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Editorial

MEETINGS AND STRIKES AGAINST THE WAR IN THE GULF

The war in the gulf is a war against the masses of Iraq, not Saddam Hussein. As many on the left have repeated in this country, Saddam Hussein was built up by the arms of imperialism to massacre the revolutionary masses of Iran. Now that in part he was obliged to respond to the pressures of the masses of Iraq to confront the Israelis and expropriated the Sheik of Kuwait, imperialism is intent on murdering the masses of Iraq. This is not new to imperialism, in fact they have a great capacity at killing and have acquired an outstanding tradition going back to Dresden, Hiroshima and Vietnam. The propaganda machine of imperialism, that is the mythical free press, television and radio, was primed to prepare the ground for war in the gulf. They were obliged to report that Benn has visited Iraq or that Heath thinks the idea of war is a catastrophe, but the decisive sectors of British imperialism have wanted the war in collusion with the Yanks and the pretence of objectivity rapidly disappeared. It is even put about that the great majority are behind the government. If this was so why don't they organise great demonstrations to counter the left? However even with its massive deluge of lying and cretinism, it is impossible for imperialism to conceal the desperate nature of its adventure. The war is insane, because it has evidently no bearing on the solution to the objective problems of the Middle East, its only object is

to maintain the coherence of the world imperialist war alliance. Imperialism has sought by this adventure to strengthen its centralisation dragging as many capitalist nations in as possible so that it can appear united in front of the workers states and the world masses.

Without doubt large sectors of the world bourgeoisie including in the United States, are in fear and trembling over the consequences of this adventure, but they will not organise any resistance because their function as a class prohibits this. Mitterand and Kohl made many noises about not wanting war and when it came to the point, they stuck with American and British imperialism because private property links them all together. Nonetheless the great fears within capitalism point to the profound internal decomposition of the system and anticipate its demise. We have no doubt that sectors of the British military are not so happy at the prospects of this war. In the early stages one of the commanders was anxious to point out that the war would be bloody. Since then the crown prince has gone out to show how marvellous everything is and redeem himself from anything that is mildly progressive. However the poor response to the voluntary call up for the territorials shows that even among sectors close to the Union Jack, there is no enthusiasm for the war and resort had to be made to compulsion. The fact that one MP Dayell called for the

territorials to reject the call up shows that among bourgeois layers there is much perturbation at the lunatic process. There is no sign of any strong support for the war save among the most extreme right. Nothing is more nauseating of course than the sight of parliamentary cockroaches putting on their haloes and dispatching young men to their deaths. The labour party leadership was obliged to put greater weight on sanctions as a result of the pressure coming from the Labour masses through massive demonstrations, but nonetheless continued its line of collaborating with the government. This vile spectacle has clearly demonstrated the marxist analysis that parliamentary government is simply a form of the dictatorship of capitalism. The class loyalty of capitalism has been clearly marked also among many in the church hierarchy who have been summoning us to fall on our knees as the bombs fall on the masses of Iraq. Runcie declared it a just war without the remotest sign of an argument for this. But even Cardinal Hume was obliged to admit that certain unnamed powers now loud in their denunciations of Saddam Hussein had done some very good business with him.

It is certain that at this moment changes are taking

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GLADIO AND THE CAPITALIST STATE

As a result of internal disputes between sectors of the Italian bourgeoisie, documents have come to light known as the Gladio file showing the existence of paramilitary units under the control of various state agencies, but outside the knowledge and control of elected parliaments. They were as much aimed at internal enemies as the forces of the workers states. The British government, so far as we know has made no particular comment on these findings.

Representatives of such units met regularly in Brussels to co-ordinate and it has been admitted that these groups were involved in various sabotage activities in Greece in the sixties and in Belgium in the eighties, just a few examples amongst others. Naturally as Italy has been a focus of these "revelations", details are a little more forthcoming. Andreotti who previously denied the existence of an extra parliamentary group in 1974, has now been obliged to admit it. A letter of Moro, the Italian Prime Minister who was kidnapped and executed by the so-called Red Brigades had referred to organisations destabilising Italy. Italian generals have testified to the preparations by these clandestine units for civil war against the communist party and there was even a Super Gladio totally concentrated on internal "subversion". One of their achievements was the Bologna station episode when eighty people were blown up. Cde Posadas wrote extensively on this in his article on Moro when the Italian premier was kidnapped and murdered by

these mysterious forces who feared that Moro was favourable to the idea of the communists entering the government. Moro could only have been kidnapped through the connivance of the highest forces in the state.

Although there is talk of the dissolution of these organs, they will doubtless be reconstructed under other names and auspices, because they are instruments of the class war to which capitalism will resort more and more as the parliamentary system is insufficient for its needs. It is necessary that the Labour left raises the Gladio issue in Parliament and discusses the experience of Italy, because it shows how capitalism will never accept the prospect of a socialist government coming to power and proposing social transformations. If a labour government were to take serious anti capitalist measures the same Gladio forces would be impelled into action and in fact capitalism is quite capable of taking such measure against a mild labour government if they think its orientation encourages the masses to push for more demands. The famous destabilising campaign against Wilson and Heath in the seventies is a only a slight indication of what capitalism is capable of doing when its interests are threatened. The only secure basis for a left labour programme is the development of the closest links with the mobilisation of the masses to impose social demands. As Marx said no capitalist regime will ever leave the scene of history without using all its forces, open and clandestine to survive.

THE UNIFICATION OF THE TWO GERMANIES: THE STRUGGLE OF THE MASSES TO DEFEAT THE PLANS OF THE BOURGEOISIE.

RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU
OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

Last October the process which ended in the institutional unification of Germany was concluded. Capitalism worked rapidly to anticipate the possible progress of the movement, which on the streets of the German workers state condemned and liquidated the old bureaucratic apparatus. This movement which was based upon the central participation of the working class, of the authentic communist vanguard and of the progressive intellectual layers, freed now from the impediment which was constituted by the old bureaucratic apparatus and with the living experience of the workers state, could have developed and achieved more elevated social and political forms of participation. Thus the German bourgeoisie invested a great quantity of money to secure the support of an important part of the old bureaucratic apparatus which rapidly converted itself into the service of Kohl; the principle Christian democratic candidate in the first elections had to resign through the campaign of popular denunciation which clearly showed his past as a spy and torturer. Many other deputies of the eastern CDU were more than implicated with the old political police the "Stasi".

The unification of Germany is a task which answers to an historic necessity and which the German masses have had to achieve without a marxist, communist and revolutionary leadership. This situation can only be made use of by the bourgeoisie

transitorily, because they lack the possibility and the ability to achieve reunification in a complete way. The capitalist system cannot have the objectivity for such a task because everything is evaluated in terms of private interest and profit. In recent months, it has thought of nothing but dismantling the productive structure of the former workers state and this, not for purposes of "modernisation", but to deliver a blow at the working class in whose centre is to be found the most solid conviction of the necessity to maintain and develop the structure of the workers state through the fullest participation of the masses in the leadership of the country. The German workers state has ceased to exist transitorily, but Germany united under a capitalist leadership enters into a phase of social struggle which will put into crisis the plans of the bourgeoisie. The latter cannot represent the economic, social and cultural unification of the country; it can extend to the former workers state, the use of the mark and the capitalist criteria of production, but this alone is not sufficient to make a country. On the contrary, it is in the structure of the workers state, even after the damaging experience of bureaucratic management, where it is possible to find elements for an authentic unification. While the capitalists have shown that the former DDR is for them only a Germany class B, the working class has unified itself through the

massive affiliation to the trade unions and now discusses the struggle for the national extension of the social conquests of the workers state. Also in the hands of the masses, there remains the question of the development of democracy—the demands of the popular movement of 1989, against privilege and for a popular participation in the decisions of the country which have not developed at all under the government of De Maziere. The bourgeoisie has no interest in extending democratic rights, but on the contrary their first measures have contributed to increase the difference between the "two" Germans.

The bourgeoisie is obliged to push forward unification to maintain its authority over the petit bourgeoisie. In this sense it occupies a political and social terrain which should really belong to the communists and socialists. The social democracy of Brandt proposed a gradual and more extended process in such a way as to satisfy the bourgeois sectors who disapproved of unification for being a "bad business" and to moderate the effects on the conditions of life of the working class. On the other hand, the communists of the former DDR which in a short time had purged entire teams of leaders ended with a political leadership which was timid in front of the course of the process; it is thus that they did not have the programme, nor the policy, nor the authority with which to lead the population and propose conditions for a reasonable unification.

The capitalist system is concentrating important economic resources to destroy the structure of the workers state and it does this through the state—individually the capitalists have not rushed to invest in the DDR and only in the field of commercial property speculation in the centre of Berlin or in other sectors of little importance. A sector of the German bourgeoisie thinks to improve its position in the world capitalist market counting upon a part of the industrial apparatus of the DDR which is in their terms efficient and with a new source of skilled labour which has cost it nothing. Hence there will be a limited investment and there is no possibility that capitalism will invest to develop the whole of the former DDR, considering that what now dominates the behaviour of capitalist investment is the concentration of the financial and productive apparatus. The destiny which capitalism reserves for the DDR is a reserve labour force and a modest market for consumption. To develop the productive apparatus of the former DDR to the level of the capitalist sector, means an investment that if undertaken by the bourgeoisie would lead to the loss of its superior position in the world market. It would do so if it had a clear perspective, but in present conditions it lacks the audacity of previous epochs. Anyway the rest of capitalism does not see with enthusiasm German unification. It sees that Germany has acquired new

economic forces with which to increase its predominance in the world market thus exacerbating inter capitalist competition. The narrowness of the world market compared to the vast productive apparatus of capitalist technology has led to the reappearance of the question of the danger of a new Hitler. But the intercapitalist contradictions are a thousand times superior to those which determined the coming of nazism and if today they cannot resort to the former solution, it is through the existence of the USSR, of so many workers states and through the world extension of the revolution.

The partial productive backwardness of the ex-DDR with respect to capitalist Germany, is not the responsibility of the structure of the German workers state—statified property and centralised planning—but of the bureaucratic leadership. It is necessary to bear in mind that capitalist Germany is the result of the great help given by world capitalism, particularly of the United States which had not suffered great damage during the war, with the Marshall plan which invested millions and millions of dollars to develop a great economic monster to oppose the social influence of the workers states. On the other hand it was the workers states which paid most for the consequences of the war. It cost them decades to recover from the destruction of the productive apparatus, from the death of millions and millions

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place in the Soviet Union in reaction against those sectors who openly propose to dismember the Soviet Union and have pipe dreams about a capitalist restoration. There is no going back to stalinism and when Gorbachev was required to call for forms of workers control to ensure food supplies, this is not the action of a leadership which is totally insensible to the pressures of the masses. Gorbachev who once referred to the soviet masses as conservative, has been obliged to learn that the soviet masses will not allow the weakening of the workers state. Nonetheless there is still lacking a public discussion over the market

economy and how to advance towards socialism in the Soviet Union and the world, nor are the soviets operating in such a way as to control the bureaucracy and its privileges. Imperialism is trying to make it appear that the Soviet Union is now weaker and cannot contain imperialism. But on the contrary the separation of the workers state from stalinism whether in Roumania or the Soviet Union itself, means that the workers state is infinitely stronger whatever the complications that may ensue. It is world capitalism that is in its death throes and the war in the Middle East is the proof. The resignation of Sheverdnazde has to be seen as part of a reorientation

occurring empirically in the soviet leadership against an excess of conciliation with imperialism when the imperialist presence in the gulf poses a direct threat to the workers state. With all the changes which have ended direct soviet military presences in Eastern Europe, the defence capacity of the workers state has in no sense been diminished and socially it has gained in respect with the masses of the whole world. Imperialist aggression against the Soviet Union means the immediate extinction of world imperialism. The soviet leadership has not been prepared in front of the nationalist movements which in general are not opposed as

such to the workers state. But there is no doubt that the existence of stalinism has encouraged the existence of layers totally opposed to socialism and in the leaderships of the Baltic states the call for complete independence is reactionary and cannot be tolerated by the Soviet Union which is under permanent threat of imperialism. If there has been bloodshed, this is the result of prior political insufficiency, it is not the wish of the soviet leadership. The Red Army cannot tolerate in the midst of imperialist war preparations, groups that are prepared by any means to defy the workers state. At the same time we appeal for a comprehensive

political intervention and discussion of the perspectives of the workers state and the struggle for world socialism to influence the national movements.

In Britain a tremendous campaign is in progress to try to submit all problems to the issue of the gulf war. The problems of the health service, the increase in homelessness, the interminable crisis in education and the poll tax and the massive transport congestion are all going to be exacerbated by the war cojoined with the severe economic recession. Capitalism is not going to enter a new stage of development. Its only stage is war and that in the gulf is itself a step towards the final encounter

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of people—in the majority of communists and their sympathisers—caused by the Nazi invasion in complicity with the rest of capitalism. It is not possible to conclude that the present development of Germany is the result of private property and the market, because in the same period countries such as Greece, Portugal and Argentina were organised with private property and remained much more backward than the DDR.

Capitalist Germany is the result of the concentration of the world capitalist system to contain the social influence of the former DDR and of the whole of the workers states. Paradoxically if the "poor and backward" DDR had not existed, neither would the great and powerful Federal Germany. It was the first time in the history of private property that the country defeated in war was "helped" by the victor to develop; if the former DDR had not existed with the USSR and the great number of workers states which emerged from the war, Germany would have disappeared divided between the "democratic" capitalist powers. Marx analysed how the class struggle constituted an important element of the stimulus for capitalist technological improvement to which the bourgeoisie must resort to recover the part of the surplus value which the masses win with their struggles. In the world dimension of the class struggle, the workers states represent the working class. It is thus that the development of Federal Germany is the result of the development of the DDR as also in great measure, the social gains of the working class of the German capitalist state is the result of the DDR. The bourgeoisie in annexing the former DDR want to break with this source of stimulus to the social democrat working class, but the working class of the workers state with its communist vanguard is affiliated massively to the trade unions and hastens to give battle to maintain and extend the conquests of the socialist structure.

On the other hand, it is not necessary to accept the simple economic comparison between the two Germans, because the principle difference is social and on this plane the former DDR has shown itself to be superior: even having a less productive structure, the masses enjoyed better conditions of life. The powerful capitalist Germany cannot concede the 35 hours week which the working class demands, gives no rights to millions of foreign workers which have contributed immensely to the creation of the wealth of the

country, and does not tolerate the presence of communist militants and other left militants in the public service. The state enterprises of the former DDR certainly cannot be considered "productive" from the capitalist point of view, because besides being concerned with production, they are concerned with investing in the construction of housing for the workers, social, cultural and sports amenities; the DDR was concerned with guaranteeing the working woman her place in work up to three years after childbirth or during the period in which she had to look after a sick child and the right of abortion was guaranteed. These are important conquests which constitute the principle "wealth" of the former DDR. Capitalism has not felt sufficiently strong to be able to smash all the conquests, some yes; the principle blow they hope to give after the elections in December. It is one of the central tasks of the left, of communists, socialists, greens and the New Forum to defend these conquests and to struggle for their application throughout Germany and we call for the opening of a political debate to discuss the strategy for the unification of the economic gains of capitalist Germany with the social conquests of the workers state.

It is necessary to stimulate meetings in the factories, popular demonstrations and to create popular organisms with representatives of the two Germans to discuss the forms of an authentic unification. The Posadist IV Internacional calls for a United Front between the PDS, the SPD, the Greens and the New Forum based on and in alliance with the trade unions of all Germany, with the organisers of the foreign workers to defeat Kohl in the next elections. This is the best way to create now the democratic conditions in which to create a socialist Germany, the only structure capable of putting its immense productive capacity in the service of the social progress of the country. Among the key problems is the removal of NATO and of the Americans from German territory. German capitalism says a single constitution prevails, but in some areas the American army dictates the law.

The world communist movement must discuss the process which the USSR and the workers states are going through and the unification of the two Germans. The massive affiliation to the trade union centre shows that the working class is not resigned to the

loss of previous gains, but is preparing important and future struggles; also the result of the recent administrative elections has shown that as a whole the left maintains an important force. The attitude of Gorbachev in accepting the programme of unification of Kohl must not be seen simply as an abandonment of previous positions. The main error of the Soviet leadership is that of not accompanying the signing of the agreements with a political campaign for a unification which would respect more the structure of the workers state and a greater participation of the masses. Also they could have gained a little more time; but even with a greater agitation, unthinkable in a leadership which brings with it bureaucratic vices and limitations, it is also necessary to consider the complication of a situation in which it was impossible to rely fully on the support of a communist party which in the former workers state was going through a very profound crisis with three leading teams having to be replaced. The Soviets are living through important internal complications, but they have acted to involve the German bourgeoisie by means of commercial agreements which allows the Soviets to maintain some influence over the new Germany. The agreements which have been signed confer important benefits to the Soviets, at the same time as they safeguard an important part of the public industry of the former DDR which will continue to produce for trade with the USSR. The Soviets are speculating also with the divisions in the capitalist world and the decision taken between Kohl and Gorbachev took the rest of capitalism by surprise. Thatcher and Bush felt themselves to be displaced; hence in the celebration of the unification of the country, no important representative of the capitalist countries participated and in the festivals of the anniversary of the fall of the wall, Gorbachev participated as the main figure.

The unification under bourgeois leadership will mean without doubt a retreat in the standard of living for a large part of the population, whether in the former DDR or in the capitalist sector and it is going to lead to important social struggles. The left must not accept the bourgeois formula that everything that has been achieved in the DDR is to be thrown out. It has to be remembered that the experience of the first workers state attracted the

THE LABOUR PARTY AND BRITAIN

EXTRACTS

We make criticisms of the labour leadership and of the limitations and timidity of the labour left. We also understand the difficulties of the left, because they have had to develop their understanding without theoretical or political preparation. These are the conditions in which they confront daily problems. This weighs on them and on the labour vanguard which wants to advance. The need to find immediate solutions is a pressure in conditions where a basic programmatic, theoretical and political formation is lacking. So they resort to immediate empirical decisions. This is not a justification of the bureaucratic labour apparatus, but a means of understanding history and grasping why such limitations exist.....

The British and North American proletariat needs to witness the full intervention and participation of the world revolutionary and communist movement. It needs to receive assistance and support from it, in order to separate itself from the conservative and bourgeois leadership of the Labour party. All this demands the elevation of the class struggle on a world scale in order to influence Britain and North America.

..Britain has no perspective as a capitalist country and this is true for the rest of world capitalism. It still lives somewhat isolated from the world but this cannot last. To progress

it will have to transform society. The world shows that social transformation is necessary and in a short stage possible. The current discussion in the labour party does not represent the proletariat or the masses. It is a discussion determined by the very limited understanding of the leaders and their capitalist interests. The masses do not follow these leaders because they are bureaucrats and agents of capitalism, but because the Labour party is the instrument around which they are centralised.

...It is neither money nor arms which decide the course of history. The labour masses understand this. In spite of a certain lack of education and points of cultural support, their class conception and understanding allow the British masses to analyse and learn. The problem is that they do not have a centre in which to develop and the labour leadership impedes the formation of such a centre. Stalin confirmed the labour apparatus in its role, but he did not determine its character. This was determined long before Stalin. However the labour leadership drew on Stalin and in the later stages he showed them how to falsify history and to corrupt people in the name of socialism. He taught the labour bureaucracy to oppose the workers states in the name of socialism. This was precisely the policy of Stalin and the labour apparatus learnt its lessons very well. 26. 4.79. J. Posadas.

leading layers of the working class, of the youth, of the intellectuals and artists who were afterwards displaced by the bureaucratic arrogance of Stalin and the socialist transformation of society continues being a necessity of history, despite all the difficulties which the working class has experienced and must still pass through. The stratification and planning of the economy are the instruments of progress which cannot be renounced, because together with the organs of

the political participation of the masses, they impede the development of private and bureaucratic interests.

The German working class has shown itself historically mature and capable: in 1919 it constructed Soviets as in revolutionary Russia and it was in the leadership of the masses to take power. Together with the Soviets it contributed enormously to the defeat of Nazism. As a workers state, the DDR initially, had

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THE ATTEMPT OF IMPERIALISM TO INTIMIDATE THE ARAB MASSES AND THE NEED FOR MASS WORLD MOBILISATIONS AGAINST WAR

RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

The intervention of imperialism in the gulf is not the result simply of events in Kuwait. Before the entry of the Iraqi troops there, it is necessary to recall that the Intifada, the very powerful movement of the Palestinian masses against the repression of the Israel in combination with the defeat of imperialism in Lebanon, had created a situation which constantly weakens the principal base of imperialism, Israel. All this is part of the elevation of the world revolution—seen also in South Africa—which tends to increase the social and political weakness of imperialism and capitalism. In Israel there are profound differences in the government and great layers of the population reject the fascist methods used against the Palestinians. With the termination of the war with Iran more and more, forces in Iraq seek to help the Palestinian masses. In its ferocious attacks against Iraq, before the entry into Kuwait, it was evident that imperialism was preparing an attack, an effort to rectify the situation.

At the same time imperialism has other deeper reasons to generate a crisis in the Middle East. The success of the soviets in reducing the confrontation in Europe tends to diminish the coherence of the imperialist alliance and to limit the concentration of counter revolutionary forces. The Yanks and the British especially desire new centres to justify arms and war.

Iraq is not a country like Saudi Arabia, but a

revolutionary state in which the majority of the economy is statified, including the land and the main industries, despite efforts of Saddam Hussein to take measures of privatisation. This means that he is obliged in part to respond to the pressures of the masses, although he is an assassin who has no interest in popular democracy or to develop the economy in an objective manner for the benefit of the population. Entering into Kuwait, Saddam Hussein was not interested in a popular government which could criticise him and his despotic regime which assassinates communists and trade unionists, but although the occupation was "cold" this does not alter the fact that this process meant the expulsion of a feudal regime, expropriation and unification of this territory invented by imperialism with Iraq. These factors are explosive in the Middle East of the Sheiks and the absence of the unity necessary for the development of the region. Saddam Hussein represents a reactionary camarilla, but it is not he who determines history, but an objective process which imposes itself on him. He was obliged to enter Kuwait and now if possible he desires to free himself from this situation. He did not plan this fight with imperialism. It is part of a process which goes beyond his interests. The masses utilise the circumstances to centralise against imperialism. If Saddam Hussein is a criminal, he is no Hitler and imperialism is infinitely more criminal with

its world wars, Vietnam etc. Also who supported Saddam Hussein with arms in the war with Iran? Imperialism, which tried to utilise him against the Iranian revolution. All this campaign attacking Saddam Hussein is a manoeuvre of imperialism to conceal its sinister and counter revolutionary objectives and the masses of the world know this.

The decisive force which has partly contained the activity of imperialism is the Soviet Union. In the beginning the soviets were not prepared and were conservative in front of the occupation of Kuwait. At the same time accepting a condemnation of Iraq, they placed all the emphasis on peace. But it is evident that imperialism desires to smash Iraq and that also all the military activity in the gulf tends to threaten the Soviet Union directly.

The Soviet Union as a workers state cannot break links with the masses of the world and of the Middle East. There is a necessary relation; in order to progress, the Soviet Union must associate with the oppressed masses. The Soviets now say that it is not possible to accept a solution by war. In other words a war against Iraq means a decisive rupture with imperialism leading perhaps to the final encounter. The soviets have also posed that the Arab states must decide the outcome. This means directly a link with the sectors such as Jordan, Libya, Yemen and all the forces which reject the imperialist intervention.

This policy is dangerous for Arab layers such as Mubarak who live in the shadow of the

Yanks and provokes difficulties for people like Assad, one minute supporting the Yanks and the next obliged to allow open criticisms of the Yankee intervention. It is very clear that the soviet leadership with limitations and illusions on internal policy for example, the economic reforms, and on the possibility of arrangements with imperialism must respond to the workers state. This is decisive and the masses of the world see this and see how the meetings of Bush and Gorbachev are very fragile.

In spite of the united front of the capitalist powers against Iraq, a very profound weakening is developing in the imperialist camp. The French have discussed with Iraq, then Heath—a conservative leader opposed to Thatcher—goes to Bagdad and afterwards Brandt of Germany and then Nakasone of Japan. All this reflects the oscillation and insecurity of imperialism and the fear of a catastrophe. In the United States the President was obliged to terminate with the head of the airforce who posed the necessity to bombard Bagdad pronto. Sectors such as Thatcher appeal for war, but other bourgeois sectors are against because they have no security in the future and hope to live for a few days more.

The masses of the Middle East have seen the intentions of imperialism and in spite of all the problems, for example for the workers of Kuwait who must return to their countries without work, the Arab masses have maintained a very firm spirit in support of Iraq and in a meeting in September in Amman

political and trade union representatives of all the Arab countries showed a unified force against imperialism.

For the moment as a result of the absence of the political life, the inheritance of Stalinism and the social democracy, the reply of the communist and socialist movement to the events in the Middle East has been limited from the programmatic point of view, although the number of demonstrations against the war in various countries shows the concern of the vanguard. We appeal to the workers parties and trade unions in the world, but especially to the parties and trade unions in the workers states to develop mobilisations and meetings to reject the presence of the imperialist troops in the gulf, to condemn the campaign organised against Iraq as a complete hypocrisy when imperialist sectors are prepared to support the Khmer Rouges in Cambodia and are in complicity with the massacre of the blacks in South Africa. It is necessary to pose not only the withdrawal of the imperialist troops, but also demands for the unification of the Middle East on the basis of a programme of industrialisation and agrarian reform, with the full intervention of the population in all the planning and incorporating Israel with the liquidation of the imperialist and capitalist structure. It is necessary to finish with all the Sheiks, to expropriate them and all the profits from the oil must contribute to elevate the standard of living of the Arab population. We appeal to the CPSU and the government of

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with the workers states and humanity.

The fall of Thatcher was the combined result of the failure of capitalism on both the international and domestic plane. If capitalism could have opened a new historic plane of development there would have been no such extraordinary crisis. It is stuck in permanent anguish and Thatcher had to be dropped unceremoniously because she had become an electoral liability. But capitalism has basically no other policy and the line of Major shows it.

The Labour left must continue with the policy of mobilisation and discussions. The labour apparatus is fearful of the pressure of the masses. The continued mobilisation of the population against the war in

Britain has found its parallel in mobilisations in Germany, Italy, France, and the USA. Imperialism has found a centre in the war to try to display its cohesion and decision. But it has also shown its insanity, its lack of intelligence. The war in the gulf is not going to fortify capitalism. It will among other factors hasten its departure from world history. 14.1.91.

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the support of extensive layers of intellectuals and artists and gave a great assistance to the world revolution—to the Cuban revolution, to Africa and to the resistance to the dictatorship of Pinochet. In 1953 one of the first great rebellions against Stalinism was unleashed and in 1989 the working class constituted the

pillar of the movement which finished with the bureaucracy of Honecker in strikes and demonstrations of great popular participation singing the verses of the "International". Also historically the best of the German intellectual layers have been attracted to the cause of socialism to which Marx, Engels, Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and Brecht made such important contributions. Brecht's songs were prominent in the demonstrations of 1989. Our confidence in the German working class and the German masses is supported on this very rich history; the German masses have not felt themselves in any way to be defeated. What has been defeated is the bureaucracy.

In the history of the

international workers movement, it has often been necessary to begin again; great trade unions and parties constructed clandestinely and with great effort at the cost of the life of so many communist, socialist and trade union militants, have been repressed by capitalism or degenerated in their function through leaders who betrayed the objectives of the struggle for socialism. We must consider the same experience in relation to the German workers state. But this has ceased to exist, at the same time as the world force of the revolution and of the working class has grown. It is this reflection which animates our revolutionary optimism. 10 November 1990. European Bureau.

the Soviet Union to consider that in the world, no country is an island and the destiny of the workers states as in the period of Lenin is not only to give examples of economic progress, but to help the other countries to finish with feudal and capitalist exploitation, through the construction with ideas and exchanges of experiences, of a world communist movement which lives the problems of all the countries to construct socialism. 5 November 1990.

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FOR A LEFT LABOUR PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Capitalism is preparing for the next general election with no solutions for any of the outstanding problems. The local elections showed a swing to labour and the liberal democrats, although in fact the turn out was slightly lower than in the previous two years. What the population achieved, that is the defeat of the poll tax and the fall of the very ancient dinosaur Thatcher, were the effects of extra parliamentary activities. The whole objective of these electoral campaigns is to limit discussion to the changes proposed by the various representatives of capitalism in the conservative, labour and liberal democratic parties so that nothing of historic importance is touched upon. Major is now talking of the need for improvements in the public services - a classic sham in view of the capitalist policies of preparing more privatisation and ruining the public services.

The labour apparatus is hoping to gain office on the basis of trying to contain the debacle of the health service and its privatisation and suggest that it is possible to reanimate British capitalism with training schemes and various investment projects. Not so long ago they developed a fixation on "Europe" as the great star of the future - they do not seem quite so enthusiastic now. Indeed having gained office and not prepared to confront capitalism, they will speak of the impossible legacy the conservatives have left them. It is important to compare the present Kinnock leadership with the old classical social democracy. The latter were clear that it was possible to arrive at socialism by a succession of reforms. This present gang do not propose any perspective whatsoever, apart from suggesting that a few crumbs may be made available to the population if capitalism might grow a little. A few pounds extra tax is the labour solution to the problems of history - apart that is from agreeing with Yankee imperialism that the best way to deal with the Iraqis was to wipe out hundreds of thousands of them. Bomb now, die

later was the result of the imperialist war in the gulf. The LP apparatus has nothing whatsoever to say about what happened in the gulf that differs from imperialism.

Imperialism has been its usual self in the handling of the Kurdish issue. The sole objective was to contain possible Kurdish opposition to Saddam and indeed imperialism seek to strengthen its presence there as part of greater intrusion into the Middle East. The soviets are hoping to regain influence via Iran, Syria etc and when they speak of Bush in friendly terms, it is only to seek to contain the Pentagon marauders who as in the time of Nixon constantly exert pressure for the final solution with the soviets. The soviet determination to liquidate the Armenian mafias has to be seen as part of the context of the confrontation with world capitalism.

Capitalism retreats more and more into its clandestine preparations for war with the Soviet Union and the world masses. At the same time it is very insecure, the panic over the heart attack of Bush indicates the crisis of its leadership. Capitalism speaks of the failure of "communism". However it is not "communism" which has been wrecking the former workers state in East Germany, but capitalist methods. Moreover the ruination of Africa is not the result of "communism" but the direct consequence of capitalism which colonised the continent and then smashed it directly and indirectly. The massacres of the blacks carried out under the aegis of de Klerck is part of the capitalist strategy to use tribal problems. Iraq has been ruined by capitalism. The continuation of the capitalist regime in the world means a steady descent into barbarism and this is going to affect more and more the wealthier capitalist countries.

As reported by the European commission, more people are living in poverty in Britain than any other European nation. British capitalism will deny this, but they deny everything that is wrong with their putrefying system with a blandness which even the nazis

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Workers of the world, unite!

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would envy. With the calls for "cost effective" methods, capitalism also seeks to develop a new type of nazi mentality. They do not have the social strength to openly parade racism etc on the scale of the nazis, but they are seeking to develop a mentality which does not see human beings but only objects of wealth. This mentality has always been capitalist, but when it is linked to actual social retrogression, the total incapacity to solve the most minimum problems of social progress, it takes on a more sinister glow. In this final phase of capitalist degeneration, human life is the principle enemy - exemplified in Iraq, now forgotten by the bourgeois "democratic" press.

Capitalism is not going to help the new layers in the leadership of the workers states in Poland, Hungary etc on the scale to develop a new capitalism, because imperialism is too preoccupied with its own intensified competition and they certainly do not intend to encourage other competitors. That is why the Walewsas etc are historic imbeciles.

British capitalism is steadily deteriorating and what recovery will take place in an upturn in the trade cycle will be small and the underlying lack of interest by capitalism in developing productive industry and investment is not going to alter. For it, more profits are to be gained from arms, overseas investment and banking. The population is going to pay for all this. Capitalism announces that inflation is falling, yet prices of food and essential commodities are rising constantly. The labour leadership rarely intervenes on such issues because they have no alternative policy of any depth. Sectors of

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LITHUANIA AND THE DEFENCE OF THE UNITY OF THE SOVIET UNION

EXTRACTS.

It is not possible to interpret the events in Lithuania, only on the basis of the formal, democratic right of the government of Landbergis to do what it wants simply because it was elected two years ago by the majority of the population in this republic. There is today a crisis between this government and the Lithuanian masses who had voted for it. The functioning of a parliament of itself is not sufficient nor necessary. What is required is the functioning of the workers collectives, the soviet in the economy and for all the problems of social life. The crisis is precipitated when it is a question of a political solution. Landbergis retreats from every discussion and is afraid of confronting the general referendum in the USSR and thus he proceeds with this manufactured vote over independence. On the other hand this government made provocations against the soviet army with the demonstrations of the ultra nationalist sectors to put the government of Gorbachev in difficulties and give a support to the pressures of imperialism.

Landbergis expresses part of the soviet bureaucracy. These people have not emerged from nothing nor can it be said that they are people infiltrated by capitalism. They are part of the apparatus which lived from the workers state who have developed with the rest of the soviet bureaucracy, interests and privileges and have lived on Lithuania, part of the workers state.

These sectors of the old bureaucracy are disposed to sell themselves and to sell

everything which they can of the USSR. They have no more links to make them depend on the structure of the workers state and thus they seek capitalism directly in order to survive.

The present leaders in Lithuania are part of these sectors, the most reactionary of the bureaucracy. In the case of Lithuania they imagine that they are going to be able to utilise the important economic development of this republic to integrate with the capitalist system and thus make it fructify. They want to restore capitalism in Lithuania. Imperialism utilises them but does not have the least intention nor historic possibility of securing an economic prosperity for this republic. Capitalism has already formed its system where there is no place for new bourgeois countries which would mean immediately a competition for the key sectors of the economy, in Europe particularly. The only process which is going to develop is ferocious competition and social inequalities. What has been seen in Poland and in the former DDR where the conditions of the population grow worse and worse, are going to occur in Lithuania with this government of Landbergis.

The first minister Kazimiera Prunskiene resigned and denounced Landbergis and his group who do not want any compromise with the central government. They proposed only separation and threatened with death Lithuanians who did not accept such pressures.

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MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

International Secretariat

TO THE MASSES OF THE WORLD!

TO THE WORKERS STATES, THE
REVOLUTIONARY STATES, TO THE

COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST
PARTIES AND THE WORKERS
CENTRES!

TO THE PROGRESSIVE RELIGIOUS
MOVEMENTS, TO THE REVOLUTIONARY
NATIONALIST AND ANTI
IMPERIALIST MOVEMENTS!

The capitalist system has again given overwhelming proofs of its criminal nature and potential. The massacre of the Iraqi people and soldiers constitutes the greatest evidence that if capitalism is not destroyed in time and completely, especially North American capitalism, it will drag down in its fall an important part of humanity towards perversion and barbarism.

The masses of the world, the young people, the intellectuals, the most important artists and scientists, where they have had the possibility or appropriate leaderships, have reacted against the war launched by world capitalism. The mobilisation of the Arab masses and the North American masses have been of great importance and the latter rejected and condemned all the falsification created by imperialism. The first objective pursued by imperialism with the war in the gulf which was to terrorise the masses of the world was defeated from the beginning and the North American masses and the Arab masses were in the front of this struggle. They showed that they were not intimidated, that they were ready to confront the most difficult tests in history, that is even the war which imperialism is preparing, secure that they are going to conquer and defeat the capitalist system. A very great contribution to the security of the masses of the world has been the attitude of the soviet masses to the referendum. They unanimously defended before the whole world the function of progress which the workers state represents.

The actual repression of the Kurds is the continuation of the recent American massacre, unleashed against the Iraqi people; it is a crime of the capitalist world

and with characteristic hypocrisy it seeks to blame Saddam for what are its own crimes. The Yanks dropped an immense quantity of bombs against the Kurdish regions during the recent war. Turkey a member of NATO is a country which has most repressed the Kurds as have done also the forces of the right in Iran. The world bourgeoisie has never lifted a finger in defence of the population of the region. The present "concern" of world capitalism for the Kurds is determined by its own interests. Why have they never protected the Palestinians who are permanently massacred and persecuted by the Israelis? The Yanks wish to utilise the Kurdish question to establish a military presence which they have not been able to achieve by the recent war.

The workers states did not react with all their strength and in time, to stop the criminal action of imperialism in the gulf by reason of the political crisis through which their leaderships are passing, particularly that of the soviet leadership. But anyway they intervened to contain the most reactionary objectives pursued by imperialism in the attack on Iraq. With the war in the gulf also the policy of the soviets of agreements with imperialism in the perspective of gaining a breathing space and resolving in this way their internal problems has come unstuck. There is no possibility for any type of separation between internal and external policy, nor for a national development of socialism. Socialism is a scientific conclusion which gives order to the empirical development of society and which is constructed on a world scale and against the will of the capitalist system. The process of partial regeneration in the USSR has overcome many of the difficulties created during the Stalinist period. One of the most persistent vices introduced by Stalin and which has infiltrated profoundly into the heart of the international communist movement, is the policy which conceives a narrow national dimension for the development of socialism.

It is necessary to deepen the discussion in the world communist movement, in the workers states and the capitalist states. The crisis of the soviet political

leadership is because it cannot follow the rhythm of the process of history. The initial programme of perestroika has already been bypassed; the intervention of the working class and of part

of the leadership of the USSR itself is imposing the correction of the empirical proposals which arise from this process. In the middle of the confusion of mistaken proposals or those which answer partial problems, the present bureaucratic leadership must adopt a series of measures which weaken the power and stability of the bureaucracy itself. The constant renovation of leading cadres in the party or the decision to separate leaders of the state from the party or the decision of some regional committees of the CPSU which stand apart from the economic programme in action and support the strikes and protests or go to discuss with the workers, something which also the government and Gorbachev has to do, provokes the desperate action of layers of the bureaucracy, central and local like those who make an interested use of the problems of nationality. Even though it is also a limited instrument, the recent referendum in the USSR has made it possible for the people of the USSR to express their recognition of the function of progress which the soviet workers state represents; the masses have voted in representation of soviet citizenship above and beyond national limits. They maintain the strikes and protests against the results of bureaucratic administration, but with intelligence defend the present structure of the Soviet Union. The maintaining of the centralisation of the USSR is a fundamental measure for the planning of the country, for with this, the population has voted also against the supporters of the introduction of the market and of private initiative. This result is going to serve as an impulse to the left in the CPSU which sought to make people participate in this referendum, knowing that it can count on the maturity of the soviet masses in the next struggles.

Also the true character of the movements which demand independence and separation from the USSR has been clearly

demonstrated. Today they want to make the national problem appear as much more weighty than even before the Russian revolution. In the elections for the Constituent Assembly during the epoch of Lenin the weight of the national movements was very small. Masses of different nationalities voted massively for the Bolshevik party. It is a problem artificially created by bureaucratic layers to defend their privileges and prerogatives of power at the same time that they seek support and find it partly in world capitalism. These local mafias refused to participate in the referendum and boycotted it with terrorist methods because they fear to confront the rest of the USSR. These regions hardly represent six percent of the population of the USSR. The progress which these regions have made is due to their inclusion in the USSR and the Russian and the Asiatic masses have the same rights as the residents to decide the fate of the Baltic states or Georgia.

Part of the conditions upon which the mafias can count is because the political struggle still develops in the bureaucratic apparatus. It costs the bureaucratic leadership most of all to accept that people can intervene in the leadership of the country. All the proposals aimed to develop democratic participation of the masses in the soviets, and the factories have seen their level reduced through the limits of the life of the party and the leadership. The soviets have ended acquiring the same forms as the bourgeois parliaments and in the collectives the workers cannot develop all their capacity through the limits which the economic plan imposes which reduces planning to the individual factory and also because they make circulate proposals for workers to buy the factory and because the leadership exercises various forms of pressure.

The decision of the leadership to use the referendum is very important. It has defended the referendum in the middle of the great pressure of sectors of the bureaucracy displaced through this process and in the middle of the gigantic campaign of the world capitalist system which presents Gorbachev as defeated. It is also indicative

of the changes in the USSR that while in the past the bureaucracy resorted to repression and with arrogant methods to resolve all the problems, now it must seek even with limited forms and timidly to support itself on the masses. At the same time the masses have demonstrated that they can intervene in the political struggle with great maturity as with the mobilisation of the miners, the strikes and mobilisations of other categories against the economic reforms and with the massive participation in the recent referendum. In the first phases of the political struggle which does not exclude the possibility of bloody forms to defeat the mafias which have developed at the level of some republics and of central apparatuses in the economy, the participation of the masses will be decisive, giving full life to soviet functioning and workers control of production and distribution.

It is an error to limit the right to strike in the workers state. The right to strike is a fundamental instrument to correct the bureaucratic deviations, inequality in work and in wages. Confronting the strike the leadership places the objectives of production above the social objectives of the workers state and commits the same error as when it discusses the economy with criteria strictly of efficiency and productivity. The strike is certainly going to provoke a reduction in this sense, but it is going to promote an increase in experience and in political participation of people which is going to make the workers state progress. It is only the progress of the workers state, of the political life and of the participation of masses which is going to mean that in the future it will no longer be necessary to resort to measures like the strike. The demand for the resignation of Gorbachev only comes from some groups of the strikers and expresses any way the necessity for the working class to intervene politically, but it is not the whole working class which is demanding this when an alternative leadership does not exist.

All the leaderships of the

world communist movement find themselves unprepared for this present process which shows many new aspects. They do not have the historic experience or tradition. All their past of conciliation with capitalism has disarmed the communist leaderships in front of the elevation of the tasks which are to develop the workers states to more advanced forms, towards socialism and the necessity to lead a world anti capitalist struggle, much more extensive and profound. Leaders who a few months ago could govern the workers states or the communist parties of the capitalist world today are displaced or in the empirical search of solutions like the Italian communists. It is not only a question of their being bureaucrats and many continue considering themselves as communists. They want communism in their own way, but they have neither the theoretical nor political nor organisational preparation. We appeal for the realisation of a public discussion in the communist and socialist movement on the perspectives for the construction of socialism; the USSR, Cuba, China and the large communist parties must take the initiative in this discussion. "Socialism is a necessity of life" as was posed by Cde Posadas and it is with this conviction that they can approach the discussion of all the problems in an objective manner. The division in the former communist party in Italy is a blow for socialism and it is necessary that all the communist movement discusses these problems and calls for the unification of the communist forces in Italy as in Spain, Greece and France.

Capitalism is in full dispute in the middle of the greatest crisis of all its history. With the display of the greatest fire power of recent times with bombardments a thousand times superior to those of the second world war, North American imperialism has secured much less than it got in 1945. It has not succeeded in smashing the will of the Arab and Palestinian masses and hence now they cannot provide a political solution which continues the military action.

The American army has experimented with new types of arms, has developed special devices to produce mass extermination-like the bombardments in the cities or the killings of Iraqi soldiers fleeing in disorder from Kuwait- but they nonetheless were obliged to desist when a part of the American leadership and the Israelis

wished to continue towards Baghdad, because they felt that the war was going to convert itself into the feared "New Vietnam". The first uprisings of the Iraqi population were against the North American invasion; people under the bombardments understood that their leadership was defecting and came out to organise resistance. It is thus that it is verified that imperialism saved Saddam, so that he could confront the social movement which was developing. It saw that if Saddam was liquidated, the void could be filled by the anti imperialist and communist opposition. If this had happened, the war on the part of Iraq would have been transformed into a revolutionary war of liberation with the support of the Arab and Palestinian populations. The mobilisation against the war throughout the world, the great anti imperialist mobilisation of the Arab and Palestinian populations - outside the conduct of their camarrillas and bourgeois leaders like those of Saudi Arabia, Egypt and Syria-joined to the unified policy of the Soviets, Chinese, Cubans, Yemenis and the Iranians, made imperialism realise that the conditions for a "new Vietnam" were developing. Imperialism has repressed and will still do so in the Middle East as it is doing now with the Palestinians in "liberated" Kuwait, but the fact that Baker must deal with the Palestinians face to face when the Palestinians are a grain compared with the great American forces, shows that the "desert storm" has achieved nothing. The Arab masses do not feel defeated; if they had had means, leadership and had been able to participate in a war where imperialism could have conquered, then it would be possible to speak of defeat. They saw that Saddam defected. Imperialism had to save the life and half of his military force-the only case

of such a situation in history- so that he could contain the opposition. The situation of the Saudi, Syrian and Egyptian leaderships in the camp opposed to the Arab peoples, has destroyed the hopes of those who espouse the "Arab cause". A world campaign is necessary for the withdrawal of the imperialist forces from the region and the construction of the perspective of the federation of revolutionary and socialist countries of the Middle East so that their economies are planned together and their social and cultural life progresses with the democratic participation of all the

peoples including the Israelis.

Imperialism has conducted a totally ineffective and murky war. If transiently it has gained a military success, this is due to the fact that on the side of Iraq and the rest of the world there did not exist the leadership to transform the war into a revolutionary war. Saddam behaved like the Argentine military when they occupied the Malvinas islands; they gave an anti imperialist blow without having the intention of taking that path. The Argentines and Saddam obtained popular support, but acted without the intervention of the masses. If people had intervened, first it would have been to smash the yanks and then to get rid of Saddam. Hence the latter preferred to surrender than organise any popular resistance. Thus Saddam allied with imperialism again at the end of the war. The intention of the Yanks was to destroy the Iraqi revolutionary state and hence the immense destruction of the masses and of the productive apparatus. Saddam continued with the repression of the Shiites, communists and Kurds and thus imperialism does not ask for payments for the war damage. Saddam has paid with this repression.

The tremendous damage caused by this bombardment of Iraq and Kuwait showed that the "liberation" of Kuwait was of little concern. If Saddam had not invaded Kuwait, there would have been another pretext and if the weakness of the soviets had not permitted using UNO as a cover, they would have used other excuses, but this war the Yanks have had to make and had been prepared for it for some time. The attack on Libya in 1986 did not find the conditions

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Behind Lanbergis and the ultranational movements of Lithuania and of the other soviet republics, there is the effort of world imperialism to dismantle the USSR. It is another way of making war declared in Iraq, if not declared here against the workers state. The appeal of Landbergis for the support of troops from NATO to defend their government against the soviet army is to find an echo, a support from imperialism which it maintains as a permanent threat against the soviet leadership and Gorbachev.

The left has to be quite clear on this issue before making criticisms of the soviet leadership. These are not problems of "nationality" which are being posed in the Soviet Union because the soviet workers state is the force which has unified the peoples more than any other in the whole of human history, developing the economy, culture and social relations of the population of the most backward peoples. In spite of the crisis which is happening now, the level of social and economic relations and of the life of the masses in the Soviet Union compared with the same nationalities which have remained in countries under capitalist control from the Kurds to the Afghans is very superior.

Capitalism bases itself on competition, on the fact that the power which can do more dominates. Hence they have never solved the problems of nationalities in the world for centuries. On the contrary, it has maintained and promoted divisions, conflicts, inequalities between countries, and nationalities to secure its dominion, dividing in order to rule the better.

All the revolutionaries must support the will of the soviet

government expressed through Gorbachev, when it poses the defence of the Soviet Union, when it intervenes with the objective of not allowing the establishment of a bourgeois regime in Lithuania. The project of the new Constitution establishing new relations between the soviet republics has much importance, the same as the referendum over the new constitution throughout the USSR.

There is a great weakness in the CPSU and hence it is the Red Army which has been weighing more and impelling a direct intervention in Lithuania as in other situations where the local bureaucracy wants to cause a separation from the USSR. But the army has not intervened alone. In the mobilisations, the workers collectives, the citizens committees stimulated by the appeals of Gorbachev have also intervened against the government of Landbergis and also the minority Communist party. The working class seeks to weigh in this crisis and does it in part when it succeeds in rejecting the increases in prices, when it wages the struggle against the speculators, the mafias when it rejects the so-called co-operatives which are simple centres for the enrichment of some at the expense of the population. But the latter still does not have sufficient possibilities of intervening in the soviets, to make of them instruments of control and of the struggle against the bureaucracy and all its vices, to control the economy, to intervene in planning for the benefit of all the USSR, to intervene in the international policy of the USSR. For this it is necessary that the CPSU fully integrates itself with this objective. 28 January 1991 European Bureau.



The intervention of the soviet miners damages the bureaucracy.

and hence the Yanks did not continue, but it already showed what the Yanks were preparing. This war is not an event in itself. They are going to have to find the means to continue it. War is an inherent necessity for the existence and functioning of the capitalist system. It is the main instrument for the maintaining of its power in front of the growth of the revolutionary world process and to settle accounts between the great capitalist countries.

Capitalism has accumulated incurable contradictions between the United States and Europe—France, Germany, Italy—between the United States and Japan, between Japan and Europe and they have no solution because they cannot resolve it with the liquidation of one or other of the competitors. None, including the Americans feel that they have the security to conquer and occupy the position of the vanquished. On the contrary they feel that this space would be utilised by the revolution, by the workers states. This is the reason that they have not launched new military wars among themselves. It is a direct result of the existence of the workers states and of the world revolution. Through the war with Iraq, they sought to adjust matters between them. It has been an indirect war. North American capitalism has sought to impose on the rest of capitalism its military predominance against the economic power of the others. And this against all the euphoria which capitalism tried to demonstrate in these moments, is going to express itself in future and more acute crises. Already an important part of the world bourgeoisie is paying for the results of the war in the gulf, not only in the direct bill which corresponds to each one of the great capitalist powers, in part rejected by the Germans and the Japanese, but in the damage to many important industries in Europe and Japan which are closing factories and dismissing the labour force because many sales have been lost in the Middle East to the United States and Britain.

Capitalism after having massacred the Iraqi people is preparing to deal with the masses of their respective countries. The communists and the socialists and the workers centres have not been prepared to answer this process. It is necessary to reject all the efforts to make the masses pay for the results of the war. Nationalisation of every factory which is to be closed or dismisses workers! Workers control and a complete worker and popular plan to convert

the factories producing military equipment! It is necessary for a united front of the communist and socialist parties, of the trade union centres and of the peace movements and of the left with a programme of liquidation of the capitalist system and against NATO in Europe.

Capitalism has emerged weakened by the war. All the "victors" are in crisis. Major is in dispute with sectors of the conservative party, Kohl has to seek an alliance with the Social Democrats to confront the great social reaction in Germany. The French socialists divide publically and the Italian government falls and reappears, losing on the way the Republican party which was the firmest supporter of the American attack against Iraq. Capitalism with the war has unveiled all its contempt for life and human progress and the repudiation by the masses and the petit bourgeoisie is going to be expressed in the next social struggles which are going to acquire in a rapid form anti capitalist and socialist conclusions and proposals. "Capitalism is war and Socialism is peace". This observation by Lenin is today more and more on the agenda.

Capitalism cannot be led to reason in a logical and objective form. It is opposed to the progress of science, of intelligence and human relations. But the masses of the world particularly the young want to construct better human relations. For its part capitalism offers the massacre in Iraq to defend its power, its "way of life". Capitalism wants to make it appear that it was a necessity to kill 300,000 people. The masses of the world demonstrated against the war and condemned what they called the "petroleum war". The results of the war for capitalism will be catastrophic; the abyss between the capitalist leadership and the social base of the petit bourgeoisie has opened up more than ever.

The discussion in being raised again in the world communist movement over the inevitability of the atomic war as posed by Cde Posadas. An important part of the communist leadership and that of the workers states have been convinced that imperialism conscious that the launching of a new war was going also to mean also its own destruction, would modify its behaviour containing its instincts to conserve and perpetuate its power. On this basis it was possible to induce it to reason and convince it of the need for disarmament, of the world democratic government and thus it was possible that capitalism might function

without being bound to class interests which it had constructed in the economy and society. The gulf war has liquidated these false perspectives of the left.

Another element which reveals the weakness of the capitalist system is the situation of the workers states of eastern Europe, particularly those in which leaderships have appeared which propose to facilitate the entry of capitalism and of the market economy and the dismantling of all state property and centralised planning.

Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and particularly the former DDR have all seen the retreat in the standard of living and productive structure. Capitalism has not been able and is not going to be able to integrate these countries in its world structure, but use them simply as a market for some of its products or in a speculative way. The German bourgeoisie with all its power is incapable of giving a solution for the population of the former DDR that does not lead to its being of second class status. The recent mobilisations, the eggs being thrown at Kohl, like the reactions in

Czechoslovakia, the social void with the Walesa government in Poland, the electoral results in Roumania and Albania shows that the structure of the workers state— a living force in the population— is seeking to react and give an answer to the lack of revolutionary leadership. All these countries are governed by old bureaucratic layers who have changed their loyalties overnight, showing how weak was their allegiance to communist principles and the great movements which have determined important changes in 1989 have been partly disorganised or prevented from intervening. It is necessary to open an extended debate over the experience of the construction of the workers states on the necessity of democratic development and planning together of their economies, to advance towards superior forms of the development of socialism. There is no capitalist perspective for these countries. Capitalism can only provide massacres as in Iraq or what it has done in the former DDR. It can give nothing more in this process of inter capitalist concentration and struggles against the world revolution. Capitalism says the misery to which these countries must submit is the result of the "management of so many years of communism". And Peru? This country has always been under the control of capitalism and who is responsible for the

backwardness in which it now lives? The world anti capitalist struggle is preparing for important leaps, the mobilisation of the masses of the world against the imperialist war shows that the world relation of forces are favourable to the revolution and an anti capitalist policy. The capitalist system has governed all the history of Latin America and has shown itself incapable of resolving the most elemental problems of the backwardness in which people live. Imperialism exhibited in the gulf war the most complex means placed at the service of exterminating human beings and in Peru they do not move a finger to contain the extension of the cholera epidemic. The Latin American bourgeoisie is degenerating, as is shown by the governments of Brasil and Argentina. The great strikes in these countries, the condemnation of the regime of Pinochet, the success of the socialist priest in Haiti, the advance of the guerrillas in El Salvador and the progress of the Sandinistas which as an opposition still work as the leadership of Nicaragua, prepare the future progress in the quality of the struggles in Latin America which will be linked much more with the objective of the Cuban workers state. While capitalism in Latin America in alliance with imperialism has produced cholera in Peru, Cuba exports health throughout the world increasing its authority

and its influence in the objective of the next struggles in the region.

In Africa a series of revolutions have liquidated dictatorships which appeared to be eternal, such as those of Barre in Somalia, and also Mali and great mobilisations. In Morocco and Algeria have elevated enormously the security and political experience of the masses. In South Africa the policy of Mandela for the unification of the ANC and of PAC make possible the overcoming of tribal disputes and the political elevation of the liberation movement. The proposal for a new constitution by the ANC is not going to be accepted by the South African bourgeoisie which lacks the strength to confront it; the world bourgeoisie is eliminating sanctions against the Apartheid regime to support Klerck. We appeal for the development of a world united front in support of the liberation movements and of the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle throughout the world. We appeal for a discussion of the experience of the construction of the workers states, particularly the changes in the Soviet Union, with the security that the progress which the political revolution is preparing is going to generate immense energies throughout the world.

22 April, 1991
International Secretariat.

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE!

From Page 1

capitalism are now seeking to pedal proportional representation as the panacea for all. This is actually an admission that the old system cannot work. But it is dwarfed by the process which is developing. Capitalism hopes through PR to gain new agreements among men of "good will" to save their demented system. The Crown Prince has given his approval as he hopes to save the monarchy. In spite of the refusal of the labour apparatus to conduct any serious anti capitalist struggles, the conditions for a reanimated labour left are being laid. Capitalism constantly aims to conceal its own lack of perspective save war, by criticising the workers states, but that will not solve its problems stemming from growing unemployment, the housing crisis and wholesale dismissals from the "caring" health service. The labour left

has to develop a more coherent opposition in the trade unions to the collaboration of the LP leadership with capitalism. The expulsion of the labour councillors in Liverpool is an example of a process which is going to gather momentum when the apparatus will not be able to deliver solutions on gaining office. There is no alternative to develop a new party apart from the process in the Labour party, but as in the recent process in Italy the vanguard is not going to tolerate forever the crass consensus with capitalism. It will weigh in the unions and outside.

For a planned economy under the direct control of the working class factories about to close to be nationalised under workers control! For popular committees to control prices! Out with the monarchy! For a Socialist republic on the basis of a Federation of Britain and Ireland! Out of NATO! 10.5.91.

Editorial

The Fiasco of the conservative government and the need for an anti capitalist policy and programme.

The electoral games of British capitalism continue while the system becomes more and more unmanageable. The most absurd "initiatives" are launched about "citizens rights" and "educational reform" when it is abundantly clear that the economy is weaker than ever before. If the infrastructure and social services left much to be desired in the past when capitalism had more resources than at present, then there is no possibility of improvements now. Social differentiation will increase in all areas of life such as education, health, and transport. The privileged will benefit while the mass of the population, particularly the millions of poor people will get nothing. Any recovery from the devastating slump will be limited. The labour party apparatus wages no serious struggle involving the population because they have no desire to implement social change. When the odious Thatcher appeared in parliament to drivel on about how marvellous parliament was, the labour leaders were very respectful. In this way they showed their identification with capitalism and that the bourgeois order for them is a sacred responsibility.

On the international arena it is also obvious that the imperialist powers have no interest in extending economic aid to the Soviet Union so as to facilitate the conciliatory policies of the soviet leadership. The warning by the head of the KGB that imperialism only wants to break up the Soviet Union simply expresses the reality of the situation. The confrontation between the two systems is fundamental. The top layers of the soviet bureaucracy as was analysed by Cde Posadas, through the economic reforms seek to free themselves from the workers state, but the workers state in the Soviet Union is marked by a superior social relation

in the population. This cannot be dislodged and will inevitably confront whatever economic policies are implemented that oppress the population and give advantage to privileged layers. Yeltsin, Shevernazde etc are simply the detritus of the bureaucracy now seeking to go back to their menshevik origins which was a contributory factor to the formation of Stalinism. What is happening in the Soviet Union is not a crisis of the soviet people, but of the bureaucracy which is falling. Imperialism senses all this and hence it has no intention or possibility of making attempts to structure a new bourgeoisie in the Soviet Union. If there are large votes in Moscow or Leningrad for rightist sectors, it must be recalled that the old bureaucracy ran into millions and this clientele still exists and can influence the most backward layers of the population on a transitory basis. The election of Yeltsin as head of the Russian Republic is solely due to his attacks on the bureaucracy. At the same time he is now well and truly caught, because he has no programme outside economic reforms which will not endear him or his kind to the soviet proletariat. It will be for the communist left to develop greater links with the population and sovietise the workers state that is the real return to Bolshevism. That is the struggle that is now going on in the CPSU.

Imperialism has been most put out by the response of the Yugoslav army to the efforts of the Slovene bureaucrats to break up Yugoslavia. The latter country has suffered from the vices of bureaucratic disintegration resulting from the turn to self management. Slovenia, like Lithuania in the Soviet Union has developed layers of former bureaucrats anxious to enter the capitalist fold. Such sectors utilise the just desires of the population to finish with the corrup-

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bureaucracy at the centre and thus justify a reactionary turn against the workers state. World capitalism enters with its sticky fingers to participate in a form of Balkanisation and in practice to try to make Slovenia a new colony of capitalism. All this has to be seen as part of the world struggle of capitalism versus socialism. The resolution of issues such as these are linked to the final encounter between the two systems. The Yugoslav army has acted as the representative of what remains of the workers state of Yugoslavia and as an extension of the Red Army.

Imperialism has sought to gain some military advantage in the Middle East by pulverising Iraq, now it increases tension by threatening renewed intervention. Israeli bombers attack Lebanon and the despotic regime in Kuwait patronised by western imperialism terrorises the Palestinians. Here too all the conditions are aggravated towards the final encounter. It is not by chance that sectors in the Chinese communist party speak of imperialism preparing to wipe out the socialist state—a marked change from the line of Deng Xiaoping and his placing of American imperialism and the Soviet Union on the same plane.

The issue of the relations with Europe are preoccupying British capitalism. Clearly British capitalism has to be in Europe where its main market lies. But Franco German capitalism is dominant there and the Thatcher tendency wants to maintain a pseudo independence from Europe so as to continue to be the representative of the Yanks, that is the Atlantic alliance of free trade to incorporate several countries in Eastern Europe against the Franco German block. As

British capitalism is feeble in front of the European economies, there is also the need to develop a "national" stance against the rest of Europe who will be blamed for everything that goes wrong. In fact there is no capitalist solution for Europe. The tensions that exist and divide the conservatives are inevitable. They divide the LP apparatus also. No discussion of a Socialist Europe is developed of any importance by the labour left. The problems of the central bank, unified currency are the problems of the bourgeoisie. It is necessary for the trade unions and the LP left to develop a discussion with the European left for a socialist orientation towards Europe, with the perspective of a Socialist United States of Europe, incorporating the Soviet Union.

The crisis over the Walton election has interesting features which in microcosm say a great deal about the situation in Britain and will be further amplified in our columns. The LP apparatus claims a great victory over the Militant apparatus, but the issues raised by this election are not going to go away. The policy of expulsions of the left wing devised by the LP apparatus in Liverpool is not a sign of strength but of great weakness. On the question of the expelled labour councillors actually contesting a seat against the LP apparatus, there is nothing incorrect in this in itself. What has to be discussed carefully in these circumstances is policy and programme so as to educate a marxist current in the LP. The election should be used to facilitate a marxist left in the LP to link with the labour masses. The ideas of grand entry -ism, hoping to capture

the LP apparatus is doomed to failure and has been particularly farcical in Liverpool, where in the past one apparatus ie the militant group in local government simply replaced another. These issues can be quite complex, and require a clear world perspective. We salute the efforts of the left labour councillors to combat the open alliance with capitalism of the LP leadership. The LP apparatus which supported the murderous war against the people of Iraq has nothing to do with socialism. They have learnt their methods at the school of stalinism ie expelling socialism in the name of socialism. However the stalinists thought they were forever and now they are in the bin. The same will happen to the labour bosses. The form of this downfall is not clear at the moment, but fall they will with the rest of the capitalist system.

It is necessary to utilise the experience of the Walton election to re-animate discussion in the left sectors of the Labour party to prepare for the more favourable conditions which inevitably are going to undermine the pro capitalist leadership of the Labour party. This means far greater clarity on the course of the world revolution and the significance of the changes in the Soviet Union in particular. 7.6.91.

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RED FLAG!

The Defeat of the Nazis and the formation of the workers states

October 1973. J. Posadas.

in Eastern Europe.

(50th anniversary of the nazi attack on the Soviet Union)

On the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the nazi attack on the Soviet Union, June 22 1941, we publish some extracts from the writings of Cde Posadas on the historic significance of the triumph of the Soviet Union and why this victory was limited by the lack of communist parties with the Bolshevik programme of taking power.

Today imperialism led by the United States represents the nazism of this epoch. They are preparing for a new effort to liquidate the Soviet Union. Compared with the nazis of Hitler's time, they have to act with much more dissimulation. Their fascist intentions are concealed by all the gibberish of "democratic" liberalism. Thus they murder hundreds of thousands of Iraqis and call it a "just war for peace". The reason that they hesitate and may continue to do so for some time, is that they know the world is against them and that the soviets have the means to destroy imperialism. Moreover the armed forces of imperialism have no fighting will. They can get away with combats against small nations through technical superiority, but the erosion of the authority of capitalism means that in the event of the final encounter, the armed forces of imperialism will disintegrate with the rest of the capitalist social order.

The communist and socialist parties of today try to avoid the issue of world war as though

somehow it will go away. It will not. It was capitalism which led to world war in 1914 and in 1939. Because there has not been a world war since then, although millions have died in smaller wars in Vietnam etc the leaders of the workers movements seek to ignore the problem. War is endemic to capitalism. It is the logic of the laws of competition the logic of the famous "market economy". Politics and economy are linked, although the hired prize fighters as Marx called them of the capitalist social order pretend they are not. The reason why there has not been a world conflict between the capitalist powers is that they find the main enemy is the Soviet Union which in 1917 expropriated capitalism. Today with all the guff about world co-operation, the Yankee war machine surrounds the USSR with military bases. As Cde Posadas argued, humanity has achieved sufficient confidence to construct communism. It has assimilated the experiences of 1917, the defeat of the nazis and the new stage in the Soviet Union, where the masses have voted for the unity and socialist perspective of the USSR and where the workers state seeks to unburden itself of the bureaucracy. The logic of that is the fusion with the world revolution.

When the nazis attacked the USSR-aided in this by the criminal policy of Stalin-the masses of the world were fully alerted. The soviet working class defended the USSR in a way which no other class in history ever defended a country before. It did so practically without means. The soviet working class did not make a centre of Stalin. Hitler hoped that the soviet working class would bring Stalin down or would let the nazis enter passively in order to get rid of him. Before the USSR was attacked, Trotsky had written showing that the masses would defend the Soviet Union tooth and nail.

Stalingrad was the centre for historic change. The defence of Stalingrad by the soviet masses inspired a sense of authority and a resolve to renew the fight against the capitalist system. Europe was soon to give birth to new workers states and even with Stalin the soviet masses continued to work according to the conclusion that socialism was being constructed. The masses acted throughout on the basis that this was entirely on the agenda. The soviet masses felt no sense of terror in front of the nazi threat. During the war they were not cowed and the invasion did not make them panic. That resistance inspired the rest of the world masses and showed what an immense capacity and resource existed in the world to defeat the capitalist system. By 1943 it was already obvious that

nazism was doomed. A sense of victorious confidence swept Europe and stimulated the partisans who were confronting the nazis and their own national capitalists. Thus Stalingrad must be seen as the start of a new stage, not quite of regeneration but a stage in which all the seeds were sown for regeneration. Thus the Hitler-Stalin pact was against the German revolution and was counter revolutionary, but the defence of the Soviet Union and the confrontation with Hitler was not. This dual policy was not decided by Stalin, but by the contradictory nature of the workers state that had degenerated and whose leadership was reactionary. In the end it was not reaction but revolution which decided the evolution of this contradiction. The historic legitimacy of the workers state was confirmed and we base our confidence in the knowledge that history has ratified the legitimacy of the workers state.

The soviet masses created Generals, they produced leaders, military co-ordination and the necessary arms in the actual course of the war itself. The nazis were never capable of producing such a creative capacity because the vanguard of the proletariat would not have given them one iota of support. The Soviet Union had this support and the nazis could never have it. There was no doubt in the USSR on the question of whether to

get rid of Stalin or of Hitler. The task was to destroy Hitler. The soviet people did not give way to their social anger against Stalin, but dedicated themselves to bring down Hitler the historic enemy.

It was the soviet masses who made the resistance, who determined the defence of the Soviet Union, the continuity and the extension of the USSR to the rest of the world. It was the soviet masses who held the attention of the world, who contained the massacres of the Bolshevik team to intervene again, to extend the revolutionary struggle. It showed the immense force of the workers state because no capitalist regime could do this. The bourgeoisie of Europe were utterly shattered. The French bourgeoisie were divided into two tendencies and from one of them de Gaulle emerged and in Britain it was the same. In the USSR there was no division; the homogeneity of the workers state was determined by the superior strength of statified property and by the invincible strength of the soviet masses. If the soviet masses had not unconditionally supported the workers state, it would have succumbed. They would have created currents of alliance with the nazis, as did a small bureaucratic layer of no transcendent importance. In the most difficult conditions, the soviet masses demonstrated their historic security. During the nazi blockade, they

weakened the nazis and particularly the Italians; they decomposed the Italian army. The soviet masses gave food to Italian troops and won them. After the war declarations by an Italian officer showed how difficult it was to convince the soldiers to fight against the Soviet Union. And they had to shoot soldiers because they did not want to fight against the soviets. It was the soviet people which won them. There were many of these cases. It happened in the German army also, but there it was much more difficult. Hitler made changes in the German army because he was afraid that a prolonged stay of the soldiers at the front would mean their being affected by the soviet population. Every three months they changed the army in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Roumania because the soldiers were not only soldiers but peasants. The triumph of the USSR stimulated again the development of the revolutionary world struggle, but not the Communist International. The CI was dissolved and some communist parties were dissolved and reorganised on a basis of conciliation. These communist parties did not have and were not supported on any revolutionary experience and all developed as a consequence from the policy of "socialism in a single country". Thus every communist party had its national path, its

characteristic.

The war was not a triumph of "democratic" imperialism against nazi imperialism. No it was the masses of the USSR which transmitted their historic security that it was possible to overthrow the capitalist regime in Germany and in Italy.

In Italy the communist party could have overthrown the capitalist regime and did not do so. The bourgeoisie were divided into twenty fractions, there was the king, the monarchist fractions, the enemies of the monarchists, the republicans and the socialists. The bourgeoisie had no power in Italy and the guerillas could have taken power. The guerillas were the power, they made "socialist republics" each on their own account. And they could have done the same in France. But the lack of policy of the Italian communist party, prevented the unification of the guerrilla war against the nazis with the problem of abolishing capitalism.

The communists did not have tradition, antecedents, historic bases, security or confidence in the masses. Thus they handed back power. If they had had confidence in the masses, developed as a force which had confidence in the masses they would have taken power. They did not take it as a result of negligence or cowardice. The communist and socialist masses had shown an immense courage, but they did

Continued on Page 4.

Homage to J. Posadas on the tenth anniversary of his death.

On the 25 May 1981 Cde Posadas died. He was sixty nine and had a heart attack. He also had many works to complete. We feel the loss of this comrade as on the day he died. Always we take with us the thought of what he would have elaborated and how he would have intervened in these last ten years in the life of humanity which has seen such great world events.

But beyond knowing the particular foresights of Posadas for today or tomorrow, it is necessary to think of the historic significance of his work, on the contribution which he brought to affirm and elevate the marxist method of thinking and of working in society and in human life in general.

Posadas wrote and thought not for the immediate perspectives of strikes, revolutions or even of wars against the capitalist regime, but to affirm principles in the socialist organisation of humanity in the future.

An essential basis of his thought is the security that socialism is a necessity of human life and the workers states are an instrument of history to construct it on a world scale, and as part of that fundamentally the Soviet Union. Continuing the thought of Trotsky in defence of marxism, which meant to defend the Soviet Union in spite of and against the stalinist bureaucracy, Posadas developed the security that the USSR after the Second World War was in process of liberating itself from the cancer of the bureaucracy and returning to fulfill its historic function that is, making the Russian revolution as a point of support of the world revolution and of the socialist transformation of the world. The partial regeneration is the form which this process of changes and of the political revolution takes.

Ten years after 1981, this process of partial regeneration appears with very different forms from those posed by Posadas. He did not pose concretely the possibility of a workers state being terminated. The DDR as a workers state has been eliminated from the map of Europe and various bourgeois leaderships have appeared in the workers states in Eastern Europe. The market economy has become the panacea of the communist leaderships and communist parties change their names. Thus many communists and some comrades of the International itself, have

drawn the conclusion that partial regeneration and the historic re-encounter have stopped and all is postponed to an indeterminate stage and that there is a possible scope for a new dominion of a stalinist bureaucracy.

This process can appear to be chaotic or as an historic retreat. But the application of Posadism, the marxism of today makes it clear that this process has its own order. The confidence in the social superiority of the workers state over capitalism comes from the security that the proletariat of the Soviet Union has the consciousness and the experience acquired from the Russian revolution with the triumph against nazism of the superiority of

an event confined to itself, but in this world relation of forces between the capitalist system and the system of workers and revolutionary states.

Humanity is ready for communism and it is this consciousness which determines existence. Meanwhile the capitalist system continues in its total and agonised crisis and has shown in its ultimate period that it can provide nothing but wars and barbarism.

The war in the gulf has been a brutal proof of the immutable nature of the capitalist system and leads with more evidence to the conclusion which Posadas posed categorically that capitalism today as before means war. Capitalist war today means war

world. Capitalism and in general the regime of private property is finished. In the historic epoch towards socialism, even knowing also that a leadership is still absent to lead this process, and that there is a deficiency in the construction of this leadership, Posadas educated all the revolutionaries of the world in the optimism and the confidence not only in a distant socialist future but a socialism which lives today in the consciousness of the masses of the world and in the impossibility of any leadership to impose an important step backward or to impede revolutionary progress as in the epoch of Stalinism.

It is not correct to go

texts, it is this experience of his life which has helped and will help to construct the communist leadership of humanity. Posadas worked as a public property of humanity, not to organise a party as an apparatus, but as a school of communism.

A new mass Communist International is a necessity going beyond all the regional leaderships of one or other of the workers states. The IV International which comrade Posadas constructed throughout his life is part of this process. Posadas also posed that the progress of the world revolution and of the workers states puts necessarily on the agenda, the historic re-encounter with marxism and as part of this with the Posadist



the workers state. This is the centre which impedes any bureaucratic leadership from handing over the soviet workers state to capitalism and on the contrary obliges it to correct itself or to give way to new leading layers closer to the soviet function. The bureaucracy is weakened, but the leadership prepared for the new conditions does not exist at this moment. Hence the situation in Eastern Europe is not an historic retrogression, but a transitory result of the void in the leadership, while the masses particularly in the former DDR struggle to rid themselves of the old bureaucracy. The element which prevents any blow at one or other country leading to an historic retreat is the world structure of the revolution. Thus also the thought of Posadas must be evaluated, as he never analysed

with the most advanced technological means, atomic and the rest. All those who used to make jokes about Posadas saying that he slept with the atomic bomb under his pillow, and that it was madness to propose the inevitability of the atomic war and above all of posing that humanity would pass through the atomic war and continue fighting and struggling for socialism have now to recognise his profound reasoning.

Posadas posed incessantly to the communist vanguard and revolutionary vanguard of the world, to the leaderships who fight for the progress of humanity to rely upon this world relation of forces whose basis is that it is the consciousness which determines existence and human relations, that it is the intelligence reached by the masses of the world and not the economy which determines the course of the

seeking immediate answers or prescriptions to interpret one or other fact today in the texts of Posadas. All his theoretical work was to affirm the principles of the construction of world socialism. Hence Posadas wanted to dedicate more time to the history of human civilisation. He did not have the opportunity to do it and left many analyses which serve as a basis for study and that the Posadist International desires to publish integrally.

Posadas posed that without the struggle for socialism life had no meaning. This does not have a voluntarist character, but is the intelligent conviction that socialism is the future of humanity. All his life and work were dedicated to form cadres and leaderships so that they might have this understanding and this security. Human love informed all the work of Posadas and together with his

IV International, although he was not able to foresee the forms which it would take. No apparatus is the owner of the truth. Today all the bureaucratic apparatuses are being demolished at the same time as the agonised crisis of the capitalist system which has no capacity to re-place them and also in the middle of the revolutionary intervention of the masses who seek the revolutionary transformation of the world. Still the leadership prepared to lead this process, does not exist. The work of Posadas is valuable for this construction and we appeal to all the communist, socialist and nationalist vanguard, of the workers states and of the remaining capitalist states to integrate it in their own organisation.

10 May 1991. EB
IV Posadist International.

CAPITALIST AND SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY.

J. POSADAS, EXTRACTS.

We are living in an epoch of events which, like those in Poland, give a great impulse to the political revolution, even if they do not succeed in completing the process in toto. It is also evident in this that political changes by means of armed revolution are not necessary. Trotsky in his time proposed the political revolution in general lines, without being able to foresee the means. Now we are in another phase in which the political revolution is extending to other countries, while in the past it was a question only of the USSR. What is generally clear and manifest is that the political revolution is being made and the events in Poland are a part of this.

An important factor which the communist movement must understand to be able to analyse the facts of Poland, is the different significance of democracy in capitalism, in the workers state and in socialism. The formulations "democratic socialism" and "democracy in socialism" are incorrect. We are in agreement with the necessity of democracy in the workers state, but it is necessary to pay attention that it does not give access to differentiated currents. It is possible to have different currents of opinion in the ambience of a single objective which is socialism, but not currents created from outside such an objective.

We repeat, we are in agreement with this conception which Marx had already adumbrated and which the Bolsheviks put into practice. But to speak of

pluralism is another thing and those who side with "socialism with democracy" do this under the colours of pluralism. This last term implies currents and tendencies which can also advance against socialism and to accept it would be like

The references to Poland are to the partial destruction of the bureaucracy, following the fall of the CP leadership. What prevails today under the admiral of Pilsudski in no way invalidates the analysis. The gains of the previous process in Poland under the impact of the progress in the USSR will resurface.

recognising the right of being against socialism. Recently a certain progress has been seen in those who defend these positions, even if they sustain false principles.

The communist parties who sustain pluralism or the "historic compromise" could do it as a political tactic which would be in general correct-but not as a programme. It would be possible to conceive that as a tactic for a period during the so-called "historic compromise" and the attack to liquidate capitalism being strengthened at the same time. In a workers state all that could not occur and the experiences of Poland will help to understand that it is possible to discuss with all the passion and resolution which the Polish workers showed and at the same time to advance towards socialism. Poland has nothing to do with "socialism with democracy" but represents a development of democratic rights of the workers state towards socialism. In socialism, above all democracy reaches the highest levels because it is society itself.

In capitalism democracy is a right limited to a statute, to the structure, to the Constitution of the country and to the power which guides it. Democracy exists to the extent in which this does not conflict with the power which may eliminate it. The tactic

used by the Bolivian military sectors for example is the following; a small minority of the country, the military caste decides to take the power and the bourgeoisie lets it do so. The bourgeoisie speak of "anti democratic" soldiers,

but they do not say that to contain these military sectors, it is necessary to dissolve the army and break it up; this would then be to admit that those who command are the masses.

In capitalism, democracy is a right, whilst in the workers state it has a superior function, that of levelling out the social inequalities produced by unequal distribution and allowing the development of the working class in such a way that this can influence and lead the country through the party. It is the party which leads the country. The trade unions of themselves are not at the level to do it, because they have a specific function, for example in a factory. They cannot abandon the factory to lead the country; if they did this they would not succeed in fulfilling either of the two functions. But the trade unions can even if in a limited way participate in the leadership of the country.

This is soviet democracy and not socialist. The soviet form is the form of the state and does not refer only to the USSR, but to the whole of the workers states, not so much in their present organisation (they do not all have soviets), but in the form in which they are structured, which brings them close to the soviet system and to no other. In the Soviet Union also the functioning of the soviet is

superficial; and in the others the system is not the same but similar. The next changes in Poland will be the elimination of private property in the land and an improvement of the soviet system. It is necessary to liquidate agrarian property

without eliminating the proprietors who are on the other hand in process of integration with the workers state. In the workers states there exist precedents in relation to these reforms, even if with different results. In China at the beginning of the revolution, although the most important sectors of industry had been nationalised, the owners continued to manage their old firms. They received a good salary, a good house, office staff and cars. The Chinese justified this and with some reason, saying that the owners knew how to direct a factory while they having just taken power had minimum experience. The soviets did the same; Lenin created the NEP and finished by attracting people who came from the capitalist apparatus. The Chinese on the other hand left the old capitalists to it and they now form the basis of the present bureaucracy.

Lenin after the expropriation said to the capitalists "invest and we will not expropriate you" and the contradictions of capitalism led them to invest even if only a little. The French and the British said "if we do not invest the Americans will do it" and they said in their turn "it will be better if we invest rather than the French and the British, also because the Germans could do it and develop too much". They were

all the contradictions of the capitalist system and Lenin and Trotsky counted on this. The capitalists hoped that these same contradictions would be expressed in the workers states; effectively contradictions existed, but

were of a different nature and are the results of the existence of the bureaucratic apparatus. Just for this reason, Lenin proposed the creation of the NEP and made evident the need to augment control by the masses.

In the course of this process, a series of currents developed within the communist and socialist parties, which without joining in real alliances with capitalism try to find something valid in this system. Thus they lose faith in the construction of socialism. They say that the Soviet Union has failed and that the road to follow must be another. Because of their ignorance, they waste all the experiences of history. Otherwise they would base themselves on the fact that there exist twenty workers states and twenty one revolutionary states.

The main task in the progress of countries is to satisfy, to plan and to see that the masses exercise a control through the trade unions and the workers centres, control and participation. These are the three principles of soviet democracy. In defining soviet democracy the term socialist democracy is used, but it is not exact. Soviet democracy is indeed a form of government to advance towards socialism. We use this term at times "soviet democracy" and "socialist democracy" as similar concepts, but it is correct to say "soviet democracy" since it belongs to a non socialist country which however possesses a soviet structure and goes towards socialism.

Soviet structure means that the property is nationalised and production is planned, but the distribution is organised according "to each according to his capacity". The essential factor which makes it soviet is the political structure of the country which is not parliamentary nor bourgeois, but is marked by the participation and leadership of the masses through the trade union and the party.

In socialism, the soviet will not be necessary, given that whatever the form the relations of democracy will be superior. The soviet indicates that there still exists a form of unequal distribution, while in socialism democracy is society itself. J. Posadas. 6.9.80.

From Page 2.

not have the policy or the programme and did not believe that they could make a socialist republic. Under the pressure of Stalin and the leadership of the USSR, they handed back power to capitalism. The stalinist parties confronted with the question of power hesitated, vacillated and yielded. Not because the conditions did not exist because they did. Now there will be a return to discussing again why they did not take power in 1943-45.

They did not have the conception of taking power. Their idea was to

eliminate the "immediate danger" as they called the nazis and afterwards to "develop democracy" and then the conditions for power would be posed. The scientific preparation of the party did not exist. They could have resolved the problem against the nazis and taken power as they did in Eastern Europe. But the opportunist, passive and nationalist conception of the communist parties prevented them seeing the possibility of taking power. When they entered the war they did so without any idea of the revolution, but to remove the nazis or the "democrats" from on top.

It was the conditions of the war which created the

possibilities of the revolution and elevated the communist masses to be the essential factor of the revolution against the communist parties themselves. Hence also in each new workers state which was formed after the second world war, there arose divergences with respect to the USSR which were amplified when the soviet bureaucracy devastated these workers states plundering them of almost all their machinery, production and raw materials. It was a sacking made at the expense of these states, but not to strengthen capitalism. The Soviet Union, the bureaucratic leadership, although it

plundered many of these countries, nevertheless supported the development of the structure of the workers state which afterwards was expressed in the development of these states. Capitalism could not do this. Imperialism sacked India, Africa, Latin America and did it to favour themselves. The soviet bureaucracy sacked these countries, but afterwards helped them to develop through the superior structure of the workers states. It was not a sacking to impede the development of the socialist revolution; it was a sacking which the bureaucracy did to strengthen itself, but the social and economic structure

of the workers state obliged it afterwards to develop the other countries..

Editorial

The Electoral games of Capitalism have nothing to offer the Population. For the expropriation of all the main industries and banks under workers control!

At the same time that capitalism launches a world campaign to assert that communism is dead and the Soviet Union disappeared, the British people are having to endure the unspeakable boredom of the so called democratic elections.

The three party programmes offer no perspective whatsoever to the mass of the population on how the enormous crisis of British capitalism is going to be solved. Banality follows platitude in stupefying succession. The liberal democrats developed a new line in demagoguery by attacking the degree of corruption in business and the element of despair in society but solution there was none. Phoney "differences" between these parties are inflated to cover the basic fact that British capitalism is dying, very slowly but inexorably. The most important fact about the TUC conference was that in spite of the massive presence of the bureaucratic apparatus well drilled to embrace capitalism, Scargill acted as a centre to maintain issues of principle. He called for the total repudiation of the anti trade union legislation of the capitalist class. And his defeat—how ridiculous and mendacious, five million votes against! When were these five million votes ever consulted? It is impossible to have five million votes against when the trade union life is very limited and discussion hardly takes place. It is important that the NUM received the support of the public services union because there exists a continuity of opposition to capitalism in spite of the turn to the right in the LP apparatus. The motion against nuclear arms also showed the degree of opposition to the capitalist leadership in the trade unions despite their bureaucratic structure. The bourgeoisie tried to eliminate Scargill as a centre by a massive press campaign suggesting appropriation of trade union funds but all this failed. The LP apparatus resolutely

refuses to wage any serious struggle either inside or outside parliament against the government.

After all the leader(!) of this pack of imposters has actually said he felt sorry for the cruel way Mrs Thatcher had been treated! Such a remark is a clear signal to the capitalist class—you can keep power as far as we are concerned because like you we desperately want the capitalist system to continue.

Hence the proposals to get rid of two left MPs on the grounds of being associated with Militant; anything to prove that the LP leadership will submit to capitalism. For the salvation of the economy in which capitalism has clearly little interest, the apparatus proposes more training of workers! While the dam bursts, let us pray.

The outbreak of violence by sectors of youth in Newcastle and elsewhere is the consequence of the incapacity of capitalism to offer any perspective. In other circumstances such sectors would be a basis for fascist movements, but the latter in the conditions of today have little attraction.

British capitalism simply does not have the resources to contain its own weakening. It has reached a stage where when it is obvious the economy is very stricken, we are told things are about to get much better. In face of the appalling conditions in the prisons, capitalism has no resources.

On the international plane the failure of the coup against Gorbachev and the counter coup of Yeltsin who is said to see only through a vodka glass darkly, confirms the profound disintegration of the soviet bureaucracy. There is no doubt that the measured intervention of the soviet proletariat in the last period gave a terrible jolt to the crumbling structure of the

bureaucracy. Stalin had concentrated the united front of this caste which is now anxious to abandon the workers state and hasten to live off the proceeds of selling state property. The bureaucracy could not continue in the old way because it faces the objective need of the workers state to advance—hence it turns back to private property and outlaws the communist party. The latter has undoubtedly been a monstrous source of corruption, but it is inevitably linked to the character of the workers state and in the last period has seen the emergence of sectors who wish to democratise the workers state on the basis of proletarian intervention directly in the organisation of the economy. It is this that the Gorbachevs and the Yeltsins fear—a genuine communist force linked to the proletariat which will not accept the turn of the bureaucracy towards capitalist methods. All these Yeltsins and Popovs, that is when they are not spending vast sums on refurbishing their official residences, want "democracy" but it is democracy for them and certainly not for the great soviet people who voted to retain the USSR.

If capitalism was very strong, it would have no fears but what is happening? It cannot determine the fate of South Africa. The Middle East situation deteriorates all the time with the Arab leaderships unable to offer anything to the Arab masses and even the limited battle between Bush and the Israelis shows the impasse of Yankee policy. The violence of the conflict in Croatia whose assassin leaders are armed by imperialism is just another example of the new instability in the world which neither world imperialism or the soviet bureaucracy can control. The policy of Milosevic which plays the game of localist Serb bureaucratic interests certainly complicates the struggle against the new despots in Slovenia and Croatia. But essentially the fight

of the Croatian hoodlums is against the workers state and is a form of the class struggle.

The arena is all set for new crises of historic magnitude. In this the experience of the soviet workers state will play a decisive role. Even if in the worst scenario the bureaucracy do embark on a programme of privatisation, history is no longer determined by purely economic processes particularly in the Soviet Union with the weight of 1917 and the defeat of the nazis. The social relations of the soviet people in one form or another is part of the world anti capitalist and anti imperialist front. This is obscured by the lack of a world communist leadership, but it does not alter the fact that an immense polarisation of forces is developing—the masses against the small capitalist class and whatever the manoeuvres of Bush or Gorbachev, the new world order of international co-operation does not exist and has nothing whatsoever to say to humanity. Neither are there any perspectives for left reformism advising capitalism how it should behave.

The powerful intervention of the Roumanian miners shows that the proletariat and its communist vanguard throughout the workers states is preparing with optimism for new struggles to smash both capitalism and the bureaucracy.

Capitalism is trying to make out that the USSR is finished. The Stalinist version is finished and now we enter upon a new phase when the agony of the bureaucracy merges with the agony of the capitalist system at a new level. The bureaucracy is caught in a paralysing contradiction. With types like Yeltsin it plays the "nationalist" card so as to complicate the intervention of the proletariat, on the other hand if they all indulge in this they bring the house down and open the way to forms of popular intervention against their incompetence. When Stalin and the bureaucracy messed everything up in 1941, it was the soviet people which saved the Soviet Union. Gorbachev stays on hoping to contain the worst forms of disintegration

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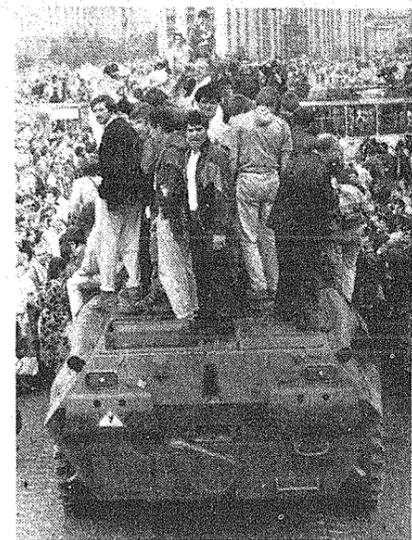
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Moscow, August 19. Defeat of the first reactionary coup.

The reactionary Coup d'état and counter coup in the USSR, the disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus and the need for organs to allow the intervention of the masses.

The attempted coup by a group of leaders of the government, the CPSU and of the army in the USSR is the result of the struggle of tendencies and of the disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus in a multitude of centres of power such as the regions, the economy, the mafia etc. This is in face of the tasks posed by the development of the world revolution, by the confrontation with imperialism and the necessity of the progress of the workers state.

The sector which made the coup, as with the sector of Yeltsin which at this moment has the initiative are foreign to the concerns of the soviet masses and to the objective need of the progress of the workers state.

The putschists represent the sectors linked to the central administration of the state bureaucracy, the economy and the army. They did not intervene against the reforms tending towards the market economy and they did not raise the issue of the external policy of the Soviet Union. They even went out of their way to assure American imperialism on the continuity of this external policy.

Their very general communique, although it evoked the concerns of

speculation and low wages, said nothing on pressing problems such as the problem of the nationalities to which the soviet masses are very sensitive as they have shown in the recent referendum in voting for the centralisation of the Soviet Union.

This tendency of the top state bureaucracy proposed no programme for the progress of the workers state, for the functioning of the organs of power of the masses and they proposed to decide and apply their proposals by decree without appealing to the population to intervene. They resolved to suspend the parties

and movements and forbade mobilisations and assemblies. They tried in this way to throw back the democratic gains of the soviet masses. All that reflects the weakness of the teams put in place by Gorbachev himself who felt lost in face of this crisis through which the workers state is passing.

The Posadist IV International has rejected this coup, but it condemns the counter coup organised by the Yeltsin tendency, because these confrontations weaken the structures of the workers state and disorientate the organisation of the soviet and world proletariat in the struggle to finish with capitalism.

The Yeltsin tendency which took the initiative after the failure of the coup, supports itself on the most corrupt sectors of the bureaucracy and on the dissident movements which have detached themselves from the workers state and who defend and put in motion measures for the return of capitalism, the privatisation of the economy and of the free market. Their defence of democracy and freedom is purely formal: in effect Yeltsin has succeeded in having the CPSU suspended and the object is to reduce the possibility of the proletariat intervening.

Yeltsin has utilised the hate of large layers of the population towards the central bureaucracy and the corruption in the Communist Party. He acts in a demagogic fashion to cover the ambitions of the regional bureaucracy of Russia. It is this sector of Yeltsin which is the most aggressive against socialism. But he is also unstable because he has not a solid base. As Posadas analysed, the bureaucracy cannot any longer reproduce itself as in the past. The programme of Yeltsin consists only of economic reforms (and

demagogic patriotism) which will lead inevitably to conflicts with the soviet proletariat. The million people who demonstrated in Red Square in Moscow after the coup have not given carte blanche to Yeltsin. They came out to defend the democratic gains made in the last period.

Imperialism intervenes to try to profit from this situation of a void in the leadership of the workers state and supported the Yeltsin sector which proposes measures of retreat of interest to capitalism, such as encouraging nationalist sectors, attacking the organs of intervention of the communist vanguard and in stimulating privatisation of the means of production.

This internal struggle which provisionally has gone in favour of Yeltsin and of his programme is useful to the Yanks who seek points of support in the USSR, but that is also going to make him lose authority in front of the soviet masses.

The intervention of Gorbachev in all this crisis has been one of great weakness. He sought to maintain the centralised structure of the workers state when he declared on alighting from the plane that the deficiencies of the Soviet Union did not come from the October Revolution but from Stalinism and that he defended the party and socialism. But he yielded to the offensive of Yeltsin and did not have the resolution to appeal to the proletariat and to the millions of communist workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

Moreover the policy followed by Gorbachev in the last period of his intervention in the Gulf War, gave the initiative to imperialism. The German workers state was abandoned to its fate without any political intervention by the CPSU, the attempt to

resolve the problems of the economy of the USSR by measures of liberalising the market weakened his leadership and isolated him from the concerns and struggles of the masses. The defence of democratic rights of the masses and the declarations in defence of the USSR and socialism were not sufficient to reconstitute the relation with the vanguard and the soviet proletariat.

A sector of the proletariat intervened in this crisis, but large sectors awaited further events. The sector of the miners on strike against the coup and the oil workers who refused to stop work so as not to damage the economy, declared themselves in defence of the structure of the workers state. In reality the isolation of the sector of the top bureaucracy which made the first coup was complete. It received not the minimum support.

It is the proletariat with a sector of the army and of the communist vanguard which made the coup fail and hindered a retreat on the rights which have been gained. They have thus liquidated the tendency of the central bureaucracy which organised the coup and are preparing to impel the necessary changes for the progress and the deepening of socialist measures. The suspension of the CPSU does not mean necessarily the liquidation of the party in which the experience of the communist vanguard is concentrated. But certainly its functioning and internal life has to be transformed so that it may be a useful instrument and not an apparatus in the service of one or other bureaucratic sector.

It is necessary to discuss in the world communist and revolutionary movement this process of crisis of leadership in the workers state which has

the greatest political tradition. We call upon the communist parties, the socialist parties, the revolutionary movements and trade unions to intervene to confront at the side of the soviet masses tendencies like Yeltsin which seek to destroy the Soviet Union—one of the most profound conquests in the history of the world revolution—by measures of privatisation, the return to capitalism and the annulling by decree of the communist party.

Even if there is a transitory weakening of the workers state in front of the capitalist system, the crisis of capitalism is inexorably accentuated leading to an enormous deterioration of the conditions of life of the populations of Latin America, Africa, Asia and also in the so-called advanced capitalist countries. Capitalism has no other perspective than unemployment, super-exploitation, economic concentration and war. The regrouping of all the anti capitalist forces is a necessity. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, the soviet workers state, the conquests of the October Revolution are a patrimony which all humanity must defend in front of the capitalist system.

We appeal to all the leaders of the communist and socialist parties, all the currents of the left and the revolutionary movements to pronounce themselves against the first coup and the counter coup of Yeltsin and in defence of the CPSU. We believe that in this sense the declaration of Cossutta, leader of the Refondazione Comunista in Italy against the coup and in defence of the CPSU is important and we appeal to all the leaders of the parties of the left and revolutionary movements to take this position and support the soviet working class in defence

The Counter Revolutionary actions of the so-called "nationalist" groups necessitates the intervention of the masses to defend and elevate the Yugoslav Workers State.

Yugoslavia has represented for some time one of the weakest workers states and this weakness shows itself in the events which have occurred most recently with the separatist proclamations of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. The present crisis is a combination of this limited structure of the workers state, of its communist leadership, of the more general process of the fall of the bureaucratic regimes constructed during Stalinism and of the pressure which world capitalism is exercising to destabilise the workers states and prevent the necessary process of the intervention of the masses and of the renovation of the communist leaderships.

The separation of Slovenia and Croatia from the rest of Yugoslavia does not have the slightest objective of progress. It is false to believe that this is a step towards "freedom" and "democracy". On the contrary, it is a proposal through which the regional bureaucratic castes seek to strengthen their struggle which has reached the point of rupture with the rest of the bureaucratic apparatus. It is necessary to discuss throughout the communist and revolutionary world movement, to make appeals and resolutions condemning the reactionary intentions of these groups which propose separation.

The economic crisis provoked by the policy of self management has penalised a great part of the country to the benefit of the richest zones like Slovenia and

Croatia. There the bureaucracy has made a usufruct of their own resources and natural conditions and of their greater contiguity and links with the world capitalist market via forms of rapacious exchange with the rest of the republics. The Slovene and Croatia bureaucrats made use of the structure of the workers state and exchange with the rest of the republics to obtain products and services at low cost and which afterwards would allow some competition on the capitalist market. Now after the profits, these castes set themselves up as republics and not as a unified workers state. The bureaucrats of Slovenia and Croatia present this unequal development as a result of "national qualities" when in reality it is a question of a policy which led to their personal enrichment and not to the development of the whole of Yugoslavia.

In this sense the policy of self management has been the base of the crystallisation of strong particularist interests, of a caste leading to interests as in Slovenia where there exist directly bourgeois layers. Only the statification under workers control and the active participation of the masses in the programming of the economy can allow the harmonisation of its different parts and promote the elevation of the conditions of the life of all the masses. But self management maintains and exacerbates competition in certain aspects of production. The workers and the technicians in every factory or productive unity do not depend on an overall plan but on dedication to their

specific production, to the liquidation of competitors, the diminution of costs through a greater personal effort or the reduction of the quality of the products. Self management constitutes a source of great inequalities. The structure of the workers state which constitutes the objective of the struggle of the communists and the partisans of Tito allowed a great social progress of the masses and of the country which was limited by the policy of self management. For example the legislation of the workers state imposes on every enterprise the construction of houses for the workers, but there are houses and houses in Yugoslavia; the houses for the rich are well constructed, of good quality, with the best schools and parks and afterwards the directors enjoy many forms of individual appropriation and build their houses outside the residential complexes where the rest of the staff live.

It is important to reaffirm these conclusions which have been outlined by Cde Posadas in his texts over Yugoslavia, in his Homage to Tito and in the analyses which he made during his stay in Belgrade, sometime before his death. The progress of Yugoslavia which came out of the war practically destroyed and with millions of dead in the struggle against the nazis, has been possible through its structuring even limited as a workers state and in the communist objective which the leadership of Tito and the guerrilla had in their origins. Self management did not represent any progress.

The structure of the workers state has developed the unification of the different peoples and nations, of the whole of the masses beyond different regions and nationalities. Since the economic crisis has developed recently, great movements of struggles and strikes have occurred above all in Serbia and Croatia and also in Slovenia. The working class has mobilised as a class as responsible for the workers state and not as separate Serbian or Croatia or Slovenian workers. In the mobilisations, it denounced and rejected the programme of the increase in relations with capitalism which has damaged enormously the purchasing power of wages and led to the privileged distribution of basic living necessities which all end in the private market of the bureaucracy.

These struggles, the mature attitude of the working class and its communist vanguard in the middle of the process which in the rest of the workers states has led to the fall of the old bureaucratic apparatus, has imposed a leap on the political leadership of Yugoslavia. The agreement over inter bureaucratic relations between the different nationalities is already exhausted and it is necessary to advance towards better forms in the organisation of the workers state.

The old bureaucratic layer cannot do this or proposes a national seclusion as do the Croats and Slovenes or imposing old solutions like Milosevic. The bureaucracy runs to desperate solutions, transforms itself from communist to

nationalist, statist to defender of the market and private property, robs and takes over properties which until now were social. Yugoslavia was among the workers states which arose immediately after the war. It was able to count upon the support of an important guerrilla and mass movement. The communist leadership of Tito mobilised the entire society and the world youth vanguard intervened massively in the construction of socialist Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia constituted then a great experience of socialist edification of a country which came out of the war with immense difficulties, the possibility of realising it in opposition to Stalinist arrogance. Stalin wanted to force the Yugoslavian communist leadership to submit to an agreement with the Yugoslav king, but Tito was opposed and took an independent line and the revolutionary world vanguard supported him. Posadas recorded always what was meant by the construction of the Yugoslavian railways which got the support of youth from all parts of the world including Latin America where the International and Posadas were very active in the campaign of solidarity with the Yugoslavian revolution.

With the isolation which Stalin imposed, the lack of preparation of the Yugoslavian leadership which emerged with heavy losses from the liberation struggle, it is necessary to consider that after the USSR, it was Yugoslavia which paid most dearly in human life in the

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of statified property, of the planning of the economy and the workers control of production.

We defend the CPSU because it is an indispensable instrument for the progress of the Soviet Union towards socialism. Those who want to liquidate it have sinister anti democratic plans because they wish to smash the resolution of millions of communists.

But to communicate with society, the party needs the functioning of the trade unions and of the soviets through which the vanguard puts itself in contact with all the

social layers, wins them over to socialist objectives and cleans the state apparatus of all the corrupted and decomposed layers which block and boycott the measures of revolutionary progress.

The vanguard of the Soviet Union must complete the tasks which the whole of humanity confronts; to construct the revolutionary leadership and defend the instruments of progress of history, the workers states against the evils provoked by the feebleness and the corruption of those leaderships which have

lost confidence in the communist future of humanity. If Gorbachev desires to defend the centralisation of the Soviet Union, he must stimulate soviet democracy, otherwise the inter bureaucratic struggles continue to dominate and hinder the adoption of objective measures for the progress of the workers state.

The leaderships which do not wish as is the case for Yeltsin to respond to these issues or betray the sentiments of the masses as is the case with the sector which made the first

coup are going to finish in the same place which history has reserved for Stalin and for capitalism—the dustbin of history.

It is necessary to discuss in the mass organisms the revolutionary programme and policy; defence of the world revolution, statification of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, soviet democracy and distribution to each according to need. The strength of the soviet workers state consists

in extending and stimulating the application of this programme, to uphold the socialist revolution in the world, to confront imperialism and become a centre of organisation for the vanguard in the world, in constructing a new Communist International with all the forces which struggle to free themselves from capitalism. 29 August. 1991. Posadist IV International. IS.

war against the nazis. They lost many courageous communists who fought in the front ranks and Yugoslavia was a ruined country with many difficulties. The Yugoslavian masses, the communist intention of the Tito leadership, the liquidation of Stalinism in the USSR which imposed a correction of soviet policy in respect of the Yugoslavian revolution and the support and the extension of the revolution throughout the world, have made possible the progress of the country. Self management was the solution which the leadership of Tito gave to the political attack which Stalin launched against him, as was also later the policy of "non alignment". The lack of preparation of the Yugoslavian leadership prevented it seeing that what was coming in the future was an uncontainable advance of the revolution in China, Korea, Cuba and Vietnam. The communist objective fortified the decision to continue the revolution in spite of the sabotage of Stalin, but the lack of preparation led to the adoption of a series of defensive measures based on agreements with parties and bureaucrats of the different nationalities. Self management is the result of these conditions; as Cde Posadas said, it was not the only policy which Tito could have led, even being understandable from the point of view of the blockade which Stalin imposed. It was a question of elevating the unification of the country by means of statification and the intervention of the masses and expecting in the near future that it was going to be possible for a world programming with the new workers states and afterwards also with the Soviet Union. Tito sought an empirical means to relate to the revolution by means of the non aligned movement and internally developed a weak political structure, the League of Communists. He did not feel the security to construct a single Communist Party which would centralise the country in the objective of socialist construction and on the other hand created an agreement between tendencies and parties which fed all these years individual appetites and interests. This has led to the situation today in Slovenia and Croatia where the communist parties of the two republics present themselves as champions of national interests.

The Yugoslavian masses have thought in all this time of the country as a unity and as a workers state. Hence it is false to say that it is the "will" of people that decides

separation. The referendum and the so called "popular decisions" have been the result of a reactionary campaign led in these last years aimed to exert pressure on the Croatian and Slovenian masses, presenting the unequal development of the country as a fruit of different national "qualities" and the necessity for the harmonisation of the whole of the country as a cost which has to be rejected. While the working class and the communist vanguard sought to give a solution of progress to the economic crisis, the bureaucracy utilised it as an arm to impose national solutions. Hence it is supported by sectors who have enriched themselves with the policy of self management and have established military bands with the support of sectors of world capitalism. The world communist movement has to denounce the cynicism of world capitalism as with this meeting of Italy, Austria and Hungary; these three say that they want a political solution which respects the federal Yugoslav structure but they are exactly the principle suppliers of arms to the territorial forces of Slovenia and Croatia. The struggle for the control of the frontier posts is not a simple symbolic demand, but the maintaining of the gates open for capitalist support to the counter revolutionary movements.

These bureaucratic leaderships forget, as also does world capitalism through its nature, that private property and the market which today they desire so much to make Yugoslavia progress, led to the degeneration which was nazism and fascism and that Yugoslavia after the USSR was fundamental to defeat this great threat which pushed humanity to the edge of a great historic retreat. The two million dead in the fight against the nazis are comparatively like the twenty five millions which fell in the USSR; it has been the structure of the soviet workers state, the soviet and Yugoslav communist vanguard which gave the decisive blow leading afterwards to the defeat of nazism throughout Europe. This is to contribute to history, the Croats and the Slovenians can examine all the books of history and will not find pages more beautiful than those written by the Yugoslavian masses in the fight against the nazis. The Croatian and Slovenian masses have felt that they were communists before being Croats or Slovenians. It is not possible to say that the population thinks first as Slovene or Croat or Serb. The masses saw their families die in combat and replaced them. They were not paralysed through family interest. They were not lost in grief but

continued fighting. The family or national interest did not exist, the Croatian people, its communist vanguard fought with all its strength against the nazis and against all the Croatian leadership which collaborated with nazism.

It is not possible to speak of the "historical reason of the nation". The Croats during the war were divided between the bourgeoisie and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who actively supported the nazis invasion and the masses who combated the nazis and the collaborator Croats. Which Croats represented progress in this case? Why did they participate in the struggle for liberation, because they were Croats or because they were communists? Because they were communists, they felt that they were defenders of the humanity born in Croatia. The bureaucratic leadership wants to make history retreat. The Croatian republic wants to return to feudal conditions. They have just repressed strike movements which have been severely prohibited because they represent a "betrayal of the country". So much for the "democracy" and the "liberty" with which their leaders adorn their speeches.

This process is also aimed to divide and contain the intervention of the working class, to prevent it working as a class. This is contrary to all which it has lived and experienced during the existence of the workers state.

In front of the abandonment which the political leadership has made, represented in part by the recent declarations of Milosevic ie "those who want to go can go", the army represents the only instrument which today can guarantee a solution of progress. Not because it has arms, although against some bands which have already been constituted in Slovenia, Croatia and also Serbia, it is going to be necessary to utilise them, but because its origin has been the struggle against the nazis and is closely linked to the original communist objective of the Yugoslavian revolution. It is for this reason that it appears with more authority, although until now it has worked timidly and late, without foreseeing the level to which these counter revolutionary groups have worked. Hence it is that a great number of young recruits have been killed. It is

necessary to appeal for a great national discussion with the participation of the army and of the masses to decide the future of the progress of Yugoslavia as a workers state, with an increase of the centralised programming of production and the economy, with the control of the working class and the masses and with the development of new forms of relations with the rest of the workers states and the revolutionary countries.

The whole world communist movement must discuss the Yugoslav experience and make a world campaign of opposition to any form of disintegration of the workers state. Some CPs like the Italian have used Yugoslavia for some time as a model which should be imitated. Today they shut up and draw no conclusion from this experience, of the complete failure of self management. It is necessary also to denounce at the same time the interference of world capitalism. The latter politically supports the separatist movements in the workers state because they serve to destabilise them, but it is not secure as to whether it can control the results, either in the workers states or within capitalism itself where there are national conflicts which can unleash one movement or another.

The world communist and revolutionary movement must appeal so that the Yugoslavian masses have the means to discuss and place themselves in agreement. In these conditions they can resolve objectively. The mothers of the soldiers who appeal so that an end may be put to the shooting between different groups in the same country and

the declaration of the athletic team in Greece that they feel that they are Yugoslavs and as such participate in the competition, shows that these are the best armed forces which can be mobilised. They

are armed with the understanding that there is no better solution than to make Yugoslavia progress to better forms in its socialist organisation. The great mobilisation of the women has had a great weight to prevent the provocations of the counter revolutionary groups which exist in Slovenia and Croatia. They have done it not only to defend their sons, but to denounce that it is stupid to resolve matters in this way. The mothers have shown that the Yugoslav people is mature to resolve in an intelligent form. Appeals on the basis of socialist policies would find an echo in the masses of Slovenia and Croatia and isolate the hoodlums who provoke the fighting.

The efforts of the Yugoslavian army to defend the integrity of the workers state receive objective support of the soviet workers state. Prior to the coup, support for the unity of the Yugoslav state was clear. Even with expected prevarications by the new government in the USSR, the communist vanguard who are defending the integrity of the Yugoslav state in spite of the sabotage of Milosevic and the other bureaucratic renegades, receive the objective support of the soviet masses. The problems of Yugoslavia are parallel to those of the Soviet Union and will not receive solution until there is a new communist leadership in the workers states linked to the process of the liquidation of capitalism as a world system.

and represents very partially that the underlying structure of the workers state weighs and decides.

Moreover whatever games the local bureaucracies play, economically they have nowhere to go, the interdependence of the Soviet Union is a fact. They meet the reality that closer links with capitalism can provoke dangerous reactions in the population. That is their agony and it will prove fatal. The intervention of the soviet proletariat is one of the major supporting reasons for the coup and counter coup. The bureaucracy can no longer determine the fate of the Soviet Union. Imperialism hopes to benefit in recognition of the Baltic states and the hoped for reduced role of

the Soviet Union in the world over Cuba, Afghanistan etc, but also it is fearful of the complications resulting from the criminal desperation of the bureaucrats—already seen in the vicious regime in Georgia.

The crisis of the Labour party is going to grow in this situation. The labour bosses benefited from the hideous caricature of socialism in the USSR, but all that is passing. A reanimation of the labour left is inevitable and it must clarify its understanding of the world process and the incapacity of capitalism to progress. A programme of social revolution is the only solution. There is no third way. 27.9.91.

Editorial

The Electoral games of Capitalism have nothing to offer the Population. For the expropriation of all the main industries and banks under workers control!

At the same time that capitalism launches a world campaign to assert that communism is dead and the Soviet Union disappeared, the British people are having to endure the unspeakable boredom of the so called democratic elections.

The three party programmes offer no perspective whatsoever to the mass of the population on how the enormous crisis of British capitalism is going to be solved. Banality follows platitude in stupefying succession. The liberal democrats developed a new line in demagogy by attacking the degree of corruption in business and the element of despair in society but solution there was none. Phoney "differences" between these parties are inflated to cover the basic fact that British capitalism is dying, very slowly but inexorably. The most important fact about the TUC conference was that in spite of the massive presence of the bureaucratic apparatus well drilled to embrace capitalism, Scargill acted as a centre to maintain issues of principle. He called for the total repudiation of the anti trade union legislation of the capitalist class. And his defeat—how ridiculous and mendacious, five million votes against! When were these five million votes ever consulted? It is impossible to have five million votes against when the trade union life is very limited and discussion hardly takes place. It is important that the NUM received the support of the public services union because there exists a continuity of opposition to capitalism in spite of the turn to the right in the LP apparatus. The motion against nuclear arms also showed the degree of opposition to the capitalist leadership in the trade unions despite their bureaucratic structure. The bourgeoisie tried to eliminate Scargill as a centre by a massive press campaign suggesting appropriation of trade union funds but all this failed. The LP apparatus resolutely

refuses to wage any serious struggle either inside or outside parliament against the government.

After all the leader(!) of this pack of imposters has actually said he felt sorry for the cruel way Mrs Thatcher had been treated! Such a remark is a clear signal to the capitalist class—you can keep power as far as we are concerned because like you we desperately want the capitalist system to continue.

Hence the proposals to get rid of two left MPs on the grounds of being associated with Militant; anything to prove that the LP leadership will submit to capitalism. For the salvation of the economy in which capitalism has clearly little interest, the apparatus proposes more training of workers!. While the dam bursts, let us pray.

The outbreak of violence by sectors of youth in Newcastle and elsewhere is the consequence of the incapacity of capitalism to offer any perspective. In other circumstances such sectors would be a basis for fascist movements, but the latter in the conditions of today have little attraction.

British capitalism simply does not have the resources to contain its own weakening. It has reached a stage where when it is obvious the economy is very stricken, we are told things are about to get much better. In face of the appalling conditions in the prisons, capitalism has no resources.

On the international plane the failure of the coup against Gorbachev and the counter coup of Yeltsin who is said to see only through a vodka glass darkly, confirms the profound disintegration of the soviet bureaucracy. There is no doubt that the measured intervention of the soviet proletariat in the last period gave a terrible jolt to the crumbling structure of the

bureaucracy. Stalin had concentrated the united front of this caste which is now anxious to abandon the workers state and hasten to live off the proceeds of selling state property. The bureaucracy could not continue in the old way because it faces the objective need of the workers state to advance—hence it turns back to private property and outlaws the communist party. The latter has undoubtedly been a monstrous source of corruption, but it is inevitably linked to the character of the workers state and in the last period has seen the emergence of sectors who wish to democratise the workers state on the basis of proletarian intervention directly in the organisation of the economy. It is this that the Gorbachevs and the Yeltsins fear—a genuine communist force linked to the proletariat which will not accept the turn of the bureaucracy towards capitalist methods. All these Yeltsins and Popovs, that is when they are not spending vast sums on refurbishing their official residences, want "democracy" but it is democracy for them and certainly not for the great soviet people who voted to retain the USSR.

If capitalism was very strong, it would have no fears but what is happening? It cannot determine the fate of South Africa. The Middle East situation deteriorates all the time with the Arab leaderships unable to offer anything to the Arab masses and even the limited battle between Bush and the Israelis shows the impasse of Yankee policy. The violence of the conflict in Croatia whose assassin leaders are armed by imperialism is just another example of the new instability in the world which neither world imperialism or the soviet bureaucracy can control. The policy of Milosevic which plays the game of localist Serb bureaucratic interests certainly complicates the struggle against the new despots in Slovenia and Croatia. But essentially the fight

of the Croatia hoodlums is against the workers state and is a form of the class struggle.

The arena is all set for new crises of historic magnitude. In this the experience of the soviet workers state will play a decisive role. Even if in the worst scenario the bureaucracy do embark on a programme of privatisation, history is no longer determined by purely economic processes particularly in the Soviet Union with the weight of 1917 and the defeat of the nazis. The social relations of the soviet people in one form or another is part of the world anti capitalist and anti imperialist front. This is obscured by the lack of a world communist leadership, but it does not alter the fact that an immense polarisation of forces is developing—the masses against the small capitalist class and whatever the manoeuvres of Bush or Gorbachev, the new world order of international co-operation does not exist and has nothing whatsoever to say to humanity. Neither are there any perspectives for left reformism advising capitalism how it should behave.

The powerful intervention of the Roumanian miners shows that the proletariat and its communist vanguard throughout the workers states is preparing with optimism for new struggles to smash both capitalism and the bureaucracy.

Capitalism is trying to make out that the USSR is finished. The Stalinist version is finished and now we enter upon a new phase when the agony of the bureaucracy merges with the agony of the capitalist system at a new level. The bureaucracy is caught in a paralysing contradiction. With types like Yeltsin it plays the "nationalist" card so as to complicate the intervention of the proletariat, on the other hand if they all indulge in this they bring the house down and open the way to forms of popular intervention against their incompetence. When Stalin and the bureaucracy messed everything up in 1941, it was the soviet people which saved the Soviet Union. Gorbachev stays on hoping to contain the worst forms of disintegration

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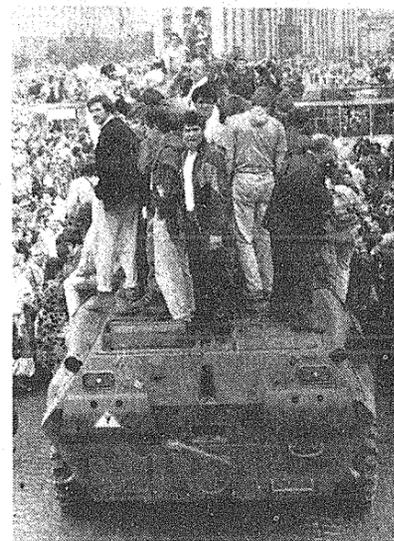
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Moscow. August 19. Defeat of the first reactionary coup.

The reactionary Coup d'état and counter coup in the USSR, the disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus and the need for organs to allow the intervention of the masses.

The attempted coup by a group of leaders of the government, the CPSU and of the army in the USSR is the result of the struggle of tendencies and of the disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus in a multitude of centres of power such as the regions, the economy, the mafia etc. This is in face of the tasks posed by the development of the world revolution, by the confrontation with imperialism and the necessity of the progress of the workers state.

The sector which made the coup, as with the sector of Yeltsin which at this moment has the initiative are foreign to the concerns of the soviet masses and to the objective need of the progress of the workers state.

The putschists represent the sectors linked to the central administration of the state bureaucracy, the economy and the army. They did not intervene against the reforms tending towards the market economy and they did not raise the issue of the external policy of the Soviet Union. They even went out of their way to assure American imperialism on the continuity of this external policy.

Their very general communique, although it evoked the concerns of

speculation and low wages, said nothing on pressing problems such as the problem of the nationalities to which the soviet masses are very sensitive as they have shown in the recent referendum in voting for the centralisation of the Soviet Union.

This tendency of the top state bureaucracy proposed no programme for the progress of the workers state, for the functioning of the organs of power of the masses and they proposed to decide and apply their proposals by decree without appealing to the population to intervene. They resolved to suspend the parties

and movements and forbade mobilisations and assemblies. They tried in this way to throw back the democratic gains of the soviet masses. All that reflects the weakness of the teams put in place by Gorbachev himself who felt lost in face of this crisis through which the workers state is passing.

The Posadist IV International has rejected this coup, but it condemns the counter coup organised by the Yeltsin tendency, because these confrontations weaken the structures of the workers state and disorientate the organisation of the soviet and world proletariat in the struggle to finish with capitalism.

The Yeltsin tendency which took the initiative after the failure of the coup, supports itself on the most corrupt sectors of the bureaucracy and on the dissident movements which have detached themselves from the workers state and who defend and put in motion measures for the return of capitalism, the privatisation of the economy and of the free market. Their defence of democracy and freedom is purely formal: in effect Yeltsin has succeeded in having the CPSU suspended and the object is to reduce the possibility of the proletariat intervening.

Yeltsin has utilised the hate of large layers of the population towards the central bureaucracy and the corruption in the Communist Party. He acts in a demagogic fashion to cover the ambitions of the regional bureaucracy of Russia. It is this sector of Yeltsin which is the most aggressive against socialism. But he is also unstable because he has not a solid base. As Posadas analysed, the bureaucracy cannot any longer reproduce itself as in the past. The programme of Yeltsin consists only of economic reforms (and

demagogic patriotism) which will lead inevitably to conflicts with the soviet proletariat. The million people who demonstrated in Red Square in Moscow after the coup have not given carte blanche to Yeltsin. They came out to defend the democratic gains made in the last period.

Imperialism intervenes to try to profit from this situation of a void in the leadership of the workers state and supported the Yeltsin sector which proposes measures of retreat of interest to capitalism, such as encouraging nationalist sectors, attacking the organs of intervention of the communist vanguard and in stimulating privatisation of the means of production.

This internal struggle which provisionally has gone in favour of Yeltsin and of his programme is useful to the Yanks who seek points of support in the USSR, but that is also going to make him lose authority in front of the soviet masses.

The intervention of Gorbachev in all this crisis has been one of great weakness. He sought to maintain the centralised structure of the workers state when he declared on alighting from the plane that the deficiencies of the Soviet Union did not come from the October Revolution but from Stalinism and that he defended the party and socialism. But he yielded to the offensive of Yeltsin and did not have the resolution to appeal to the proletariat and to the millions of communist workers and peasants in the Soviet Union.

Moreover the policy followed by Gorbachev in the last period of his intervention in the Gulf War, gave the initiative to imperialism. The German workers state was abandoned to its fate without any political intervention by the CPSU, the attempt to

resolve the problems of the economy of the USSR by measures of liberalising the market weakened his leadership and isolated him from the concerns and struggles of the masses. The defence of democratic rights of the masses and the declarations in defence of the USSR and socialism were not sufficient to reconstitute the relation with the vanguard and the soviet proletariat.

A sector of the proletariat intervened in this crisis, but large sectors awaited further events. The sector of the miners on strike against the coup and the oil workers who refused to stop work so as not to damage the economy, declared themselves in defence of the structure of the workers state. In reality the isolation of the sector of the top bureaucracy which made the first coup was complete. It received not the minimum support.

It is the proletariat with a sector of the army and of the communist vanguard which made the coup fail and hindered a retreat on the rights which have been gained. They have thus liquidated the tendency of the central bureaucracy which organised the coup and are preparing to impel the necessary changes for the progress and the deepening of socialist measures. The suspension of the CPSU does not mean necessarily the liquidation of the party in which the experience of the communist vanguard is concentrated. But certainly its functioning and internal life has to be transformed so that it may be a useful instrument and not an apparatus in the service of one or other bureaucratic sector.

It is necessary to discuss in the world communist and revolutionary movement this process of crisis of leadership in the workers state which has

the greatest political tradition. We call upon the communist parties, the socialist parties, the revolutionary movements and trade unions to intervene to confront at the side of the soviet masses tendencies like Yeltsin which seek to destroy the Soviet Union—one of the most profound conquests in the history of the world revolution—by measures of privatisation, the return to capitalism and the annulling by decree of the communist party.

Even if there is a transitory weakening of the workers state in front of the capitalist system, the crisis of capitalism is inexorably accentuated leading to an enormous deterioration of the conditions of life of the populations of Latin America, Africa, Asia and also in the so-called advanced capitalist countries. Capitalism has no other perspective than unemployment, super-exploitation, economic concentration and war. The regrouping of all the anti capitalist forces is a necessity. The proletariat of the Soviet Union, the Communist Party, the soviet workers state, the conquests of the October Revolution are a patrimony which all humanity must defend in front of the capitalist system.

We appeal to all the leaders of the communist and socialist parties, all the currents of the left and the revolutionary movements to pronounce themselves against the first coup and the counter coup of Yeltsin and in defence of the CPSU. We believe that in this sense the declaration of Cossutta, leader of the Refondazione Comunista in Italy against the coup and in defence of the CPSU is important and we appeal to all the leaders of the parties of the left and revolutionary movements to take this position and support the soviet working class in defence

The Counter Revolutionary actions of the so-called "nationalist" groups necessitates the intervention of the masses to defend and elevate the Yugoslav Workers State.

Yugoslavia has represented for some time one of the weakest workers states and this weakness shows itself in the events which have occurred most recently with the separatist proclamations of the republics of Slovenia and Croatia. The present crisis is a combination of this limited structure of the workers state, of its communist leadership, of the more general process of the fall of the bureaucratic regimes constructed during Stalinism and of the pressure which world capitalism is exercising to destabilise the workers states and prevent the necessary process of the intervention of the masses and of the renovation of the communist leaderships.

The separation of Slovenia and Croatia from the rest of Yugoslavia does not have the slightest objective of progress. It is false to believe that this is a step towards "freedom" and "democracy". On the contrary, it is a proposal through which the regional bureaucratic castes seek to strengthen their struggle which has reached the point of rupture with the rest of the bureaucratic apparatus. It is necessary to discuss throughout the communist and revolutionary world movement, to make appeals and resolutions condemning the reactionary intentions of these groups which propose separation.

The economic crisis provoked by the policy of self management has penalised a great part of the country to the benefit of the richest zones like Slovenia and

Croatia. There the bureaucracy has made a usufruct of their own resources and natural conditions and of their greater contiguity and links with the world capitalist market via forms of rapacious exchange with the rest of the republics. The Slovene and Croatia bureaucrats made use of the structure of the workers state and exchange with the rest of the republics to obtain products and services at low cost and which afterwards would allow some competition on the capitalist market. Now after the profits, these castes set themselves up as republics and not as a unified workers state. The bureaucrats of Slovenia and Croatia present this unequal development as a result of "national qualities" when in reality it is a question of a policy which led to their personal enrichment and not to the development of the whole of Yugoslavia.

In this sense the policy of self management has been the base of the crystallisation of strong particularist interests, of a caste leading to interests as in Slovenia where there exist directly bourgeois layers. Only the statification under workers control and the active participation of the masses in the programming of the economy can allow the harmonisation of its different parts and promote the elevation of the conditions of the life of all the masses. But self management maintains and exacerbates competition in certain aspects of production. The workers and the technicians in every factory or productive unity do not depend on an overall plan but on dedication to their

specific production, to the liquidation of competitors, the diminution of costs through a greater personal effort or the reduction of the quality of the products. Self management constitutes a source of great inequalities. The structure of the workers state which constitutes the objective of the struggle of the communists and the partisans of Tito allowed a great social progress of the masses and of the country which was limited by the policy of self management. For example the legislation of the workers state imposes on every enterprise the construction of houses for the workers, but there are houses and houses in Yugoslavia; the houses for the rich are well constructed, of good quality, with the best schools and parks and afterwards the directors enjoy many forms of individual appropriation and build their houses outside the residential complexes where the rest of the staff live.

It is important to reaffirm these conclusions which have been outlined by Cde Posadas in his texts over Yugoslavia, in his Homage to Tito and in the analyses which he made during his stay in Belgrade, sometime before his death. The progress of Yugoslavia which came out of the war practically destroyed and with millions of dead in the struggle against the nazis, has been possible through its structuring even limited as a workers state and in the communist objective which the leadership of Tito and the guerrilla had in their origins. Self management did not represent any progress.

The structure of the workers state has developed the unification of the different peoples and nations, of the whole of the masses beyond different regions and nationalities. Since the economic crisis has developed recently, great movements of struggles and strikes have occurred above all in Serbia and Croatia and also in Slovenia. The working class has mobilised as a class as responsible for the workers state and not as separate Serbian or Croatian or Slovenian workers. In the mobilisations, it denounced and rejected the programme of the increase in relations with capitalism which has damaged enormously the purchasing power of wages and led to the privileged distribution of basic living necessities which all end in the private market of the bureaucracy.

These struggles, the mature attitude of the working class and its communist vanguard in the middle of the process which in the rest of the workers states has led to the fall of the old bureaucratic apparatus, has imposed a leap on the political leadership of Yugoslavia. The agreement over inter bureaucratic relations between the different nationalities is already exhausted and it is necessary to advance towards better forms in the organisation of the workers state.

The old bureaucratic layer cannot do this or proposes a national seclusion as do the Croats and Slovenes or imposing old solutions like Milosevic. The bureaucracy runs to desperate solutions, transforms itself from communist to

nationalist, statist to defender of the market and private property, robs and takes over properties which until now were social. Yugoslavia was among the workers states which arose immediately after the war. It was able to count upon the support of an important guerrilla and mass movement. The communist leadership of Tito mobilised the entire society and the world youth vanguard intervened massively in the construction of socialist Yugoslavia. Yugoslavia constituted then a great experience of socialist edification of a country which came out of the war with immense difficulties, the possibility of realising it in opposition to Stalinist arrogance. Stalin wanted to force the Yugoslavian communist leadership to submit to an agreement with the Yugoslav king, but Tito was opposed and took an independent line and the revolutionary world vanguard supported him. Posadas recorded always what was meant by the construction of the Yugoslavian railways which got the support of youth from all parts of the world including Latin America where the International and Posadas were very active in the campaign of solidarity with the Yugoslavian revolution.

With the isolation which Stalin imposed, the lack of preparation of the Yugoslavian leadership which emerged with heavy losses from the liberation struggle, it is necessary to consider that after the USSR, it was Yugoslavia which paid most dearly in human life in the

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of statified property, of the planning of the economy and the workers control of production.

We defend the CPSU because it is an indispensable instrument for the progress of the Soviet Union towards socialism. Those who want to liquidate it have sinister anti democratic plans because they wish to smash the resolution of millions of communists.

But to communicate with society, the party needs the functioning of the trade unions and of the soviets through which the vanguard puts itself in contact with all the

social layers, wins them over to socialist objectives and cleans the state apparatus of all the corrupted and decomposed layers which block and boycott the measures of revolutionary progress.

The vanguard of the Soviet Union must complete the tasks which the whole of humanity confronts; to construct the revolutionary leadership and defend the instruments of progress of history, the workers states against the evils provoked by the feebleness and the corruption of those leaderships which have

lost confidence in the communist future of humanity. If Gorbachev desires to defend the centralisation of the Soviet Union, he must stimulate soviet democracy, otherwise the inter bureaucratic struggles continue to dominate and hinder the adoption of objective measures for the progress of the workers state.

The leaderships which do not wish as is the case for Yeltsin to respond to these issues or betray the sentiments of the masses as is the case with the sector which made the first

coup are going to finish in the same place which history has reserved for Stalin and for capitalism—the dustbin of history.

It is necessary to discuss in the mass organisms the revolutionary programme and policy; defence of the world revolution, statification of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, soviet democracy and distribution to each according to need. The strength of the soviet workers state consists

in extending and stimulating the application of this programme, to uphold the socialist revolution in the world, to confront imperialism and become a centre of organisation for the vanguard in the world, in constructing a new Communist International with all the forces which struggle to free themselves from capitalism.

29 August. 1991.
Posadist IV
International. I.S.

war against the nazis. They lost many courageous communists who fought in the front ranks and Yugoslavia was a ruined country with many difficulties. The Yugoslavian masses, the communist intention of the Tito leadership, the liquidation of Stalinism in the USSR which imposed a correction of soviet policy in respect of the Yugoslavian revolution and the support and the extension of the revolution throughout the world, have made possible the progress of the country. Self management was the solution which the leadership of Tito gave to the political attack which Stalin launched against him, as was also later the policy of "non alignment". The lack of preparation of the Yugoslavian leadership prevented it seeing that what was coming in the future was an uncontrollable advance of the revolution in China, Corea, Cuba and Vietnam. The communist objective fortified the decision to continue the revolution in spite of the sabotage of Stalin, but the lack of preparation led to the adoption of a series of defensive measures based on agreements with parties and bureaucrats of the different nationalities. Self management is the result of these conditions; as Cde Posadas said, it was not the only policy which Tito could have led, even being understandable from the point of view of the blockade which Stalin imposed. It was a question of elevating the unification of the country by means of statification and the intervention of the masses and expecting in the near future that it was going to be possible for a world programming with the new workers states and afterwards also with the Soviet Union. Tito sought an empirical means to relate to the revolution by means of the non aligned movement and internally developed a weak political structure, the League of Communists. He did not feel the security to construct a single Communist Party which would centralise the country in the objective of socialist construction and on the other hand created an agreement between tendencies and parties which fed all these years individual appetites and interests. This has led to the situation today in Slovenia and Croatia where the communist parties of the two republics present themselves as champions of national interests.

The Yugoslavian masses have thought in all this time of the country as a unity and as a workers state. Hence it is false to say that it is the "will" of people that decides

separation. The referendum and the so called "popular decisions" have been the result of a reactionary campaign led in these last years aimed to exert pressure on the Croation and Slovenian masses, presenting the unequal development of the country as a fruit of different national "qualities" and the necessity for the harmonisation of the whole of the country as a cost which has to be rejected. While the working class and the communist vanguard sought to give a solution of progress to the economic crisis, the bureaucracy utilised it as an arm to impose national solutions. Hence it is supported by sectors who have enriched themselves with the policy of self management and have established military bands with the support of sectors of world capitalism. The world communist movement has to denounce the cynicism of world capitalism as with this meeting of Italy, Austria and Hungary; these three say that they want a political solution which respects the federal Yugoslav structure but they are exactly the principle suppliers of arms to the territorial forces of Slovenia and Croatia. The struggle for the control of the frontier posts is not a simple symbolic demand, but the maintaining of the gates open for capitalist support to the counter revolutionary movements.

These bureaucratic leaderships forget, as also does world capitalism through its nature, that private property and the market which today they desire so much to make Yugoslavia progress, led to the degeneration which was nazism and fascism and that Yugoslavia after the USSR was fundamental to defeat this great threat which pushed humanity to the edge of a great historic retreat. The two million dead in the fight against the nazis are comparatively like the twenty five millions which fell in the USSR; it has been the structure of the soviet workers state, the soviet and Yugoslav communist vanguard which gave the decisive blow leading afterwards to the defeat of nazism throughout Europe. This is to contribute to history, the Croats and the Slovenians can examine all the books of history and will not find pages more beautiful than those written by the Yugoslavian masses in the fight against the nazis. The Croatian and Slovenian masses have felt that they were communists before being Croats or Slovenians. It is not possible to say that the population thinks first as Slovene or Croat or Serb. The masses saw their families die in combat and replaced them. They were not paralysed through family interest. They were not lost in grief but

continued fighting. The family or national interest did not exist, the Croation people, its communist vanguard fought with all its strength against the nazis and against all the Croation leadership which collaborated with nazism.

It is not possible to speak of the "historical reason of the nation". The Croats during the war were divided between the bourgeoisie and sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who actively supported the nazis invasion and the masses who combated the nazis and the collaborator Croats. Which Croats represented progress in this case? Why did they participate in the struggle for liberation, because they were Croats or because they were communists? Because they were communists, they felt that they were defenders of the humanity born in Croatia. The bureaucratic leadership wants to make history retreat. The Croatian republic wants to return to feudal conditions. They have just repressed strike movements which have been severely prohibited because they represent a "betrayal of the country". So much for the "democracy" and the "liberty" with which their leaders adorn their speeches.

This process is also aimed to divide and contain the intervention of the working class, to prevent it working as a class. This is contrary to all which it has lived and experienced during the existence of the workers state.

In front of the abandonment which the political leadership has made, represented in part by the recent declarations of Milosevic ie "those who want to go can go", the army represents the only instrument which today can guarantee a solution of progress. Not because it has arms, although against some bands which have already been constituted in Slovenia, Croatia and also Serbia, it is going to be necessary to utilise them, but because its origin has been the struggle against the nazis and is closely linked to the original communist objective of the Yugoslavian revolution. It is for this reason that it appears with more authority, although until now it has worked timidly and late, without foreseeing the level to which these counter revolutionary groups have worked. Hence it is that a great number of young recruits have been killed. It is

necessary to appeal for a great national discussion with the participation of the army and of the masses to decide the future of the progress of Yugoslavia as a workers state, with an increase of the centralised programming of production and the economy, with the control of the working class and the masses

and with the development of new forms of relations with the rest of the workers states and the revolutionary countries.

The whole world communist movement must discuss the Yugoslav experience and make a world campaign of opposition to any form of disintegration of the workers state. Some CPs like the Italian have used Yugoslavia for some time as a model which should be imitated. Today they shut up and draw no conclusion from this experience, of the complete failure of self management. It is necessary also to denounce at the same time the interference of world capitalism. The latter politically supports the separatist movements in the workers state because they serve to destabilise them, but it is not secure as to whether it can control the results, either in the workers states or within capitalism itself where there are national conflicts which can unleash one movement or another.

The world communist and revolutionary movement must appeal so that the Yugoslavian masses have the means to discuss and place themselves in agreement. In these conditions they can resolve objectively. The mothers of the soldiers who appeal so that an end may be put to the shooting between different groups in the same country and

the declaration of the athletic team in Greece that they feel that they are Yugoslavs and as such participate in the competition, shows that these are the best armed forces which can be mobilised. They

are armed with the understanding that there is no better solution than to make Yugoslavia progress to better forms in its socialist organisation. The great mobilisation of the women has had a great weight to prevent the provocations of the counter revolutionary groups which exist in Slovenia and Croatia. They have done it not only to defend their sons, but to denounce that it is stupid to resolve matters in this way. The mothers have shown that the Yugoslav people is mature to resolve in an intelligent form. Appeals on the basis of socialist policies would find an echo in the masses of Slovenia and Croatia and isolate the hoodlums who provoke the fighting.

The efforts of the Yugoslavian army to defend the integrity of the workers state receive objective support of the soviet workers state. Prior to the coup, support for the unity of the Yugoslav state was clear. Even with expected prevarications by the new government in the USSR, the communist vanguard who are defending the integrity of the Yugoslav state in spite of the sabotage of Milosevic and the other bureaucratic renegades, receive the objective support of the soviet masses. The problems of Yugoslavia are parallel to those of the Soviet Union and will not receive solution until there is a new communist leadership in the workers states linked to the process of the liquidation of capitalism as a world system.

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and represents very partially that the underlying structure of the workers state weighs and decides.

Moreover whatever games the local bureaucracies play, economically they have nowhere to go, the interdependence of the Soviet Union is a fact. They meet the reality that closer links with capitalism can provoke dangerous reactions in the population. That is their agony and it will prove fatal. The intervention of the soviet proletariat is one of the major supporting reasons for the coup and counter coup. The bureaucracy can no longer determine the fate of the Soviet Union. Imperialism hopes to benefit ie in recognition of the Baltic states and the hoped for reduced role of

the Soviet Union in the world over Cuba, Afghanistan etc, but also it is fearful of the complications resulting from the criminal desperation of the bureaucrats—already seen in the vicious regime in Georgia.

The crisis of the Labour party is going to grow in this situation. The labour bosses benefited from the hideous caricature of socialism in the USSR, but all that is passing. A reanimation of the labour left is inevitable and it must clarify its understanding of the world process and the incapacity of capitalism to progress. A programme of social revolution is the only solution. There is no third way. 27.9.91.

Editorial

The Weakness of the Conservative Government is contained by the consensus policy of the Labour party leadership.

The deteriorating situation of the conservative government shown in the recent by elections, particularly in the Scottish constituencies of Kincardine and Deeside is no surprise considering the general uninterrupted decomposition of the capitalist system. But the Labour party remains content to leave matters at the electoral level and in the arena of parliamentary dispute, the game of in and outs, so that no mobilisations or campaigns can complicate the mutual concern of conservatives, liberals and labour apparatus to keep the capitalist system going whatever the cost to the population. However whatever the electoral outcome of the next elections and a Labour victory is quite possible in spite of the LP apparatus, an accumulation of social problems is going inevitably to reanimate the left and pose again much more sharply than in the past the need for social transformations and social revolution.

Capitalism has been trying to propose that the world relation of forces has changed because of the downfall of the soviet bureaucracy ie that capitalism can do what it likes. Capitalism can certainly kill millions of people, it can kill as it is doing at this moment thousands of children in Iraq and it has thrown whole continents such as Africa into ruin. But it has done all this and worse when the soviet bureaucracy had its armies in East Germany and was apparently all powerful. Nothing of any fundamental importance has changed in favour of capitalism. On the contrary since the weakening of the soviet bureaucracy, capitalism has been incapable of stopping the revolution in South Africa, incapable of changing anything much in the Middle East- the conference of Madrid has solved nothing- and incapable of developing capitalism with renewed force

in any part of the world. In the United States so weak is the great warrior Bush that he abandons foreign trips because the social and economic situation in the United States is deteriorating badly. So great is the security of capitalism! It is true that from the point of view of the world masses there is no leadership which corresponds to the necessity to liquidate world capitalism, but that is hardly a new problem. Nothing can stop the weakening of capitalism, its historic ineptitude and inertia. The war in Iraq showed its military might and its social weakness, most marked in the citadels of capitalist power the United States and Britain.

Moreover the absence of a major world war which allows capitalism to renovate its forces and dispose of awkward social problems as with world wars 1 and 2, means that all its social ulcers become more and more overpowering and weaken it immeasurably. There is no way out for capitalism save a war to smash everything progressive be it in the workers states or the world revolution. On the other hand it is a war with no prospect of success. Thus the contradictions continue irrespective of the weakening of the soviet bureaucracy. Without a war more and more decomposition, with a war the end of capitalism. A factor which is going to demoralise capitalism much more than in the past is the growing difficulty of the world capitalist economy. The fears over the slowness of the American economy to help galvanise the system and the massive indebtedness accumulated during the boom of the eighties bring to the fore the inability of capitalism to open new markets. Eastern Europe as with the rest of the world, Asia, Africa, Latin America do not inspire security in the capitalist investor. This itself is an expression that capitalism is detested worldwide and its economy is inevitably affected

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by its social and political weakness.

The crisis in Yugoslavia is a useful guide to the fears of the capitalist system. Normally they would have smashed such a country. Now they have to watch their step, although it is obvious that capitalism has been sustaining the pro capitalist layers in Croatia and Slovenia including openly fascist elements. They have been able to use the bureaucracy in Belgrade which has deflected the natural tendency of what remains of the Yugoslav workers state to maintain centralisation, to play the nationalist card instead of the card of appealing to the Croatian and Slovenian masses on the basis of a socialist perspective. Milosevic is a supporter of economic reforms and in essence no different from the sharks in the rebellious republics. There is an opposition in Serbia to the policy of Milosevic who has used a militarist line to prevent an honest discussion of policy. There is no question that there was every justification to liquidate the Croatian and Slovenian bureaucrats, but this could have been vastly facilitated by isolating them from the populations of that region instead of bombardments of Dubrovnik. The latter has shown the Milosevic gang without any ideas at all. They are just thugs holding onto their privileges. But like everything else in the workers states their social basis is narrowing. The fact that now they suggest UNO troops help in the settlement of Yugoslavia shows what these people are- anything to block an intelligent perspective based on discussion with the Yugoslav masses. None of the regimes anxious to return to capitalism in Eastern Europe are stable and the masses are in a position to weaken these

regimes. The reaction of the Rumanian miners and the votes for the reanimated left in Poland show that the workers states have built a solid structure of support which gives no margin for a capitalist utopia. As for the Soviet Union the capitalist class is as fearful of the outcome of events in the Soviet Union now as they were in the period of Breznev. The miserable Yeltsin falls at the first hurdle when even fellow bureaucrats would not support

his efforts to intimidate the population of Checheno-Ingushetia who want independence. His troops were sent packing and now he has to confront the soviet masses on the issue of price increases and economic reforms. The communist vanguard is going to reform in the Soviet Union and now that the privileged party bureaucracy has been partly shattered, the differentiation between the

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The Revolution is stronger than

the bureaucracy. 22.10.67 J. Posadas.

Acquired social consciousness is indestructible and the masses defended the Soviet workers state in the most elevated fashion. The dictatorship of Stalin, his concentration camps killed fifteen million people but were not able to deprive the soviet masses of their historic consciousness of the superiority of the workers state in relation to the capitalist system. It is for this reason that Hitler found no ally in the Soviet Union. On the other hand the Soviet workers state found allies in Roumania, in Hungary, Yugoslavia and Poland.

That is the historic consciousness of the masses. Today this is infinitely superior and it is for that reason that neither imperialism nor the bureaucracy can smash the workers state because the masses defend and support it. They show in their daily life their concern, their commitment and their unconditional defence of statified property. They defend it in the factories and in the trade unions in a thousand ways, in supporting, stimulating and in impelling layers and sectors of the bureaucracy which depend on the defence of statified property. The top layers of the bureaucracy have no interest in statified property. They have already proceeded to the autonomy of enterprises and the market economy. Their interest lies in free trade and in the usufruct, appropriation and accumulation of capital for investment. If the counter revolution has not occurred, it is because they have not been able to do it. A counter revolution would be necessary to return to private property. It is for that reason that it is necessary to expect the final settlement of accounts with the bureaucracy which is going to be expelled.

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International Leadership. August 1991.

The imperialist attack on Iraq was also aimed to intimidate the masses of the world, but they were in no way intimidated. Before and during the war, millions mobilised throughout the world beginning with the Arab countries and extending to the United States. In the same way great demonstrations developed throughout the world where Mandela appeared and a million young people in the concert of the left singer Paul Simon demonstrated against the social degradation of the city of New York. These latter were comparatively more numerous than the participants in the "victory parades" in New York. All this shows that the youth and the masses do not in any way feel intimidated. On the contrary they anticipate very important struggles in a not too distant future.

During the war the capitalist system was deprived of all its disguises. Not only has Yankee imperialism not imposed democracy in Kuwait nor eliminated Saddam, but it assassinated more than 300,000 Iraqis to impose its leadership within the inter-capitalist dispute and control the petroleum supplies to its main competitors. This massacre of capitalism has produced an immense commotion within its own social base which is going to express itself in the next social struggles. The immense mobilisation of the youth throughout the world is already the beginning of this boomerang.

The capitalist system has increased enormously its economic and military power, but this has been realised at the expense of the social base, of the most backward capitalist countries of Asia, Africa, Latin America which have been condemned to being mere providers of raw materials with no economic perspective now that capitalism is caught within a spiral which suffocates any possibility of expanding and creating new markets (only in fact increasing the consumption of the same market).

The euphoric capitalist development without limits is the last mask which remains. We do not discuss and do not demonstrate the capitalist crisis expecting something from it and dependent on that, but to include it in the analysis and the preparation of the tactic of the struggle of the masses; and particularly in this period to sustain the security of the communist parties and socialist parties and the trade union tendencies, bewildered and shocked in front of apparent capitalist power which in reality is only a castle constructed in the air. Very much on the agenda is the struggle for social transformations and for the development of the superior forms of the workers states.

Capitalism lives then in the total and final crisis of its existence and in this crisis the determining factor is the struggle of the masses of the world and the existence of the workers states because they impede the possibilities for the big capitalist countries precipitating war. Hence capitalism depends on what happens in the workers states; it needs to live, know and try to use in its favour the crisis through which the communist parties are passing and particularly the USSR.

South Africa and Israel are the two great bastions of the capitalist counter-revolution and they are being disintegrated by the incessant action of the black and Arab masses and those of the whole world in a gigantic world process of the permanent revolution. The recent congress of the ANC has confirmed a series of anti-capitalist and revolutionary initiatives. The trips of Mandela abroad have served to give cohesion to a world movement against the racist government and imperialism. World capitalism is trying to save de Klerk so that in alliance with a sector of the black leadership, it may impede the revolutionary process already on the march. With all the provocations which imperialism has mounted and which it will continue to make, it has not been able to contain the growth in the authority of the ANC and the weight of the communists internally, as also the progress of the function of the working class and of the trade unions in the struggle for national and social liberation.

Capitalism is not going to yield easily in South Africa and it is necessary to prepare for the development of democratic and revolutionary struggles which combine alliances with sectors of the white minority disposed to cede or governments with the participation of the liberation movement conditioned by world capitalism (as was the case in Zimbabwe). It is necessary to be based on the conditions which the crisis of capitalism has made possible and in an important result such as the weakening of the reactionary support to the assassin bands in Angola, Mozambique and Namibia, to organise the struggle and programme for the whole region. We appeal for the United Front of all the revolutionary movements and countries of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, Zambia, the ANC, with a programme for the development of the country, of education, of health, of transport, of housing and of the democratic participation of the masses.

World capitalism has not been able to give any important

continuity to the war against Iraq of the past year. The objective of imperialism in establishing a consistent military presence in the region after having been thrown out of Iran and Lebanon has remained dependent on the course of the conference which Baker has been promoting. This conference has no perspective and is a question of a pressure to see if Israel can make some concessions.

The Middle East represents the febrility, contradictions and struggles which are raging in the summit of the world capitalist leadership. They mounted the greatest military operation in history (be it through the arms that they used or with what they had in reserve) which was not only to overcome the resistance which Iraq could make. But they did this fearing a possible revolutionary reaction of the Arab masses—not verified through the absence of revolutionary leaderships beginning with that of Iraq—and also of the Soviet Union. A sector of imperialism felt that all could end in a clash with the USSR and hence it was the minister of defence of the United States when he wished to exemplify the military power which they were installing in Saudi Arabia said the only force which can confront our military power is the USSR.

Imperialism imposed this massacre on the rest of world capitalism, but it was not able to continue it through the world response of the masses and through the limits which anyway the soviets decided to impose. At the present the sector which imposed the attack on Iraq has been put momentarily on one side to give access to the sector which seeks a solution in agreement between the Arab bourgeoisie and Israel, a solution to save on the great costs signified by the counter-revolutionary role and existence of Israel or the resources squandered with the "desert storm". They also have to face the fact that the right has lost important points of support like the Integralist movement in Algeria and the situation in Kuwait. Saudi Arabia paid for everything done by the Integralists in Algeria which with a great demagogic campaign had achieved an important electoral success, but when the masses mobilised against the imperialist aggression and the Integralists had to support them opportunistically, the Saudis cut short the financial support and Integralism was completely deflated. In Kuwait, there is an important opposition which was armed and which is exerting a pressure for democratic changes. The Yankee military "victory" is not going to have important results. The dismissal of

Shevardnadze was a demonstration that the workers state could not go further in concession to capitalism and while imperialism must pressure Israel so that it concedes, Gorbachev says to Bush "Cuba is not a matter for negotiation". Normally in the desert after the storm the vision clears; imperialism is in a storm now because because it does not find the solution which it desired.

A sector of the Arab bourgeoisie (Syria and Egypt) wanted to try to negotiate with Israel first so as afterwards impose on the Palestinians. This new agreement which imperialism is promoting is a limited solution which is going to last less than Camp David and which leaves outside an eventual agreement with the Palestinians. This shows how insufficient is the demand of the

Palestinian State to mobilise the Arab masses and attack the leadership of the reactionary camarillas and the Arab bourgeoisie: Syria, Egypt, Jordan and Saudi Arabia. It is not excluded that later they offer a territory and a state to the Palestinians, a difficult matter but it would be imposed and dominated by the reactionary powers. The PLO resists the plan of the Yanks because it sees this perspective. They must propose now the question of the national demand (as they pose correctly in calling for the application of the UNO resolutions) together with the social character which they are going to give the new state. This means that it must be a revolutionary state going towards a workers state, which has as an objective the revolutionary unification of all the Middle East, a federation of countries which includes the Israeli people, which plans the economy and the social progress of all the peoples of the region. This is the only solution for the Middle East and we call upon the CPSU, all the communist parties and of the left to continue supporting the struggle of the Palestinian and Arab masses in their struggle against the regime in Israel and imperialism and the discussion of a proposal of a democratic and revolutionary federation of all the Arab countries together with Israel freed from the reactionary caste which leads it.

Capitalism has no other solution than a military one, all the rest are transitory agreements which afterwards will lead to new wars and provocations. To the extent that revolutionary solutions are delayed, capitalism will always have the possibility of making vicious attacks as in Iraq. The absence of revolutionary leaderships is a result partly of the limited experience of the Arab masses who participated

fundamentally in movements of a nationalist or religious character with social content and this limited character has made possible the dominion of small bourgeois camarillas. The most profound experiences like those of Algeria, Libya, Yemen and that of the Palestinians themselves have not been able to advance much further, through the lack of understanding of the world communist and revolutionary movement. It is not a question of material help which in great measure the soviets have made, but political help on the basis of the social experience of democratic soviet functioning and from the participation of the masses in the leadership of society in a way to stimulate the active political participation of the Arab masses and the formation of leaderships which go beyond national and religious objectives. All this was lacking in the previous policy of the soviets. The bureaucracy gave arms and support but did not help at the same time to form revolutionary leaderships because it feared that these would impose on the process in the Middle East a greater dynamic for which they were neither ready or prepared. Thus Gorbachev during the Gulf war wanted to impose the peace plan made with Iran and Syria itself (his principal ally) was against.

The support which the Arab masses gave to the action of Saddam in Kuwait shows in every way the need and the conditions to advance in the anti-imperialist policy and against the reactionary cliques; thus a policy with revolutionary leaderships would mobilise immediately all the Arab population. But it also shows that leaderships like Saddam represent programmes and methods which are of no use for these objectives. Saddam has had to concede certain democratic demands for the population and for the Kurds. These are necessary for the future progress of the revolutionary state of Iraq, but if new revolutionary leaderships do not advance which includes the whole region, then these demands can retreat and new repressions are going to be imposed. We call for the unification of all the revolutionary movements in the Middle

East; Palestinians, Kurds, Libya, Yemen, Algeria, Iran and to open a great discussion and mobilisation of the masses for a unified future in the region appealing to and supporting the Israeli masses in the struggle to free itself from its reactionary caste.

The world relations of forces favourable to the revolution and progress are expressed both in the direct and normal form of the class struggle and also with the

disintegration of the traditional structures in support of the regime of private property among them the church. The process of distancing and autonomy which the church under the leadership of the present Pope takes with respect to the world capitalist leadership has been accentuated. This process already analysed by Cde Posadas remains confirmed in all the recent positions of the Pope; from his opposition to the war in the gulf to the recent encyclical of the "Hundred Years" where he exalts the function of the workers movement and criticises the capitalist system. The Pope must respond to the social and political maturation of the religious masses, particularly of the catholic youth. The great international demonstration of the youth in Poland shows that he must encourage the church to try to respond to this maturation. The intention and the proposals of the young participants go beyond all the possibilities of the capitalist system to satisfy them. The Pope pursues at the same time as undertaking the demonstration in Poland an insistant policy towards the workers state to affirm the process of its dismantling which is not simple for capitalism.

The attention of the world is concentrated on what is happening in the workers states. The recent meeting of the big capitalist powers ... (G7) discussed nothing of importance apart from the future relation with the USSR and the meeting decided nothing until the arrival of Gorbachev. The development of the future of history is not decided by the initiatives which can emerge from the capitalist leadership, but from the USSR and from the other workers states and through the struggle of the masses of the world. Capitalism finds itself to be paralysed as far as social, scientific and cultural initiatives; its negligible ideas are only concerned to improve the conditions for competition.

Even if the soviete have made unnecessary concessions, the agreements between the USSR and world capitalism do not have the significance of the epoch of Stalin; on the one hand the soviet bureaucracy could go much further in some concessions utilising the intensification of the internal crisis of capitalism and on the other hand capitalism could not impose the complete abandonment of the external policy of alliance with the revolution as Stalin did with Hitler and world capitalism. The recent agreements—Start—are not going to be respected by imperialism, but at the same time the soviets are not the most prejudiced from the defensive point of view. The soviets can in this way use part of the military costs for the development of the economy. This is not bad, but what is bad is creating the illusions that it is possible to have an

historic peaceful solution of the conflict with the capitalist system. For the yanks the agreement goes against the war industry which is the force which controls the economy.

The demands of the Soviet Union for economic help and investments from capitalism do not mean a new NEP. Thus capitalism had other alternatives for investments when the USSR was the only workers state; today for an important part of capitalism the workers states represent the only possible market to which it can gain access. But even so great investments on the part of capitalism are not to be expected. It will only invest what is absolutely indispensable to guarantee a certain market and will never allow countries like the USSR with great potentialities to develop as a competitor.

The capitalist system lives in a constant increase of competition between the main groups. This intensifies the confrontation almost to the point of war between the capitalist powers. The strength and the deformed character however limited of these wars between the wealthy capitalist powers shows the weight of the historic confrontation between capitalism and the workers states. Without the determining weight of the workers states, capitalism would have its hands free to adjust the differences between them by force of arms. If it does not do this, it is because it considers with reason that the workers states would use the inter capitalist war as it did in previous wars. The wars would begin as settlements of accounts between capitalist competitors and end with the extension afterwards of the socialist camp. The workers states are going to use all this not because they will be able to intervene or invade directly, but they would be a point of reference for the social intervention which accompanies every war. The world mobilisation of the masses in the principle capitalist countries, even in the United States with the imperialist attack on Iraq is clearly demonstrative of the fact that the masses are not going to be afraid of opposing whatever effort of the bourgeoisie to lead a war with a nationalist spirit. As with previous wars, the masses will transform them rapidly into revolutionary situations against the bourgeoisie.

The great capitalist countries seek to put themselves in agreement with meetings of the GATT and of the G7—with small result. They seek to stipulate rules for the competition between the powers in such a way as to contain or attenuate the great internal contradictions. But no important agreements are made and the struggle between them intensifies. In the recent G7 meeting they decided to maintain

for another ten years the restrictions on access to the world market of the Japanese cars. This means a serious blow for this branch of Japanese industry. The Japanese are going to seek to enter in association with other enterprises or creating factories in Europe apart from the assemblage factories which they already have. In this daily struggle without quarter, the great multinationals concentrate buying up competitors which they then liquidate by taking over their position in the market or buy up enterprises and then throw them in the bin as they only have an interest in the list of clients. The concentration in the field of the information industry has reached levels of insanity; in a few years four or five enterprises have succeeded in controlling 85% of the computers in the world market.

The German bourgeoisie swore obedience and loyalty in co-operation against the recession during the meeting of the G7, but their ministers had hardly returned then they increased the cost of money by increasing the rate of interest; a manoeuvre to the benefit of the financial sector linked to the top industrial sectors. It will increase inflation, but the state takes care of this by inflating the public debt as it now must also pay more interest for the money it receives in loans. All the great capitalist countries accumulate a great mass of public debt which is the way they have to conceal inflation and then they make the masses and the lower sectors of the bourgeoisie pay for it.

Another aspect of the intercapitalist struggle is the campaign of a part of the bourgeoisie against the drugs traffic. The repression of some centres of commerce and production is not the result of the "noble" campaign of Bush but a sector of capitalism sees that while it must cope with all the costs of maintaining the preparation of war, there is another sector which with these "illegal" activities moves an immense quantity of money with no accountability to anyone.

The only perspective to which the inter capitalist crisis is leading is war. To limit a market like that of the Japanese cars or decree practically the exclusivity of engineering production within the ECM and the world to German and American factories or realise artificial manoeuvres in the rise or fall of the rate of interest, are all measures which mean the liquidation of wealth or the transfer of wealth from one sector to another in the economy and politically correspond to declarations of war, declarations of war through forces which do not represent precisely the national frontiers, but the different sectors which dispute the control

Continued on page 4,

The revolution is stronger than the bureaucracy. The development of the world revolution demonstrates an immense progress in communist sentiment, of communist fraternity and will, and at the same time the complete rotting of the bureaucracy. The latter makes a cult of sex and of eroticism because it is incapable of leading a conscious and fraternal life. When it reaches that stage, it is because it has no basis in life. Life is reproduced and elevates the fraternal and moral relations of existence. Morality is not the defence of property but respect towards the other. It is human thought which seeks the best aspect of human beings for the elevation of human fraternity. That is what socialism is about. It is that which will determine the behaviour of society. It is for that reason that the bureaucracy has very little time left to survive.

The bureaucracy does not have and cannot have revolutionary interests. It cannot represent the will of the masses because it is foreign to them. If it represented a necessity of the economy in society, its plans would not be different from those of the masses. It would have no fear of discussion, of free social life, of proletarian democracy. There are no independent trade unions in the Soviet Union. There is no trade union functioning. There is no political life nor political organisms that function. Elections only have an executive role. There is a vote and that is it. There is no political preparation, no discussion on the programme, no agitation no political or trade union life of the masses.

All the social activity of the masses is negated. If the bureaucracy did not defend special interests and if they were representative of the masses, they would conduct another policy. But it is an organ foreign to the masses which has expropriated them and has developed by usurping the power of the masses for historic reasons which we have analysed. We reiterate once more the necessity to read the "Revolution Betrayed" of Trotsky which is the most complete book as regards the analysis of the structure of the bureaucracy in the workers state.

The bureaucracy cannot have either thought, ideas or its own programme. Its programme, ideas and thought are not revolutionary and are a lot closer to capitalism than socialism, sometimes integrally capitalist. The cultural level of the bureaucracy is expressed in the spectacles of the can-can, the ballet, the film, theatre, the fashion parades, luxury clothes, the conception of relations which they have between themselves which have nothing to do with socialism, but are bourgeois relations. This does not arise from economic relations. The social behaviour, the social thought, the conception of life arise from their position in society. If it was a question of a socialist society, there would be no bourgeois conception. But in the USSR there does not exist socialist relations, conception, literature, theatre or ideas.

The superiority of the workers state and of socialism is expressed primarily from the social point of view and afterwards on the economic plane. Economically the workers state has already demonstrated its superiority through statified property, the planning of the economy, the monopoly of foreign trade. But this must be expressed socially, that is to say to give a complete freedom to the population. If there is no competition or antagonism within the population as must be the case in the developed workers state close to socialism, the same relations must be expressed in culture, art, music, the conception of life, the cinema, theatre, literature but in the USSR all is submitted to individual behaviour, individual interest to individual concerns.

of the market. The sector of finance and the war industry is represented in the United States but is extended transversally through all the great countries and hence Germany increases the rate of interest and also the dollar benefits because all the economy of speculation has as a centre American high finance.

We repeat the perspective which capitalism has is one of war. Gorbachev can swear repeatedly before Bush the abandonment of support to the world revolution which anyway does not convince imperialism as it needs the complete destruction of the USSR. The Soviet Union is going to influence immensely the masses of the world in the case of war. The masses of the world respect the workers state and follow with attention and sympathy the process of democratisation. Capitalism has tested this during previous wars and during the second world war, although there existed contradictions between Germany and Italy with the rest, they all worked in agreement against the USSR. Hence Hitler attacked the USSR knowing that the rest of capitalism was going to support him. The rest of capitalism preferred to run the risk of strengthening the nazis so long as these destroyed the Soviet Union. When the Soviet Union defeated the nazis, the revolution was extended throughout Europe and the nazis were defeated by the movements of liberation guided by the communists. It is for this reason that capitalism must smash the workers state and this is not possible save through counter

revolution and war. Even with the hypothetical case of a retreat to capitalism by the USSR, even in such a case the war is inevitable because capitalism could not accept the development of such an important competitor.

The end of the cold war and of the confrontation between the bureaucratic leadership and capitalism which they try to convince us about is false. Imperialism is not going to respect any agreement. The capitalist leadership cannot be convinced of working in opposition to what is its interest that is its position of control of the economy and society.

Capitalism and the USSR and the other workers states constitute two antagonistic regimes and the leaderships of Bush and Gorbachev are conscious of this situation, but they are fearful of it and seek to postpone definitions. Bush entered with maximum force into Iraq and a sector of imperialism had the same dreams as Hitler and hoped to arrive in triumph in Moscow. It had to wake up very suddenly. The soviet bureaucracy wishes to use the weakness of capitalism which is good but what is not good is the policy they follow. The objective is not incorrect but with the policy that they apply they also give a breathing space to capitalism. Yet the demonstrations against imperialist aggression in Iraq and the world support which Mandela receives show that there are great forces to place on the agenda the discussion of the liquidation of the capitalist system.

THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT

The European parliament is a mystification. Its a form of parliamentary reformism as in the epoch of Bernstein, Kautsky and Hilferding. It is going to express also as the EEC does the relationships of forces determined by capital. If capitalism sees that these European elections lead to an alliance of the social democrats with the communists which imperils them, they will break it up.

The European parliament will give advice. This can be done as well without it. On the other hand everything which will go in favour of big business will take the form of very form conclusions whether the European parliament wanted it or not. The masses see better than their leaders. In this parliament, there may be some "Euro-socialists", but they are more "Euro" than "socialist". And even if the left has the majority, who has the capital? If the communist parties were going to threaten the majority of the European parliament, the capitalists would cease to invest and would go elsewhere. Therefore they must be expropriated and forced out.

Socialist and communists say that this Parliament will permit the development of certain measures in the popular interest. But how to do this? Without state control, without planning? If capitalism lowers the

functionaries and the real communists will accelerate and confront Yeltsin and his mafia. The incapacity of the soviet bureaucracy shows the conditions are maturing for further confrontations with the bureaucracy and their eventual expulsion from the workers state. The economic deterioration in the Soviet Union is the final expression of the excrescence of the bureaucracy. With all the immense capacity of the workers state, its immense technological achievements all these people can do is wreck the state budget, further confusion in agriculture by increasing privatisation and substitute for planning the charging of world prices for everything, including internally within the Soviet Union. These people will do anything rather than rely on the masses. All this is the classic proof of what Posadas said of the bureaucracy. It has no place in history and is the expression of the most complete unintelligence. It is impossible to ignore the sardonic element in these events when the soviet bureaucrats and people like Lamont get together to discuss the soviet economy—those who are presiding over the wreck of capitalism conferring with those who are wrecking the soviet economy.

In Britain the bourgeoisie is preoccupied with a closer relationship with the rest of capitalist Europe. This cannot be avoided and the big monopolies are anxious to settle matters quickly. The labour party like the rest of the workers organisations present no alternative to the capitalist class. There are divisions in British capitalism largely because in the process the "special" character of Britain is going to disappear and some conservatives feel that this will weaken the social basis of their system. The British parliament will no longer count for much in the settlement of inter capitalist disputes and sectors of capitalism feel that they will be marginalised in face of the European monolith. The British masses have nothing to gain from what is simply a bigger capitalist market, but it is

no use defending the British parliament in itself, rather it is necessary to develop European socialist perspective, a federation of socialist states, not the Europe of the Monopolies, of NATO or the new "European" military command desired by the Franco German block. The Liberals and the Labour apparatus who support the European perspective uncritically simply conduct the debate in the terms established, that is what is best for capitalism. From that point of view further links with Europe are inevitable. In its final stages capitalism tries to transcend national frontiers. It cannot succeed but the inevitable tendency is towards the internationalisation of capital.

In face of a national and international situation bleaker and bleaker for capitalism, we can expect turns towards more authoritarian methods to contain more and more social discontent. In face of the housing crisis laws are passed aimed at squatters. More and more capitalist governments will seek to stimulate forms of racism as with the new proposed legislation over political asylum. The last ten years of capitalist government have been totally disastrous. The productive base of British industry has been sharply reduced and now unemployment is rising again. At the same time the present government plans to further smash the coal industry. Labour party policy is a mere modification of that of the conservatives. The consensus over Ireland exhibits this very clearly. Capitalism has no great interest in solving this issue because what is happening in Ireland is a practice for what can happen in mainland Britain. The cynicism of capitalism is shown in its sudden interest in "citizens charters"—having run down the public services, capitalism proceeds to talk about the right of the population to reliable services. But the best educational facilities only exist for the privileged. They are constructing a health service which will be submitted to market conditions

and thus the poorer sectors of the population will be deprived.

In other words the conditions are going to mature for severe social confrontations and a necessary reanimation of the left. Without firm and revolutionary leaderships, nonetheless the masses of Britain and the world have experienced and learnt a great deal and nothing progressive in history has stopped because the necessary leadership is not available. The conditions will bring forth a new generation of leaders and in the meantime the masses are showing and will show that world capitalism may have many weapons and much money but no intelligence, no capacity to intimidate and no future.

Imperialism has no option except to attempt to terrorise and find excuses to intervene and to keep the world masses in order. Now they have framed Libya over the Lockerbie explosion, just as they framed Iraq. They hope to use the present weakness of the soviet bureaucracy to gain some advantage. Even here however Bush is not very successful on the diplomatic scale. He proposed great cuts in weapons and then found that Gorbachev was proposing an end to nuclear tests.

The forces of the Labour and communist left are intervening in conditions in which capitalist society is becoming increasingly savage, but where its social weakness is more marked than in any other epoch. The programme of expropriating the main industries and banks under workers control, for a rejection of the Europe of the monopolies in favour of a Socialist Federation of Europe, for the statification of enterprises about to be closed, for price committees

to decide the price index and not the statisticians of capitalism, the end of NATO, will maintain its relevance as capitalism sinks into the swamp of barbarism and imbecility typical of all classes that have no creative function and can only lie and kill to maintain their control of society. 15.11.91.

price of goods, it is because it cannot sell them. If it increases the price of goods, it is because there is a demand for them. The conclusion which capitalism reaches at one time or another is not determined by the European parliament or by the communists but by the market. Therefore it is necessary to eliminate the whole market economy, whilst the socialists and communists are submitted to it. J. Posadas. 1.8.77. Extracts.

**FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST
STATES OF EUROPE!**