workers of the world, unite!*

11.4.84

- TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD
- TO THE WORKERS STATES (SOCIALIST COUNTRIES),
- TO THE REVOLUTIONARY COUNTRIES AND GOVERNMENTS OF AFRICA, ASIA
AND LATIN AMERICA

On this First of May, the characteristic of the current process of acute system against system confrontation, is the advance of the Soviet Union as the guide and objective leadership, on the world revolutionary and anti-capitalist road - for Socialism. There is an advance in social struggles and their relation with the progress of the Socialist countries. At the same time, the crisis and disintegration of capitalism and imperialism increases, hesitating to launch the war although they have been preparing it for some time. These two processes develop simultaneously. Capitalism loses internal cohesion and its capacity for action. The Workers States, (Socialist Countries) in the meantime, increase their strength, and their political, social, economic and military capacity. Above all, and most importantly, they improve their relations with the world masses.

In a year and a half, the Soviet Union has twice changed the leadership of the country and Party with the death of Breznev and Andropov. Nevertheless, this has not meant any lessening of its ability, or its political and social line; even less in its role in the world. This shows that the progress of the Soviet Workers State - this applies to all the Workers States - is decided by its social structure, which has withstood the most trying historic tests. It is exactly the opposite in the capitalist countries where each new president or bourgeois team imposes each time a different economic, political and social measures in an attempt to maintain private property. In the capitalist countries, the masses live in a constant struggle to defend social gains, and demands for wages, employment, decent housing and services. Each new capitalist government - 'democratic' or military dictatorship - either cuts social services and amenities or eliminates them altogether.

The socio-economic structure of the USSR has shown itself capable of superceding this stage and ensuring the permanent right to work, houses, health and social services, and to a general dignified social, economic and cultural life. All this is independent of changes in the country's political leadership. The process of elimination of the old bureaucratic apparatus, formed in the Stalinist period, favours the advance of the social and economic relation between the State and the masses, allowing an increase in the participation of the masses in the leadership of society. This applies in one form or another, to all the Workers States. But in the capitalist countries, the trials and condemnations of embezzlers and corrupt political leaders, are a natural part of the struggle between distinct sectors of the bourgeoisie who fight each other for power. All this of course is of no benefit to the masses. The Soviet Union on the other hand, has eliminated in the past few years, dozens of corrupt leaders and high State officials who had utilised the state for their own benefit. Many of these were shot. They have approved laws which increase the participation of the masses in the leadership of the country. If an increase in the democratic and trade union life of the Soviet Union is to be called for, it must be from the point of view that the most democratic capitalist country is less democratic than the Soviet Union.

It is not only its support for the revolutionary movements that give the Soviet Union a world social authority, but the fact that the world masses see their aspirations reflected in the progress of the Soviet masses. They see their aspirations reflected in any people who apply the programme of the Workers State: nationalisations, economic planning, (State) monopoly of foreign trade, and the participation of the masses in the leadership of the country. In Poland, where the bureaucratic power had degenerated the economic and social life of the country a great deal, the same process of correction shows itself. This is proving that an increase in the socialist structure of the Workers State - the elimination of private property in the countryside is fundamental in this - can resolve all the remaining problems. This is why the world capitalist campaign to try to show Poland as an example of the collapse of the socialist economy, has failed. The maturity of the world masses has allowed them to understand the difference between the social and economic structure of the Workers State, and the usufruct which went on in the last years under the bureaucracy.

A call must be made for the process of change and cleansing of the bureaucracy - in all the Workers States - as is being done principally in the USSR. At the same time, the socialist structure of the Workers State is a conquest of humanity and has to be defended and improved. Primarily, this has to be understood by the European Communist parties who were taken in by criticisms of the world role of the Socialist countries, because of their lack of previous theoretical and political preparation. Of course, these conceptions have to be corrected, even whilst maintaining criticisms of the bureaucracy; but without damaging the instrument which is the Workers State.

The progress of the Workers States would not be possible if the firm will to bring down capitalism did not exist in the world masses. This is what prevents capitalism from concentrating all its economic - and military - capacity to assail the Socialist countries. The world masses do not accept to pay for the increase in military and economic forces of the capitalist governments, against the Socialist countries. Capitalism has not been able to use these forces to dominate the world because it has not resolved its own contradictions and crushed the masses at the same time. This deepens the differences inside the highest layers of the capitalist leadership.

The proof of this is the elections in the United States. All the disorder and insecurity of North American capitalism is shown there, produced by the rejection of the masses. In general only about 40 to 45 per cent of the population participate in these, and much less in the primary election for the Democratic candidate. This insecurity finds its expression in the dispute between Hart and Mondale. Whilst the North American bourgeoisie is conscious of the collapse of the Reagan policy, it is incapable of producing an opposition candidate. This is why the unexpected appearance questioning Mondale and all the support he gets from the Democratic apparatus. It is not so much a question of Hart winning - because he has not the support of that apparatus - but that he has attracted a sector of the petit bourgeoisie and a sector of the base of the Republican Party also. This indicates the state of perturbation prevailing in the upper layers of the leadership of Yankee capitalism. On the other hand, Jackson receives partially the protest of the North American masses - the Negro vote particularly - who do not have the instruments and leadership necessary to express their rejection of imperialism. It has been like this over the last few years but the vote for Jackson is, in majority, from sectors which previously did not participate in elections. When the state of mind of the masses filters through this electoral machine, it is because the crisis of imperialism is very profound indeed. This never happened before!

It is for this reason that the Soviet Union must increase its resolution to direct political appeals to the North American masses. The real disposition of the masses is expressed only very limitedly in the elections. A better expression for example, is the letter of the child Samantha on the death of Andropov who had met her. It indicates the influence of the Soviet Union on the North American masses. Appeals by the Soviet Trade Unions and mass organisations, to the North American masses, are indispensable. They have to support and give ideas to the N. American masses, that favours their own organisation against imperialism; in opposition to any action that goes against the progress of the people, as it was in Vietnam and today in Nicaragua, El Salvador and Cuba.

World capitalism struggles in its greatest historic crisis, because it is its final crisis. It has neither the homogeneity nor the unity to get out of this crisis, because it has to confront the advance of the revolution and of the Workers States. Asia, Africa and Latin America, live in a profound and permanent revolutionary upheaval; each change and anti-imperialist movement follows the road of social transformations. Latin America is the most eloquent example of this. All the dictatorships are failing and Cuba and Nicaragua have asserted themselves. The guerrilla movements of El Salvador and the whole of

Central America, have done the same. For its own interests, Yankee imperialism should have invaded Cuba, Nicaragua and El Salvador, a long time ago. It has invaded Grenada, but this only served to increase its internal differences - and to bring completely unfavourable political results. Nevertheless, all the world revolutionary movement have to concentrate of the defense of Cuba and Nicaragua, in order to prevent a Yankee invasion. The Yankees intend to do it, but this has not been done because, beyond their own internal contradictions, the Yankees feared Cuba's and the USSR's intervention in defense of Nicaragua. If imperialism is unable to maintain its troops in the Middle East, it will be much less able to mount such an invasion of Nicaragua in opposition to Cuba, the USSR, and the various Latin American bourgeoisies. This is the dilemma for the Yankees. They must intervene but they know that if they do, this will deepen their crisis and they do not have the confidence that they are going to win.

Meanwhile, the rest of Latin America undergoes a very profound anti-imperialist process; the very bourgeoisies are involved in this, because imperialism has nothing to offer them. Colombia, Mexico, Venezuela, Peru, Ecuador, Argentina and Brazil, are the principle Latin American countries. They advance rapidly in an anti-imperialist direction - even without ready-made revolutionary leaderships. This stage of history is one of a global and unified advance led by the Workers States, rather than one led by the sum-total of the countries in revolution. The absence of revolutionary leadership in one or the other country, is compensated for by the overall advance of the process. The process is unequal and combined in this stage of history - but as comrade Posadas had shown - it is the combined aspect which determines. In other words the most elevated forms prevail over the retreats or the blows inflicted by imperialism. One country or another may not have a (revolutionary) leadership and indeed may have a bourgeois one. Capitalism however, cannot share its market with any emerging bourgeoisie. Indeed there is already a ferocious struggle between the major capitalist countries themselves, over an ever diminishing market. All this increases the conviction of humanity that the only possible road for the development of life, is the Workers State, anti-capitalist transformations. This is the programme that has shown itself to be a historic necessity.

The Left Governments such as those of France, Spain - and Greece on another level - show themselves inadequate to resolve the problems of the masses, unless they take measures which question private property more profoundly. For instance, the election of a Left Government in France, was a great blow for capitalism. Now, this Government enters a crisis, because it has not developed a political leadership in the meantime, with the capacity to apply and advance the programme. The cause of the crisis is not the programme with which Mitterrand entered the Government, but rather his failure to apply it. The lack of a consistent application of this programme together with the political weakness of the Communist Party - not knowing how to accompany this experience - is the root-cause of the crisis. It is from every point of view, a very important experience in which the masses have not retreated but are learning to defend the programme of transformations whilst constructing a capable political leadership, on the trade union and political planes.

This process will find a direct expression in an advance of the European Communist parties. The process in Italy is most important. Here the mobilisations of the masses, have raised the function of the Communist Party and given it security to confront Italian capitalism. This confrontation is taking the form of attracting a unity of all the exploited masses. It is important to see that there is such an elevation in the Italian Communist Party, the Spanish one and in the rest of capitalist Europe, after the collapse of all the 'Eurocommunists' tendencies, who tried to change the role of the Communist parties to that of being social-democratic, with positions of criticism of the role of the USSR just at the historic moment when there were no longer any intermediate or social-democratic solutions to get out of the capitalist crisis. This is not only true of what they call the 'third-world' countries, but also of the major capitalist countries. In consequence, there must be an improvement of the Communist parties, as historic instruments, an improvement in their internal discussions resulting in more left positions, more confrontation with the capitalist regime and more alliances with the Workers States.

The whole of Europe is in confrontation with capitalism. In the main capitalist countries, Germany, France, Belgium, Britain, Italy and Spain, there is a process of social struggles such as never been seen before. It is the "political May" - as comrade Posadas defined it - following the big "Peace" mobilisations. This shows that these "Peace" mobilisations were not motivated simply by the problem of the installation of the missiles, but expressed the anti-capitalist will of the masses through the problems of missiles and war. The proof is that the Yankee missiles have been installed but the strength of these mobilisation does not diminish; it is being translated - or to put it better - it is being elevated, in a direct confrontation with capitalism, against its policies of cuts and austerity. This "austerity" is simply a way of trying to make the masses pay for the insoluble crisis of capitalism. The deployment of the missiles has not given capitalism any more strength or confidence; it has not meant a defeat for the "Peace Movement". Far from it, there has been an advance in that movement. It understands better and is more conscious that it is necessary to struggle against capitalism in order to eliminate war itself.

So, a call has to be made to maintain and deepen the present phase of struggles and mobilisations in the European capitalist countries; amongst other things, these struggles prevent the European bourgeoisie - and the most reactionary elements of the bourgeoisie - from unconditionally supporting the murderous plans of the Yankees. The programme for the 35 hours week of the German workers, has to be taken as a programme for the whole of Europe (capitalist) and unified with a programme for the improvement of the conditions of work, for full employment, and for the nationalisation of all principle means of production. These are in crisis because the capitalist market functions for profit, and not in the interests of the masses. There must be a United Front of Socialists of the Left, Communists, Left-Catholics, to strengthen the present Left Governments and impose new ones in Western Europe to impose this programme.

This First of May is at a time a grand concentration of the struggle for human progress. This takes many forms, scientific and technological but it is synthesised in the social experience of the poorest people; for instance, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia and Nicaragua, who try to advance to socialist organisation, guided by the experience of the Workers States. Grenada's invasion did not mean a significant retreat or blow to the Revolution in the world. It simply underlined the lack of leadership for the revolution in a country with little Trade Union or political experience. Compare imperialism's intervention in Chile ten years ago, with the invasion of Grenada today! Meanwhile, new revolutions and anti-imperialist struggles appear in the rest of Latin America and in the world. The Yankee invasion of Grenada has meant a retreat for the life of the people in Grenada from every point of view; whilst the Soviets in Afghanistan or the Vietnamese in Cambodia, have improved life in these countries. They have raised the life of the masses to a level never reached before through land distribution to the peasants, the construction of hospitals, schools and houses and by forming cooperatives, spreading literacy, allowing Trade Unions. This is an expression of the progress of Humanity. Imperialism means all the opposite. Even Kennedy has said that 34 per cent of the population of the United States, live in absolute poverty. Together with this, it is the fact that the Yankees have been thrown out of the Middle East, its biggest defeat in recent times; its greatest defeat since Vietnam!

The Yankee Space Flight through "Challenger" and the empiricism of their operations, show all the feverishness and fear of capitalism. It makes it impossible for imperialism to make any scientific discovery to serve the progress of life in Space or in the Cosmos. In contrast the Soviets carried out the most elevated scientific experiments, for the progress of humanity, together with Black people, Whites, people from India and Vietnam.

The Workers States in this stage of war preparations, show their resolve by not conceding anything to imperialism. The downing of the spying Jumbo (South Korean) indicated how the USSR is disposed to respond militarily with complete firmness to any provocation or attack by world imperialism. The cost of the legitimate military defense of the Workers State and its support for the world revolutionary movements is enormous, but it does not lower the preoccupation of the Workers States to raise the standard of living of the masses. Far from it, it has increased notably in the last few years. In the same period, capitalism has attacked all the main gains of the working class and masses - like wages rising with the cost of living, employment, health and social services, and Trade Union rights. Meanwhile, the enormous cost of arms has meant new attacks against the masses in their standard of living.

The Workers States on the other hand, have improved their social and economic structure and moved from bureaucratic planning to scientific planning. It is a stage that the Workers States reach inevitably, regardless of their various levels of development; this includes China where there is a very profound struggle against counter-revolutionary sectors, which have been forced to abandon their plans of alliance with imperialism against the USSR. Even though the struggle in China is not ended, and the most reactionary sectors seek to revive the conflict with Vietnam to stop China making further agreements with the USSR, it is not possible for China to return to the previous stage it was in. It is inevitable that the counter-revolutionary sectors are going to fail and this will produce an even more complete struggle than at the time of the revolution!

On this First of May, an appeal to the Workers States, to China and the USSR primarily, to finish with the problem of the frontiers, must be made. This problem must be solved within the framework of the Workers State. Neither the China-USSR, nor the China-Vietnam conflicts have any logical reason in the context of the Socialist states. They are conflicts motivated by bureaucratic interests, particularly the bureaucratic interests of the Chinese (leadership). The Communist parties must join-in in this appeal. They must propose the socialist unification and common planning of China and Vietnam, in order to confront imperialism and to develop both.

An appeal must be made to all the Communist parties to tighten the world anti-capitalist United Front, to support all the Revolutionary Movements and to intransigently defend the role of the Soviet Union in the world, as an instrument of historic progress. The Communist parties are going to increase their weight and authority in front of the masses of their own country when they are seen defending the Soviet Union instead of nationalist positions in competition with the Socialist countries.

Nicaragua and the progress of the Revolution, have to be defended unconditionally. Amongst other things, is the fact that in Nicaragua, in front of all the pressures of imperialism so close to them, they are preparing to organise elections with the participation of the 16 years-old. The Soviet Union and Cuba have to give every support to prevent an invasion by Yankee imperialism which would destroy the conquests already achieved in Nicaragua. To maintain and strengthen the economic and military agreements already made, and make appeals to the North American masses who are mobilising against the invasion being prepared by the Reagan government. Full support to all the Revolutionary movements, governments and countries of Latin America, who are on the anti-imperialist road, leading to social transformations. The social-revolutionary process led by the masses, without which there could not be such a world revolutionary tide, constitutes genuine military force. We salute the Workers States, the Soviet Union, the Soviet masses and Soviet leadership, for the historic role and enormous historic responsibility which they assume. We salute the world masses and the Revolutionary movements in the capitalist countries, which are the base of the present inexorable course to world Socialism.

International Secretariat
Posadist IV International
11th April 1984.

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- Page 2. Third Anniversary of the death of Cde Posadas.
- Page 3. Crisis of capitalism, war and the world Communist movement - J. Posadas.
- Page 4. The NUR and the 35-hour week.

THE DEATH OF ENRICO BERLINGUER AND HIS ROLE AS A COMMUNIST

The death of Enrico Berlinguer, the leader of the Italian Communist Party, led to an immense reaction from the Communist masses of Italy. About two million people participated in the funeral, which became an occasion to demonstrate the strength of the forces seeking a Communist Italy. The Communist passion expressed in this immens: 'occupation' of Rome was overwhelming. The grief at the passing of Berlinguer, a gentle unassuming man, was almost lost in the intensity of the sentiment of the continuity of Berlinguer in the Communist future. Berlinguer died in the course of his function as a leader of the Party. Although very ill, he completed his speech without stopping.

Eurocommunism has proved to be a one-day wonder, and to be incapable of developing solutions to the problems of the masses. Although Berlinguer was himself associated with 'the historic compromise' - that is, a form of alliance with the Christian Democracy - in reality he did not persist in this course. In fact, his later interventions were basically against the powerful apparatus of the right in the leadership of the Party, and directed at supporting the factory struggles of the workers against capitalism. He was consistent in this from the great strikes at Fiat a few years back until the most recent strikes, and the decision of the CGIL, compared with the CISL and USL.

Capitalism was greatly shaken at the response of the Italian Communist masses, and has tried to misrepresent the meaning of this immense display of Communist strength. The leaders of the bourgeoisie were obliged to express their respect for Berlinguer; and even Almirante, the leader of the fascists, had to acknowledge Berlinguer as a major leader - but all with the objective of trying to give a supra-class understanding of the situation. Thus, great play has been made with the idea that the prestige of Berlinguer was due to his role as a 'eurocommunist' - and the Italian Party is referred to as a 'eurocommunist party'. Imperialism has tried to utilise the conflicts between the leaderships of the Italian Communist

The apparatus of the Party will try to arrange matters according to its convenience in the choice of a new leader, but the vote in the European elections and the immense pressure within the ICP for changes will continue the process of moulding the ICP into a more consistent weapon for social transformations in Italy.

ON ENRICO BERLINGUER'S SPEECH TO THE MEETING OF THE FGCI (COMMUNIST YOUTH) (EXTRACTS)

Berlinguer drew the following conclusion at the end of his speech: 'Courage means a precise and profound understanding of life itself. It means to love life and face death tranquilly. Courage means working for our great cause, launching into it without knowing what recompense our efforts will receive in the wide universe'. This cannot be the declaration of a reformist who is only interested in a career.

J. POSADAS

12.1.80

It has a sentiment of social transformation, a Communist sentiment. Berlinguer may have been politically erroneous in the tactic, in the programme, but not in the Communist sentiment. Never before has the problem of the universe been raised and united with the question of the Party. We are the only ones to have done this. But Berlinguer seeks to unify and integrate these problems in this declaration.

turn to page 4

Workers of the world, unite!

RED FLAG



Monthly organ of the

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

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EDITORIAL

GENERAL STRIKE, MOBILISATIONS TO SMASH THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT!

The miners strike continues in the vanguard of the struggle against Thatcherism. The miners are substituting for the lack of leadership on the part of the Trade Unions and the Labour Party to confront the attacks on the mass of the population, perpetrated by capitalism. The miners are able to confront Thatcher and the terrorism of the capitalist state, because they feel they have the support of the majority of the population in this country and because they sense a world balance of social forces which is favourable to the advance of humanity and against the capitalist system.

The result of the Euro-elections is a distant expression of this balance of forces. In spite of large scale abstentionism, in the main from the popular masses, the Left made considerable advances. In this country, Labour gained 37% of the vote compared to the Tories 40%. In West Germany (FRG) the bourgeois Free Democrats (Liberals) were eliminated and the "Greens" gained a representation in the Euro-parliament. The level of abstentions is not surprising since the masses recognise that the Euro-parliament is not an instrument for social transformations they were not attracted by the campaign of the workers parties, and they (the masses) have better methods of struggle. For example, the British Miners, or the struggle of the German workers for the 35 hour week and the anti-NATO mobilisations in Spain which brought 60,000 people on the streets and attracted the support of a wing of the Spanish Socialist Party. Bourgeois elections are not the prime area of struggle for the masses, and this gives a significance to the 91,000 votes gained by Sinn Fein in the North of Ireland. Elections are certainly not the prime area of struggle for Sinn Fein, and if they gained electoral support, it indicates an even wider social support. It means that all the terrorism of British imperialism against the Irish masses has been a failure.

The opinion of the masses of the European Parliament was confirmed when the representatives of the real power in the EEC, the multi-nationals, met in "Council of Ministers". On every subject - unemployment, the destruction of massive quantities of food, the pollution of the environment, etc., - they did nothing! This inability of capitalism to solve any problem compares unfavourably to the process in the Workers States and in the Soviet Union particularly. Whilst corruption grows as a natural expression of the capitalist system, the Soviet Union continues to purge the most corrupt elements of the bureaucracy. Thus, a hundred officials of the state apparatus of the Latvian Republic have been removed for corruption. This is also going on in Uzbekistan and Moldavia.

What "Pravda" said about capitalist democracy is very applicable to the situation in Britain today. It can be seen in the violence directed by the capitalist state, against the miners, for having the audacity to challenge the right of the government to wreck industry and force millions into unemployment and poverty, in the interest of private property. The methods of the police under the direction of the Thatcher government, against the miners, are fascist. The police have simply charged the miners and used their batons on anyone who got in their way. The police obviously received instructions to terrorise the miners into submission. Of course, they failed, but this was the intention. What we are seeing is the transmission of the methods of terrorism used by British imperialism against the Irish masses, to this part of the country. On top of this, the shooting of people under one pretext or another, by the police, has become a common occurrence. Like the moving of the "cruise" missiles, it is intended to terrorise the population. If it was intended to affect the Soviet Union, this is not the way in which it would be done. It is intended as a threat to the population of this country.



Miners in Pontefract at funeral of J. Green, the miner killed on the picket line.

The Workers States influence by example but they also intervene directly. The Soviet Trade Unions, for example, have intervened to denounce the violence of the British police against the British miners. "Pravda" said in an article denouncing the imprisonment of a Red Indian leader in the United States, that "for the capitalist system, democracy is the defense of private property". This forms part of important interventions towards the working class movement in the capitalist countries but they need to be elevated and extended, particularly on the programmatic level.

turn to page 3

A TRIBUTE TO COMRADE POSADAS

Comrade Posadas passed away on the 25th May 1981. The loss to the Communist, Worker and Intellectual vanguard, and to the whole of humanity, which this death has meant was felt deeply by the comrades and by all those who daily drew on his ideas, analyses, orientations, forecasts of the course of history, and his tireless Communist and human intervention to construct cadres; to construct revolutionary leaders on a world scale, members of the (Posadist) International, or not. We continue to publish to this day the texts of our dear comrade on a wide variety of subjects. They continue to be completely up-to-date and are irreplaceable instruments for the organisation of thought, sentiment and revolutionary action. We invite all our comrade readers to continue to give support for the Complete Works of comrade J. Posadas to be published and made known to an even wider public.

We have received a letter from the son of comrade J. Posadas which expresses all the profound emotions and love we feel ourselves. Following are some extracts of this letter:

'Dear Father, dear Brothers and all the Comrades, (Extracts)

We feel that Posadas is alive in each one of us, in each progressive action humanity undertakes. Posadas saw the continuation of human existence in the struggle of humanity, and he dedicated his life to this. There can be no progress which does not lead to the harmonisation of human relations with nature and the cosmos. We have to overcome the present stage of utter contradiction in human existence in order to achieve this. But Trotsky used to say: 'Humanity has proved capable of advancing from the ape to the human being; how can it fail to construct a classless society, and the complete harmony between matter and thought: the Communist society?....'

The human being originated from the cosmos, and returns to it. What we call 'life' and 'death' today will disappear. The human being already surpasses death in such resolute actions as the bringing down by the Soviets of the Yankee (South Korea) spy-plane; the resolve of Nicaragua to call an election (with the 16-year old having the right to vote) — a relative concession — whilst attacking Yankee helicopters even at the risk of an outright Yankee invasion. The human being surpasses individual death now that objective agreements develop between the Chinese and the Soviets, in spite of all the buffoon Reagan's visitings.

It has been three years since comrade Posadas' brain has ceased to produce ideas. The cells of his brain died slowly but irretrievably, due to our own historic and human insecurity, our inability to find better means to guarantee his existence. But what has not disappeared is his gaze, his smile, his confidence, his zest for work, his harmony, his worker's hand — full of strength and fatherly tenderness. The father, companion and comrade has not disappeared

He continues to live because he led us — we who are light years behind him — to some understanding of the fine lines and deep insight of his thought. Thus we are, and will be, capable of surmounting every difficulty and of advancing with no hesitation or fear on the road of what is true and objective. We are, and will be, capable of following the clear path of progress, despite the contradictions borne out of our lack of maturity and ability....

Dear comrades, we do not know what conditions we will be in when the time will have come to celebrate another anniversary of his death. Capitalism is crumbling, but the Socialist Revolution does not quite manage to bury it decisively. The crisis of the Latin American and world bourgeoisie, the conflicts within the Common Market, the plight of the big European banks — indeed, all the world events are reaching a point of no return. Imperialism summons-up and concentrates its forces, funds and armaments. World capital takes refuge in the United States. Germany, Japan and Britain have ceased to be centres of accumulation for the capitalist system; all liquidities take flight, landing straight under the blade of the Yankee's guillotine. The ever more aggressive and murderous Reagan has no more trick up his sleeve. The struggle of the world masses, the role of the USSR, of Cuba, of Nicaragua — all the Workers States — constitute a gigantic onslaught. No more Olympic Games! In the throes of the final crisis of the capitalist system 'Olympics fraternity' is a by-gone.

We feel your absence, dear Posadas, more than ever. It is not so much the pain of not having your latest texts — anyway, all your texts are up-to-date — but the craving our organised matter in the human form has for your concrete objective existence, for your smile so full of confidence that humanity will reconstruct itself, and establish relations between nature, human life and the cosmos. We feel your presence, dear Father, Brother, Comrade, Son,

Your Son and Comrade Horacio

THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM, THE WAR AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The IV International must prepare to understand the process of crisis of the Communist parties and of the elevation of the struggles on a world scale in this stage where imperialism is preparing the war. That does not mean to say that it is going to launch it where on when or how it wishes. Already in 1951 Foster Dulles was preparing the war against the Soviet Union and, during the Second World War, the French and the Americans went so far as to accuse Churchill of having proposed a pact with the nazis to throw everything against the Soviet Union. At this moment the Americans had not accepted the pact because that would have reinforced Europe in competition vis a vis themselves. They had an interest in the destruction of all Europe, including Germany. They did not yet see the Soviet Union would have a great development and did not consider it as an immediate danger. But, when the revolutions developed in Europe, the United States proposed the Marshall Plan — which was an attempt to maintain European capitalism so that it did not succumb to the pressure of the Soviet Union and the young revolutions, and so that Europe would be under the protection of the United States.

Capitalist society developed in the uncertainty of the future. Its own contradictions were at the base of such insecurity. When the Workers States were created, the essential aspect of the insecurity of capitalism consisted of class antagonism. It was no longer a question only of strikes, of struggles, but of the construction of a state, the Workers State which demonstrated its superiority over capitalism.

According to this logic, the capitalists should have immediately put themselves in agreement to destroy the Soviet Union: something which they had not

been able to do because every capitalist country wanted at once to destroy the Soviet Union and obtain all the advantages of this destruction. It is for this reason that they left to Hitler the attempt to smash the Soviet Union. Hitler hoped that Britain would do it, and reciprocally. The Soviets confronted both. It responded to an historic necessity.

The stage in which we are living at present is different. It is a stage where the world is ready for Communism. It is the leaderships who are not yet ready. But, as the world is ready, it is going to find the leadership which it needs. It is in this that our function in history consists. It has an immense perspective and demands a collective preparation which is the most elevated in history comparable to the preparation of Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks. It is necessary to develop this quality. We are already having links of union and an open influence in all the Communist parties of the world.

We seem to be speaking something quite mad, a few years ago when we affirmed that the conditions were ready in the Workers States to make a distribution according to needs, but recently the Congress of the CPSU approached this problem, and also Fidel Castro last year.

It is an example which shows the fundamental importance, at this stage, of theoretical capacity and of the capacity of practical organisation of thought, and of the activity to orientate the Communist parties to impel them to see the immense perspectives which exist and of which they have no idea, for they expect that the conditions of change are created in a routine way as part of the natural wear and tear of the capitalist system.

The Communists see that there is no other way than to confront the war which capitalism is preparing, but they do not see that war is a logical necessity of the capitalist formation which 'vomits war' in its agony. This is what we call the 'atomic quagmire which humanity must traverse'. They believe that it is possible to continue to contain imperialism as they did so until now, through a mass of compromises. But that is not possible. Much time can pass before capitalist launches itself into war, because the Yanks are not alone in deciding and a sector within the heart of American capitalism itself is afraid, because it sees that the war is going to lead to their own end as a system. Capitalism is led by obscure, blind and fatalistic sentiment; but also by the real vision of the world which is developing, advancing and liquidating them all.

The big capitalist, above all, thinks as an individual; only thinks of himself and not even of his family (except when it's a question of inheritance), and feels himself the representative of life and of the world. His mentality is structured on the basis of power and money. He does not consider workers as numbers, but establishes all their human relations through power. He has the obsession that the world is him. He thinks of himself as a superior being, as he leads a life made of money, of investments, of accumulation, and of the increase of capital. He has thousands of properties. What does he do with it all? He cannot eat them all. But all his spirit is structured as a function of money and his life is organised so as to get more. The capitalist has a particular look which reflects all his money for pre-occupations.

The Communist parties do not

J. POSADAS

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understand this process, for they have not been prepared to see this reality. It is necessary to help them to understand, to have the quality to know how to understand, this process; to accompany them whatever their attitude towards us. They can kill us, like they killed Trotsky. But history is in process of arriving at the end of a cycle, and it is necessary to accompany the Communist parties and the Soviet Union, for they are all public properties of history — in particular the Communist Party of Italy, of France and of Portugal. Also, whatever the leadership or the errors that they commit, they must accomplish their historic function, which consists in aiding the transformation of society. Let them say what they will, it is that which they must do. Perhaps they will pass through splits, through new Communist formations; but their structure is united to the progress of humanity. The Communist militant sees that the Soviet Union is the progress of history, that it has been capable of passing from the stage of Stalin to that of today. He sees that Stalin betrayed revolutions, whereas the present Soviet leadership supports revolutions even at the risk of war.

We must participate in the Communist movement, giving to it ideas, tactical and strategic orientations. In this way, we accomplish the function that the Communist parties do not fulfill and which it is absolutely necessary to do: to give a theoretical and political orientation so that programmatically it is clear what has to be done.

It is fundamental to understand the precise tactic of the stage where we are and the perspective of the process. The essential quality of the theoretician is to be able to foresee where the process is going, and to organise it on the basis of the important symptoms. One of these symptoms which is most evident is that imperialism is preparing the war without being able to launch it when it wants. Reagan spits out his missiles, and the Soviets take them on and destroy them.

The Soviets say now almost unanimously that the war is possible: 'We do not want it, it is not completely probable but it is possible'. Even Pajetta expressed himself in this way recently. Before he said only: 'No to war, it is necessary to struggle for peace'. We also agree, we struggle for peace; but it is capitalism which does not struggle for peace and we cannot force it to do otherwise. If we were able to force them to do that, we would be able to liquidate it as a class.

The Communists, while continuing to say 'Let us fight for

Such is their plan, but nothing is less certain. It is not excluded that they will intervene in El Salvador, but when an uprising occurs in a country the Soviets support it without reserve, while the Yanks are full of doubts. Fortyfive senators have already said: 'Leave El Salvador alone; better to lose it than lose the United States'. Kennedy basically said the same thing. It is necessary to look at the longer perspective to try to save ourselves'. The greatest imperialism in history, the dragon which ate everybody, has to say to the Soviet Union — like the rat which tries to save itself — 'Do not hit me'.

It is necessary to take account of the relation of military forces between imperialism and the USSR, but it is the historic necessity of progress which decides and not the arms. Arms can momentarily stop progress and make it retreat, but this is only transitory. On the eve of the Second World War, Trotsky said that, in the case of a defeat, of the Soviet Union and of a victory of capitalism, a retreat in history would occur which would go further back than feudalism, but for a certain time only; and he added 'In ten years all the internal contradictions of capitalism will emerge again'. In the regime of the Workers State there are no historic class contradictions. There are contradictions between the need for progress of the Workers State and the interests of the bureaucratic apparatus, but it is the Workers State and not the apparatus which wins. On the contrary, in the capitalist regime nobody wins in the contradictions within the system. They all lose. They have no other logic in upholding their power than brutal violence and force. But what characterises this stage of history is that peoples put themselves to decide their destiny and that children intervene massively in revolutions.

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There is every argument for the Rail workers to mobilise with the miners, because they face exactly the same problems as the miners and the rest of the working class, and most of the population. The mass of the population faces the problems created by the inability of the capitalist system, in its total and final crisis, to develop the economy and society in any way. Of course, the Rail workers are supporting the Miners with financial contributions, and refusing to move coal. Rail workers are engaged in strike action in solidarity

This process of crisis of the capitalist system begins to attain its most acute form, which is confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States. Imperialism wishes to arrive at a confrontation to make the Workers States retreat and win historic time to prepare the war with less risk. That is an imaginary objective pursued by the gang which leads the United States.

J. POSADAS 8 March 1981.

The trade unions must play a political role

The fact that the British Rail Board — and behind it the government — conceded a 4.9% wage increase without productivity 'strings' to the Rail workers is a defeat for the government. A considerable defeat, because the government demonstrates its inability to confront two sectors — and by no means the most powerful sectors — of the working class simultaneously. It is public knowledge now that the Rail Union leaderships (NUR and ASLEF) were given these concessions to prevent the Rail workers coming into action with the Miners. It is a powerful demonstration of the abject weakness of the Thatcher government. It also raises a question: if the government were reluctant to face the mobilisations of two sectors of the working class, what would happen if it had to face the mobilisation of the whole of the working class? Clearly, it would fall! This means that all that maintains the government in office is the timidity and lack of consciousness on the part of the Trade Union and Labour leaderships.

Thus, Thatcher and her crew have suffered a defeat and have been forced to retreat. But they have been allowed to retreat by the Rail Union leadership. Thatcher counted on this! The Rail Unions have not had to give immediate concessions on job losses and cuts in services, but they only gained 4.9% increase (less than the rate of inflation) and the government — and the British Rail Board — will try to implement the 'Corporate Plan' which means further run-down in services and loss of jobs, anyway. Indeed, they have just announced, for example, the closure of Marylebone station and its services in the near future. Undoubtedly, the government will be encouraged by the lack of will on the part of the Rail Union leaderships to mobilise the workers in pursuing their policy of running-down the Railways.

There is every argument for the Rail workers to mobilise with the miners, because they face exactly the same problems as the miners and the rest of the working class, and most of the population. The mass of the population faces the problems created by the inability of the capitalist system, in its total and final crisis, to develop the economy and society in any way. Of course, the Rail workers are supporting the Miners with financial contributions, and refusing to move coal. Rail workers are engaged in strike action in solidarity



West German steel workers demonstrating in Dortmund.

action with the Miners in such places as Coalville and Shirebrook, but they are sporadic and isolated actions. What is needed is a full mobilisation of Rail workers in support of the Miners and against the Thatcher government and its policies.

Editorial from page 1.

It is totally unacceptable that the Trade Union and the Labour leaderships have failed to denounce these brutal attacks on the miners, in which two miners have now been killed and many others injured, arrested and imprisoned. The leader of the NUM, Arthur Scargill has been arrested, attacked and injured in picketing, and the Labour leadership has not responded. A General Strike should have been called at the moment a miner was killed, or injured, or arrested. There should have been an immediate response. It is not enough to make general complaints about "violence on the picket lines". What is happening is the terrorism of the capitalist state directed against the miners —

and for the defense of private property. The response to this has to be the calling of a General Strike!

The miners strike is the form which the class struggle takes in this country and it is not possible to stand in the middle. A commission of enquiry must be convened by the Labour movement, to take evidence and condemn the terrorism of Thatcher and the capitalist state apparatus. Such a Commission should show how the methods used in Northern Ireland by British imperialism are being extended to the mainland.

The miners have mobilised against the unemployment and misery caused by pit closure —

res, but the struggle is much wider still. Whole industry — including steel — have been decimated, and over 4 millions people are now unemployed. So a General Strike in support of the miners has to be on the basis of a programme which confronts the problems created for the masses by capitalism.

In turn, this requires the development of a discussion, amongst the masses and in the work-places, and an analysis that the run-down of industry and rising unemployment are the result of capitalism, and its war preparations, i.e. the pursuit of profit. They are the logical consequences of the nature of the capitalist system.

The objective conditions exist for a General Strike and the demonstrations of the masses such as that of June 9th and 27th, the support given by the Rail workers to the miners, all are indications of this fact. Together with this, there is the continued advance of the movement against capitalism's war preparations. In this respect, it is important that Bruce Kent, of CND, recognised this fact when he spoke to the miners in Scotland. He has made common cause with the miners and analysed that the run-down of industry, including mining, is directly related to the war preparations of capitalism.

Bruce Kent is also a leader of the Catholic Church. It indicates the level of disintegration of the social authority of capitalism. The terrorism of the state apparatus is not an expression of strength, but of the weakness of capitalism. The opposition by the House of Lords to the government's plans to abolish the GLC and other County Councils, is another indication of this disintegration. We are not faced with a strong class enemy, but one which is defeatist and divided. A whole strata of the bourgeoisie is petrified by the way in which Thatcher is galloping down the road of capitalism's destruction. When Reagan and the other capitalists met in London at the beginning of June, they were under siege by tens of thousands protesting against the war preparations of capitalism.

There is no excuse for timidity on the part of the Trade Unions and Labour Party leaderships. There is no reason not to mobilise the masses in a General Strike to confront and remove the Thatcher government. There is no excuse not to mobilise the masses on the basis of the Programme of the 35 hour week without loss of pay (as the German workers are fighting for), all the wages to rise with the cost of living (as the Italian workers are defending), and the nationalisation under workers control of major industry to plan and to develop it, at the service of the masses, and for the removal of all Yankee bases and weapons. We call for this to be discussed.

THE DEATH OF ENRICO BERLINGUER

tion. He directs himself at the youth — not for them to make a career or to defend personal interests, but to defend the progress of Italy and with the idea that, if death comes, it simply forms part of the struggle. This thought is new for the Communists; it is an idea that stimulates a sense of decision and resolve in the youth; it stimulates the consciousness and educates the youth to believe in Communism and not in the pursuit of reward. A statement like this does not form part of the preparation of bureaucrats. We are dealing here with a Communist leader who is wrong in programme and policy, but who wants to bring down capitalism. It is the second time that Berlinguer has unified the concept of the 'universe' with the Communist struggle. Apart from this, it is only we who have done this. It certainly has not been done by any other leader in the Italian Communist Party! Nowhere in his considerations, generalisations or conclusions, has Berlinguer called on the youth to lead the life of 'Young People'. This is what d'Alema (Secretary of the Communist Youth in 1980 — Edit.) offers the Youth. But not Berlinguer. He poses, on the contrary, that Youth must intervene in political life. This is the conclusion of the intervention of Berlinguer. It is not just him, but the Party that intervenes in this way. This forms part of an internal struggle inside the Italian Communist Party. The positions on the Youth is only one aspect of that struggle. Before Berlinguer spoke, Boffa had made an analysis and taken positions on the Youth, on the Red Brigades, Vietnam and Afghanistan, which were absolutely anti-Marxist and unscientific.

The fact that the Soviets are resolved in their intervention in Afghanistan, and the Yankees — with all their arrogance — cannot dislodge them; the fact that capitalism cannot make a capitalist united front to dislodge the Soviets, indicates that more maturity than necessary

exists to transform the world. The atomic war is going to kill a great many people, but it will do nothing more. And it is the Yankees — not the Soviets — who are going to kill the most in Europe. The Soviets have no interest in killing people, but the Yankees do. In the end, it will be an uprising against the Yankees. All this has to be discussed.

The Communist Youth do not just want to be limited to the role the Party gives them: to discuss, to see people. It wants to reason and to argue; it wants debates and objective discussions. Unfortunately, there are no such discussions in the Party. The Youth wants an open discussion — one which poses openly the intransigent defence of the Soviet Union. One may maintain criticisms of the political leadership of the USSR when necessary but the Soviet Union has to be supported intransigently. It is not just a matter of giving the USSR an unconditional support, but giving a support and making proposals — as we do ourselves — whereby one calls for the trade unions and masses of the USSR to intervene fully. This is Communist objectivity. This is the way to make historic progress. There is no other way! Capitalism is not going to allow any other way. The struggle is already at the level of the two social systems: Workers State and capitalist system. This does not allow the development of any important historic movement outside the struggle of the two social systems. There is no room for anything like this. This fact decides the form, the nature, the worth and kind of the political activity of the Workers States. It decides such matters as intervention in other countries, as part of the global confrontation between the Workers States and the capitalist system....In UNITA (paper of the Italian Communist Party), they must show that the USSR does not kill, but supports the development of the Workers States when it intervenes!

The historic nature of the Soviet Union determines that it has to be identified with the pro-

gress of history. On the other hand, the Yankees have to associate themselves with the retrogression of history. Mathematically, dialectically and scientifically, it is like this. The Communists do not discuss any of this. Berlinguer tries to say it, and he speaks with the passion of a Communist. He does not speak like a bureaucrat. His argument is energetic in its conclusions. He is not a bureaucrat who gives orders, but someone who tries to impress and influence. He has a passion, even when he is wrong; and he feels what he says. When he says: 'If one has to die, then one faces death tranquilly, and is content because the cause is noble and just', he means it. In other words he points the Youth along the road of struggle and sacrifice.

Berlinguer thought is not adapted to capitalism. He calls on the Youth to be responsible militants in the struggle for Communism; and if one has to die so be it! He does not say that death is a disaster, but that it is part of our work. He does not stimulate the Youth by saying: 'Vote for the Party'. 'We are the best'. What he says is: 'We are for Communism'. He speaks in the name of Communism, even when conciliating. 'Our aims are Socialism and Communism'. Regardless of all the critical appraisals which we have made of the limitations of the Communist leadership, the intervention of Berlinguer tends to elevate the Communist life of the Communist Party.

Sakharov is a traitor to his fatherland and country. He does not defend the democratic right to advance Socialism, but simply the right to make relations with the capitalist system. He is a traitor and nothing more. In war conditions such people are simply shot. The bourgeoisie itself eliminates such people. But the Soviets, on the other hand, have given Sakharov a telephone into which he can complain!

J. POSADAS 12.1.80

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J. POSADAS LATIN AMERICA —

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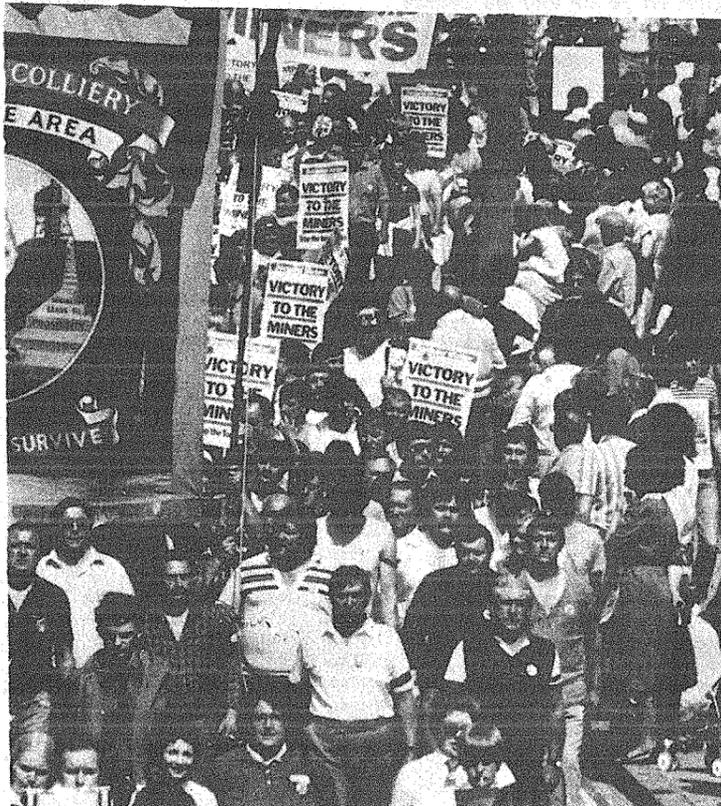
Capitalist 'experts' talk openly of five million unemployed in a few years and the Trade Union leadership in general make s no response. They treat this as some sort of inevitability or 'act of God'. A bright exception to this is Arthur Scargill, who recently made an important speech showing how automation and technical advance could be put to the service of the population. Of course, Scargill is the closest, in many ways, of the Trade Union leadership to the Workers States (Socialist countries). This means that he sees a society which, in spite of problems, demonstrates that unemployment is not inevitable. A state-owned and planned economy, with the participation of the masses, can eliminate unemployment.

The Trade Unions have to play a much greater political role. It is necessary to make common cause with the advancing Labour left to advance towards a Labour/Trade Union Front but, at the same time, not to wait for this Labour left. For the Trade Unions to play a greater political role means to organise discussions amongst the working class, mobilisations of the latter on the basis of a programme that leads towards the transformation of society and which includes demands like the 35-hour week without loss of pay, the sliding scale of wages (all wages to rise automatically with the cost of living), immediate workers' and popular control of the nationalised industries, and the removal of all American bases and missiles.

It may be (the Rail Union leaders argue) that to take solidarity action with the Miners would be illegal. This argument is simply hiding behind the Thatcher anti-trade union laws. These laws should be opposed, and anyway no legal action has been taken against the Miners; itself, this is a demonstration of the weakness of the government. Also, there was nothing to stop the Rail Union leadership from pursuing the full claim, which included a demand for the 35-hour week without loss of pay.

There have been changes in the NUR leadership, including the new General Secretary — and the ASLEF leadership is generally very militant. The problem is, however, that the Trade Union leaderships, in general, come from a previous historic period in which capitalism still had a certain margin, and concessions could be wrung from it. Today, we need a new type of trade union leadership which understands the necessity to make demands that lead towards the transformation of society. The demand for the 35-hour week without loss of pay is one such demand. Capitalism is incapable, as a system, of conceding it. Each capitalist has to compete with the next: this is the nature of the system. Therefore, it has to try to lower the cost of production. It does it by sacking workers. The inability of capitalism to concede the 35-hour week without loss of pay gives the struggle of the German workers for this demand its significance. A demand for the 35-hour week is a crying necessity for the Trade Unions to raise at this moment, and the Trade Unions need to link themselves to other sectors of the population. It really is quite unbelievably backward that the Trade Union movement, which supports unilateral nuclear disarmament, does not support the growing 'peace' movement concretely, with militant action.

Miners demonstration in London on June 27.



THE MINERS STRIKE AND THE NEED FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP

RESOLUTION OF HOMAGE TO COMRADE ENRICO BERLINGUER. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

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The miners' strike has dominated the political scene in Britain for six months and is clearly a profound expression of the clash between the mode of production and the social relations which demand social transformations. Despite the immense force and power of the strike, there has been a great limitation in the discussion of its historic significance and its relation to the total international crisis of the capitalist system. Without this understanding it is not possible to see the need for a new type of political leadership in Britain.

World imperialism in its most recent actions confirms its historic incapacity to confront and destroy the Workers States and their influence. The anti-Olympic Games in Los Angeles have proved to be empty from the point of view of sport and a crude advertisement for the brutishness of Yankee imperialism. They failed to convince the world of anything save that Yankee imperialism represents greed and stupidity, while the Soviet Olympics represent progress and civilisation. Los Angeles was punctuated with gang-

nesses in their economy are those most linked to capitalism - i.e. Yugoslavia, Rumania and China. The superiority of the Soviet's centralised and planned economy is an example for the whole of the world.

It is this world ambience which has provided the stimulus for the miners' strike and accounts for its persistence when there has been no equivalent in the form of political leadership. The dockers are now supporting the miners and, at the time of writing, the apparatus of the TUC has apparently been obliged to accept the NUM blockade of pits and power stations and to call on unions not to cross picket lines, a very elementary concession; but when an apparatus as integral with capitalism agrees to this it is a sign of its weakness and inability to dominate the scene. The central problem remains that there is an almost complete absence of clear political leadership and programmatic orientation. The Labour Party leadership has been particularly incapable and conciliatory. Either there has been condemnations of violence aimed as much at the miners as at the police,

the participation of women in the construction of society. At the same time, the reception given to the miners' children in both France and Ireland by the unions, there is an important stage in the elevation of social relations in the population and this demands an equivalent political elevation.

Capitalism has denounced the miners' strike as political - yes, it

cannot of itself immediately solve the problem of the political leadership in Britain. The impotence of the Labour Party and the anti-working class attitudes of the TUC are historic problems which cannot be changed by magic; but, yes, the left can begin a coherent discussion and orientation which can draw conclusions from the strike and develop a new orientation with important results for the future. It is necessary to generalise a series of demands and points for discussion to gain the support of workers in all sectors of industry. The action of the miners is against a policy of capitalist 'rationalisation' which capitalism is extending to all areas of the economy. How have a miners' strike of this dimension and not discuss four million unemployed? It is necessary to pose the question

discuss the need for social transformations.

From the point of view of the apparatus in the Labour Party and the unions, as Sirs has said (the trade union leader who helped to destroy the steel workers' strike), the miners' strike is an 'embarrassment'. From the point of view of the proletariat and petit bourgeois masses it is a struggle which should be generalised - to include also the struggles against the Pershing missiles and the withdrawal of the Yankee troops who recently intervened directly against the women of Greenham Common.

The appeal for the general strike has to be accompanied by political discussion and the programme of social transformations.

THE NEED FOR POLITICAL LEADERSHIP AND DISCUSSION.

Thatcher's government is very weak. Capitalism has to lean on the support of the apparatus in the Labour Party and the unions to survive but, at the very time when whole sectors of capitalism fear her policies, fear the conflicts with the Soviet Union. The continued fuss over the Malvinas war and the scandal concerning Thatcher's Nazi methods against Argentina, arise from within the heart of the apparatus of capitalism and show the ever narrowing circle of support for the vicious policies of imperialism. All this provides the basis for a political leadership of the miners' struggle to deepen the understanding of the possibilities for a discussion and programme of social transformations.

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DEMONSTRATION OF WOMEN IN SUPPORT OF THE MINERS. AUGUST. London

sterism and bad sportmanship but, or criticisms of the government not for all their wild boastings, Yankee imperialism has proved incapable of destroying Nicaragua. Their economy entirely submitted to gigantic war expenditures, develops immense deficits which it proceeds to finance with colossal rates of interest, thereby applying the knife to its allies in the European bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union goes from strength to strength. Despite the fact that it is obliged to sustain a heavy burden of arms to confront the war preparations of Yankee imperialism, the Soviet Union has just announced a twentyfive per cent increase in wages for teachers - inconceivable for a capitalist state. The only Workers States which have weak-

nesses in their economy are those most linked to capitalism - i.e. Yugoslavia, Rumania and China. The superiority of the Soviet's centralised and planned economy is an example for the whole of the world. It is this world ambience which has provided the stimulus for the miners' strike and accounts for its persistence when there has been no equivalent in the form of political leadership. The dockers are now supporting the miners and, at the time of writing, the apparatus of the TUC has apparently been obliged to accept the NUM blockade of pits and power stations and to call on unions not to cross picket lines, a very elementary concession; but when an apparatus as integral with capitalism agrees to this it is a sign of its weakness and inability to dominate the scene. The central problem remains that there is an almost complete absence of clear political leadership and programmatic orientation. The Labour Party leadership has been particularly incapable and conciliatory. Either there has been condemnations of violence aimed as much at the miners as at the police, the participation of women in the construction of society. At the same time, the reception given to the miners' children in both France and Ireland by the unions, there is an important stage in the elevation of social relations in the population and this demands an equivalent political elevation. Capitalism has denounced the miners' strike as political - yes, it cannot of itself immediately solve the problem of the political leadership in Britain. The impotence of the Labour Party and the anti-working class attitudes of the TUC are historic problems which cannot be changed by magic; but, yes, the left can begin a coherent discussion and orientation which can draw conclusions from the strike and develop a new orientation with important results for the future. It is necessary to generalise a series of demands and points for discussion to gain the support of workers in all sectors of industry. The action of the miners is against a policy of capitalist 'rationalisation' which capitalism is extending to all areas of the economy. How have a miners' strike of this dimension and not discuss four million unemployed? It is necessary to pose the question of the 35-hour week, to counter inflation by demands for wage indexing, and to raise the whole issue of what to do with the unemployed. If capitalist will not discuss the generalised demand for the 35-hour week, it is necessary to discuss what type of economy will render a 35-hour week, already in the programmes of many unions but never mobilised on. The miners have acted as the vanguard of the proletariat against the class policies of capitalism, and this has to be discussed. The police have been used like an army by capitalism. The miners have been subjected to a regime of fascist type intimidation (as with Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland). This has to be discussed as part of the political orientation. The use of the police has been a political act in defence of capitalism - right, then, it is necessary to

sterism and bad sportmanship but, or criticisms of the government not for all their wild boastings, Yankee imperialism has proved incapable of destroying Nicaragua. Their economy entirely submitted to gigantic war expenditures, develops immense deficits which it proceeds to finance with colossal rates of interest, thereby applying the knife to its allies in the European bourgeoisie. The Soviet Union goes from strength to strength. Despite the fact that it is obliged to sustain a heavy burden of arms to confront the war preparations of Yankee imperialism, the Soviet Union has just announced a twentyfive per cent increase in wages for teachers - inconceivable for a capitalist state. The only Workers States which have weak-

Political discussion now and a correct programmatic orientation

SUPPLEMENT TO RED FLAG -

- THE MINERS' STRIKE AND THE CRISIS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM
- RESOLUTION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ON THE LOS ANGELES OLYMPICS

RESOLUTION OF HOMAGE TO COMRADE ENRICO BERLINGUER. INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT.

19.6.84

THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL RENDERS HOMAGE TO COMRADE ENRICO BERLINGUER WHO GAVE HIS LIFE IN THE MOST BEAUTIFUL MOST PROFOUND AND HUMANLY MOST NECESSARY FUNCTION - WHICH IS THE STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

There is a unity between the events which have moved Italy and the world in the last few days; the illness and death of Cde Berlinguer, his funeral, with the participation of more than two million people, and the European elections in Italy. The unity is not determined by the emotion but by the profundity which is signified by these three events. Cde Berlinguer died giving an example of human conduct necessary for the construction of Socialism: that is to say, although ill he did not think of himself, but sought to communicate, with his will, the decision to continue the fight in whatever the circumstances. Hence he finished his speech in Padua with all the consequences which this had for his health.

In rendering homage to Cde Berlinguer with all our emotion, we record our teacher Cde Posadas and the identity of Communist conduct which he expressed consciously and practised daily. 'Life without the struggle for Socialism has no sense, with all the consequences that flow from that'. With the same will Cde Berlinguer died, and this profound gesture of the Communist leader was a fundamental part of the emotion of the Italian masses who felt an identity of will and feeling with their leader who, even at the cost of his life, continued the struggle which in that case meant finishing the speech. This will to struggle moved and organised the enormous mobilisation, and was seen afterwards, because it is a necessary quality in the struggle for the construction of Socialism. Hence the masses more than any other occasion felt the very profound identity with their leader who died, but with his example was constructing the Communist life and sentiments.

It was the profound emotion of the Communist masses which extended this sentiment to the Italian masses, including the Catholic masses. It was the expression of a sentiment which is much more profound than simple emotion for the death of an individual. This is the sentiment of Communist love which unites the feeling for the person with the objectives and ideas which the person represents. Cde Berlinguer represented, in Italy, the instrument of struggle for human progress, which is the objective of Socialism.

The funeral of Cde Berlinguer was a demonstration by the Communist masses of the affirmation of their understanding, will and security in Communism and of love for their leader. The funeral was an event of all the world Communist

movement in which the Soviets, with their participation, showed their identity with the Italian Communist masses, because this experience - which is also expressed in the electoral triumph and policy of the PCI in the European elections - forms part of a progress of the Communist movement which is learning to construct Socialism.

The participation of the Soviets and the declaration of Cde Gorbachev that the criticisms of Berlinguer of the Soviet Union had not been useless, are a confirmation that there is an elevation in the capacity of discussion, that the Communist movement is learning to discuss without fear. It was in the epoch of Stalin that it was not possible to criticise, and now Stalinism is buried and the PCI is also learning this reality, to criticise the Soviet Union does not necessarily mean to break with it. This was also expressed in this funeral of Cde Berlinguer, which had as a centre the Communist masses and their sentiment of objective human love.

In October 1980, when Cde Longo died, Cde Posadas went to the funeral in the Piazza Giovanni anonymously, as one more Communist militant. There also he made his homage in an intervention which was after transcribed and published by the Communist press. We base ourselves on the same sentiments and on the same thought of our teacher in front of the death of Cde Berlinguer. We cannot reproduce the depth of what he could have communicated in this moment, and hence we transcribe part of what Cde Posadas then said in homage to Luigo Longo:

'We consider leaders like Luigo Longo a part of ourselves. We do not support their limitations and errors, but we participate in the consequences from which they come.

Longo is one of the leaders of this phase of the construction of Socialism. Comrades like him never stopped fighting to overthrow the capitalist system, even in a stage characterised by manoeuvres, agreements and useless compromises, which retarded the growth of the Communist Party and allowed bourgeois power to remain. But his goal was Communism, and now they are learning to construct it.

'For this reason we render our homage, moved by these leaders like Cde Longo, wanting in this way to honour the revolutionary, to place the accent on the sentiments and the consciousness which unites us, although the tactic, the analysis and the political activity divide us. Longo sustained the Communist idea and, in every circumstance, fought whether with arms or with ideas. The masses want to emphasise his role and hence made a demonstration with a sea of red banners. They do not want to render homage because he was good, but because he had struggled for Socialism, dedicating all his life to this struggle.

This is a new and better stage of the struggle for Socialism in Italy and the world. The funeral of Cde Berlinguer and the electoral result in Italy, with the relative majority which the PCI won, expresses it. What characterises this stage is the elevation of the Communist will, sentiment and consciousness of the masses of the world which in Italy finds very profound and clearer forms than in the other capitalist countries.

The capitalist system is superseded in history and this is expressed in the funeral of Cde Berlinguer. This was not the funeral of a Party leader, but a demonstration in which the country was represented to affirm the will for change, of transformation; we want the objective for which Berlinguer fought, we want the human sentiment which Berlinguer expressed; that is to say, even at the cost of life, it is necessary to impel the struggle for Socialism. The people who participated in the funeral were in reality much more than the two millions who were in Rome. The bourgeois press itself said that there was an enormous number of people who could not come essentially for reasons of work. It was a limitation of the trade union leadership not to have made a gigantic strike to allow the participation of all those who wanted to participate.

Rome was occupied by a gigantic red sea in which the population of the city was integrated. While the demonstrators marched with the red flags, shouting the name of Berlinguer, people seized anything which was red. Young people, women, children, old people: all participated. All the Party went in homage to Berlinguer. Capitalism saw the strength, the capacity and the decision of the Communist masses which in less than two days was concentrated in such a great number including those who came from outside Rome, travelling more than twentyfour hours. It was necessary to be there and they came. During the period prior to the burial it was moving to see the Communist militants who stopped to raise the clenched fist in salute, with tears in their eyes and on their faces the expression that 'we are going to continue the struggle', or as one poster was inscribed, 'Enrico, you will live in our fight'.

The participation of the children, whether through letters to 'Unita' or at the funeral, shows the social maturity in Italy. The children did not speak of sadness and grief, although they certainly existed, but of how to continue the example of Berlinguer and the Party, because the example is given to the worker and Communist masses who daily act in the same elevated way as their leader. The Communist comrade who, even although he was ill, went to the funeral, saluted the funeral cortege with clenched fist, and afterwards fell dead, is part of this indestructible structure which now exists in Italy on the basis that 'The USSR is Communist and Italy will also be Communist'.

An enormous number of young people passed through the room containing the coffin, and were present at the funeral - although the PCI has very few young members. It is an expression of the fact that the youth, which has intervened massively in the peace movement, is attracted by the most elevated - the attitude of Berlinguer and the sentiment of the Communist masses. This is the Italian youth which learns from the world which receives the influence of the Socialist countries, of the revolutionary struggle of Latin America, of Asia and Africa, and which wants to intervene and feels that it is a responsible part of the transformation of society. The experience of these most recent days, from the meeting in Padua up to the European elections with the triumph of the PCI, which was a vote for Communism in Italy, is going to help to elevate the understanding of the youth that the Communist Party is the instrument for social transformations in Italy, even with all the criticisms which have to be made and the insuffi-

encies which exist. But the change reinforces the instrument and does not weaken it.

Capitalism is completely paralysed and tries to appear making a homage to Berlinguer so as not to be outside events. For the masses it was one proof more of the hypocrisy of the capitalist leadership, which just previously was speaking of Berlinguer as 'by-passed', 'old fashioned', 'workerite', 'schizophrenic', and other insults.

We give our most profound homage to the Italian Communist masses which was expressed before, during and after the funeral of Cde Berlinguer. Between that and the example of their leader there is a complete identity, and this has been of more use than hundreds of meetings for the struggles for Socialism. The examples which arise from the Communist attitude of a leader have an indispensable value in the organisation and construction of Socialist

human relations. Cde Berlinguer, until his last moments, struggled to give an example, and in his daily life he sought always to be an example in concern for others. He was not a more profound organiser and constructor, through lack of daily scientific practice and formation, which after Lenin and Trotsky was interrupted in the world Communist movement. But this was his intention, and the Communist masses judge him in this way.

This is the Communist sentiment, the human love which the capitalist system cannot understand. Even making many criticisms of their leader, the Communist masses made a homage to him as part of themselves, homage to his intention and his dedication to the Communist objective, even with differences or errors. This objective sentiment was the force which moved Italy and it is a sentiment which is created and develops only through the struggle for Socialism. These are Communist ideas, the Communist objective, which creates the human quality in leaders which afterwards makes them act as Cde Berlinguer acted. It is for this reason that the funeral and the concentration of the Communist masses was an historic event of impulse and security in liquidating the capitalist system. Socially, Italy showed that it is led by the Communist Party. Hence people made a homage to Berlinguer as the leader of the country. It was the leaders of the bourgeoisie who were extras, who felt themselves outside - not in the funeral, but in the country.

This event shows the uninterrupted progress of the masses towards Socialism. Even with the PCI not having the necessary policy to organise and concentrate this immense force to win power, the Communist sentiment develops; and this is expressed politically and electorally.

War, Peace
and the function
of the
Socialist Countries

A Selection of Articles 1978-81

J. POSADAS

Scientific, Cultural and Political Editions

At the same time, it is necessary to consider the electoral triumph of the PCI not simply as a result of the death and funeral of Cde Berlinguer. What was expressed at this moment came from before. The two millions who went to the funeral went not only through emotion over the death of their leader but to affirm the historic and concrete function of their Party. The two issues were joined and inseparable. The function of the PCI was affirmed in a decisive form in the last period in the struggle against the anti-working class measures of the capitalist government. Thus, the function of the PCI as representing the working class was affirmed in the 24 March demonstration in Rome. The conduct of Berlinguer in these events was an important part and the worker and Communist vanguard saw this. The electoral result in Italy - with the Communist triumph, making them the first Party in terms of votes - is an event which is going to have a world importance and influence. It is the Party not of eurocommunism or of the historic compromise, but the Communist Party which struggled against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Italy, after the first moment of vacillation; it is the Communist Party which opposed the decree against the moving scale of wages, and it is the Communist Party which - after a confrontation with the USSR - changed, understanding its previous error; it is the Party of the secretary who went to support the occupation of FIAT, and this was a centre of the memory of Berlinguer which moved most of all through its anti-capitalist sense.

As capitalism cannot avoid a recognition of Berlinguer - so as not to appear as antagonistic with progress - it tries to do it with aspects which now have been overcome in the policy of the PCI and of its

secretary. Eurocommunism has already been abandoned, above all in all the aspects of conflict with the USSR, because experience showed that the USSR is not an ogre which cannot be criticised. Objectively, the present position of the PCI over Yankee missiles is very close to that of the USSR. Even the historic compromise was a policy where experience showed that it had no perspectives, that it was mistaken. Berlinguer himself changed, and without a very profound discussion or formulation the Communist leadership showed its sensibility to the need to change its policy. Capitalism does not speak of this.

Besides, it is necessary to consider that the 'historic compromise' was incorrect as a programmatic formulation. As a tactic it was conceivable, but even so insufficient. This was the criticism which in his time Cde Posadas formulated, showing the lack of perspective in this policy. Anyway, part of the preoccupation which existed in the idea of the compromise is correct - which is the necessity to attract the Catholic masses to an anti-capitalist perspective. The PCI is learning to do it, and Cde Berlinguer lived this experience without renouncing their objectives of social transformation. This was the lesson of the demonstration of 24 March which again was expressed in the funeral of Berlinguer and in the European elections. The PCI increases its authority and weight to the extent that it intervenes openly against capitalism.

It is not mistaken to seek possible alliances to make the struggle for socialism, advance but it is necessary to do it uniting them to social transformations, discussing them as measures of transition, and elevating the trade unions to the

political struggle; because there is no solution in the trade union struggle in front of the total crisis of the capitalist system.

Dear comrades of the PCI, we render our homage to Cde Berlinguer with all our Communist sentiment, we salute and embrace all the Communist leaders, cadres and militants, and the Communist masses

who participated in the funeral, making it contribute to advance the struggle for Socialism in Italy and in the world, communicating their will and decision to overthrow capitalism. This was expressed in the European elections, but in no way do these represent the social and political will concentrated in the funeral of Cde Berlinguer. The elections reflect in a much lesser way the social representation of the Communist Party.

'It is always life which prevails over death. It is life which extends itself throughout the world. Death does not negate; it can negate one or other individual, but it cannot make disappear or destroy the most elevated which humanity has constructed: human love. It is this which allows the birth of Socialism which, without the depth of having human relations, could not exist. Socialism means to feel the equal of other human beings and to be identified in the human race. Life conquered death, and the body without life of Longo was indissolubly united to the will for struggle of which the masses who were present were a continuation'.

With these words Cde Posadas concluded his homage to Luigi Longo, and these are the most profound and adequate also for the conclusion of our homage to Cde Enrico Berlinguer.

International Secretariat 19.6.84

speeches of Carter - will break out with all its force. While, in the Soviet Union, there is order which, during the war with the nazis, was tested; capitalism developed the United States individualism and individual interests which separate one from another.

The Yanks think also of the period after the war. Before the last war they made preparations in order to replace the Germans in Europe; but who now are they going to replace? Such thoughts circle in the heads of the Yanks and a great part of their nervous illnesses and heart, kidney and liver problems have their origin in this. Infections and other complaints, from nervous trouble to heart attacks, are increasing in the United States. Their nervous system is attacked, and this then causes all manner of illnesses and stomach ulcers. The United States belong to countries where there are the most cancers. But gastritis, ulcers or cancers, do not have origin in bad diet, although the diet is very, very bad.

They are attacked by panic, although they are stiff with weapons. Their anxiety stems not only from the arms of the opponents, but from the revolution. They fear that the American people will rise up. One has only to recall the US Navy Secretary Forestal who, uttering the cry 'the Chinese are coming' threw himself out of the window. Now all the process is much deeper. All the Yanks are convinced that the Soviets will be the winners, and that leads them to madness. This is no temporary raising of their blood pressure, but the fear which settles in their limbs and which is the least curable insanity, for it seizes hold of their nature. Man's spiritual life develops through human relations, and this determines completely the functioning of the head - and thus become like idiots. In the United States there is an enormous development of mental disorders, for they have achieved a great economic wealth through

production but have no military security. They not only fear that

the Soviets may anticipate them and unleash atomic war,, but that in ten minutes they can win. According to their calculations, the Soviets can liquidate half their population in an hour, while they could 'only' kill half of them. They discuss like butchers over cattle, and therein one can recognise the mentality of the leading capitalist class. Hitler tried everything, and today it is not he who dominates the world.

The Workers State must incorporate the whole population in order to prepare for the outbreak of war. Also, in the war which is coming, no rebellions of struggles of different groups are to be expected, in the situation where every one is 'next'. There is already the historic experience of the Workers State, whose origin is the Russian Revolution. The war will stimulate the concern with solidarity in the Soviet Union and throughout the whole world. In the United States it will be exactly the reverse, for there every layer which has the command and unleashes the war - around twenty per cent of the population - will kill North Americans in order to live. Nothing of this will occur in the Soviet Union.

It was that which most disorganised the nazis. They occupied a territory, shot, killed and dominated. Then many of them were taken prisoner and the Soviets gave them food to eat. This broke them socially.

There are many films where military clashes are shown where the Soviets win and take the Germans prisoner and, instead of ill-treating them, the Soviets give them food. In one such film there is a scene of a German officer who refuses to take a cigarette, but the German soldiers took them. This would be the case with many Yankee soldiers and officers, but not the capitalist ruling clique. In the Soviet Union there is no capitalist clique, but there is a bureaucracy, for they have achieved a crazy with a foot in the revolution great economic wealth through

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UNITED STATES IMPERIALISM AND THE ATOMIC WAR. J. POSADAS 27.9.79.

The defeatism of the US Senators which was expressed in the discussion over the Soviet troops in Cuba is important. For when it occurs in a Senate like that of the United States, which is a meeting of 'the selected', it means that they are afraid of the war. They see that this time it is not a case of a win for them, for if they win or lose half of the United States will be destroyed. According to the calculations of the North American military, the Soviets can at one blow annihilate 160 million men, while they can destroy less than half of the Soviets. Indeed, the Soviets possess arms similar to the Katushka rocket which they used against the nazis, which could launch twenty shells at once, but with the difference that this time it would be twenty

atomic missiles. The Yanks are not equipped with such weapons. It is a new weapon which is aimed at one target and then releases a whole salvo of missiles - and they also have everything to eliminate any enemy objective. Hence the anxiety of the Yanks and this confusion and fear in capitalism, which is more divided than before.

Meanwhile the anti-capitalist competition and antagonism of the workers states develops but it is not now capitalism which determines the course of history. Also, the population of Asia, Africa and Latin America are a potential organised power - if without a leadership - which in the war will play a role. On the other hand, the United States is a country dismembered into a

thousand parts where, in the case of a war, all the antagonistic conflicts between them - this enormous individualism which also finds expression in the



SOVIET YOUTH AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS Moscow

The miners' strike and the crisis of the trade union apparatus

The depth of the miners' strike is an attempt to develop a new leadership against the incapacity of the Labour Party and trade union leaderships to confront the policy of suppression by capitalism. The obvious desire of the TUC, as a body, to leave the miners' strike to collapse is an indication of the extreme crisis of all the trade union leaderships. The fact is that the perspective of the trade union leaderships in Britain has always been based on the acceptance of the capitalist system and the restriction of the trade unions to gaining reforms in collaboration with that system. This conception has been profoundly based in Britain, on the original formations of the skilled workers aristocracy. Such a mentality was temporarily reinforced by Stalinism, which destroyed the independence of the proletariat in many countries, and augmented the submission of the trade unions in capitalism. In other words, the trade unions were integrated in policies to sustain the system, not to destroy it. At the same time, this policy signifies the termination of this type of leadership. It is a form of liquidation, because capitalism is disintegrating and cannot sustain such a policy of collaboration.

The conceptions of these people related also to a period when the world revolutionary process and the weight of the Workers States were much less than now. Thus, it was possible to contain movements in Britain and to develop a whole mentality that Britain was wholly outside the world, living an insular life and with no need to refer to the world. But all this has been altering for quite some time, while the apparatuses have con-

tinued isolated from this process and not foreseeing it. Large sectors have simply refracted capitalist thinking, i.e. it was necessary to 'defend the competitive position of British industry on the world market' and to encourage investment (capitalist investment particularly in the prevailing conditions of crisis and competition means a reduction in employment). It is true, as can be seen in the support of some unions for the miners, some trade union sectors are more sensitive to the process; but are without preparation. Thus the liquidation of the former leader of the NUR was imposed by the process, not the result of a fully conscious discussion.

The apparatus are now faced with a situation where the process of history is dominated by the struggle between two social systems. The Workers States are an example of constantly improving social relations, full employment, stable prices, constant elevation in education, transport and the modernisation of industry not at the cost of the population. At the same time, the Soviet Union sustains economies inferior to its own, such as Cuba and Afghanistan. All over the capitalist world there is only decay. Whatever country one cares to look at, there is no perspective, save reductions in the standard of living, mass unemployment and a hateful misrepresentation of the Soviet Union on the level of the nazis. It is this contrast which has given the decisive stimulus to the British masses, workers and petit bourgeoisie to confront capitalism when their leaderships were incapable of organising anything of decisive importance.

This crisis is paralleled elsewhere and there is a profound crisis in all the trade

union leaderships in Europe, if somewhat lesser with the CGT and the CGIL, the Communist unions. Thus, in Germany, despite immense support for the struggle for the 35-hour week, the union leaders - fearing the confidence and security of the proletariat could lead to even more extensive class actions - suddenly cut short the struggle and compromised on an average 38½-hour week. Such a situation in which the capitalist system on a world plane is struggling to breathe and cannot hold the advance of the Workers States, cannot help but strengthen the need for political discussion and the need for an alternative policy, to develop new left wings in the workers' parties.

Trade union leaderships which attempt to function on the basis of waiting for crumbs from capitalism have no basis, and they can only act objectively as was the function of Hitler's 'union leaders', that is, attempted overseers and foremen of capitalism. Thus, when the electricians' union leadership seeks to organise a policy of no-strike clauses, the degree of collaboration is obvious - and in this period of capitalist social and economic decomposition, it means that union functionaries act like a layer of capitalism and accept the norms of capitalism, and are prepared to facilitate capitalist repression of workers and prevent, in so far as they can, unification of workers' struggles. Thatcher would have been completely incapable of imposing her regime of oppression without this tacit support. In the miners' strike the continuous and brutal use of the police, who have been used like troops, has elicited silence from the TUC - which is another way of saying that they go along with it.

On the international plane, the attitude of this layer of the trade unions is particularly important to note. The difference between their response over Poland and over the miners' strike is very clear. Murray, who could not lift a finger for the printers' strike, could not get over fast enough to Poland to encourage the leaders of Solidarity. These TUC leaders, who never seem to have been perturbed over the gangsterisms in American unions, were very rapid to intervene in Poland - not to support objectively the desires of the masses to rectify the errors in the functioning of the Workers State, but to encourage struggles against Communism. But, when it comes to mass unemployment the destruction of whole areas of the economy by capitalism, this trade union leadership falls silent, could not do anything of any consequence - as though all were a mild domestic upset and totally inevitable.

The crisis of the trade union leadership has simply been brought about by the miners' strike, but has existed for a long period. The last chairman of the TUC, Chapell, wanted a vote for the SDP, such is the course of the process. When the union leaderships try to sabotage resistance to the capitalist class, it expresses the general crisis of the workers' leaderships, paralleled by that of the Labour Party, which inevitably reflects the crisis of its basis, the trade unions.

The process in Britain, exemplified by the miners' struggle, is not just a trade union struggle; whatever the forms of

the struggle it is a struggle whose inner quality is the search for a political leadership to confront and liquidate capitalism.

It is necessary to develop a much more superior discussion on the nature of the process in Britain and the world. The brutal policy of pit closures is only one aspect of a capitalist policy designed to submit the economy totally to the needs of inter-capitalist competition and the preparation for war against the Workers States. To separate trade union policies from the arrival of the Pershing missiles here is to live in a counter-revolutionary utopia remote from reality. At the same time, this phantasy life signifies that this layer is superfluous to even trade union functions. It hopes to survive, but without any justification for itself.

Financial support and trade union action is very important to sustain the miners' strike, but even more important is the need to discuss all the implications of the strike. It is necessary to affirm the united front between the Labour Party and trade unions and to appeal for political mobilisations to affirm the need to liquidate the Thatcher government. It is necessary to propose an extension of the programme, with the struggle for workers' control, indexing of wages on a basis decided by the population, factory occupations, democracy in the trade unions, with officials subject to immediate recall, the 35-hour week and discussions on the need for the planning of the economy for the benefit of the masses, including a programme of public works in health, transport and environmental control. The miners' offensive against capitalism requires a wider programme, an alternative programme to the dictatorship of capitalism.

Selected Texts of J. Posadas.

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tion but whose second foot is also not in another camp.

This US Senator whom newspaper reports say is a lawyer speaks like a defeatist. He complains 'earlier they said as regards the Soviets it was all marvellous, and now it appears it's all lies'. Besides there is real opposition against these war plans in the United States.

J. POSADAS 27.9.79.

- Soviet Democracy and the actual form of the political revolution in Poland 1.20

- The counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State 1.35

- Poland: The advance of Social Democracy and of Socialist influence in the world (Volume 1 & 2) 1.35

- USSR: The role of the Soviet Union in this stage of history 1.35

- War, peace and the function of the Socialist countries 1.00

- The historic function of music and songs 1.00

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mations, and, in this way, to deepen the support for the strike and thus by-pass the inertia in the TUC and the right of the Labour Party. We call upon the Labour left to take initiatives to develop a much wider discussion on the nature and orientation of the strike, and organise within and outside the Labour Party a much more consistent political life.

31.8.84

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We salute the formation of the Communist Party in Ethiopia

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EDITORIAL

A GENERAL STRIKE TO ADVANCE THE MINERS' STRIKE WITH A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The miners maintain themselves as the vanguard of the anti-capitalist struggle in this country, despite the absence of leadership from the Labour Party or TUC, on the basis of the favourable world balance of forces. The speech of Gromyko at the UN destroys any suggestion that there is uncertainty or major division in the Soviet leadership. The removal of Marshal Ogarkov — an event which has given the bourgeoisie an excuse for speculation about the Soviet leadership — is an important event because a leader of the Red Army has been removed at a time when imperialism is feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Clearly, such an important event should have been more openly explained by the Soviet leadership, and more widely discussed among the Soviet masses. This underlines the need for a greater participation of the Soviet masses in the formulation of policy. However, the level of democracy in the Soviet Union, where major world issues are discussed by Soviet leaders in the factories, is infinitely superior to democracy under capitalism. At Greenham Common peaceful demonstrators are arrested simply for demonstrating, and millions are thrown out of work without any discussion whatsoever. Gromyko clearly defined the nature of imperialism at this stage of history, that it is preparing for war and manoeuvring for a 'first strike' against the Soviet Union. He also made it clear that there was no possibility of cosy 'local agreements' — as Reagan proposed — no more Yalta or Tehrans behind which imperialism could prepare to launch the war. Gromyko's speech indicates that there is no insecurity or division in the Soviet leaders on the fundamental issue of war and the world system against system confrontation. Reagan's electoral campaign, devoid as it is of any proposal to advance the economy of the United States and the living standards of the population, is a confirmation of the fact that all imperialism is interested in is preparing for war. The

Soviets have made it clear that they know what time of day it is in world terms, but there is a necessity, however, for the Soviet leadership to explain its policies much more widely both to the Soviet masses and to those of the capitalist countries.

CAPITALISM DISINTEGRATES.

There is a discussion, and there are differences on tactics amongst the Soviet leadership and between the Soviet leadership and those of other Workers states, but these are problems of the process of advancing from the Workers state to Socialism. World capitalism is riven with differences, but these are a product of its disintegration. The Pope's condemnation of imperialism and the repression of the masses — made in Canada — is part of this disintegration. He speaks like this because a large sector of the Church — particularly, but not only, in Latin America — has joined the revolution and because he sees that the capitalist system has no future. He hopes, in vain of course, that he can disassociate the Church from capitalism so that when the crash comes — as it will shortly — somehow the Church will survive. For all this, it is a powerful expression of the disintegration of the capitalist system. In the same way, Andreotti — Italian Foreign Minister — intervenes to limit the attacks by capitalist Germany on the German Workers State (GDR) because he represents a wing of the Italian bourgeoisie which is desperate to maintain links with the Workers States. This wing depends on them economically and is frightened of the war which Yankee imperialism is hell-bent on and which will be the end of them all.

Another important expression of the disintegration of the social authority of the capitalist system is the fact that the new Bishop of Durham, David Jenkins, made a speech which supported the miners

and was anti-capitalist in content. He is a representative not of a mass church, like that of Rome, but a church which is a wing of the State apparatus of British imperialism. On top of this, he is supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury! In other words, the leaders of the state church are distancing themselves from the system of private property which is rotten and an obstacle to the progress of humanity. The same is true of those civil servants who are daily handing government documents to the press and the opposition parties. The vote against Yankee missiles at the Liberal Assembly is in the same context, and confirms the fact that the majority of the population are against this major aspect of Thatcher's programme, preparing for war! It emphasises that Thatcher only received 40% of the vote in the last election and her team is an isolated minority, little more than a dictatorship. The 82% majority in favour of strike by the NACOD's members is yet another case of a comparatively privileged sector feeling that capitalism has no future, and adhering firmly to the working class. The government documents leaked about the sinking of the 'General Belgrano' are a denunciation of the murderous nature

of the capitalist state from within that very state apparatus. Lawson has had to admit that he lied about unemployment coming down, and now says that it will rise this year. He could hardly say much else since the OECD report indicates a rise of two million in the unemployed in capitalist Europe this year. The Thatcher government has nothing to propose in front of this problem. Her statements become progressively more inane, and all she can talk about is repression. The NATO 'Lionheart' exercise was only partially to confront the Soviet Union and its allies since capitalism has already admitted that it cannot match the conventional military forces of the Soviet Union. Its prime aim was to prepare repression against the masses of Europe who will be the natural ally of the Soviets in the process of the war. It was, inevitably, a fiasco because weapons and military force do not decide history, and the capitalist system can now only produce fiascos.

A PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION.

The miners' strike is not just one more strike but an anti-capitalist movement without the necessary

leadership and programme. This is what the Labour Party should discuss at its forthcoming conference. The conditions exist for a General Strike, in support of the miners and with a programme of social transformations. The Labour Party apparatus is desperately trying to divert the Labour left away from the central issue of how to implement the policies adopted at recent Labour Party conferences into 'safe' channels. This is why the whole question of 're-selection' has been raised. It is a diversion! Of course, right wing Labour MPs are concerned to retain their seats but, in the main, the whole issue is intended to divert. In the same sense, Hattersley proposing the tired old ideas of the 'mixed economy' is intended to cause the maximum amount of disruption. Well, Hattersley should be taken up on the question of nationalisation. But not on an abstract level. What the Labour left has to discuss is the fact that, whilst the miners are correct to defend their jobs, there are over four million unemployed and capitalist is preparing for war in the face of the opposition of the majority of the population. The Labour left has to

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MINERS CHILDREN ON A VISIT TO THE GERMAN WORKERS STATE (DDR).

WOMEN, MEN, CHILDREN, THE FAMILY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS 24 | 80

(Text on an exhibition of photographs in West Germany on struggles for female emancipation).

The fact that the DGB (Workers Centre of capitalist Germany) has organised the publication of these photographs on the struggle of the women shows how even the bureaucratic apparatus most linked to capitalism has to maintain this tradition so as not to be by-passed by the left. They are doing this, not with the object of stimulating the intervention of women for the anti-capitalist struggle, but to show that they take account of these problems: and thus to contain the formation of the left. It corresponds to a subterfuge.

In general, they are photographs which show activities; not narratives, analyses, developments of events in which women have intervened. They are photographs which show how from the beginning, how well before capitalism, in the feudal and slave epoch, women participated in social struggles. It is in the capitalist system where they could integrate most of all in the social struggles. But there was no leadership which corresponded to the process and knew how to unite the struggle for the liberation of women with the struggle for social liberation. The correct theoretical conception that there is no independent struggle for liberation of the women, the child and of the old person, but only the struggle for the social liberation of humanity from every form of exploitation, was absent. Thus the feminist movement developed its own particular forms.

It appears that women rebel against the immediate existing cause, which is man. This is through the lack of adequate policy, of theoretical explanation of Marxist interpretation and application on the problem of women and of the child or the old person, which are similar problems. The child, the old person and women have the same problems with lesser degree or different importance, but they have the same problems — the result of the exploitation of the capitalist system.

It is the system of exploitation which develops naturally also a system of exploitation in human relations, and then this is expressed in the family relation where the man wishes to impose

on the woman, the family or the child. Education under capitalism is not for persuasion but via imposition the child must obey. But this is not the result of a natural inclination of the parent or of the mother, but there is no other solution than to do this. The parents cannot dedicate themselves to educate the child because they themselves are not educated, and because they have to dedicate their time in order to live. This means that there is no time for anything, and society is not prepared to resolve these problems because it is a class society.

This applies also to the problem of women. The problem of women which developed with much acuteness from the end of the First World War did not find an answer via consideration and integration in the revolutionary movement. This essentially was through an error of the Communist parties. In the epoch of Lenin there was no Communist Youth (as a separate organisation) nor a Communist feminist movement, but young and old were all in the Party. It was the policy of Stalin which inaugurated the youth or the womens' movement. They were steps to partialise the activity and dedicate an activity towards the petit bourgeoisie to try to win, to attract it by conceding and yielding to the consideration of the backwardness of the petit bourgeoisie and fear of the political concentration of men, women and children and old people which would elevate the political life of the Party. Thus the bureaucracy wanted to separate and divide, to be able to dominate politically better, but this was also through incapacity, a product of the lack of theoretical capacity of the Communist movement led by Stalinism. Hence emerged feminist movements of this nature.

There is no reason for partial or independent movements of women, old people, children or men. The force which exploits them all is the capitalist system, and it is that which provokes problems of family conflicts. This is expressed in the women, the child, the old person, because the worker family does not have the means to confront these problems. Eight people live in a small place, as these photographs show and only one works because the others do not have any work.

How make an equality of man and woman? The man tries to apply in the home what he learns in daily life with the capitalist system, and has to apply it because he has no other way out, no other solution.

He has no other way out, and because he cannot dedicate time to explanation, because he does not have it, because he has to get up early for work to get money to dedicate himself to maintain the family. That is to say, these are all problems which have their roots in the capitalist system and which afterwards were separated in the programme of social struggles because of the mentality of the leaderships, first the Socialist and afterwards Communist parties.

One of our great contributions in the history of the participation of women in social struggles is to have incorporated women in the movement in Argentina in 1936. In that epoch it was an immense scandal to have women in the leadership of the trade union. Even with the backwardness of the comrades, we placed six women in a picket to stop a truck, they were the ones who worked the best of all.

Those who had incorporated women a little had been the anarchists in the Tobacco Union, but in a very limited way. Outside this, there were no women in the trade union movement.

One still sees this limitation in Italy. Trade unions which consist of 40% women do not have women in the trade union leadership. Children work in factories, but are not in the union. These

are all the results of lack of leadership. But this shows the heroism of the proletarian women, of the proletarian grandmother and of the child, who do not take the path of vengeance, of the rancorous reaction against the family, because the family forces them to work because they do not get any money, but elevates and organises the understanding against the capitalist system.

In the bourgeois family this is not the case. There they kill each other. Of a million children of workers' families, one percent have dislocated lives, but in the bourgeois family of three hundred 298 war against each other. They poison, kill and massacre one another. That is to say, on one side there is the sentiment which creates property, individual interest and the use of crime against one's own family to accumulate wealth; and on the other, the workers family which has a sentiment of human understanding and love which does this even in the worst conditions, and elevates understanding that the reason is the capitalist system and not because the parents are bad. The family differences and fights over the conduct of the dispute in the home is very small issue. More and more the unity of the family is elevated in the struggle for social progress.

THE WOMAN MUST NOT BE SUBMITTED THROUGH SOCIAL INFERIORITY.

All these struggles show the combative will of the women who did not submit to the social inferiority which the system of private property imposes. It is the system of private property which puts women in inferior conditions and thus develops social belief, customs, the education and functioning against

woman. It is not man who does this, but capitalist society which utilises power in accordance with exploitation and this develops everywhere at all levels; for the women, the old people and the children. It is the revolutionary movement, the workers' family educated in the struggle for progress which regulates this. They cannot make a just and logical order because there is not one, because they have to work to live, and have to dedicate time to daily life. Even as the working class educates and learns to develop family relations together with the social struggle for the progress of society. As parties or trade unions were not prepared in time to incorporate women, children and old people in the social struggles, then these struggles are stopped not through bad intentions of those who do this — the radicals and so on — but because it is a necessity, an urgent necessity to which the unions and the parties do not provide an answer.

Where is there a female trade union leader of importance in the trade unions in Italy, for example? There are some small white collar unions, but in trade unions like textiles or shoe-makers up to a short time ago there were none! Now they are beginning to put them there. They cannot help but develop an independent women's movement.

Where are the women in the workers' parties? There is one, two, three or four — and no more. It is part of the conception of capitalist society to make the woman an instrument of use, to be sexually exploited, or exploited in the work of the home. This occurs through the division of labour, the division which capitalist society establishes to keep women producing children and thus occupied with the child, which reduces their capacity to attend to the family and work at the same time.

Capitalism extends this relation to all the activities, and the woman is inferior to the man because capitalism decides this, because she has to have the child, has to bring it up, has to work and do the domestic tasks, because it is she who is submitted to this work. But there is no need for this as it is a result of the capitalist relations. Tomorrow the liberation of women will not be the product only of culture and knowledge, but it will no longer be necessary for

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LATIN AMERICA

A Selection of Articles (1973 to 1981)

J. POSADAS

SCIENTIFIC CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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THE T.U.C. CONFERENCE

A defeat for capitalism

The TUC Conference this year marks a new stage in the crisis of the capitalist system in the sense that it represents a deepening crisis of an apparatus upon which capitalism is seated in order to survive. The Conference voted in support of NATO, did not discuss Ireland, and threw out the Greenham Common Women. That is to say, it is an apparatus that does not represent the working class, and which is dedicated to the continuation of the capitalist system. The end of capitalism is the end of it, as an apparatus. The Workers' Centre will not disappear, but this structure will be — and is being — smashed as the working class build a new structure within the centralisation already acquired. However, the Conference also supported the miners' strike. It reiterated the programme of unilateral disarmament, the need for the 35-hour week and the national minimum wage. The isolation of Sirs, Chappel, Grantham, Duffy etc., represents a shift of the centre of gravity of the apparatus towards the left, and this is a measure of the pressure and force that have come to be exerted against the apparatus.

The permanent apparatus of the TUC — most to the right — the General Council has sought all along to take the leadership of the miners' strike in order to break it. In this activity they have acted as the direct agent of the capitalist class inside the workers' movement. They are the representatives of what is left of the old workers' aristocracy built by British imperialism at the time of its expansion. However, the miners and their leadership have not allowed them any important concession, far from it. The agreement struck between the General Council and the NUM previous to the Conference was a concession to the miners, and Sirs immediately denounced it as the first step towards a General Strike. But, as the General Council knew that the TUC Conference was going to discuss a resolution of full support to the miners, and that it would be impossible to defend there a policy of total betrayal to them, it had to make concessions to the NUM. It was forced to accept a compromise which went against the far right of Sirs, Duffy and company. This means that, to maintain its authority, the General Council had to isolate the sector most directly representative of capitalism. In that process, sectors like that of Len Murray feel that their previous role is being eroded away and that, in the future, they will have to take account of the pressure of the working class. This is why Murray took, over a period of some time, the decision to go. Others stay in the hope that they can contain later. The apparatus has not changed, and will not change. However, by having to isolate and remove sectors most of the right the apparatus has to weaken its links with capitalism and, therefore, it weakens its ability to resist the onslaught of the working class. Besides, the pressure and unity of the workers is mounting, and the dockers' strikes have been repeated proofs of a very insecure situation for the government. Today, the resolution of the NACOD's super-

visors to join the miners' strike is a very important sign that the balance of forces is in favour of the miners. The miners' strike has made many gains. But the changes it has imposed against the bourgeois apparatus of the TUC will remain one of the most important, because they are irreversible and a base for further advance.

THE NEED FOR A PROGRAMME THAT SEEKS THE WORKERS STATE

The system of representation by which one delegate votes for millions of workers is becoming a source of insecurity for the apparatus. Over a million vote in support can easily become a six thousand against, on second count. That is to say, victories obtained this way will be swept away immediately the workers are consulted on anything, and it is only a matter of time. The vote cast for the new General Secretary, Willis, however, of seven million against two, shows that there is a huge pressure — much greater at the base — to contain the right wing. Whilst McGahey received an ovation for saying that 'one should not accept the unjust law of the boss', Bill Sirs, Chappel and Duffy were prevented from speaking. As a whole, and even for an apparatus that supports NATO, the speech of Kinnock was of the right and very much rejected. It shows how the pressure of the working class unsettles all the apparatuses and forces them on the defensive. Such 'leaders' will not even arise when the working class intervenes directly on the scene of history.

The TUC Conference has shown how vulnerable the apparatuses of the workers' aristocracy and Labour bureaucracy have become. The miners, basing themselves on the support of the rest of the working class and masses, have defeated the sinister intentions of the right, and helped to isolate them. The isolation of the sectors most linked to capitalism forms part of the neces-

sary weakening of the apparatus, previous to the advance of the left, in the Trade Unions particularly.

It is necessary to discuss in the trade unions the invasion capitalism carries out in their midst. The campaigns for 'the right to return to work' (in cases where sometimes it is only one miner involved) are highlighted by capitalism with the same tenacity as it highlighted the Solidarnosc movement in Poland when it became a tool of anti-Workers State activity. In both instances, capitalism supports the right of a handful of individuals because they further the interests of capitalism. However the defeat of Duffy and Sirs is a defeat of capitalism, for the same reason. But, to combat effectively this class barrage in the trade union, it is necessary to adopt a programme. It is necessary to give support to the Peace Women (who came to the Conference in search of that support) and allow them to speak in all the meetings of the Unions. The 35-hour week without loss of pay must be sought systematically in all industries and internationally. The ever-rising level of unemployment is the result of capitalism's inability to use technological advance for the benefit of the population. The 35-hour week proposes that the hours worked are matched to the necessary production for the needs of the population. If capitalism cannot give it, then it has to be said that there is a better form of society and economy that gives it: the Workers State.

There must be a unification of all the Trade Unions of the World against the war capitalism is preparing, against the Yankee missiles, for the 35-hour week, and in support of all workers in struggle. Whilst the Workers States advance with technology and without unemployment, they show the way ahead. They want peace, because they do not need war; but capitalism wants and needs war, if only to continue to operate. There is the need for discussions in the trade unions, to seek a democratic representation of the workers in the leaderships, and the adoption of a programme genuinely in the workers' interests — which the TUC — with its present structure, never will be. To obtain this, one must increase the new forms and organisms, such as those the miners and their wives have constructed in the masses and in the workers' areas. These organisms will be the means by which to free the workers from the pressure to submit to capitalism of the present apparatus of the TUC, without breaking the centralisation of the TUC.

THE PRESS -

RADIO, TELEVISION, MUST BE CONTROLLED BY THE POPULATION

After long discussions, the TUC finally came round to the old conclusion that there is no possibility of a Labour Party paper, because the trade unions do not apparently have the resources to sustain it.

But this is not the real reason. The real reasons are that the conservative apparatus, with the trade unions and the Labour Party, are afraid that a daily Labour Party organ might become — in spite of them — a forum of discussion which could stimulate objective discussions beyond their control.

For a long time the apparatus has gone along quite happily without a paper and the reasons for not having one are even more applicable now than in the past. They had the right wing Daily Herald which founded because it was so boring and so apparatus a paper. From the point of view of the apparatus, as they only want a Labour Party electoral machine and no discussion of principles, being without a paper is a good thing.

When the dominant trade union apparatus claims to be unable to solve the problem of the paper, it is a mark of its immense hypocrisy. They like to play the role of the poor creature knocked about by Thatcher. This is sheer humbug. The reality is that these people do not want to do anything against the system. One moment they will cheer Scargill, and the next moment cheer Kinnock's attack on the miners over the 'violence' issue. They are people with very flexible spines.

More than ever with the advance of the Labour left, the trade union apparatus does not want even the faintest wiff of a discussion. They cannot guarantee as in the past that all will remain under their iron control. However numerous this apparatus, they sense that the process does not reproduce the conditions which produced them and their con-

trol of the workers' movement is not as it was. The fact that Scargill exists is a proof of the beginning of the fall of the apparatus.

The only way that it will be possible to tackle the problem of a national paper for the Labour Party is through the construction of a consistent Labour left on the basis of Marxism. To liquidate the right wing in the Labour Party, which also means the elimination of the pernicious role of the reactionary apparatus in the trade unions, means the elevation of the existing forces of the left with a clear anti-capitalist programme based on an understanding of the role of the Workers States, without which no perspective is possible. This is linked to developing links with the population and developing publications of the left, which invite discussion on the basis of the need for social transformations and the central role of the Workers State.

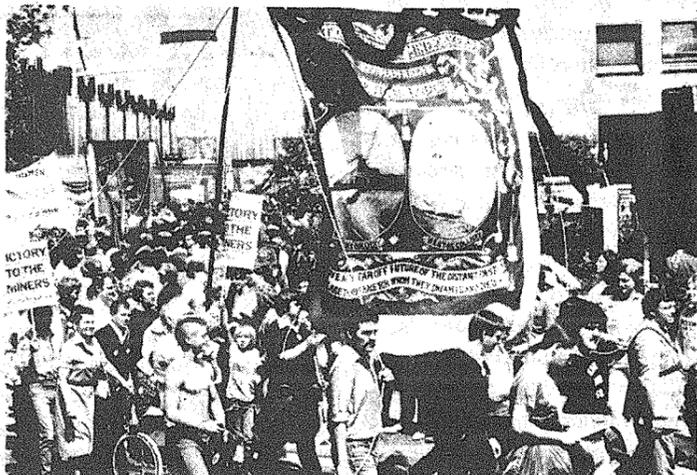
The absence of a daily newspaper is a commentary on the absence of a party in Britain which is really linked to the masses and operates on the basis of meeting their needs. The problem of the paper focuses attention on the problems of programme, application of programme, drawing conclusions, and making changes. The growth of the left in the Labour Party has shown that the Labour Party cannot escape the pressure of the masses for changes, but, at the same time, the structure of the party and its links with the trade union apparatus remains immensely conservative. Objectively, it is absurd that with an event as important as the miners' strike there is no newspaper which reports all the workers' experiences and acts as a communicator between all the sectors of the working population, giving orientation and representing the class interests of the population against the private property interests of the exploiters.

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SUPPLEMENT

THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION (Extracts)

J. Posadas 8.3.81



MINERS DEMONSTRATION IN NEWCASTLE (EARLIER IN THE STRIKE).

the woman to be confined to the house or preparing the meal. There are going to be meals for a hundred thousand at once. It is not going to be necessary for a mother to be responsible for her five children and another for her five children; society is going to educate them altogether and no mother is going to feel that her son has been expropriated, but educated socially for the interest of society.

Today it is not like this, because the means to educate, culture and knowledge, are differentiated. The class struggle still establishes the differentiation.

These struggles in the photographs show that women feel as men the necessity to intervene in the social struggles — thus all the women who intervene in these struggles — some intellectually, very intelligent like Rosa Luxemburg, like Goldman, Clara Zetkin and Vera Vigner, — did not dedicate themselves to their career but to liberate humanity.

The struggle for the independence of women shows that it is a result of the existence of capitalist society which impels the women to struggle, and of the immaturity of the workers' movement. With the Russian Revolution and with the Party of Lenin, the women were assimilated in the same struggles with the men. But still there was not the maturity in the workers' vanguard to understand this, nor the material conditions, after the triumph of the Revolution to extend this. Hence there was a retreat, not as a result of incapacity or backwardness, but through the relations of world forces which were unfavourable to the extension of the Russian Revolution. But the Revolution showed that it was a necessary and just revolution. It did not develop in time but maintained itself and returned to develop.

This is a general explanation of these photographs on the history of the participation of women in social struggles. We render homage to all the women, the children, the old people, to all the combative will of women — not of women but as the human being who does not let herself be subordinated through social inferiority (not sexual, but social) to which the capitalist system condemns her; that is, to be mother, worker, and to look after the home. In spite of this, women have incorporated themselves into social struggles. Thus intelligence came and developed through the development of social relations, not through the teaching of the capitalist system. It was thanks to the social struggles where women learned to understand that they

were inferior not as a result of men but as a result of the system of private property. It was the Workers States which expressed this equality. This is still not correct, nor of the level which is necessary, but it is the Workers States where it is demonstrated that women advance in their level of social relations, of equality with man as human beings not as man and woman, of sexes which copulate, but as human beings divided into two sexes — because this was the process of nature and society tends to exploit it. This shows that the will and necessity of Socialism is not the result of the will which comes from any one, but from the development of life. Life creates the necessity and the will to be freed from the society of capitalism, and women from their submission to the system of private property both in their work place and the home.

This can only end with the elimination of the capitalist system and it is the backwardness of the Communist parties that they do not have in their programmes the incorporation of women. It is the lack of political life in the trade unions, the lack of theoretical life, of the development of ideas, which thus diminishes the understanding of the Party and does not tend to develop the scientific understanding towards women, but only the social understanding which capitalism imposes.

In spite of this, the will of the woman has not diminished. On the contrary, all this female movement which exists in the world has a characteristic which unites it to all the will to struggle against the capitalist system.

The norm of the feminist movement is the struggle against the capitalist system, which shows that the experience of the Russian Revolution and of the Workers States has its effects on the consciousness, in the mind, and in the understanding of human beings, the women and children and the old people. It is the struggle for Socialism — the levels, the influence of the existing Workers States, including China — which influences humanity and gives confidence and security to the child, the old person and the woman that this difference, separation — this division between man, woman, child and old person — is transitory.

Still, without having a level and scientific understanding of all the process they feel, sense and work with this understanding — because the feminist movements have not had, nor are going to have, any success. They can have success in a meeting or two, or in a very small number, but the women of the world feel that they struggle for the same as the men, from the experience which

they see in life and in the Workers States; not because they see struggles in civil wars but through the experience of daily social struggles. There is an elevation of sentiment and of human consciousness of the man and the woman which identifies them. The separation of the sexes is not the separation of human beings. The separation of the sexes is the unity of the human being, and they see and work according to this. Hence, in Polisario, they advance in this way.

All this is not shown in these photographs, above all the influence of Polisario in the world struggle for the liberation of women and of capitalist society. Half of Polisario is made up of women, and there are paintings and photographs which show this very well — as, for example, the woman who is with her son and has a rifle by her side, bigger than she is. The child who is in the arms of the mother and who cannot move looks at the rifle, looks as if she would take it, and there is no sentiment of aggression nor of contempt. The rifle, like the son, are for progress — and so they unite. These photographs are missing, and there are many women in the same activity, many between twenty or twentyfive showing that maternity is not against the rifle, but the latter is the maintenance of maternity.

The resolution of Khomeini that the woman has to use the veil in Iran does not have much perspective of developing. Polisario means thousands. It is a small movement, the movement of Khomeini has much money and power. Polisario, no. Polisario is going to educate the masses of Iran, not Iran educating the masses of Polisario. It is the women of Polisario who are educating the women of the Khomeini movement, who throw off the veil, who continue fighting, and have a rifle belt at their side, and who are the result of Polisario but also of the Russian Revolution, of the Chinese Revolution, and of the Cuban Revolution; that is the relation of world forces is total, military, political, masculine, feminine, and including the old people and the children. The smallest country like Polisario influences the Muslim women not Khomeini because the Muslim woman is prepared for the Russian Revolution, for the Chinese Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. These women are preparing and learning from these experiences. They do not follow the religious rites but the conclusion of these experience of intelligence that woman is the equal of man and has to intervene with men.

J. POSADAS 24:1.80

apply its own programme to the miners' strike and to mobilise the whole population on this basis. For example, the TUC has adopted the demand for the 35-hour week and the Labour left has to generalise this demand. It is a simple proposal to match the number of hours worked with the necessary production for the needs of the population. However, capitalism is incapable of doing this, it doesn't even pretend it can! It can only really be done with an economy which is nationalised, planned and under workers' control. This is how Hattersley has to be answered! What is discussed at the Labour Party conference is important, but much more important is to raise the discussion amongst the masses, in the factories, workers' areas and universities. The Labour left has to raise the widest possible discussion on the basis of the reality that capitalism is in its final crisis and can do nothing for the advance of humanity, that the world balance of forces is favourable to the transformation of society, and that the Workers States (Socialist Countries) are the basis for the advance of the process of social transformation.

29th September 1984.

Selected Texts of J. Posadas.

- Soviet Democracy and the actual form of the political revolution in Poland 1.20
- The counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State 1.35
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From page 3 THE LABOUR PARTY PRESS.

EXPROPRIATION OF THE PRESS UNDER WORKERS' CONTROL.

It is important to raise not only the issue of the need for a central daily organ for the masses, but the associated issue on the need to incorporate in the programme of the Labour Party the nationalisation under workers' control of all the organs of communication, eliminating the private ownership of the means of publication, and make them available for the expression of opinion by the population, not the representatives of capitalism. This is the democratic solution, and should be argued for as against the incessant garbage written about a 'free press'. The so-called 'free press' in Britain is submitted to the slavery of the capitalist point of view. The laws of capitalist economy apply to the press — only huge financial resources allow such papers to survive on a diet of rubbish organised by capitalism.

The so-called state 'independent' corporations in television and radio also work within the structure of capitalist opinion. The left has to be quite clear on these problems — the press is an instrument directly of capitalist interests, but it is not sufficient to complain, it is necessary to propose with equal vehemence the alternative — expropriation under workers' control. Over many years sectors of workers have prevented capitalist articles being published attacking workers on strike etc. Within this lies a principle — the proletariat needs its own organs of opinion, open to its control, and rejecting the capitalist control of the means of communication.

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We salute the formation of the Communist Party in Ethiopia

EDITORIAL

A GENERAL STRIKE TO ADVANCE THE MINERS' STRIKE WITH A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The miners maintain themselves as the vanguard of the anti-capitalist struggle in this country, despite the absence of leadership from the Labour Party or TUC, on the basis of the favourable world balance of forces. The speech of Gromyko at the UN destroys any suggestion that there is uncertainty or major division in the Soviet leadership. The removal of Marshal Ogarkov — an event which has given the bourgeoisie an excuse for speculation about the Soviet leadership — is an important event because a leader of the Red Army has been removed at a time when imperialism is feverishly preparing for war against the Soviet Union. Clearly, such an important event should have been more openly explained by the Soviet leadership, and more widely discussed among the Soviet masses. This underlines the need for a greater participation of the Soviet masses in the formulation of policy. However, the level of democracy in the Soviet Union, where major world issues are discussed by Soviet leaders in the factories, is infinitely superior to democracy under capitalism. At Greenham Common peaceful demonstrators are arrested simply for demonstrating, and millions are thrown out of work without any discussion whatsoever. Gromyko clearly defined the nature of imperialism at this stage of history, that it is preparing for war and manoeuvring for a 'first strike' against the Soviet Union. He also made it clear that there was no possibility of cosy 'local agreements' — as Reagan proposed — no more Yalta or Tehrans behind which imperialism could prepare to launch the war. Gromyko's speech indicates that there is no insecurity or division in the Soviet leaders on the fundamental issue of war and the world system against system confrontation. Reagan's electoral campaign, devoid as it is of any proposal to advance the economy of the United States and the living standards of the population, is a confirmation of the fact that all imperialism is interested in is preparing for war. The

Soviets have made it clear that they know what time of day it is in world terms, but there is a necessity, however, for the Soviet leadership to explain its policies much more widely both to the Soviet masses and to those of the capitalist countries.

CAPITALISM DISINTEGRATES.

There is a discussion, and there are differences on tactics amongst the Soviet leadership and between the Soviet leadership and those of other Workers states, but these are problems of the process of advancing from the Workers state to Socialism. World capitalism is riven with differences, but these are a product of its disintegration. The Pope's condemnation of Imperialism and the repression of the masses — made in Canada — is part of this disintegration. He speaks like this because a large sector of the Church — particularly, but not only, in Latin America — has joined the revolution and because he sees that the capitalist system has no future. He hopes, in vain of course, that he can disassociate the Church from capitalism so that when the crash comes — as it will shortly — somehow the Church will survive. For all this, it is a powerful expression of the disintegration of the capitalist system. In the same way, Andreotti — Italian Foreign Minister — intervenes to limit the attacks by capitalist Germany on the German Workers State (GDR) because he represents a wing of the Italian bourgeoisie which is desperate to maintain links with the Workers States. This wing depends on them economically and is frightened of the war which Yankee imperialism is hell-bent on and which will be the end of them all.

Another important expression of the disintegration of the social authority of the capitalist system is the fact that the new Bishop of Durham, David Jenkins, made a speech which supported the miners

and was anti-capitalist in content. He is a representative not of a mass church, like that of Rome, but a church which is a wing of the State apparatus of British imperialism. On top of this, he is supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury! In other words, the leaders of the state church are distancing themselves from the system of private property which is rotten and an obstacle to the progress of humanity. The same is true of those civil servants who are daily handing government documents to the press and the opposition parties. The vote against Yankee missiles at the Liberal Assembly is in the same context, and confirms the fact that the majority of the population are against this major aspect of Thatcher's programme, preparing for war! It emphasises that Thatcher only received 40% of the vote in the last election and her team is an isolated minority, little more than a dictatorship. The 82% majority in favour of strike by the NACOD's members is yet another case of a comparatively privileged sector feeling that capitalism has no future, and adhering firmly to the working class. The government documents leaked about the sinking of the 'General Belgrano' are a denunciation of the murderous nature

of the capitalist state from within that very state apparatus. Lawson has had to admit that he lied about unemployment coming down, and now says that it will rise this year. He could hardly say much else since the OECD report indicates a rise of two million in the unemployed in capitalist Europe this year. The Thatcher government has nothing to propose in front of this problem. Her statements become progressively more inane, and all she can talk about is repression. The NATO 'Lionheart' exercise was only partially to confront the Soviet Union and its allies since capitalism has already admitted that it cannot match the conventional military forces of the Soviet Union. Its prime aim was to prepare repression against the masses of Europe who will be the natural ally of the Soviets in the process of the war. It was, inevitably, a fiasco because weapons and military force do not decide history, and the capitalist system can now only produce fiascos.

A PROGRAMME FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION.

The miners' strike is not just one more strike but an anti-capitalist movement without the necessary

leadership and programme. This is what the Labour Party should discuss at its forthcoming conference. The conditions exist for a General Strike, in support of the miners and with a programme of social transformations. The Labour Party apparatus is desperately trying to divert the Labour left away from the central issue of how to implement the policies adopted at recent Labour Party conferences into 'safe' channels. This is why the whole question of 're-selection' has been raised. It is a diversion! Of course, right wing Labour MPs are concerned to retain their seats but, in the main, the whole issue is intended to divert. In the same sense, Hattersley proposing the tired old ideas of the 'mixed economy' is intended to cause the maximum amount of disruption. Well, Hattersley should be taken up on the question of nationalisation. But not on an abstract level. What the Labour left has to discuss is the fact that, whilst the miners are correct to defend their jobs, there are over four million unemployed and capitalist is preparing for war in the face of the opposition of the majority of the population. The Labour left has to

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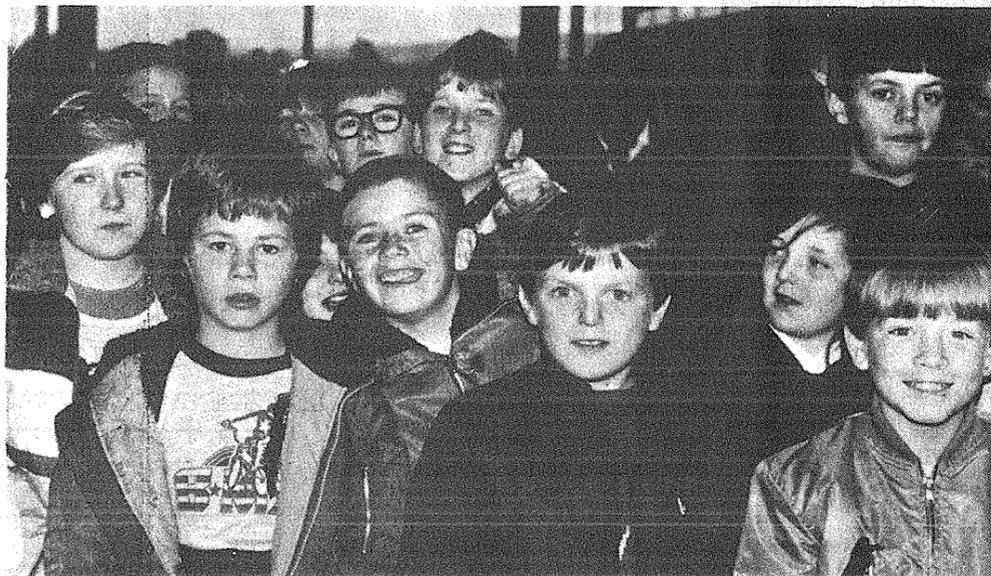
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MINERS CHILDREN ON A VISIT TO THE GERMAN WORKERS STATE (DDR).

THE FAMILY From page 2

the woman to be confined to the house or preparing the meal. There are going to be meals for a hundred thousand at once. It is not going to be necessary for a mother to be responsible for her five children and another for her five children; society is going to educate them altogether and no mother is going to feel that her son has been expropriated, but educated socially for the interest of society.

Today it is not like this, because the means to educate, culture and knowledge, are differentiated. The class struggle still establishes the differentiation.

These struggles in the photographs show that women feel as men the necessity to intervene in the social struggles - thus all the women who intervene in these struggles - some intellectually, very intelligent like Rosa Luxemburg, like Goldman, Clara Zetkin and Vera Vigner, - did not dedicate themselves to their career but to liberate humanity.

The struggle for the independence of women shows that it is a result of the existence of capitalist society which impels the women to struggle, and of the immaturity of the workers' movement. With the Russian Revolution and with the Party of Lenin, the women were assimilated in the same struggles with the men. But still there was not the maturity in the workers' vanguard to understand this, nor the material conditions, after the triumph of the Revolution to extend this. Hence there was a retreat, not as a result of incapacity or backwardness, but through the relations of world forces which were unfavourable to the extension of the Russian Revolution. But the Revolution showed that it was a necessary and just revolution. It did not develop in time but maintained itself and returned to develop.

This is a general explanation of these photographs on the history of the participation of women in social struggles. We render homage to all the women, the children, the old people, to all the combative will of women - not of women but as the human being who does not let herself be subordinated through social inferiority (not sexual, but social) to which the capitalist system condemns her; that is, to be mother, worker, and to look after the home. In spite of this, women have incorporated themselves into social struggles. Thus intelligence came and developed through the development of social relations, not through the teaching of the capitalist system. It was thanks to the social struggles where women learned to understand that they

were inferior not as a result of men but as a result of the system of private property. It was the Workers States which expressed this equality. This is still not correct, nor of the level which is necessary, but it is the Workers States where it is demonstrated that women advance in their level of social relations, of equality with man as human beings not as man and woman, of sexes which copulate, but as human beings divided into two sexes - because this was the process of nature and society tends to exploit it. This shows that the will and necessity of Socialism is not the result of the will which comes from any one, but from the development of life. Life creates the necessity and the will to be freed from the society of capitalism, and women from their submission to the system of private property both in their work place and the home.

This can only end with the elimination of the capitalist system and it is the backwardness of the Communist parties that they do not have in their programmes the incorporation of women. It is the lack of political life in the trade unions, the lack of theoretical life, of the development of ideas, which thus diminishes the understanding of the Party and does not tend to develop the scientific understanding towards women, but only the social understanding which capitalism imposes.

In spite of this, the will of the woman has not diminished. On the contrary, all this female movement which exists in the world has a characteristic which unites it to all the will to struggle against the capitalist system.

The norm of the feminist movement is the struggle against the capitalist system, which shows that the experience of the Russian Revolution and of the Workers States has its effects on the consciousness, in the mind, and in the understanding of human beings, the women and children and the old people. It is the struggle for Socialism - the levels, the influence of the existing Workers States, including China - which influences humanity and gives confidence and security to the child, the old person and the woman that this difference, separation - this division between man, woman, child and old person - is transitory.

Still, without having a level and scientific understanding of all the process they feel, sense and work with this understanding - because the feminist movements have not had, nor are going to have, any success. They can have success in a meeting or two, or in a very small number, but the women of the world feel that they struggle for the same as the men, from the experience which

they see in life and in the Workers States; not because they see struggles in civil wars but through the experience of daily social struggles. There is an elevation of sentiment and of human consciousness of the man and the woman which identifies them. The separation of the sexes is not the separation of human beings. The separation of the sexes is the unity of the human being, and they see and work according to this. Hence, in Polisario, they advance in this way.

All this is not shown in these photographs, above all the influence of Polisario in the world struggle for the liberation of women and of capitalist society. Half of Polisario is made up of women, and there are paintings and photographs which show this very well - as, for example, the woman who is with her son and has a rifle by her side, bigger that she is. The child who is in the arms of the mother and who cannot move looks at the rifle, and there is no sentiment of aggression nor of contempt. The rifle, like the son, are for progress - and so they unite. These photographs are missing, and there are many women in the same activity, many between twenty or twentyfive showing that maternity is not against the rifle, but the latter is the maintenance of maternity.

The resolution of Khomeini that the woman has to use the veil in Iran does not have much perspective of developing. Polisario means thousands. It is a small movement, the movement of Khomeini has much money and power. Polisario, no. Polisario is going to educate the masses of Iran, not Iran educating the masses of Polisario. It is the women of Polisario who are educating the women of the Khomeini movement, who throw off the veil, who continue fighting, and have a rifle belt at their side, and who are the result of Polisario but also of the Russian Revolution, of the Chinese Revolution, and of the Cuban Revolution; that is the relation of world forces is total, military, political, masculine, feminine, and including the old people and the children. The smallest country like Polisario influences the Muslim women not Khomeini because the Muslim woman is prepared for the Russian Revolution, for the Chinese Revolution and the Cuban Revolution. These women are preparing and learning from these experiences. They do not follow the religious rites but the conclusion of these experience of intelligence that woman is the equal of man and has to intervene with men.

J. POSADAS 24:1.80

Editorial From page 1

apply its own programme to the miners' strike and to mobilise the whole population on this basis. For example, the TUC has adopted the demand for the 35-hour week and the Labour left has to generalise this demand. It is a simple proposal with the necessary production for the needs of the population. However, capitalism is incapable of doing this. It doesn't even pretend it can! It can only really be done with an economy which is nationalised, planned and under workers' control. This is how Hattersley has to be answered! What is discussed at the Labour Party conference is important, but much more important is to raise the discussion amongst the masses, in the factories, workers' areas and universities. The Labour left has to raise the widest possible discussion on the basis of the reality that capitalism is in its final crisis and can do nothing for the advance of humanity. That the world balance of forces is favourable to the transformation of society, and that the Workers States (Socialist Countries) are the basis for the advance of the process of social transformation.

29th September 1984.

Selected Texts of J.Posadas

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From page 3 THE LABOUR PARTY PRESS.

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WOMEN, MEN, CHILDREN, THE FAMILY AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS

24 | 80

(Text on an exhibition of photographs in West Germany on struggles for female emancipation).

The fact that the DGB (Workers Centre of capitalist Germany) has organised the publication of these photographs on the struggle of the women shows how even the bureaucratic apparatus most linked to capitalism has to maintain this tradition so as not to be by-passed by the left. They are doing this, not with the object of stimulating the intervention of women for the anti-capitalist struggle, but to show that they take account of these problems: and thus to contain the formation of the left. It corresponds to a subterfuge.

In general, they are photographs which show activities; not narratives, analyses, developments of events in which women have intervened. They are photographs which show how from the beginning, how well before capitalism, in the feudal and slave epoch, women participated in social struggles. It is in the capitalist system where they could integrate most of all in the social struggles. But there was no leadership which corresponded to the process and knew how to unite the struggle for the liberation of women with the struggle for social liberation. The correct theoretical conception that there is no independent struggle for liberation of the women, the child and of the old person, but only the struggle for the social liberation of humanity from every form of exploitation, was absent. Thus the feminist movement developed its own particular forms.

It appears that women rebel against the immediate existing cause, which is man. This is through the lack of adequate policy, of theoretical explanation of Marxist interpretation and application on the problem of women and of the child or the old person, which are similar problems. The child, the old person and women have the same problems with lesser degree or different importance, but they have the same problems — the result of the exploitation of the capitalist system.

It is the system of exploitation which develops naturally also a system of exploitation in human relations, and then this is expressed in the family relation where the man wishes to impose

on the woman, the family or the child. Education under capitalism is not for persuasion but via imposition the child must obey. But this is not the result of a natural inclination of the parent or of the mother, but there is no other solution than to do this. The parents cannot dedicate themselves to educate the child because they themselves are not educated, and because they have to dedicate their time in order to live. This means that there is no time for anything, and society is not prepared to resolve these problems because it is a class society.

This applies also to the problem of women. The problem of women which developed with much acuteness from the end of the First World War did not find an answer via consideration and integration in the revolutionary movement. This essentially was through an error of the Communist parties. In the epoch of Lenin there was no Communist Youth (as a separate organisation) nor a Communist feminist movement, but young and old were all in the Party. It was the policy of Stalin which inaugurated the youth or the women's movement. They were steps to partialise the activity and dedicate an activity towards the petit bourgeoisie to try to win, to attract it by conceding and yielding to the consideration of the backwardness of the petit bourgeoisie and fear of the political concentration of men, women and children and old people which would elevate the political life of the Party. Thus the bureaucracy wanted to separate and divide, to be able to dominate politically better, but this was also through incapacity, a product of the lack of theoretical capacity of the Communist movement led by Stalinism. Hence emerged feminist movements of this nature.

There is no reason for partial or independent movements of women, old people, children or men. The force which exploits them all is the capitalist system, and it is that which provokes problems of family conflicts. This is expressed in the women, the child, the old person, because the worker family does not have the means to confront these problems. Eight people live in a small place, as these photographs show and only one works because the others do not have any work.

How make an equality of man and woman? The man tries to apply in the home what he learns in daily life with the capitalist system, and has to apply it because he has no other way out, no other solution.

He has no other way out, and because he cannot dedicate time to explanation, because he does not have it, because he has to get up early for work to get money to dedicate himself to maintain the family. That is to say, these are all problems which have their roots in the capitalist system and which afterwards were separated in the programme of social struggles because of the mentality of the leaderships, first the Socialist and afterwards Communist parties.

One of our great contributions in the history of the participation of women in social struggles is to have incorporated women in the leadership of the workers' movement in Argentina in 1936. In that epoch it was an immense scandal to have women in the leadership of the trade union. Even with the backwardness of the comrades, we placed six women in a picket to stop a truck, they were the ones who worked best of all.

Those who had incorporated women a little had been the anarchists in the Tobacco Union, but in a very limited way. Outside this, there were no women in the trade union movement.

One still sees this limitation in Italy. Trade unions which consist of 40% women do not have women in the trade union leadership. Children work in factories, but are not in the union. These

are all the results of lack of leadership. But this shows the heroism of the proletarian women, of the proletarian grandmother and of the child, who do not take the path of vengeance, of the rancorous reaction against the family, because the family forces them to work because they do not get any money, but elevates and organises the understanding against the capitalist system.

In the bourgeois family this is not the case. There they kill each other. Of a million children of workers' families, one percent have dislocated lives, but in the bourgeois family of three hundred 298 war against each other. They poison, kill and massacre one another. That is to say, on one side there is the sentiment which creates property, individual interest and the use of crime against one's own family to accumulate wealth; and on the other, the workers family which has a sentiment of human understanding and love which does this even in the worst conditions, and elevates understanding that the reason is the capitalist system and not because the parents are bad. The family differences and fights over the conduct of the dispute in the home is very small issue. More and more the unity of the family is elevated in the struggle for social progress.

THE WOMAN MUST NOT BE SUBMITTED THROUGH SOCIAL INFERIORITY.

All these struggles show the combative will of the women who did not submit to the social inferiority which the system of private property imposes. It is the system of private property which puts women in inferior conditions and thus develops social belief, customs, the education and functioning against

woman. It is not man who does this, but capitalist society which utilises power in accordance with exploitation and this develops everywhere at all levels; for the women, the old people and the children. It is the revolutionary movement, the workers' family educated in the struggle for progress which regulates this. They cannot make a just and logical order because there is not one, because they have to work to live, and have to dedicate time to daily life. Even as the working class educates and learns to develop family relations together with the social struggle for the progress of society. As parties or trade unions were not prepared in time to incorporate women, children and old people in the social struggles, then these struggles are stopped not through bad intentions of those who do this — the radicals and so on — but because it is a necessity, an urgent necessity to which the unions and the parties do not provide an answer.

Where is there a female trade union leader of importance in the trade unions in Italy, for example? There are some small white collar unions, but in trade unions like textiles or shoe-makers up to a short time ago there were none! Now they are beginning to put them there. They cannot help but develop an independent women's movement.

Where are the women in the workers' parties? There is one, two, three or four — and no more. It is part of the conception of capitalist society to make the woman an instrument of use, to be sexually exploited, or exploited in the work of the home. This occurs through the division of labour, the division which capitalist society establishes to keep women producing children and thus occupied with the child, which reduces their capacity to attend to the family and work at the same time.

Capitalism extends this relation to all the activities, and the woman is inferior to the man because capitalism decides this, because she has to have the child, has to bring it up, has to work and do the domestic tasks, because it is she who is submitted to this work. But there is no need for this as it is a result of the capitalist relations. Tomorrow the liberation of women will not be the product only of culture and knowledge, but it will no longer be necessary for

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LATIN AMERICA

A Selection of Articles (1973 to 1981)

J. POSADAS

SCIENTIFIC CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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THE T.U.C. CONFERENCE

A defeat for capitalism

The TUC Conference this year marks a new stage in the crisis of the capitalist system in the sense that it represents a deepening crisis of an apparatus upon which capitalism is seated in order to survive. The Conference voted in support of NATO, did not discuss Ireland, and threw out the Greenham Common Women. That is to say, it is an apparatus that does not represent the working class, and which is dedicated to the continuation of the capitalist system. The end of capitalism is the end of it, as an apparatus. The Workers' Centre will not disappear, but this structure will be — and is being — smashed as the working class build a new structure within the centralisation already acquired. However, the Conference also supported the miners' strike. It reiterated the programme of unilateral disarmament, the need for the 35-hour week and the national minimum wage. The isolation of Sirs, Chappel, Grantham, Duffy etc., represents a shift of the centre of gravity of the apparatus towards the left, and this is a measure of the pressure and force that have come to be exerted against the apparatus.

The permanent apparatus of the TUC — most to the right — the General Council has sought all along to take the leadership of the miners' strike in order to break it. In this activity they have acted as the direct agent of the capitalist class inside the workers' movement. They are the representatives of what is left of the old workers' aristocracy built by British imperialism at the time of its expansion. However, the miners and their leadership have not allowed them any important concession, far from it. The agreement struck between the General Council and the NUM previous to the Conference was a concession to the miners, and Sirs immediately denounced it as the first step towards a General Strike. But, as the General Council knew that the TUC Conference was going to discuss a resolution of full support to the miners, and that it would be impossible to defend there a policy of total betrayal to them, it had to make concessions to the NUM. It was forced to accept a compromise which went against the far right of Sirs, Duffy and company. This means that, to maintain its authority, the General Council had to isolate the sector most directly representative of capitalism. In that process, sectors like that of Len Murray feel that their previous role is being eroded away and that, in the future, they will have to take account of the pressure of the working class. This is why Murray took, over a period of some time, the decision to go. Others stay in the hope that they can contain later. The apparatus has not changed, and will not change. However, by having to isolate and remove sectors most of the right the apparatus has to weaken its links with capitalism and, therefore, it weakens its ability to resist the onslaught of the working class. Besides, the pressure and unity of the workers is mounting, and the dockers' strikes have been repeated proofs of a very insecure situation for the government. Today, the resolution of the NACOD's super-

visors to join the miners' strike is a very important sign that the balance of forces is in favour of the miners. The miners' strike has made many gains. But the changes it has imposed against the bourgeois apparatus of the TUC will remain one of the most important, because they are irreversible and a base for further advance.

THE NEED FOR A PROGRAMME THAT SEEKS THE WORKERS STATE

The system of representation by which one delegate votes for millions of workers is becoming a source of insecurity for the apparatus. Over a million vote in support can easily become a six thousand against, on second count. That is to say, victories obtained this way will be swept away immediately the workers are consulted on anything, and it is only a matter of time. The vote cast for the new General Secretary, Willis, however, of seven million against two, shows that there is a huge pressure — much greater at the base — to contain the right wing. Whilst McGahey received an ovation for saying that 'one should not accept the unjust law of the boss', Bill Sirs, Chappel and Duffy were prevented from speaking. As a whole, and even for an apparatus that supports NATO, the speech of Kinnock was of the right and very much rejected. It shows how the pressure of the working class unsettles all the apparatuses and forces them on the defensive. Such 'leaders' will not even arise when the working class intervenes directly on the scene of history.

The TUC Conference has shown how vulnerable the apparatuses of the workers' aristocracy and Labour bureaucracy have become. The miners, basing themselves on the support of the rest of the working class and masses, have defeated the sinister intentions of the right, and helped to isolate them. The isolation of the sectors most linked to capitalism forms part of the neces-

sary weakening of the apparatus, previous to the advance of the left, in the Trade Unions particularly.

It is necessary to discuss in the trade unions the invasion capitalism carries out in their midst. The campaigns for 'the right to return to work' (in cases where sometimes it is only one miner involved) are highlighted by capitalism with the same tenacity as it highlighted the Solidarnosc movement in Poland when it became a tool of anti-Workers State activity. In both instances, capitalism supports the right of a handful of individuals because they further the interests of capitalism. However the defeat of Duffy and Sirs is a defeat of capitalism, for the same reason. But, to combat effectively this class barrage in the trade union, it is necessary to adopt a programme. It is necessary to give support to the Peace Women (who came to the Conference in search of that support) and allow them to speak in all the meetings of the Unions. The 35-hour week without loss of pay must be sought systematically in all industries and internationally. The ever-rising level of unemployment is the result of capitalism's inability to use technological advance for the benefit of the population. The 35-hour week proposes that the hours worked are matched to the necessary production for the needs of the population. If capitalism cannot give it, then it has to be said that there is a better form of society and economy that gives it: the Workers State.

There must be a unification of all the Trade Unions of the World against the war capitalism is preparing, against the Yankee missiles, for the 35-hour week, and in support of all workers in struggle. Whilst the Workers States advance with technology and without unemployment, they show the way ahead. They want peace, because they do not need war; but capitalism wants and needs war, if only to continue to operate. There is the need for discussions in the trade unions, to seek a democratic representation of the workers in the leaderships, and the adoption of a programme genuinely in the workers' interests — which the TUC — with its present structure, never will be. To obtain this, one must increase the new forms and organisms, such as those the miners and their wives have constructed in the masses and in the workers' areas. These organisms will be the means by which to free the workers from the pressure to submit to capitalism of the present apparatus of the TUC, without breaking the centralisation of the TUC.

THE PRESS - RADIO, TELEVISION, MUST BE CONTROLLED BY THE POPULATION

After long discussions, the TUC finally came round to the old conclusion that there is no possibility of a Labour Party paper, because the trade unions do not apparently have the resources to sustain it.

But this is not the real reason. The real reasons are that the conservative apparatus, with the trade unions and the Labour Party, are afraid that a daily Labour Party organ might become — in spite of them — a forum of discussion which could stimulate objective discussions beyond their control.

For a long time the apparatus has gone along quite happily without a paper and the reasons for not having one are even more applicable now than in the past. They had the right wing Daily Herald which flourished because it was so boring and so apparatus a paper. From the point of view of the apparatus, as they only want a Labour Party electoral machine and no discussion of principles, being without a paper is a good thing.

When the dominant trade union apparatus claims to be unable to solve the problem of the paper, it is a mark of its immense hypocrisy. They like to play the role of the poor creature knocked about by Thatcher. This is sheer humbug. The reality is that these people do not want to do anything against the system. One moment they will cheer Scargill, and the next moment cheer Kinnock's attack on the miners over the 'violence' issue. They are people with very flexible spines.

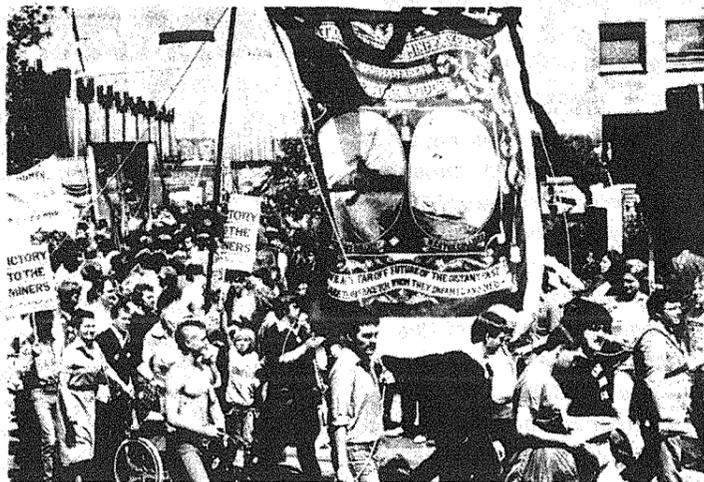
More than ever with the advance of the Labour left, the trade union apparatus does not want even the faintest wiff of a discussion. They cannot guarantee as in the past that all will remain under their iron control. However numerous this apparatus, they sense that the process does not reproduce the conditions which produced them and their con-

trol of the workers' movement is not as it was. The fact that Scargill exists is a proof of the beginning of the fall of the apparatus.

The only way that it will be possible to tackle the problem of a national paper for the Labour Party is through the construction of a consistent Labour left on the basis of Marxism. To liquidate the right wing in the Labour Party, which also means the elimination of the pernicious role of the reactionary apparatus in the trade unions, means the elevation of the existing forces of the left with a clear anti-capitalist programme based on an understanding of the role of the Workers States, without which no perspective is possible. This is linked to developing links with the population and developing publications of the left, which invite discussion on the basis of the need for social transformations and the central role of the Workers State.

The absence of a daily newspaper is a commentary on the absence of a party in Britain which is really linked to the masses and operates on the basis of meeting their needs. The problem of the paper focuses attention on the problems of programme, application of programme, drawing conclusions, and making changes. The growth of the left in the Labour Party has shown that the Labour Party cannot escape the pressure of the masses for changes, but, at the same time, the structure of the party and its links with the trade union apparatus remains immensely conservative. Objectively, it is absurd that with an event as important as the miners' strike there is no newspaper which reports all the workers' experiences and acts as a communicator between all the sectors of the working population, giving orientation and representing the class interests of the population against the private property interests of the exploiters.

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MINERS DEMONSTRATION IN NEWCASTLE (EARLIER IN THE STRIKE).

SUPPLEMENT

THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE
PROGRESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION (Extracts)

J. Posadas 8.3.81

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY
(TROTSKYIST)
BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL
(POSADIST)
24 CRANBOURN STREET LONDON WC2.



" ... We also, struggle for Peace; but the fact is that capitalism does not and we have no way of imposing that it should. If we could impose on capitalism that it does, it would liquidate it as a class. ... "

J. POSADAS

THE CURRENT PHASE OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

J. POSADAS 8.3.81

(Extracts)

We must prepare to understand the process of the ascent of the world wide struggle - in this stage when imperialism prepares for war. Imperialism cannot launch the war when, where and how it likes, but it prepares for war.

Already in 1951, Foster Dulles was preparing for war against the USSR and during the Second World War, the French and North Americans (imperialists) went so far as to accuse Churchill of having proposed a pact to the Nazis, against the Soviet Union. The Yankees rejected such a pact because it would have strengthened the ability of Europe to compete against them. But there is no doubt that as far as the Yanks were concerned, the destruction of the whole of Europe - and not just Germany - would have been convenient. They did not anticipate the very great development of the USSR that was to come, and therefore, did not see it as an immediate danger. However, when revolutions unfolded all across Europe, the Yankees produced the Marshall Plan which was intended to shore-up capitalist Europe against the pressure of the USSR and the nascent revolutions; whilst making Europe dependent upon the United States.

Capitalist society evolved with the sentiment of insecurity in the future. More than its class antagonism, what induced this sentiment at first was its own contradictions, but this lasted up until the appearance of the Workers States. From then on, it was its class antagonism principally. Today we are no longer in the stage of one Revolution or one strike, one struggle or other but of the construction of the Workers State - the latter having proved its superiority.

According to its own logic, capitalism should have destroyed the USSR at the beginning. The capitalists should have agreed amongst themselves to crush it. But they were unable to do this because each capitalism wanted to do it by itself, in order to draw advantages for itself. They all sat back whilst Hitler was trying to crush the USSR; Hitler waited for Britain to do it, and Britain waited for Hitler. The Soviets were victorious over both, because the Soviet Union was a historic necessity.

HISTORY AND THE NEED FOR SOCIAL PROGRESS

We now live in another stage in which the world is mature for Communism. It is the leaderships that are not ready; but as the world is mature, it is going to throw up the necessary leadership.
(...)

The Communists prepare themselves for war with capitalism because there is no other way open to them. But they do not see that the war is a logical necessity of capitalism itself. Capitalism is in the act of dying, and it "vomits war" - this war, we call the "atomic charco" (*) through which humanity will have to pass. Up until now, they have managed to con-

tain the war through a series of compromises and they believe that it is possible to continue in the same way. But it is not possible to continue in the same way. Quite some time may elapse before capitalism launches the war, because it is not just a question of the Yankees wanting the war, and having the atomic weapons for it; but there is also the fact that capitalism is seized by fear when it sees that in the wake of war, there comes the end of capitalism - as a system. Yankee capitalism is guided by the fatalistic sentiments of capitalism. But at the same time, it sees a world that develops and advances and

all the more for having finished with the capitalist system.

Capitalism and particularly the big capitalists, think in an objectively individual form. They think for self and not even for their families. On the other hand, their descendents do think - unlike them. The capitalists trust themselves as representatives of life and of the world. This is in the minds of the capitalists. Their perception has been solely organised around power and money. It is not a question of how much, but of human relations they represent, determined by power. Their thinking is obsessed with the belief that they are the world, and that everybody else is insignificant. They feel superior because they live a life surrounded by money, investments, profits, accumulation and yet more money. They have hundreds of properties, but what can they do with them? - They can only eat so much and live in one house. Their minds are organised around the question of money, and life is simply the means of obtaining it. This is what gives the capitalists a particular look they all have, that tells of all the devising and scheming they do in order to get money.

(...)

The USSR and the Communist parties, are instruments of history. This is particularly so for the Italian, French and Portuguese parties. Whatever their leaderships, whatever their errors, they are the instruments of history and will have to fulfill their role in history - which is to help the transformation of society. Whatever they may say or do, they will have to come to this in the end! It may be these parties, or other parties freshly formed, that will come to this - but by their very essence they are united to the progress of history. The Communist militants see that the progress of history is the Soviet Union; that the Soviet Union has been capable of passing from the Stalinist period up to now. The Communist militants see that Stalin betrayed Revolutions but that today, the Soviet Union supports Revolutions and takes the risk of war in order to support them.

The Soviets are practically unanimous today in saying that war is possible. They say "we do not want the war, and it is not completely possible - but it is possible". Even Pajetta (**) says that the war is possible, when before, he used to say "no to war, we have to struggle for Peace". Well, we also struggle for peace, but the fact is that capitalism does not. And we have no way of imposing that it should. If we could impose on capitalism that it struggles for peace, it would liquidate it as a class. The Communists continue to say that "we must struggle for peace" - but now they also see that the war is possible. Even Berlinger (***) keeps on saying that war 'is not impossible'. They say this now, without any embarrassment, despite the fact that only yesterday they condemned outright the militants who said that the war was indeed possible. Previously, they had even said that Posadas was 'a madman', a 'dreamer' - but it is they who are now saying that the war is possible. Now, the Soviets have stopped presenting the war as a complete catastrophe for humanity and say that 'the war will be the end of capitalism'. (...)

The unrelenting crisis of capitalism culminates in the confrontation between capitalism and the Workers States. In its preparations for confrontation with the Workers State, imperialism seeks every way of rolling it back, make it yield concessions, so that war - from the point of view of imperialism, will be less of a risk. Imperialism tries to gain historic time. This is the essential aim of the gang that actually rules the United States. However, there is nothing firm or secure about their designs. They really do not know what they are going to do next. It is not excluded that they may intervene in El Salvador, but what they cannot have - which the Soviets can - is a rigorous plan of action. If there is an uprising in Africa, the Soviets intervene to support, without discussion. But the Yankees are full of doubts. Something like 45 Yankee Senators have already come out saying: "hands off El Salvador - better lose it than lose the US!". This is the depth of Kennedy's declaration (+) which posed in so many words: 'better to leave than be kicked out'. In other words, the greatest imperialism in history - the dragon that ruled supreme, has had to say to the Soviets "please - don't kick us out".

history that would send us back to before feudalism. But it would not last for long. He added "In ten years, all the internal contradictions of capitalism would erupt again"; such is capitalism.

As opposed to this, there are no historic class confrontations in the regime of the Workers State. There are contradictions between the need of the Workers State to progress and the interests of bureaucratic apparatuses, but the winner is the Workers State and not the bureaucratic apparatuses.

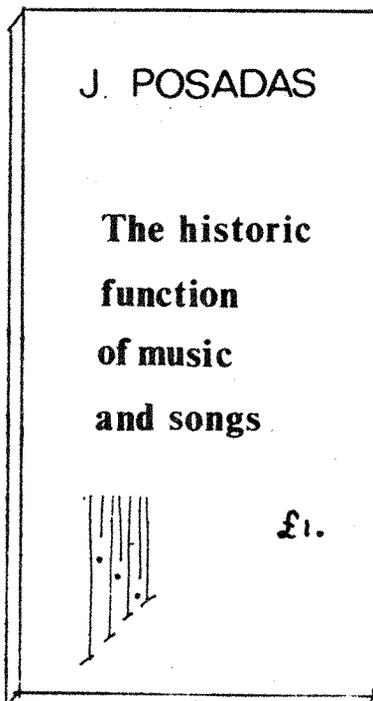
In capitalism, all the capitalists lose out in the playing out of their contradictions. They have no other resort by sheer arrogance and brute force, to maintain themselves. However, what characterises this stage of history, is that the peoples of the world decide in it. It is they who decide in history - and the children, who intervene massively in the Revolution.

J. POSADAS 8.3.81

We do not disregard the balance of military forces between imperialism and the USSR. But what decides in history, is the social necessity for progress - and not weapons. Weapons may detain progress momentarily, they may make it retreat even, but it is all transitory. On the eve of the Second World War, Trotsky said that in the case the USSR should be defeated, and capitalism victorious, there would come a retreat in

- (*) - atomic 'charco' - the word in Spanish means a very deep but very narrow mud-puddle.
- (**) - Pajetta - Communist and Trade Union leader in Italy.
- (***) - This text was written when Berlinger was alive (The Gen. Sec. of the Italian Communist Party).
- (+) - Kennedy - US Senator and Member of Congress.

BOOK BY J. POSADAS



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**FOR THE GENERAL STRIKE TO
SUPPORT THE MINERS AND ELEVATE
THE ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLE**

All the efforts of capitalism to break the miners' strike have failed. In order to prevent the total closing of the pits capitalism was obliged to make considerable concessions to NACODS over the rate of pit closures and accepting that NACODS members could refuse to cross picket lines and still receive full pay. This situation alone shows the immense weakness of capitalism and how it has to rely on the apparatuses of the trade unions and the Labour Party to contain the level of support to the miners and prevent the process of general strike. It cannot be reiterated too often that basically the force which sustains the miners is the existing balance of forces in the world, whereby the Workers States take away the social support of capitalism. Capitalism is in complete social, economic and political crisis. It uses nazi methods in order to survive, but lacks the support to sustain a nazi type offensive. The support given by the Soviet Union to the miners' strike will have great consequences in the future. It accelerates in the country the perception that the Soviet Union represents the force of Socialist construction and love, while capitalism represents only exploitation, brutality, lies and war.

In all this process the working class is measuring the nature of its leaderships. It sees with a devastating clarity the complete lack of interest and capacity of the trade union and Labour Party apparatuses in responding to the needs of the situation. For example, as soon as the bourgeois courts seized the assets of the miners' union, the TUC and the Labour Party should have mobilised mass support immediately and opened up a whole offensive against the capitalist regime. Sectors of the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy were very anxious to support the noxious Solidarity union in their efforts to destroy Poland, protesting with great vigour about injustices. On the other hand, when capitalism represses and oppresses the workers' movement here, there seems to be an inhibition - even so far as returning to discussion with this vicious government in NEDC. But this bourgeois structure is weakening because capitalism can offer nothing and without that the apparatus can only act as attempted gaolers of the working class which, in this stage of history, finds support in the existence of the Workers States.

The banks and the most competitive firms may increase their profits greatly, but this cannot be translated into social and political gain. On the contrary, the polarisation of masses versus capitalist system develops and the insecurity of capitalism increases, as can be seen in the continuing crisis of the Church of England, doctrinally and politically.

It is important that the Labour MP Huckfield intervened in the European Parliament to discuss the miners' strike. Although this phoney assembly will never do anything for the masses, it can be used to denounce capitalism and open a discussion on social transformations. There ought to be meetings of the Communist and Socialist parties on such an issue as the miners' strike, and the Communist parties in particular should have made this strike central in their discussions and interventions. Capitalism crosses frontiers, and so does the proletariat. There should be a discussion of an anti-capitalist programme throughout Western Europe because the miners' strike has represented in a concentrated form the resistance of the masses to unemployment and the rejection of an economy which works against the satisfaction of the needs of the population. The support given to the miners by the CGT (French trade union centre) shows that the natural solidarity of the masses is a formidable basis for proletarian action throughout Western Europe. The 24-hour general strike called in France is another example of the objective need for a united front of

At the same time, in spite of the limitations of the Labour Party in not sustaining with a clear leadership the miners' strike, the Labour Party Conference showed an advance of the forces of the left and the inability of capitalism to find a support as in the days of the classical social democracy. The reaffirmation of the programme against the nuclear weapons, the support for a programme to meet the needs of the population rather than the needs of capitalist competition, and support for those Councils who refuse to carry out measures of central government harmful to the population, are objectively blows at the system and weaken the ability of capitalism to overcome its many interdependent crises. The fact that Lawson was obliged to admit that the British masses were offering a resistance to

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French workers support miners strike. Kent

***The Soviet Union, the
German Democratic Republic and
the need for discussion
in the world Communist Movement***

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

The Soviet intervention on the agreement between the German Democratic Republic (GDR) and the German Federal Republic (GFR) has a very great significance, particularly when it is combined with the cancellation of Honnecker's trip. It is a blow at the capitalist system. It is not a question of opposition to commercial and economic relations between the German Workers State and capitalist Germany but one of a discussion concerning the tactic to be followed in these relations at a time when the war is drawing ever closer. This is the depth of the question and the decision of Honnecker not to go to capitalist Germany confirms the purpose of the Soviet intervention.

The more the Soviet leadership understands that imperialism is preparing for war, the more it feels that it is necessary to organise all economic

relations on the basis of this conclusion. In other words, the Soviet leadership is driven to develop a global strategy to confront world capitalism, and to give support to all revolutionary movements. At the same time, it makes alliances with sectors of capitalism which oppose the war plans of Yankee imperialism. It is from this general strategy that the Soviets are learning a tactic more relevant to their aim of liquidating the capitalist system.

These are the problems that were broached by the Communist International at the time of Lenin and Trotsky. Stalin closed the Communist International down, but its necessity remained and is being posed even more forcibly today. The Soviet Union is obliged to fulfil a leading role on a world scale, a role of co-

ordinating the world revolutionary movement against the world capitalist system. The discussion with the GDR is directed also towards other Workers States, and it forms part of this necessity.

The USSR has commercial and economic relations with the world capitalist system but it organises these in accordance with the global interests of the Workers States and in the light of imperialism's war preparations. This is why the centre of the discussion between the Soviets and the GDR was that the present West German government relished the installation of Yankee missiles in Europe and cannot now be treated in the same way as before. The Soviets know that Kohl (West German Prime Minister) needs economic relations with the Workers States because German capitalism cannot survive

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without them. They also know that whilst Kohl is following the war plans of Yankee imperialism there are other sectors of the German bourgeoisie (of which Willy Brandt is an expression) who oppose the war plans of Yankee imperialism. The latter are still bourgeois but, in the main, they have lost confidence in Yankee imperialism and they see that the war is going to be the end of them, whatever the result. German capitalism competes with Yankee imperialism and sees that the latter is crushing them in the economic field. This is why the German bourgeoisie needs the relations which it has with the Workers States.

The Soviet intervention is aimed at favouring that sector of the German bourgeoisie which wants to take these relations with the Workers States even farther and who are represented, in part, by Brandt. At the same time, the Soviet intervention towards the German Workers State (GDR) is designed to stop sectors of the bureaucracy in the GDR from using relations (with capitalist Germany) for their own sectional interests and privilege. The Soviet Union is trying to get the Workers States to function as a Socialist system and, in consequence, they clash with the attempts of various national bureaucratic leaderships who follow local interests. This discussion on the need to co-ordinate the Workers States is already advan-

cing and the Communist movement has to discuss the subject in greater depth than previously and from every possible angle.

This discussion between the Workers States and the resolution of Honnecker and Zhikov not to go to capitalist Germany after all is a blow at capitalism and will have important consequences for the development of the internal crisis in capitalist Germany. It shows the confidence of the Workers States, and of the USSR in particular. The USSR publically promotes this discussion and centralises the other Workers States. It is a discussion directed towards Hungary, Rumania and many of the Communist parties where the bureaucratic apparatus defend themselves against the concentration of the anti-capitalist struggle. They defend themselves from this because they fear the war, and also because they have the interests of apparatuses and cliques, as in Rumania. The discussion promoted by the Soviets is still insufficient, but what they have posed and done, even if limitedly, is decisive.

In the last meeting of COMECON they resolved to take measures aimed at a greater organisation of the economic planning between Workers States. This is a necessity for their economic development which demands — as it develops — a greater planning and co-ordination across frontiers. This resolution of COMECON was thanks

to the Soviets, and it forms part of their global anti-capitalist strategy, quite apart from the fact that it is a natural necessity for their own development. Sectors of the bureaucracy, particularly those who have the greatest relation with the capitalist system — like Hungary, Rumania and the GDR — resist a greater integration of the economies of the Workers States. An integrated economic planning between the Workers States means the loss by the bureaucratic sectors of the possibility of conducting relations with the capitalist system for themselves, source of their privileges and a certain accumulation. This is why Hungary came out supporting the 'diplomatic initiative' of the GDR in a polemic against the Soviets. In this sense, we must expect changes in Hungary arising from the need for internal clearances in the bureaucratic apparatus which puts a break on the development of internal Socialist relations in Hungary itself and, amongst other things, impedes the development of Soviet democracy.

A GREATER ROLE OF THE WORKING CLASS IN THE LEADERSHIP OF THE WORKERS STATES.

Amongst the other resolutions taken by COMECON, there is one which foresees priority being given to support for the countries that are in the greatest need, so that they can rise to the same level as the others. This resolution indicates all the progress and historic, concrete superiority

of the Workers States. It is, in fact, the principle of 'to each according to need', applied in the field of planning. Of course, there needs to be a continuation and elevation of internal changes in the Workers States, in the fashion of Poland, in order to apply the resolutions of COMECON. The Soviet leadership is promoting such changes and this is why we see resistance to it appearing. This resistance comes from sectors who defend their bureaucratic privileges and their 'autonomy' — their right — to negotiate with the capitalist system, to draw advantages as a clique from these negotiations and not to operate in agreement with a global strategy, as a Socialist system.

The Soviet leadership must intervene politically in order to harmonise the Workers States, but the 'Warsaw Pact' is not enough for this task. Militarily the USSR is prepared to confront the war which imperialism foments with increasing feverishness. However, the progress of the world revolution and the internal confidence which the Workers States continue to acquire, pushes the Soviet leadership forward and makes it grasp the necessity to prepare politically for war. Politically means to prepare the Party and the masses, and this needs progress in internal social and economic relations. This is why the clearance of corrupt bureaucrats takes place, together with measures which allow a better intervention of the working class in the leadership of production. This diminishes the leading func-

tion of administrators and managers.

The political advance of the Workers States is shown by the development of this discussion with the GDR. They are putting the question of the tactic to use in the face of the class enemy and historic antagonist, on the order of the day. The Soviets have had the experience of the Hitler/Stalin Pact, and the military and political consequences of this pact. It meant, in fact, that the USSR was unprepared for the onslaught which the nazis unleashed against them. The criticisms and condemnations of this pact, made by Trotsky in his time and analysed by Cde Posadas, was not a criticism of the Pact in itself but a criticism of the fact that Stalin signed it whilst politically disarming the Soviet Union and the world Communist movement. Stalin made it believing that Hitler was going to respect the Pact. Being politically disarmed carried the military consequence of the nazi army being able to penetrate deep into Soviet territory in less than a day. The Soviets have learnt from this experience, and they are now discussing it. The business of the spy-Jumbo has shown that they are not going to allow any military action by imperialism that puts the security of the Workers State at risk.

Any agreement that is made with capitalism is purely transitory. Capitalism makes

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Editorial *continued from page 1*

the workers' parties in Europe against the imbecility of capitalism.

The Yankee, General Rogers, after intervening on the need to speed up preparations for chemical warfare, now speaks of the need to prepare the conventional forces to strike deep into Eastern Europe in the 'event of hostilities'. This bellicose language is part of the feverish preparation of war by the United States in the vain effort to destroy world Communism. The miners' strike is a rebellion against the society that leads to war. The confrontation between Workers States and capitalism, and between the capitalists and the masses of the capitalist countries, is daily becoming more intense. It is necessary that the left of the Labour Party intervenes to campaign actively for the programme of social transformations, linked to the campaign to eliminate nuclear bases in Britain. Irrespective of the lack of support from the trade union leaderships, the miners' strike should be given a programme for workers' management in the industry and for other nationalised industries, for a 35-hour week, for an end to factory closures, for

the discussion of an economy for the masses — apart from demands for a workers' commission to publish a book on the police terror of capitalism, and the mass arrests of miners. Capitalism will not concede all that is asked of it, but a strike of the quality of the miners' is a means for the political education and mobilisation of the masses. Marxism calls a spade a spade, and the miners' strike is a fight against the capitalist system. There are stages and delays in this fight, but a political leadership is essential and, through this, experience is gained for the next fight which will be even deeper and profounder. This is what the left of the Labour Party should be doing, not just supporting but leading politically — which means rejecting the obstructive apparatus of the Labour Party, breaking from its rigid structure, and intervening directly to the population. Necessarily this means developing a structured tendency on the basis of complete security in the Workers States led by the Soviet Union. The latter decides the history of the world. On this basis everything can be achieved.

ON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP

The programme of the present Chinese leadership of making 'a great expansion' was a drunkards' dream. It was a measure aimed against the Left and to have a justification for this group to get into power. Hence they made a programme which was a pretence for the world; half of what they proposed was simply pretence. The cowboy sombrero of the idiot, Deng Xizoping, compromised the Workers State. Deng Xiao Ping is an idiot, a creep who was prepared to behave as a lackey of imperialism in front of the north American masses. He did it for the bureaucratic layer which he represented to gather political support to annul the others and, after, to make a career because he had no logical plan.

When Deng Xiao Ping admits publically: 'I was mistaken in fifty per cent of what I said', it shows he has no theoretical principles. His principles are simply desires of the bureaucracy which he represents and lacks, consequently, capacity to understand history. He does not represent the necessity of history but a layer which wants to develop at the cost of the Chinese revolution. But the Chinese revolution has more strength than this.

Printed by The Russell Press, Nottingham

J. POSADAS

Stalin was the most elevated, brutal, most powerful expression of the attempt to contain the development of history to maintain it submitted to the interests of a layer of the population. This was the most serious. Capitalism is now the expression of the fact that a class in history with military, economic and social strength is surpassed by a small country like Nicaragua. That is to say, history is clear and decisive: it is not decided by what one or another wants. History is a global unity in which the most powerful sectors, the strongest and most representative, are the ones who orientate the least representative of social forces. Representation is social necessity. The Chinese camarilla which is in the leadership does not understand, not because it does not understand in the literal sense but because it has another conception of history, that of a small group. Everything which I have said about the Deng Xiao Pings is not exaggerated; it is a layer which lives, thinking about 'their China'.

The Chinese leadership believed that the development of history was a question of convenience or of

possibility, as believe also the leaders of Yugoslavia, and believed also those of Czechoslovakia in 1968. They think that they can invent an economy and a society. But society and economy are the result of millions of years — not of thousands of years only — which went to private property. It is an experience which humanity has made and lived through, in which it has formed on the basis of the direct relation with food: thus property is structured for this conclusion. They do not see that this was a process of history, and that it was thus because it was another stage of history. They continue believing, like Deng Xiao Ping, 'that we are in China, we want what we want'. In China they have to do what history makes them do.

J. POSADAS 23 March 1981

(1) Refers to the photos of Deng Xiao Ping dressed as a cowboy when he was in the United States.

(2) Declaration made in an interview to the Italian journalist Oriana Fallaci and published throughout the world that, 'I was right fifty per cent and wrong fifty per cent' — As

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THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN THE UNITED STATES

J. POSADAS

5.5.81

The Yanks do not determine the course of history. They run behind the process. The immense crisis which exists in the United States is an expression of it. The fact that they have elaborated a whole programme of war and cannot apply it is another.

In the United States there is no political life in the workers movement nor in the bourgeois parties. There are no workers parties nor trade unions which might be capable of exerting a pressure on the bourgeois parties to force them to intervene. There is a great internal political passivity, but there are also great world processes which stimulate movements in the country. It is not necessary to consider these movements as sporadic. World events introduce themselves into the United States and influence people, who take them on their own account and develop immense mobilisations like those for El Salvador, Vietnam and Iran. All these mobilisations were not by chance or in agreement with circumstances. These are the means of intervention which the North American masses find in the world relation of forces and utilise to demonstrate in the United States itself.

The North American press hides all of this and lies. It is necessary to recall when Jane Fonda spoke of the five hundred publications which circulated among the American soldiers and spoke against the war of Vietnam, about which the press said nothing. She explained that all these publications were directed against the war in Vietnam and that they were pieced together with the most rudimentary means.

Those who want to present the North American people as an expression of imperialism are lying. The people of North America see the whole process throughout the world. It is absurd to believe that it only thinks about 'hamburgers' and only American things. During the war in Vietnam the American Air Force chiefs were frequently replaced because they had not followed their orders; pilots were ordered to bombard a region, and they did not actually do it. It was not possible to sentence them all because there were so many, both among soldiers and officers. That is an expression of the world relation of forces.

All this process is felt in the United States and elevates the political understanding of the masses and, above all, of the petit bourgeoisie. In this stage of history all the contradictions of the capitalist system accumulate and add to the antagonism vis-a-vis the Workers States and the process of the revolution. Without it being the Workers State which leads this process directly, its presence alone stimulates the revolution like a good birdsong incites children to sing and make movements.

Bobby Sands was killed, but in order to finish with British capitalism. This action was an immense blow at Thatcher who was very cast down by it. The opposition to the capitalist system is increasing and utilises the nearest means to those of the Socialist

revolution. For the moment a comrade has died in a hunger strike. The next time the struggle will take other forms. Bobby Sands did not simply die from a shot. In dying from hunger he sought to obtain political effects. He organised consciously his death to develop life. When such an assurance is affirmed, it is because the masses of Ireland are profoundly influenced and sensitive to the world process. And the world is represented by the Workers States. There is an immense elevation in the will to transform society. Before, the nationalist Irish movement demanded only independence. Now it demands the leadership of Ireland to transform the country.

All that is linked to the crisis of the capitalist system. The problems accumulate and capitalism cannot resolve them. Before they resolved them by killing, in massacring, in launching war. Now it does not do it. It always makes war — as, for example, in South Africa — but it does not obtain the effects which it was expecting. The blacks said 'For the moment we do not have missiles, but we are soon going to have them.' But before the blacks had nothing; now they have the Soviet Union and, in a limited way, China and Cuba.

There are a number of problems which capitalism has put on one side because it could not do anything else. In the full preparation of the imperialist war, France, Germany, and almost all the capitalist countries of Europe — including Scandinavia — make agreements of some long duration with the Soviet Union and participate in the construction of the Siberian gas pipe line. Their reasoning is thus 'any way in the war we are smashed so we might as well profit from the pipe line....' It is thus

We publish this article by Cde Posadas on the crisis of North American Imperialism as it provides the basis for understanding the present course of Imperialist policy. The banks and the war machine collude in a form of war against other capitalist powers, raising interest rates to astronomical levels and, at the same time, seeking to impose ever greater arms burdens on the capitalist allies of the United States in NATO — thereby impeding their competitive capacity. Moreover, imperialism finds it difficult to contain the influence of the Workers States within North America itself, and this complicates enormously the war preparations of imperialism.

that they break the coercive sentiment of the defence of each country! And what patriotic sentiment exists in the heart of the British people? The Labour Party said itself: 'Leave the Soviet Union alone, they want peace.'

Capitalism cannot hinder a people like that of Namibia, which has no resources, from proposing a Socialist programme. They say: 'For the moment we cannot take power, but we are going to take it.' The same process is developing in South Africa. This country is an Israel multiplied by seven. The very great crisis in the heart of the white government is a symptom of decomposition. If they feel convinced, they would give the post of command to the most assassin among them; on the contrary, what they are discussing now is to make concessions.

The attempted assassination of Reagan (which took place in March 1981) is like the last sound of alarm of Yankee imperialism.

But this attempted assassination, made in the middle of preparations for war and when the Workers States advance and support openly the revolution, is an index of the historic insecurity of capitalism which makes it afraid. This fear comes from the fact that it does not feel itself to be in the condition to survive. It is for that reason that the crises in the heart of imperialism take such a character.

THE ONLY SOLUTION IS SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

Capitalism cannot resolve any of the problems which multiply. All progress is united to social transformations. Even on the plan of chemistry of agriculture, or of mechanics or physics, one is forced to pose the necessity of

social transformations. They represent the cultural base of this stage of history. The stage of the organisation of the capitalist system was the stage of the individual capacity of development, of competition, of confronting others, which formed the basis of culture. But, today, even the most backward people of the world do not feel any inferiority. Even if they still have bows and arrows, they utilise intelligence of thought; and that is the same as bullets and rifles for the progress of history. The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America still use, perhaps, bows and arrows because they do not have anything else — but in their head they have Lenin, and it is this intelligence which lets them see well and shoot.

The capitalist system is in a crisis without solution. Everything is combined; the economic, political and social crisis and the antagonism towards the Workers States. Everything explodes at once: the internal contradictions of the system and the historic confrontation with the Workers States. The capitalists make wars, but do not draw any advantage which might be favourable to them. On the contrary, Breznev, although he might have heart trouble and could die at any moment, says to the capitalists, 'You are no use'.

The patriotic sentiment is not created by the simple fact that people are born in a particular place or that they live in a powerful country. This sentiment is born, develops, and persists when the population believes in the progress of their country. What confidence can survive in the United States when they see their country act like an assassin of starving people.

The crisis attains such a degree of acuteness that that is reflected in the conflict within the North American bourgeoisie over deciding who is to govern. The Kennedy sector says: 'It is not necessary to intervene, peoples must be allowed to develop.' If a sector of capitalism comes to express such a thought, it is because they have no perspective.

The activity which the Communists and Socialists develop, or the trade unions, does not correspond to the level of the incapacity of capitalism, because they have no policy nor programme to answer to this process. But the Workers States compensate to some extent for the weaknesses of the local Communist parties. Their activity is a stimulus for the mass movements.

In Britain, like the United States, it is little cliques who govern. The Thatcher clique is still in power thanks only to the errors and incapacity of the Labour Party. The problem of Ireland is an expression of this.

The influence of the Workers States on the North American masses has been blocked because of historic conditions in particular, because of the policy of Stalin and of the errors and limitations of the Communist parties. But, in the rest of the

world, its influence is exercised in every way. It is not American power, but

the errors of the Communist leaderships which have hindered the Workers States from having more influence. It is certain that the most powerful and complete economic development of the United States, their greater capacity for competition in relation to the other capitalist countries, has allowed the United States to maintain a constant economic development. But the latter is accomplished at the expense of culture, science and art, and has led to a frenetic course tied to consumption. It is not possible to speak of 'a consumer society'.

It is an inappropriate definition. But the fact is that the lack of culture, of literature, of trade unions movement and party, has plunged people into a certain passivity and it is thus that the 'consumer society' has shown itself in a more definite manner.

The North American masses do not express themselves as themselves because they do not have trade unions, parties or political life. But all this layer of the petit bourgeoisie who were mobilised by hundreds and thousands against the war in Vietnam, and who declared themselves in favour of every revolution — as, for example, that of El Salvador — represents what the working class cannot yet express directly.

It is not exact to say that

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there is no movement in North America. There is. But they are movements from the petit bourgeoisie. The working class do not dispose of a political or trade union movement, which is important. 18% only of the workers are trade union members. The unions are run by cliques. The North American workers do not lack will but they are not able to

acquire the necessary trade union and political preparation. But it is among the bourgeoisie, not the workers, that armed confrontations exist. Regularly, Presidents of the United States are killed, to get rid of them. Just as there exist specialist gangster organisations, so there exist specialists (in the United States) at killing Presidents.

5.5.81

J. POSADAS

THE BRIGHTON BOMBING

The Brighton bombing has caused consternation among the Thatcher clique and elicits no grief from the oppressed mass of the population in Britain and Ireland. British imperialism, in its sinister course either in relation to the coming war with the Workers States, its intimidation of the British masses, or the oppression of the masses in Northern Ireland, is completely merciless. It is a government of assassins. When such episodes occur it is a symptom of extreme and aggravated crisis at work within the capitalist system. In a profounder sense the miners' strike and the bloody confrontations with the police show the maturing of conditions close to civil war. The strategy of some sectors of the IRA is dictated basically by nationalist conceptions: that it is possible to blast British imperialism out of Ireland by military actions in Britain as well. This sector of the IRA knows that the occupation of Northern Ireland by British imperialism is not supported by the British people and they hope that by sufficient 'pressures', particularly if they killed Thatcher, a withdrawal would be possible. They also see the weakness of British imperialism. But a regime is not shifted from its course by assassinations of individuals. Mass movements are necessary on the basis of social transformations.

British imperialism is now involved in full preparation for war with the Workers States, under the command of the Yanks, and as regards Ireland they are preoccupied to get the Republic into NATO. There is a complete objective unity between the British and Irish masses, and there are no perspectives for Ireland apart from the struggle for social transformations. Military actions are no substitute for political and social programme.

Nevertheless, the IRA is developing in a more political manner than in the past and it is necessary to be clear that one of the reasons for the preoccupation with a military solution, as a way to success, is the lack of the solution to the brutal repression in Northern Ireland on the

part of the trade unions and the Labour Party. There is a sector which calls for the withdrawal of British troops, but this line tends to ignore the social and political conditions necessary to impose the defeat of British imperialism. Not only that at the last Labour Party Conference which had to take account of the struggles of the miners, even the demand for the withdrawal of British troops was rejected. The Unions, as an organisation, hardly speak of the matter — just as for five months they hoped the miners' strike would die away. It is this attitude of miserable collaboration with the brutality and mercilessness of the British army and its assassin allies which sustains these elements who argue in the IRA 'None of these people in Britain will do anything, so let's concentrate on a purely military activity.'

The miners' strike has shown the acute crisis of disintegration of capitalist society and the polarisation of class forces. The masses in Britain are pressing towards solutions for social transformation. Ireland is part of this. The liquidation of British imperialism in Northern Ireland and the liquidation of the bourgeois Republic in the South cannot be artificially separated from the class struggle in Britain. None of these issues will be settled on a parliamentary basis. The killings in Northern Ireland and the consciously nazi tactics used against the miners are symptoms of the last ditch defence by imperialism as, in the most concentrated form, are the preparations for nuclear war.

The cynical support given to the use of rubber bullets by the European Commission on 'human rights' (!!) shows how, crossing all frontiers, the defenders of capitalism defend their own. A discussion on the advance to Socialism, the struggle in Northern Ireland, and its profound link with the miners' strike, between the IRA and the forces of the left in the Labour Party and the trade unions is fundamental for the elevation of the class struggle throughout Britain and Ireland.

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such agreements because it is obliged to by the historic balance of forces which is against it; but — as a regime — it is not prepared to fulfil any agreement whatsoever. This is what has to be discussed in the world Communist movement. The Soviets are proposing this. They are showing that imperialism has never kept any agreement whatsoever. The SALT 1 or 2 — or anything else — were not kept. The European bourgeoisie and the Germans with Kohl cannot manage without economic relations with the Workers States, and so they make political agreements with them in order to appear, in front of their own masses, not to be really enemies of the Socialist countries. At the same time, however, they do all they can to follow the Yankees in preparing the war against the Workers States. It remains true, however, that every effort should be made to develop and widen the divisions inside the camp of the bourgeoisie, and even to win some of the lower layers of it to an alliance against imperialism. This is what the world Communist movement must discuss because it is possible to go much more into the depth of the question of agreements and alliances without actually being submitted to them. The Soviet Union is learning how to conduct this activity, because in the Soviet Union they are developing an understanding of history and such an understanding is very much lacking in the Communist parties. The norm is that imperialism prepares the war against humanity, and that the Workers States are the instruments for the progress of humanity. This is the norm of this stage of history.

It is a necessity that the Communist parties and the Workers States develop a discussion, a political life, and the preparation of cadres for the activity of advancing a tactical ability. The bureaucratic layers and the old cadres of the Communist parties have developed with a type of policy grounded in the belief that it is possible to prevent the war by making agreements with the capitalist system. They thought that it was possible to have 'peaceful co-existence' between the social systems. However, historic experience raises the Workers States to the level of having to support the revolution on a world scale and, at the same time, to intervene in the internal crisis of capitalism. The Soviets are now learning how to create the cadres for this activity.

THE INTERNAL CHANGES IN THE USSR.

The polemic with the GDR is also aimed at sectors inside the USSR itself, who resist the present policy of not yielding to imperialism. These sectors are not necessarily motivated by self-interest but simply by a gradualist, evolutionary conception of politics. They remain Communist but they have this gradualist and evolutionary conception. On the other hand, the Soviet leadership sees that imperialism may launch the war at any moment and that it has to prepare itself, to take initiatives without waiting for, or depending on, agreements with capitalism. The intervention of the Soviet Trade Unions in support of the British miners' strike is an historic event. We refer to the invitation by the Soviet Trade Unions to the British miners and their families to have twenty days holiday in the Soviet Union, with all expenses paid. It is an open support for the strike and a blow against Thatcher. It is all the more a blow against Thatcher because the British miners' strike is a political strike. We salute this intervention of the Soviet Union. It is going to have a very deep effect on the British masses, and in the whole of Europe. The Soviets are supporting the struggle of the British mining proletariat against the dictatorship of Thatcher, which has provoked the death of several miners, and there is something like five thousand miners in prison. The Communist parties of capitalist Europe, meanwhile, do not develop a campaign on a corresponding level.

The Communist parties must discuss and participate in the discussion that the Soviets are conducting. It is not a question of interference in the 'sovereignty' of a Workers State, nor an action against the 'autonomy' of the GDR or its Communist Party. On the contrary, it is a necessary discussion on how to develop and construct Socialism.

It is the progress of the Workers States which provides the experience; through Marxism, principles are generated which have to be discussed. It is not a question of discussing as one country, or one national Party, but as parties

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ON THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP

regards this interview, J. Posadas wrote an article on 30 August 1980 'The counter-revolutionary interest of the present Chinese leadership and its origin in the lack of a revolutionary Party.'

which conduct the same activity and have the same objective. The Soviet Union is developing this experience because it is forced to it by its historic and concrete function. It may not have the necessary preparation for it but it has to develop this experience. However, it is learning 'on the march'. It does not mean that the present Soviet leadership will reach the most elevated level of scientific understanding in the task of constructing Socialism but it does mean that its activity contributes to the process of returning to the most elevated level of ideas. In other words, to the first seven years of the USSR.

We call for a discussion on the war preparations of Yankee imperialism and on the war which the capitalist system makes every day against the world masses, be it in a military form or by polluting the air, water and food. We call for the necessary unification of the Workers States, of the world Communist movement, and for the unification of the USSR and China. We call for all this in order to swell and develop a world front against the capitalist system. The world masses are indeed developing every day thousands of initiatives against the capitalist system and Yankee imperialism, and they see that the USSR supports and sustains them. It is the leaderships of the Communist parties who do not see this process, and who continue to work timidly. In consequence, they do not deploy all possible forces. However, when even in the Catholic Church itself there is a layer in favour of 'liberation theology', that supports itself on Marxism in order to understand the world, it is because the conditions are mature for a World Front against the capitalist system. For this, it is necessary to propose the development of public discussions and the world masses must be prepared with the political understanding that imperialism is preparing the war and will launch the war quite independently of whether we like it or not.

International Secretariat,
Posadist IV International,
30th September 1984.

**LP-TU meetings to sustain
the miners strike!
FOR THE PROGRAMME OF
SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS**

The miners' strike continues in full vigour in the middle of the confrontation of the two rival social systems, that of capitalism led by Yankee imperialism, and that of collectivised property led by the Soviet Union. Reagan 'won' the American election only on the basis of the massive abstention of the masses of the United States who, in this way, reject the capitalist system. The pretence of the governing clique to want genuine peace negotiations with the Soviet Union is a complete mask. They are intending war, and any negotiations will arrive nowhere. Their objective is military superiority over the Soviet Union, which is an impossibility. Reagan received at the highest estimate only a quarter of the votes of the population of America. The Sandinistas in Nicaragua received about eighty per cent of a full turn out. That is how reality works in this stage, an isolated capitalism facing the masses.

Capitalism has hoped to drive the miners back to work by means of economic pressures and brute force, but the central vanguard sectors of the miners have continued. They understand very well that the 'barons' of the trade union apparatus will not support them. But, they also know that they are on a historic course of action that will finally break this apparatus, even if not immediately. When in a meeting of miners the head of the TUC despicably attacks the 'violence' of the strikers and they respond by lowering a noose, this has more than symbolic implications. It means that the vanguard of the workers is seeing through its trade union 'leadership' and is preparing to seek other cadres and leaders more sensitive to their needs. The noose was for the trade union functionaries who just live the life of a pro-capitalist apparatus, and a noose also for capitalism itself. Thatcher had to rush to the aid of the abominable Willis. Capitalism needs its allies and grieves when they are shattered. Capitalism and the trade union bureaucracy belong to each other and will die in each others arms. Capitalism can no longer rely on the Labour Party. Kinnoek is obliged with whatever prevarication to associate with the miners.

But, while the TUC makes clear that it wants the miners' struggle out of the way as quickly as possible, Scargill goes to the Soviet Embassy to discuss further aid from the Workers State. This type of behaviour is an immense blow at British imperialism. What Thatcher refers to as the 'enemy within' is the masses. They approach the 'enemy without' and she is impotent to stop this. The link between the masses of Britain and the Soviet Union cannot be broken and will receive much more concrete manifestations in the future.

The policy of the miners' union in calling mass meetings and also intervening towards the Church is important. It is a means of trying to develop a better life and communication with the rest of the population, and even bourgeois sections, and also strengthens the links between the leadership and the members of the union. At the same time, there is need for a much more powerful political discussion and intervention, not only on the part of the miners' union but particularly on the part of the Labour left.

It is necessary to discuss a programme for the mines linked to a programme of social transformations, an economy for the benefit of the population, for workers' management in statified industries, for the thirtyfive hour week, and public works for the unemployed. An extension of such programmatic discussions will be a severe blow for capitalism, because the issues go beyond the mines to the very heart of the capitalist system - economy for private greed or economy for well being and culture.

THE MINERS' STRIKE IS PART OF AN HISTORIC PROCESS.

Whatever the final outcome of the miners' strike, it is important to see that capitalism cannot afford to submit to deals or negotiations. Capitalism will not accept in reality any agreement over the mines, even if it were forced in language to make concessions.

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MINERS MEETING AFFIRMING THE CONTINUATION OF THE STRUGGLE

**THE REPRESSION OF THE MINERS,
AND THE MYTH OF DEMOCRACY**

It is not surprising to witness the scurrilous, vindictive and mendacious attacks launched against the miners. The Thatcher regime attempts to intimidate not only the miners but all the population of Britain, has treated the strike as an opportunity for a military operation (possibly even using troops in police uniform). Essentially, the miners strike has seen the methods British imperialism used in Northern Ireland extended to Britain—Over five thousand arrested and five miners have lost their lives as a result of the repression of capitalism.

Capitalism has tried to take advantage of the connivance of the trade union leaderships and the Labour Party to use every trick to smash the miners' strike. Their principle weapon is not financial inducements on miners who feel the strike is not being supported as it should, but sheer terror. Capitalism is using special teams of paid gang-

sters to cause provocations and thus justify even more vicious repression against the miners. The miners do not beat people up in disguise. This is the work of paid thugs organised by capitalism. As the latter has no ideas and no brains, all it has is brute force and it uses the most degraded sectors of society. It is a dirty campaign, launched by a system that is totally putrefying and attributes to the miners what it has itself organised — beatings and provocations. One miner has already said words to this effect; i.e., Derrick Reaves — 'Mining towns have been surrounded by special police details and the authorities go so far as to use the services of hired gangsters.

uses terror to break the Yorkshire strike.

The Labour left has to come out clearly and denounce all this policy. We call on Benn and the rest of the left Parliamentarians to denounce this campaign of provocation, to say clearly that it is a police-cum-military terror against the miners, using special squads of trained provocateurs. The miners do not work like this, it is the work of brutes organised by capitalism. The Labour left has to draw conclusions that these methods are called 'democratic' — when capitalism beats up miners they call it 'democratic' and 'parliamentarian'. The miners know what this 'democracy' is; it is beatings and terror and the arrival of Pershing missiles.

Capitalism is organising provocations as it organises the assassination of the oppressed in Northern Ireland, and as they tried to kill Gerry Adams and his team. After offering financial inducement to the least resolute miners, capitalism

A group of miners interviewed on television said they had no interest in wrecking NCB property. Such vandalism was alien

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INFLATION: AN ASPECT OF THE CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

J. POSADAS

The Italian Communists let it be understood in the present discussion on the indexing of wages that the sliding scale of wages is not responsible for inflation, but they do not explain what is the origin of inflation and discuss as if they could prevent it.

Inflation is an offspring, the 'plant' of what is called capital accumulation. Inflation could not occur if there were not such a great accumulation of capital — capitalism has reached this level of accumulation because it is at the end of its role and does not know any more where to invest.

It is not possible to hinder inflation, but they do not explain the origin of this inflation. The latter comes from the structure of the capitalist system itself. It is as though one were to try to hinder the plant coming from the root. What it is possible to do is to re-orientate inflation in such a way as to make its effects less costly for the population. But inflation is a consequence of capitalism itself and at a certain moment this is expressed.

When the capitalist economy was in a process of development there was limited inflation. Now it appears when accumulation of capital attains a level beyond which capitalism no longer has any interest or possibility of investment and when war expenditure, frauds, embezzlements, surpass the sum of annual income. War expenditure, robbery and fraud are expressed in inflated prices, in the sums of money which lie outside the circuit of production and find no equivalent in purchasing capacity. In Socialism, on the other hand, everything which is produced is for use and transforms itself afterwards into an enrichment of technology, human relations and culture.

In capitalism it is not like this: what is produced must return under a form of a new accumulation of capital which serves capitalist profit and not for the benefit of the people. It is this accumulation of capital which determines what it is necessary to produce: war expenditure, investments abroad, etc.

Finally the moment arrives when the evolution of the capitalist economy leads to a disproportion between the amount of money which people receive — wages — and the purchasing power, between the amount of money which people receive and prices. The two things are linked. Inflation and deflation are the result of this process. The world is united by great multi-national societies which suddenly cut short the flux and the circulation of capital, destroy

factories and commodities, or provoke repression. Recession is also a part of the recession of social life. Recession is not only the economy, but equally social life. Every Communist militant must discuss that. It is necessary to discuss this also in the universities.

TO REDUCE INFLATION DOES NOT RESOLVE THE PROBLEMS OF THE MASSES.

Inflation does not always have the same significance in history. It has increased in rhythm and in depth, according to the development and increase in the concentration of capital and the fact that the capitalists have been thrown out of Asia and Africa. For these capitalists this is a factor of inflation; for the masses of these continents it is a liberation and an elevation. Within capitalism it has led to a reduction of the team representative of capitalism, a reduction which has shown itself in all aspects. They no longer have colonies in which to invest. Before, they avoided inflation by investing in the colonies; now it is not the case. The accumulation of capital increases and inflation is more rapid and consistent.

But inflation is only one aspect of the crisis of capitalism and not the most important. This crisis is expressed with greater weight in the reduction of the standard of living of the masses, the lack of transportation, of health services, of housing, and in the consequences of the earthquakes. All is united. Inflation represents the least important aspect of this process. But the Communists say 'The most important thing is to contain inflation'. And the disasters of the earthquake? And Naples? There people know a permanent inflation! The Communists act as if, in reducing inflation, the problems of lack of employment and of high prices, and the increase in the cost of living are resolved. Who causes this increase? Prices are increasing, but who makes them increase? It is all presented as a mystery when it is no such thing. All that was already expounded in the Communist Manifesto.

Capitalism at the present moment does not know where to invest. In Africa? World capitalism says, 'Yes, I invested today, tomorrow they will hang me'. The epoch of the capitalist boom began in 1800 and in particular towards 1830 when its

great expansion in Africa, in Asia and in Latin America took place. It is from this epoch that the great Socialist parties developed, which acquired numerous advantages because capitalism made them many concessions.

Thus the basis was formed of what later was called the workers' aristocracy. Capitalism, among others the French, hoped to continue in this way. The French and British capitalists occupied almost all Africa and Asia. They threw out everywhere the Spanish and Portuguese. The British and the French brought very advanced technology — which consisted of modern arms to kill more. The great struggles between France and Germany had, above all, the object of domination of the colonies. Germany also conflicted with them over Africa and Asia. Latin America was less involved because it was not in the same conditions. The Germans were in South Africa and in the Middle East. These allowed the creation of Japanese imperialism. European capitalism had an interest in the development of Japanese capitalism in order to compete with the United States. But the latter ended by investing in Japan.

The Communists do not discuss all that. They say, 'It is necessary to contain inflation, we must all make an effort'. They demand an effort from the Neapolitan worker — this worker who has seen his home collapse in the earthquake, his family die and his job gone! What must be discussed is the existence itself of the capitalist system. The Communists should have said that it is neither the workers nor the structure of wages which are responsible for inflation, but the structure of the system. The Communists publicly affront capitalism when they say, 'It is necessary to take radical measures'. But this is an affront which does not go to the depth of the problem. It is certainly possible to take radical measures, but what is the depth of the question? To dislodge all the Ministers is quite a radical step — but it does not touch the depth of things, because the capitalist system always stays in place. The new Ministers once installed are going to do the same thing as their predecessors. THE CAUSES OF INFLATION ARE NOT A MYSTERY.

The Communists must pose that it is the capitalist system and this system of government which allow the Caltagirone — important bankers who have perpetrated frauds and embezzlements. It is not individuals who are bad or traitors, but they are part of a system. It is necessary then to see how to break this structure, which is not possible with the present leadership of the Socialist Party in Italy. The

the Libyan state is a natural ally of the miners

The fact that the British miners' leadership went to Libya to find support for the miners' strike is a natural event that demonstrates that countries where the working class or its programme are in power, are regimes which support the people and their struggle for life, whilst capitalism is their deadly enemy. There is nothing more extraordinary in such a visit — which was not just to the Trade Unions but to the country, fully supported by the Ghadafi government — than in the support Thatcher gives to Pinochet or Botha in South Africa. If Thatcher can give support to nazi-type governments there is nothing more evident than the workers giving support to workers' governments. The justification given for that visit by some NUM leaders, and Benn in the Labour Party, was that the workers can do the same as the British government which trades with Lybia — and did so all through the episode of the 'embassy siege'. But, on this, two things have to be said: One, British imperialism maintains such links for the furtherance of its own predatory interests. Two, British imperialism trades with Lybia because it can't compete with the rest of world imperialism without links with Lybia, and a good many Workers States like the USSR, Rumania, Bulgaria, Poland etc. All this shows is how weak imperialism is in this stage. For its part, Lybia is quite correct to trade with imperialism, because it is building a new society meanwhile and uses every weakness of imperialism to advance the cause of the future of humanity. It is a sign of tactical intelligence and audacity of the Ghadafi leadership. But, for imperialism it is abject weakness. So, one must say, about the visit of the miners to Lybia, that it was a visit to an ally state which cares for the ordinary people and has given them a say in Lybia at all levels of economic and political decisions; that it fights imperialism with enormous courage, and that this is why capitalism hates Ghadafi.

British and US Imperialisms have tried several times, and by their own admission, to murder Ghadafi. They have done everything short of all-out war to bring Lybia back into colonial status; if they haven't invaded, again it is because of

their weakness in the face of the Soviet Union and the other Workers States. So, the terrorist is imperialism. For what regards the recent 'embassy siege', it came to be known that policewoman Fletcher was killed by an agent provocateur

in the pay of imperialism, who opened fire to trigger off an anti-Lybian campaign and once again associate Ghadafi with bombs, murders and outrages. This allows imperialism to hide the new society Lybia is building, the liberation of women, the participation of all the workers and masses in committees of control of production and political discussion. Neither did the British press mention, of course, that the agent provocateur of the embassy was put on trial and shot in Lybia. Once again, in that episode, British imperialism was seen to be the terrorist. It hates Ghadafi not because of bombs and outrages but because Ghadafi has spearheaded — from the army of the previous regime — the struggle against imperialism and capitalism; and has succeeded thanks to the world balance of forces. This is why imperialism hates him and smears his government every day.

As the miners' strike is a strike against British capitalism altogether it is natural that the government of Lybia, and Ghadafi himself, should be the allies of the British miners. Thatcher makes no secret of her attachment to what is against intelligence and life. There is no reason to be placed on the defensive

about the allies of the British and world working class. In that sense, the visit of Scargill to the Soviet Embassy was a way of trying to highlight this point. The link with the Soviet Embassy is not a link with the Soviet Trade Unions — but with the Soviet government.

It shows that whole currents and tendencies are developing in the trade unions that see that their struggle for life will lead them to associate themselves with the social regime that represents the defence of life: the Workers State.

Capitalism is furious at the miners' union for having made this visit. It feels that all its campaigns and schemings against Ghadafi have failed, like all the attempts it made at supporting the dissidents in the Workers States. These steadily return to the USSR, and capitalism has to resort to the farce of the kidnap of two Soviet soldiers by reactionary forces in Afghanistan and their being brought to England, only to have to let them go because they did not want to stay in capitalism. Capitalism will accuse the British workers of terrorism, and

Communists, in following the policy of seeking an agreement with the Socialists, do well; but they must mobilise the Party and up to now that has not been mobilised.

The Communist leaders have no political capacity of interpretation. It is thus that they have developed a whole national sentiment. The base of this is that they do not have any theoretical preparation in order to understand the world. The less they have of political preparation and development, the more they approach the 'national' conception. This can be seen in art and literature, less in the domain of science because there one is obliged in general to live in the world. But, in politics, it is necessary to observe the process of the development of social and cultural struggles. The Communists keep to their country and they refer only in passing to other events. They do not take as a basis for orientation and teaching the observation of what is happening in the world. This national sentiment is a barrier of protection so as not to be influenced. A part of the Communist leaders have created a whole structure, but the Party is not like that. The Party means the Communist base, and it is in process of intervening a lot.

There is no theoretical and political preparation. For instance, the Communists speak of the problem of inflation, with concepts which are bourgeois and, more than that, are false. They serve to justify inflation as a mystery of life. In the epoch of Marx, where this process of inflation did not exist like today, Marx already explained the nature of the capitalist system. The more the latter lives and ad-

vances, the more inflation extends and deepens, and the more the economy concentrates in the hands of small groups. Every inflationist process provokes an enormous reduction in the number of capitalists and the number of people who work. Power is concentrated in fewer hands. Such is the law of private property. This is a principle of the nature of the capitalist system itself, just as there exist principles of botany.

However humanity has demonstrated as also in botany and in society, that it can alter principles which nature develops. But botany is one thing, society another. In botany it is possible to change the original course of the process of the fruit, of the plants and the flowers. I await the day when there will be a rose with the perfume of jasmine. It will be found how to organise the molecules, and how to make them co-exist to make shoots to combine the form of the rose and the perfume of jasmine, or to make a flower which might be the concentrated expression of all flowers. That will be possible when neither capitalism nor bureaucracy exist, and when humanity will see that it can do with plants what it has already done with society. I aspire to live in order to see all that, not for the egoism of living but for the joy of knowing all that.

The Communist does not discuss scientific problems, but those of the moment. But there are no other leaderships than the latter, and it is necessary to support them and help them to advance. They have no scientific notions. The workers have more intuition than most of their leaders. A team of Communists

knows well the laws of the economy and of society, but fear to confront capitalism; and it uses the past of the USSR and the bureaucracy to justify its own national isolation.

Every national isolation leads to an immense damage to scientific capacity of thought, because it renders timid, limits and hinders the vision from seeing and assimilating what is happening elsewhere. One of the fundamental essentials of the purity of thought is to see what is happening objectively in the world, in all domains, science, art or culture. Otherwise one is shut in, looks but does not see. The eyes are not sufficient in order to see. It is thought which sees, not the eyes.

For example, the Party should discuss daily the events in Poland and show to capitalism 'See what we are doing by means of Socialism. In the middle of confrontations we are in process of reconstructing, and we are learning to lead the world. But you who have led for thousands of years, what have you done? Wars, disease, massacres! Even the dolphins go to the Soviets to be looked after.'

There's the problem of history. But many Communist leaders take the problems superficially. In fact, they should be much more capable than they let themselves be, if one takes into account all the experience which they have acquired. But they must speak in this way, because such is the line of the Party. They are not responsible for what happened before, but they are for what is happening today. Now there is a whole apparatus which prevents them thinking. It is for that reason that they speak of the problem of inflation

without knowledge.

Above all, they should make the list of 'the wealthy' in Italy. What have these people done in favour of the economy in Italy, what investments have they made to develop the country? They have done nothing and they cannot do so because they have no interest in it. There is competition among them and, apart from that, the capitalist system only invests in order to accumulate and not to develop the economy. Every economy which does not develop art and science is of no use. It is content with the principle 'to eat in order to live'. The economy must develop culture, science, social relations - and the latter is expressed in art. Today, an artist can only be of the Left. Even before being an artist he is Left. The bourgeoisie finds no artist for itself. Already society is disposed to understand, to see and to accept. It is the leaders who are not ready to accept.

The Communist Party leaders speak of inflation as a national phenomenon 'we must all be concerned with the problems of inflation'. All? And why? It is not we who produce inflation! It is the capitalist who does so. The workers only experience it. The Communists should say: 'Prices increase and wages fall'. Wages diminish? But they have just increased by twenty per cent. True, but prices have increased by forty per cent, and thus the wages are reduced, the standard of living and the level of culture and of scientific and social relations are lowered and family problems increase. That is the source of family problems and not family relations in themselves.

It is not possible to hide the issue by saying, 'We must all contain inflation'. If the Communists, in supposing that they are in government with the bourgeoisie, must intervene to contain inflation, all right. But they must have clearly in mind that the capitalist system itself is the base of inflation and, in particular, the weakness of Italian capitalism in the capitalist world. That is one of the essential causes of inflation in Italy. It is necessary to see, among other things, that they have spent 40 milliard lira to make two completely useless missiles

Neither wages, nor the sliding scale of wages, nor the workers movement are responsible for inflation. It is the system of private production which is in question. It has to be posed that inflation comes from this system.

There is inflation in the Soviet Union and in the other Workers States like Poland, but the origin is not the same as in capitalism. Also the Workers State can apply remedies which capitalism cannot, because the state concentrates the leadership. Inflation in the Workers States such as Poland is a result of their relations with the capitalist system on the one hand and on the other of the existence of the bureaucratic apparatus which grabs a part of production. Also, in capitalism the existence of bureaucratic apparatus is one of the causes of inflation, for this apparatus is an integral part of the economic empiricism of the latter system. The swindles, the embezzlements which are expressed later in the state deficit are all part of inflation. The capitalist economists say, but no, what have swindles and frauds to do with inflation! They make an open camouflage. These are people who have no capacity except for capitalist calculation: just as a capitalist General has no importance for life, only for the capitalist army.

The Communists must show, among other things, what Poland was like in 1939 and what it is like now, and what has impelled this progress. It is necessary to explain that progress comes from Socialist measures or measures of the Workers State going towards Socialism. The Communist Party must deal with this problem. If it does not do it, that does not mean to say that it is ignoring it, but that it does not feel the confidence, nor the drive, to accomplish the task of changing society. The Party is not sufficiently prepared to accomplish it. We contribute to this task.

the USSR also. Nevertheless, it is only because it is on its last legs and can only try to frighten the petty bourgeoisie and the timid trade union and labour leaderships. But new leaderships are appearing, like that of Scargill, which announce the stage when no illusion will prevail any more in the workers' leaderships with regard to the nature of capitalism and the necessity to ally with the Workers States.



Soviet miners denounce the Thatcher government

Selected Texts of J. Posadas .

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18.4.81

J. POSADAS

THE LABOUR PARTY CONFERENCE, THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT AND THE NEED FOR MARXISM

The 1984 Labour Conference has confirmed the balance of forces inside the Labour Party which favours the left. All the attempts by the Labour apparatus to divert the attention of delegates with such marginal subjects as 'reselection' failed. The major discussion, and the centre of the conference, was the anti-capitalist struggle and the need for social transformation. Labour conferences are no great exercise in democracy. The Labour apparatus and the trade union bureaucracy largely control the conference and in previous years we have been treated to the spectacle of trade union bureaucrats casting hundreds of thousands of votes 'the wrong way'. The conference is, however, a measure of the balance of forces inside the Labour Party. It may not be a very precise 'barometer', but it does measure the state of the Labour Party. In the event, it was the proletariat that decided the tone and decisions of this year's conference. All the apparatus and bureaucracy could not prevent the miners from weighing in the decisions of the conference and through the mining proletariat the favourable world balance of forces also weighed.

In a stage of history when capitalism has nothing left but to prepare for war, the fact that the Labour Party maintained its policy in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament and opposition to Yankee missiles and bases is of fundamental importance. Unilateral nuclear disarmament is, today, a fundamentally anti-capitalist policy. At the same time, the miners' strike brought a new issue to the conference, and that was the necessity to oppose the capitalist state. The four resolutions — all passed — opposing the role of the police as a repressive instrument of the capitalist state shows that ever wider sectors of the Labour Party understand that the state is a class instrument. They understand that it is a repressive instrument in the hands of the capitalist class, and not a neutral body floating above class. Conference showed that this concept was understood and, more importantly, decisions were taken to oppose the capitalist state. The concept of the state as a repressive class instrument was not expressed in a clear form, but the decisions taken were clearly expressive of such a concept. As such, it represents something of a leap in Labour Party thinking and an advance of the left. In the final analysis, the conference decided to support the working class — and to oppose the capitalist system.

THE 35-HOUR WEEK.

This 1984 conference took on a more pronounced class character than previous Labour Party conferences. An indication of this was the expulsion of the bourgeois journalist, Sir Harry Lamb of the Daily Express, from the conference. The Labour left has advanced a long way in its

understanding that the press in this country is not 'free and fair' but the mouth-piece of the capitalist class. Conference also adopted a policy on unemployment which proposed to go beyond 'Keynesian methods' and called for a 35-hour week, retirement at 55 years of age, and a massive programme of public works. It is a programme which capitalism is, demonstrably, incapable of implementing and therefore it is decidedly anti-capitalist. The problem is that this programme had no policy for implementation beyond waiting, hopefully, for a future Labour government. The real necessity is to apply such a programme to the miners' strike, thus making it effectively the vanguard of an advance in the anti-capitalist struggle which would mobilise the whole working class and other sectors of the population. What the conference failed to grasp was the necessity not simply to follow behind the miners in solidarity — correct though this may be, and certainly an advance for the Labour Party — but to provide their struggle with a political leadership. Of course, it is too much to hope for a Labour conference to adopt such a course of action, but the programme is now Labour policy and there is no reason that the Labour left should not mount such a campaign.

Of course, the conference was full of 'blind-spots', not least on Northern Ireland. A number of well meaning resolutions were passed on Central America, South Africa and the Malvinas, all anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist in sentiment, but on the immediate problem of Northern Ireland — in which the Labour Party can intervene directly — little was decided. A resolution opposing the 'Diplock courts' and the Prevention of Terrorism Act was carried, but no link was made in any decision between the repression by British imperialism in Northern Ireland and that directed against the miners; and no programme for social transformations linking Britain and Ireland together was adopted. The only other resolution on Ireland, proposing a United Ireland and the removal of British troops, was lost and the resolution itself was, anyway, very weak. It has to be said, of course, that there is a change of attitude in the Labour Party and the statement that the 'bombing of Thatcher was not necessarily an evil act' by a London Labour Councillor indicates this.

THE MARXIST METHOD.

The conference showed the growing weight of the left in the Labour Party combined with the absence of a scientific method of analysis. This fact was expressed in the decision in favour of unilateral disarmament being combined with a refusal to pass a resolution opposing NATO. What is demonstrated by this is that the Labour left opposes the war preparations of imperialism by instinct and, in part, through fear; without

making the scientific analysis that it is the system of private property, capitalism and imperialism, that produces war. The idea that it is possible to stand aside from the war which imperialism is preparing by unilateral disarmament and removing Yankee missiles, but still remain in a war alliance dominated by imperialism and directed against the Socialist Countries, is sheer idealism and wishful thinking. A large sector of the Labour left still clings to the idea that war is the product of weapons rather than social systems, and that somehow there is still a 'national' solution for Britain. We have to take into account that the opinion of the Labour left is distorted in conference decisions by the union block-vote in the hands of the bureaucracy. However, the failure to carry a resolution against NATO is an indication that the Labour left does not see clearly the world confrontation between the two social systems which characterises this stage of history. Above all, this Labour left does not see the role of the Workers States. There is clearly, in all the decisions and debates of the conference, a demonstration of the need for a scientific method of thinking, the need for Marxism in the Labour Party.

All this being said, the balance of the conference was in an anti-capitalist direction. A programme of anti-capitalist demands for social transformation was adopted, and a clear opposition to the capitalist state expressed. Above all, the working class and, through the proletariat, the world balance of forces, broke through this monstrous Labour apparatus and trade union bureaucracy to determine the tone and direction of the conference.

The Labour left has to see that an anti-capitalist programme has been adopted and it should now base a campaign, directed to the working class and the general population, on this programme. The decisions of the Labour Party Conference cannot simply be confined to five days at Blackpool, but broadcast in the widest possible discussion in the workplaces and workers' areas, in the offices, schools and universities. The Labour left has to incorporate all the masses in this discussion and, above all, to adopt the Marxist method as a means of giving a leadership to the very powerful anti-capitalist struggle which is expressed today in the miners' strike.

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THE REPRESSION OF THE MINERS

to their objectives. In fact, they had had to defend NCB mining buildings against vandals and then face beatings from the police. (Very 'democratic beatings', of course).

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In the same way, if it is obliged to make concessions over wages, it will take everything back in the form of prices. They will sabotage anything, including any 'agreement' over the mines — because they are out to submit everything to what they have decided as profitable. That is why it is essential to see this miners' fight not as a final event but as a part of a very powerful process against capitalism, which is being impeded by the absence of a sufficient political leadership. This is due to the historic origins of the Labour Party and the trade union bureaucracy trained in the ideas of conformism with British capitalism. There are going to be more struggles and more issues, and in the course of this a new leadership will come about. This is an historic process which is seeing the process of the disintegration of capitalism. The Labour Party is in a transitional state in which a left is growing and the old apparatus is weakening, but, at the same time, it is a left with habits of parliamentary respect and many bourgeois conceptions on Ireland, democracy etc., and with limited understanding of the role of the Soviet Union. But this left is also changing and the miners' strike is a great contribution to this, particularly in the X-ray it has made of the role of the capitalist state, which is an instrument of private property and will never allow Socialist measures.

It is good that the left Parliamentarians demonstrated over the miserable cut in benefit to the miners organised by the Thatcher clique. But, why not demonstrate in a much more dynamic way on other issues? Let the bourgeoisie scream about 'damaging' Parliament! Capitalism 'won' the last election on the basis of a complete fraud. Let them be denounced systematically! Take the class war into Parliament and bring their 'chamber into disrepute'. Capitalism arrests thousands of miners and is responsible for death's of miners, their children, and many provocations. They should be remorselessly pursued for this in their beloved 'chamber', and thus Parliament is used as a tribunal against the system.

Whole layers of capitalism are in disarray. Walker has to distance himself from the Thatcher regime, at least in part, and sectors of the CBI have to ask for money for capital projects because the infrastructure of capitalism is falling apart. It is necessary for the united front of the Labour Party and the unions to be developed on the basis of initiatives of the left in the form of meetings in support of the miners to develop as centres of discussion, on the perspectives of the process in Britain, of the need to discuss the process in Ireland, the significance of a form of Marxist leadership in the IRA, and the complete failure of Thatcher's policy in Ireland. It is necessary to discuss the formation of a consistent left in the Labour Party and the unions which discusses the programme and policy for Britain, on the basis of the world process and the role of the Soviet Union. The Soviet leadership has its limitations, but the Workers State's very existence is the decisive force which undermines capitalism as a world system and sustains all the struggles in Britain.

23.11.84

VIVA THE LIQUIDATION OF THE DICTATORSHIP IN URUGUAY

When the miners defend themselves it is outside the law. Capitalism is using the judiciary as has been most forward in supporting Marxists have always said it does: the strike? Not the functionaries of to defend its class interests. All the sectors of the Labour left have to think about this. The people who organise terror against the miners, and send in their special goon squads to provoke, are the great defenders of 'parliament' and 'democracy' — in fact, as Lenin said, all this 'democracy' is dictatorship of capitalism.

The left in the Labour Party has to heed this. A whole repressive apparatus stands against the masses.

It is necessary to say so, and denounce this 'democracy'. And who has been most forward in supporting the strike? Not the functionaries of the TUC or the gargoyles of the Labour Party apparatus, but the Soviet Union. The Labour left has to meditate on this fact and abandon the language of capitalism which goes on endlessly about democracy and acts endlessly with thugs and brutality. All the discussion about police brutality raises the issue of the nature of the capitalist state, and that requires a Marxist understanding.