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Editorial

THE DECOMPOSITION OF CAPITALISM DEMANDS

- AN IMMEDIATE PROGRAMME OF PUBLIC WORKS TO OVERCOME THE PROBLEM OF THE UNEMPLOYED
- THE STATIFICATION OF THE MAIN INDUSTRIES AND BANKS UNDER WORKERS CONTROL
- THE UNITED FRONT OF THE LABOUR PARTY, THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE LEFT GROUPS

The decomposition which has continually characterised the Major government has been made particularly ludicrous with the fall out from the banal phrase "return to basics".

This began with the attempt of the conservative right to step up the pressure against the population via attacking single parents and other so called "scroungers". This attracted the ideologues in the capitalist camp who ignore the effects of the brutal capitalist attack on the standard of living and pronounce on morality in total isolation from social relations. But so weak is capitalism, so ineffectual its authority that back to basics has misfired and the capitalist government is seen to be undisputed champion of sleaze. All this debate in the capitalist class has of course no relevance to the workers and petit bourgeois masses except to promote mirth and confirm the crooked paths of capitalist self enrichment. The lurid corruption in the Westminster local government scandal is a splendid example of capitalist back to basics—mendacity

allied to chicanery raised to unusual exponential levels. Revelations over the Iraq arms deal have also done immense damage to the apparatus of capitalism showing its double dealing and cynicism. At the same time the decline in the state church and the continued crisis of the monarchy are further examples of the fall of the essential social fabric of

capitalism. Nothing of that can be recuperated. There is nothing to replace these institutions because what new mythology can capitalism devise? Its greed and lunacy cannot be moderated any more. It stands in all its glory, vicious, unintelligent and depraved.

THE CAPITALIST PERSPECTIVE IS LIES AND VIOLENCE.

The capitalist government continues to plunder the economy and reduce the previously acquired social gains of the population. They are making a great deal about the economic upswing and low inflation. But this is a very superficial "recovery" which may be beneficial to the richer members of society but does nothing for the unemployed, the homeless or the majority of the population. Real as opposed to massaged unemployment figures are said to be nearly four million. They talk about the importance of the wealth creators ie they mean the small number of the employers. But these do not create wealth, they simply expropriate in various ways the real creators of wealth which is the population. In fact capitalism has been shown to be effectively the destroyer of wealth and human beings which is why it has to be removed from the scene of history in the double quick time. What is happening is the continuation of all the problems of a decaying imperialist economy

geared to immediate financial gain with no perspective of the development of production whatsoever. This is nothing new. It was long ago outlined by Lenin in his famous text on imperialism. The system is totally at odds with the needs of society. It cannot be reformed because the needs of capitalism are determined by immediate profitability not the social needs or the progress of society. Capitalism does not invest with its vast accumulations of capital in the continents of Asia or Africa or Latin America or even in large areas of Europe. It is scared of any serious investment in Eastern Europe and this is because the world is a very insecure place for capitalism. Thus it lives by speculative movements of capital on a colossal scale seeking profits from currency manipulation but no deeper development of any one economy. Even economies built on cheap labour ie S. Korea etc will all run into these problems and belie the fantasy of high growth.

Britain has a long period of decay behind it and is especially decrepit. Arms sales and financial deregulation are its characteristics and any profitable industry is a survivor from the holocaust of other industries. The systematic destruction of the coal industry is typical of the "creative" achievement of capitalism—maximum destruction and minimum construction.

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The future of capitalism is very, very fragile. The economy tends to benefit from advantages at the expense of the poorer countries ie cheapness of oil and other commodities. Moreover even if the economy is relatively stable at this moment there is no guarantee of anything in the future through the severity of competition and the ebb and flow of financial speculation. As world capitalism plunges into ever more dangerous currents it has tried to boost the importance of the Gatt agreement. Dennis Skinner rightly said this is nothing but the dictatorship of the transnationals. It is part of the whirlwind process whereby a few layers within a very few wealthy nations cream the riches of the whole world and reduce the majority of that world to poverty. But that also confirms the marxist analysis that the social basis of this regime is very weak. Capitalist economic power may be very great but its obverse is social debility and decomposition and inability to cope with the workers states ie the CIS (former Soviet Union) and China.

BETTER CONDITIONS FOR AN OFFENSIVE OF THE UNITED LEFT FORCES IN BRITAIN.

This then is the structure of the world which conditions events here. This is why British capitalism is in a vice and why the Labour party is also caught in agonising contradictions. How is it possible to save capitalism when it is so busy in self destruct? Sectors of the left in the LP and the Trade unions are sensing that it is impossible to continue on the line of prostration in front of the system which has been the line of the Kinnock-Smith leadership. Taking tea in the House of Commons may be a rarified experience but the masses in Britain are not interested in such arcane

pleasures and the pressure for class action will increase. The left in the LP and the unions in the united front with the communist party and the left groups are going to be a formidable force in the near future. This is why also Sinn Fein must intervene as a force not just for Ireland but for a united front with all the forces in Britain and Ireland on a joint socialist programme. Socialism will not be built in Ireland alone. Concessions from British imperialism can certainly have immediate importance but to shift the weight of capitalist oppression in Southern Ireland, Northern Ireland and the rest of Britain requires a joint struggle.

The pressures on the LP and the Trade unions will be such that the advent of a Labour government under circumstances of immense social pressure could well force it to take more extended measures against the system than they actually intend and in any case capitalism is in a weaker and weaker state to contain and recuperate from the process.

The anti capitalist programme of statifying the economy under workers control, a system of public works to solve the problem of unemployment and the rejection of the monarchy and NATO will make much progress in the coming stages. 14. 1.94.

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It is necessary to return to the experience of the first seven years of the Soviet Union and to reassert the programme of the workers state—the planned economy on the basis of the fullest participation of the population in formulation and application of the plan, monopoly of foreign trade, soviets as the source of power and discussion, the party separated from administration, and the mass communist International.

THE FORMATION OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE AND THE REVOLUTIONARY WORLD PROCESS.

19 2 78

J. POSADAS.

The creation of a Palestinian state, even of a limited territory would present no problem if it was simply an issue of creating a small state from which a larger might emerge. The problem resides in the fact that they are prepared to cede to the Palestinians a small state which the latter cannot develop. It is the big bourgeoisie which will dominate, organise and then annul it.

The problem of Palestine is posed today in another way than in the past when the Jews and the Palestinians had the same right to exist and to live. Today all this is posed in the global context of the class struggle in which the Palestinians have to confront the Arabs and the Jews united on a reactionary basis against the progress of history. It is no longer the same thing as before.

The attitude of Syria is unstable. Assad has also been reactionary, as reactionary as Begin. It is not excluded that he does the same again. All act and tend to unify in front of the objective danger of being surpassed by the revolutionary struggle. Assad less than Sadat who has an atrocious position. But they all have some things in common, now as before. For this reason all these countries have relations between them such that they can have a row at eight o'clock at night and make it up at six o'clock in the morning. It is worthy of the Marx brothers.

The problem is no longer posed as before. The Palestinians count upon the bourgeois nationalist tendencies to the left in Saudi Arabia and in Kuwait. The creation of a small Palestinian state is not a way of resolving the problem. Such a state must at least dispose of the right to self determination of democratic rights and of the right to address the Jewish masses.

At the present moment, it is necessary to unite the Palestinians with the Jewish masses and with the Arab masses. It is necessary to appeal for this Union and to have the patience to wait, otherwise they are going to be suffocated.

In the Middle East it is rather like the same position as in the Balkans before 1940. In that period there were the same type of dispute. Capitalism encouraged disputes so that no country

We are republishing this text of Posadas on the problem of the Palestinian State because it remains entirely relevant to the situation now existent in the Middle East. Only with a policy and programme which links together the Israeli and the Arab population throughout the Middle East is it possible to transcend the narrow nationalism which impedes solutions. The Communist parties in these regions have an especial responsibility to intervene with programmes to advance from nationalism to the workers state.

could form that might dominate the rest. The historic difference with the Middle East is that the countries of the Balkans became workers states. What a change! Before no matter what progress as that in Ethiopia would have been rapidly smashed. But to day it is impossible.

We are for a Palestinian State. on the condition that at the same time there is an appeal to the masses of Israel, to the masses of the Arab world showing that a Palestinian state is totally unstable. There is no place for an historic development of a Palestinian State. It is necessary to pose the Palestinian problem at a more elevated and larger perspective. The Palestinians must confront the Arab reaction which is united to the Jewish reaction in Israel. In this situation the small movement of Arafat will be smashed and will not have a field of action. It would be a gross deception of the Palestinian masses to believe that this Palestinian state would be a solution.

It is necessary to discuss with the Palestinian comrades. It is not necessary to remain submitted waiting for a change, but to see what are the conditions so that a Palestinian State can survive. The latter can be a centre. In this case it must unite with the Arab countries such as Algeria, Syria or Libya but the condition is to allow the development of the struggle for progress without the state being suffocated. A new state has no sense if it is simply to compete with other capitalist states. To make a new state which did not have the objective of eliminating capitalism in the Middle East has no sense, no transcendence no possibility of surviving.

What can be the objective of the creation of this state? To construct a great country? For that it has to develop economically and compete with other countries. But there is no perspective for economic development. The creation of a country on the eve of the

collapse of the capitalist system cannot be posed as before. It has to take account of the historical conditions ie the proximity to the war. The conditions exist to unify and to develop only as workers states. The organisation as an independent state must serve this objective. It is necessary to create a current having the political capacity to organise for this objective. It is not a question of making a new nation. To do that has no historic sense and the economic and social conditions do not exist to develop such a nation, above all if one takes account of the fact that capitalism is in process of making preparations for world war.

The Palestinians most often speak of patriotic, local, religious, or territorial considerations. But the problems are not posed any longer today as in other stages of history. It is necessary to discuss with the Palestinian comrades so that the political leaderships avoid this discussion in posing "the country", "the destiny of the country". In what conditions are they going to make a nation? With what conclusion? In one sense the creation of a Palestinian State would have a favourable aspect because apparently it would render more difficult the intervention of the capitalist system. But on the other side all the Arab bourgeoisie seeks to create and reinforce a bourgeois Palestinian layer which will suffocate all the others. However none of these countries—whether Palestine, Jordan, Libya or Syria have the possibility or the need to develop as an independent entity.

What is the historical function of the "nation"? It is not necessary to stay with the Arab patriotic, political, or religious sentiment. Such is not the function of the nation. It is possible to pass through a stage of the Palestinian State but a leadership is necessary to

unify the country on an economic base which allows its development. Otherwise the population remains in poverty and in these conditions a small bourgeois nucleus dominates completely. It is necessary to discuss how to elevate the culture and the intervention of the masses and to see that the masses can have the opportunity to intervene and to develop currents and tendencies which are concerned with this problem.

What would be the objective of a Palestinian country? To satisfy a thousand or ten thousand Palestinians? or elevate the life of the Palestinian people? A country in itself is of no use if it does not stimulate progress in the conditions of life. It is necessary to consider what the Bolsheviks did. They unified peoples who spoke over thirty different languages in a single Soviet Union. Everyone can speak their own language but the soviet language is that which allows the communication and transmission of the need for progress.

It is necessary to deepen the understanding of these problems which are relatively new. In Kuwait for example there is a small population and a small ruling caste. They import everything and the rich have sumptuous cars with every luxury while the poor lack everything. All this is illogical.

We are not against a Palestinian State, but it is necessary to explain what it is supposed to be doing. If it is to make a great country that has no sense. Moreover capitalism would give the worst lands to the Palestinians. But a Palestinian State can be utilised in any case to develop a centre of unification of struggle of the Arab masses, of a search for unity with the Israeli masses against the capitalist system.

But the Palestinian State will not be able to do that without meeting resistance from the other Arab countries. Habache and Hawatmeh also speak with an enormous patriotic sentiment as if the single nation is going to solve all the problems. They won't get any country not even a desert. If they must install a country which depends on the contributions of the other Arab countries in order to survive, these latter will impose a government, a leadership a police which will serve simply as an intermediary for them and not for the Palestinian people.

The pro Zionist Arab bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot endure a liberation movement which advances towards social transformations. On the other hand no small country can propose to pass to develop through a stage of bourgeois development. It is necessary to pose the necessity of federations and of confederations. There exists an historic experience which is common to all the masses of the world; that of having seen that Vietnam has come out of its backward state in statifying and planning its economy.

**Out of NATO, Out with the monarchy!
For the Socialist Republic with the
Unification of Britain and Ireland.**

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objectives in which the struggle of the Palestinian masses has been confined; the winning of a homeland. This makes no distinction between the Palestinian bourgeoisie and the Palestinian worker or the unemployed. The phase which begins now under different conditions can lead to a more class orientation. This is the task which the Palestinian left, Arab and Israeli has to face.

THE PLO-ISRAEL AGREEMENT AND THE PERSPECTIVES OF THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN PEOPLE

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF
THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL, 25-9-93

The recent agreement signed in the USA two years after the negotiations had begun in Madrid surprised most people. It did not appear possible to achieve such results, even if only transitory, in a conflict in which the opposed factions did not yield in their positions. Israel will not abdicate its role as a gendarme of the Arab and Palestinian masses in the name of US imperialism and international big business. Nor will the Palestinian masses yield in their decision to struggle against Israeli military oppression. The territorial concessions and the political autonomy acquired by the Palestinians are limited, but what has importance in this agreement is the implicit recognition on the part of the Israeli assassins of the impossibility of crushing the resistance of the Palestinian people expressed in the heroic struggle of the Intifada.

The Palestinian and Israeli leaders who for some time carried forward a negotiation parallel to the struggle in process in the occupied territories have made an agreement which reflects, on the one hand the conditions of the class struggle on the international plane and on the other the contradictions of the leading groups under pressure from the mobilisation of their peoples. In particular the constant struggle of the Palestinian people through the Intifada, the strikes and all the forms of struggle with which they have opposed the Israeli invasion has moved and gained the solidarity of the masses of the whole world. Finally it overcame the devices by which the Israeli ruling class sought to protect its people from the influence of such a courageous and determined struggle. It is in this sense that the recent agreement can be considered as a victory of the Palestinian and of the entire Arab people. In the same way the people of Iraq has reconstructed a great deal in a short time after the assassin fury of American imperialism had inflicted such damage and has organised itself to limit the damage caused by the embargo which today the UN still maintains.

Imperialism expresses in events such as these all its contradictions and its uncertainty in the future. With the pseudo "elimination" of

the danger of the USSR, it has to concentrate all its energies in competition with the rest of capitalism as in the case of the invasion of Somalia seeking to reduce military expenditures in such a way as to be able to direct resources to improving the productive apparatus. It must intervene in Somalia because it has no other solution than war in dispute over markets and since it is not secure in the "elimination" of the danger of the USSR, at the same time it must limit the weight of expenditures such as Israel which is a great waste on resources to concentrate on other objectives.

Certainly it is a question of a transitory agreement which leaves many questions in the air but nonetheless it represents a real triumph. In so far as the PLO secures its recognition and a series of democratic conquests and the possibility of intervention by the Palestinian people in the administration of the regions of Jericho and Gaza, these conquests render possible more important stages of struggle in the future.

Those who criticise the leadership of Arafat on the agreement are also partly right in so far as the PLO has had to make important concessions, but important concessions have had to be made by Israel. The abandonment of the idea of the liquidation of the state of Israel has no importance because it is an issue which bears no relation to reality and to the existence of the Israeli people which has such importance for the future of the masses of the Middle East. The elimination of the Palestinian people was on the other hand the objective of the Israeli leadership even if not declared nor inserted in the constitution of Israel. The Intifada has defeated the reactionary plan of Israel which for years sought by all means and under the aegis of imperialism to smash and defeat the Palestinian resistance. To day Israel must sign an agreement which represents also this failure.

We must not fall into facile illusions about this agreement. Behind the signature of Rabin there is an atomic bomb. They are not in fact convinced of the fact that it would really be better to live in peace and harmony with the Palestinians. There is no psychological treatment which provides such spectacular results. A clique which invades and cultivates the land of

others, which robs water from the neighbouring peoples and smashes up the homes of the Palestinians, which kills, tortures and breaks the arms and legs of the young people of the Intifada and which works as a terrorist agency on the international plane cannot change from one day to the other. Thus it is an illusion on the part of some of the left who think "that they have understood". The Israeli have only understood that the Intifada cannot be defeated militarily and that it has shaken Israeli society. The demonstration of 150,000 in Tel Aviv has shown that the agreement between the Palestinian and Israeli masses is much greater than that which has been signed in Washington.

Behind the signature of Arafat on the other hand there lie all the contradictions of the Palestinian leadership, combined with all the strength which comes from the protest of the masses of the territories. The central leadership of the PLO especially the bourgeois Palestinian layers do not know how to provide continuity and solution to the revolt of the Palestinians since they have made much of this occasion, which is also the result of the relation of forces on the world level. There does not exist on the one hand the conditions to win greater gains for the state of Israel and on the other hand imperialism is not able in this phase to maintain Israel at the accustomed level of the super arsenal because there is a need to reduce expenditures and Israeli society is not ready to live only behind a military objective. The social development of Israel stimulated by the struggle of the Palestinian people needs to get rid of the role which has been imposed upon it.

It is thus that the government of Israel has found in the limits of the Palestinian leadership the associate with which to share the uncertainties of the future. But to do this they have accepted conditions which can escape their control. They have opened an opportunity for meeting, and discussion among the peoples and it is the task of the the Israeli, Arab and Palestinian left to profit from this agreement.

Now the areas of the agreement which they did not

wish and were not able to decide will come to the fore. If already the Palestinian bourgeoisie has found it difficult to win an autonomous national entity in competition with the others, it will be even more difficult to harmonise the interests of the region represented by Israel, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon and Gaza-Jericho within the capitalist perspective. The greater Israeli productive capacity supports itself on the appropriation of water to the detriment of Jordan and Syria, and on the exploitation of the manpower and market of the Palestinians. The poorer bourgeoisie like that of Palestine, Jordan and the Lebanon will remain outside development in the capitalist sense. The Syrian bourgeoisie on the other hand is opposed to the agreement because it is in competition with Israel in the exploitation of the lesser bourgeoisie.

For the Palestinian movement the recent agreement is an important event in so far as it will take the leadership in a more direct confrontation with the base making possible the selection and the changes in the leadership to overcome the limits of the programme of struggle for "the establishment of the Palestinian State". This renders necessary a leadership which unites the struggle of all the people of the region for the Federation of the countries of the Middle East so as to programme production and develop society, culture, art, in a global form with the democratic participation of the peoples of each nation and religion. Imperialism and the Rabin government through the agreement have sought to give recognition to the leadership of Arafat so that he and the Palestinian bourgeoisie can contain the will to struggle of the Palestinian people.

For the Palestinian left it is a question of an important challenge. It has to profit from the conditions of a greater possibility of democratic intervention to open a debate not only looking to secure more land for the Palestinians but for all the peoples of the region. The true conditions of peace cannot depend on those who have imposed war in the region, but on the populations who must divide the land and production to be able to develop all the energies and the cultural and intellectual potential of the

Middle East populations. It is a question of drawing on the greater experience and revolutionary practice of the Palestinian people and revolutionary movements to propose a discussion open to all on the proposals of the Federation of the Arab revolutionary countries, of Israel, of the Palestinians in the greatest autonomy and greatest unitary discipline. In Jericho and Gaza it is possible to make experiences in production however limited but there are no limits to the production of ideas. Rocks have been hurled to affirm ideas but now society is in motion, it is a question of orientating the course and objective of this movement.

The Posadist IV International celebrates together with the Palestinian people and the Israeli people the agreement which has been reached as an important step towards superior forms of communication and of debate between the peoples of the region which must assume in future a socialist character. World Capitalism would like to present itself as the protagonist of peace, but it is the centre which has promoted and stimulated all the wars in the world and the agreement which has appeared is the result of the struggle of the Palestinian masses. Rabin signs the agreement from under an accumulation of rocks.

The working class is represented beyond the economic and social conditions which have been retreating in the countries of the East and the former Soviet Union (CIS). It is represented by the level of consciousness acquired by humanity in this phase of history. The masses of the world and in particular the Palestinian masses have not been discouraged by the fates of these countries, by the failure of their bureaucratic cliques. They have maintained and developed their will to struggle and have shaken the enemy. Today Clinton to maintain some influence, international and internal must give an arm to Arafat who supported Saddam against the the US aggression in Iraq. It is in the very summit of the world relation of forces that the meaning of the conquests or concessions have to be evaluated and judged. Arafat has given many proofs of courage. His limits are political. These are the

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The vote for Zhirinovskiy but trying to develop a more decisive pose given the hopeless morass of the policies of Yeltsin. Amidst the phrases linked to Zhirinovskiy there is nevertheless in a very distorted and bizarre form the need to reassert the power of the workers state and to expand into the world. Proposals about reconstituting Yugoslavia and sending in soviet troops, boasts about superior soviet weapons plus hilarious insults at various capitalist powers - threatening them with immediate extinction, the Japanese and the British being particularly favoured in this respect - are a distant and perverse echo of a more serious agenda, the need to reconstitute the power of the former Soviet Union and to confront without equivocation the plans of imperialism for the counter revolutionary war against the workers states and the world masses which we refer to as the final encounter and others as the third world war. The soviet people have seen a series of capitulations which began, before Germany, with Afghanistan where the Red Army gave many lives to bring progress to that country and Gorbachev opened the way to its abandonment.

What we are seeing in these most recent elections is an accelerated decomposition of the bureaucracy which follows logically on the second coup of the charlatan Yeltsin. The new "parliament" opens and disorder follows immediately because there is no leadership which corresponds to the needs of the soviet people and the workers state. The communist party is closer to the soviet people but there is still no clarity on past experiences and the programme to sustain and develop the workers state. Nonetheless there will be an inevitable progress through the sheer weight of the resistance of the soviet masses to the disastrous policies of the pro capitalist layers of the bureaucracy. In these last elections only fifty percent of the electorate voted which shows a profound lack of confidence in the existing leaderships. This in itself is going to weigh so that the vanguard will seek better ways of communicating with the population and responding to the needs of the workers state. As for the constitution which Yeltsin has organised to give more presidential power and less power to the parliament, this will not mean a great deal because the workers state seeks centralisation and will impose itself with or without Yeltsin.

THE ABSENCE OF THE NECESSARY LEADERSHIP.

Zhirinovskiy fundamentally is the latest invention of a constantly weakening bureaucracy which seeks to adapt to some needs of the workers state without giving a coherent programme and policy. Such inventions can arise because there is a political void arising through the limited political life of the country, in the absence of soviets which discuss everything and a party which corresponds to the necessities of the workers state. The appearance of Zhirinovskiy has to be seen as a transitory phenomenon in which sectors of the old apparatus are at work

but trying to develop a more decisive pose given the hopeless morass of the policies of Yeltsin. Amidst the phrases linked to Zhirinovskiy there is nevertheless in a very distorted and bizarre form the need to reassert the power of the workers state and to expand into the world. Proposals about reconstituting Yugoslavia and sending in soviet troops, boasts about superior soviet weapons plus hilarious insults at various capitalist powers - threatening them with immediate extinction, the Japanese and the British being particularly favoured in this respect - are a distant and perverse echo of a more serious agenda, the need to reconstitute the power of the former Soviet Union and to confront without equivocation the plans of imperialism for the counter revolutionary war against the workers states and the world masses which we refer to as the final encounter and others as the third world war. The soviet people have seen a series of capitulations which began, before Germany, with Afghanistan where the Red Army gave many lives to bring progress to that country and Gorbachev opened the way to its abandonment.

The attempt by the pro Yeltsin factions to label this Zhirinovskiy tendency fascist is absurd. The days of a Vlassov cannot recur. In fact the people closer to fascism are the putrefying garbage around Yeltsin who supported the violence against the White House. The many political formations - there may be others on the way - which have appeared since what was called perestroika represent what Posadas called the stupidity of the bureaucracy and they have no future. Zhirinovskiy is attempting to reestablish a form of bureaucratic power but it will not work. He does not call for soviets nor any reassertion of a democratically planned workers state, but he is obliged to come out against the excesses of returning to capitalism and the need to take account of the welfare of the soviet population and Yeltsin who is a cork on the waves has been obliged to speak in similar terms.

The world bourgeoisie and the Yeltsin faction have often spoken of the "red brown" alliance ie an alliance of fascists with communists. This is pure fiction. The "nationalists" in general

correspond to many who wish to defend the workers state but because of the absence of political life and programme which corresponds to this workers state and the disaster of the Stalinist "marxism-leninism" have fallen back on nationalist positions. It is quite right for the communists to be flexible with the nationalist layers. What is missing is the programme which corresponds to the workers state and to the need to harmonise it with the world revolution as in the time of Lenin and Trotsky and the Third International which the Stalinists pulverised in the interests of the new ruling bureaucracy. It is difficult to know what the present Communist party says about the foreign policy of the workers state but there is no evidence that it is thinking of a return to the policy of Lenin and Trotsky that is the workers state as the vehicle for world revolution. The Zhirinovskiy phenomenon is posing the absence of an effective foreign policy corresponding to the needs of the workers state. The economic reforms have been a universal disaster and have shown that capitalist methods lead to a massive retreat on the great achievements of the Soviet Union. Prices in the sphere of consumption have been opened to market laws ie those with the cash can afford and those without cannot. As the former arbitrary pricing of the bureaucracy has disappeared the ruling bureaucratic caste is without fig leaf and now lacks all justification. Many aspects of the workers state have been damaged, centralised bureaucratic planning has been replaced by local bureaucratic initiatives and production has fallen continuing a previous tendency. According to some statistics with the extensive asset stripping of many concerns the private economy accounts for as much as forty percent of Soviet production. However the state sector has been maintained and, not all social benefits have been destroyed. Above all it is important to see that the workers state is not solely determined by economic considerations, but there is an immense weight of social relations which resist privatisation and which cannot be overcome. This renders capitalist enterprise unstable and fragile. The new pro capitalist faction cannot determine the external policy of the workers state which is inevitably in confrontation with imperialism

and this is going to resume in the next period.

THE HISTORIC ANTAGONISM.

As Posadas analysed, Capitalism and Workers State are antagonistic and Yeltsin cannot alter any of this. The so-called reformers have shot their bolt and more and more the social weight of the workers state is going to resume and determine matters. Fundamentally in spite of all the Gorbachev-Yeltsin process nothing fundamental has changed in the world apart from the continuing decomposition of both capitalism and the bureaucracy. The Russian army - basically the Red Army - in 1992 carried out extensive military manoeuvres in the perspective of nuclear war with the United States. Moreover their military doctrine has abandoned old formulations about not using nuclear arms first. This is a direct warning to imperialism to watch out. The former Soviet Union will never be caught again by surprise as it was in the terrible far off days of June 1941. The allegiance of the Army is to the workers state and the "Red Star" openly and bitterly criticised Yeltsin when he went along with US prohibition of some soviet military technology to India. The Red Army has a long history of resistances to bureaucratic convenience, not because it lacks bureaucratic military commanders but it has to defend the workers state however inconvenient that may be to other bureaucratic sectors. It has made it clear to Yeltsin, it has no desire to see NATO encroaching in Eastern Europe and after the Moscow



Lenin reviewing the Red Army. 1919.

uprising its pressure is going to increase. The army is not an instrument of Yeltsin's counter revolution and world imperialism knows this. There was a time when what was then the Red Army, even with Zhukov were naturally very wary of Stalin - the balance of forces was different at that stage - now the army despite what some may feel as humiliations resulting from the Gorbachev-Yeltsin fiasco are acquiring a new confidence and Yeltsin has not an iota of Stalin's power.

THE NEED TO RETURN TO THE FIRST SEVEN YEARS OF THE SOVIET WORKERS STATE.

What is required in the new communist groupings is a return to the Bolshevik conception of the party and the international programme of communism. The Bolshevik conception is alien to the organisation of ruling camarillas linked together by personal ties and preoccupation with personal power and who desire above all obedience. Political and cultural life cannot thrive in an atmosphere like this and the decomposition of Stalinism has opened the way for the fresh, vital winds of initiative as in the old Bolshevik party. Trotsky is very revealing on the attitudes of the Bolshevik party as opposed to the cult of obedience of the Stalinists in his book "The Revolution Betrayed". Democratic Centralism is very different from bureaucratic functionary centralism. Lenin gained his immense authority because he listened not just because he decided. Socialism is not constructed by the party standing above the masses but the party in collaboration with the population.

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Editorial

**THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO
 UNEMPLOYMENT OR THE SOCIAL
 NEEDS OF THE POPULATION
 WITHIN THE STRUCTURE OF
 CAPITALISM**

The debates over the policy of the capitalist government continue in parliament but the Labour party leadership continues on its accustomed role of verbal criticisms and seeking to maintain capitalism whatever the price to the population. Now it is posing a collaboration of state and private capital to invest in various projects. The fact that private capital will only invest if it has very excellent profit returns - which it can get elsewhere in a variety of swindles- is dismissed. For any such projects the population will have to pay capitalist profit. But the only way to solve the massive accumulation of social problems is the perspective of social transformations involving at the very least taking the control of the commanding heights of the economy out of the hands of the capitalist class in order to increase production.

Capitalism when it complains that it cannot afford all the resources for social advance is in its own terms quite right. Capitalist private property cannot deliver the goods. Its rates of economic growth are limited and constantly open to slump and downturn. That is why the conservatives and the labourites are discussing how to get blood out of a stone, a discussion between the walking dead.

The incapacity of the present system can be seen in the acute anxiety with which the "experts" watch the state of the stock exchanges. Slight changes in interest rates provoke all manner of disorder. This is not the mark of a social system with a future but of one living from day to day gasping for breath. In any case the whole system remains geared for war. It is basic marxism that no ruling class will give up without utilising maximum force ie war.

THE STRUGGLE OVER IRELAND.

The government has been obliged to enter into some form of negotiation over the war in Ireland much against its will. Clearly there is an impasse in the military struggle between the IRA and British imperialism. The IRA is hampered by the limitations of a purely military struggle but also because the Labour Party with its monopoly of political control in Britain supports British imperialism. On the other hand despite the intimidation of the army and its allies in the so called "protestant" fascist death squads, imperialism has been completely incapable of subduing the Irish Catholics. The document of imperialism and the southern Irish bourgeoisie does not offer any firm break with the Unionists who were imposed years ago by imperialism. But whatever the final outcome of action by Sinn Fein and the IRA, they will have to go beyond seeing Irish unification in separation from the class struggle throughout Britain and Ireland. The attitude of Clinton in allowing Adams into the US is part of his line of trying to modify some sharp conflicts in order to give imperialism more time to prepare for larger events in the future- as was the case of the accords with the Palestinians.

THE NATO THREATS TO THE SERBS.

As a result of the break up of the bureaucracy in Yugoslavia, imperialism has inserted itself there to establish bases for further interventions in Eastern Europe. All the cries about the terrible conditions of life in Sarajevo etc from the world bourgeoisie are total hypocrisy. Imperialist intervention worsened the troubles in the first place. The threat of NATO to attack the Serbs shows the

inevitable tendency within imperialism towards the final encounter with the workers states and the masses of the world. American imperialism in particular wishes to pressure NATO and at the same time to test the response of the former Soviet Union.

In face of the very serious attempts to intimidate the Serbs with threat of bombing, Russian troops were brought in and both Russian foreign ministry and the Russian army made it clear that bombing would lead as they put it to all out war. Imperialism has tried to conceal its ulterior motives for some time, speaking about the end of the cold war, that the USA was more concerned with nuclear proliferation and that there was only one super power anyway. But in reality the original confrontation continues. What is occurring is a nuanced "detente", a period of relative distancing between imperialism and the former Soviet Union, as has happened before. But the underlying tension between two different social systems continues and is constantly open to aggravation. In practice imperialism may have to reduce to some degree military budgets and rationalise its expenditures so as to cope with inter capitalist competition, but the clandestine preparations will continue for the final encounter. There is no escape from that. American imperialism in particular is trying to reassert its centralising power over the capitalist powers in NATO and is now bringing maximum pressure on Croats to "federate" with the Bosnians to create a base against the Serbs and former Soviet Union. And just to remind European capitalism of the time of day they raise interest rates. The attempts of various pseudo left forces to generate a campaign against the Serbs has failed absolutely. The British masses have no interest in rushing to

the aid of the Bosnian clique stimulated by the US and the recent meeting in London for action against the Serbs was an utter fiasco. When Major finally sends more troops to Serbia it is clearly under the pressure of Clinton. In the recent period the LP leadership has been more bellicose than that of the government on this issue so dedicated is it to appear more imperialist than the imperialists.

CAPITALISM IS TOTALLY MORIBUND.

The deterioration in capitalist society is without any containing force. The massive increase in taxes imposed by bouts of VAT, higher national insurance payments, reduction of allowances etc is sufficient to show that the basis for a thriving economy cannot exist within the realm of private property. Capitalism is reduced fundamentally to grand larceny to keep going. It has always been a system of exploitation but now it is one where parasitic and non creative forces predominate. What a splendid advertisement for their rotting system which announces huge profits for various banks followed immediately by plans for reducing the labour force. The selling of Rover to a German firm brings out the internationalisation of capital and how impotent and uninterested British capitalism is in developing a productive economy in Britain itself. Capitalism is only capable of plundering and mafia style expropriation. Apart from scandals such as those of various health authorities, there is the structured parasitism of quangoes and management consultancies. Billions of public money are spent without any accountability whatsoever, on a scale similar to the huge sums spent on

dealings in Italy between the mafia and the political manipulators. The state has an immense sphere of uncontrolled patronage. They now propose to get rid of a great deal of inconvenient safety regulation on the basis of ministerial fiat free of parliamentary control. These grasping exploiters then deliver sermons on morality and high standards in public life! Even the mafia tends to refrain from this type of humbug. Thus capitalism digs its grave. This is paralleled on the international plane by the upheaval in the financial markets dominated by speculative movements of capital not intended for productive investment, indeed a positive discouragement for any such ambitions. Capitalism is itself conscious that large sections of the population see it as totally corrupt but the system cannot right itself nor can it be corrected by parliamentary means.

The spate of scandals in this government has reached its peak in the resignation of the highest military commander. This has to be seen as part of the attempt of the right groupings in the conservative party to develop an alternative team in front of the steady weakening of the Major government and the struggle for the succession to Major. People like Portillo hope to impose or prepare for a more authoritarian regime already foreshadowed in attitudes to the homeless, crime and social welfare.

The labour party in all of this is clearly hoping as in the past to get into office having made long lists of the governments "mistakes" but without proposing a serious alternative policy.. They assume that attacks on clause four will win enough social

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THE PREPARATORY DISCUSSION FOR THE 28 CONGRESS OF THE FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

(Extracts from Lutte Communiste, paper of the French Section).

... The analysis which the FCP makes of the experience of the October Revolution and of the blocks on its progress is an essential element of the discussion. The October revolution triumphed. It did not overcome capitalism but it overthrew it with a party organised for this objective. The Soviet Union lived for the first seven years of its functioning, the most elevated experience of all the history of humanity with full and complete intervention of the political tendencies of the left (there was no conception of the single party), of the population with the soviets, of the dictatorship of the proletariat which meant the most complete form of democracy.

The arguments of the leadership of the FCP (Question 2 of the texts annexed to the Manifesto) are in bad faith and a revision of history which does not come from naivety. They show the considerable obstacles which the USSR of that epoch had to confront, but they make an amalgam of the period of the first seven years under Lenin with Stalinism which represented the degeneration of the principles of the ideas, of the programme and of the functioning of the party. Stalinism and its mode of stratification are seen as the product of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

In some phrases the leadership of the FCP rewrites history because history embarrasses them. The communist tradition exists effectively in France and has been constructed on the basis of marxism and the October Revolution, on the basis of principles which they seek to eliminate today with the objective of giving a "new look" to the party. If the bureaucratic Cuban leadership falls tomorrow in the same way as that of the Soviet union they will revise the history of the Cuban revolution.

The fall of the leaderships in Eastern Europe is not a failure of the October Revolution but of the principles perverted by Stalin which was the basis of the development of all the so-called socialist countries and the communist parties of the entire world including the FCP. These countries which we call workers states because they represent a transitory stage between capitalism and socialism were caricatures of socialism. The marxist programme and principles

which have generated these revolutions are not in question, but the role and the function of the incoming leaderships which used the power for their own interests. Today in these countries a great resistance to the return to capitalism is expressed because it represents for these populations a weight of oppression and repression greater still than that endured through the bureaucratic leaderships. Already in Poland and Lithuania the consciousness of this has been shown in the elections with the return of the communist party and in Russia the resistance to Yeltsin is extending. It is necessary that these realities are taken into account in the analysis of the world because they allow another vision of the communist future of humanity.

THE UNION OF THE LEFT AND THE PROGRAMME OF THE FCP.

The policy of unity with the Socialist party and the Common Programme which led to the victory of the left in the 1981 elections is also questioned by the leadership of the FCP. It "continues with reflections to draw the lessons from this experience". It appears important to us that the discussion in the congress deals with these conclusions which they have not done so up to now and which are largely the base of the differences between the leadership and the four ex-ministers of the first government of the left.

The Union of the Left was a very important factor of mobilisation. It allowed great struggles which corresponded to objective necessity. The mistake of the FCP was to have raised a policy of discussion at the level of the leaderships with an electoral objective. The communist and socialist militants and the trade unions were not able to participate in the discussion on the form and the tactic of this union nor on the Common programme.

This programme contained a series of nationalisations which in part were applied during the first period of the government of the left. Today the programme of the FCP reflects a different orientation. It speaks of maintaining private initiative and a private economic sector, of establishing a mixture in social predominance. This programme is to transcend capitalism".... But what difference then between this programme and what the social

democracy has applied for years?

They say that the solution to the crisis which our society lives will lie in democracy. But what democracy are they talking about? In the framework of the capitalist system, democracy is bourgeois and limits itself to provide a vote to the citizens in elections. It is not a real democracy in which all who participate in economic development decide the functioning of society. Socialist Democracy which makes a continuous intervention of all the population on all the problems can only exist in another system of society.

All the ideas developed in the project of the Manifesto in relation to the construction of a society for humanity and by humanity in which work loses all alienating notion, every form of exploitation with the right to work, to knowledge, to education to health, to a dignified life cannot co-exist concretely with maintaining a type of capitalist society based on maximum profit and competition. The capitalist system has to be eliminated and this cannot be achieved by practising a policy of compromise and taking the electoral road. The experience of the government of the left has shown the enormous difference that exists between government and power. The leadership of the French Communist Party abandoned its participation in this government because it did not wish to be dragged along by the socialist capitulation but also because it did not wish to advance further in the measures of social and economic transformation through fear of confrontation with capitalism. They go on to say

"To day there begins to appear in every type of society the idea nurtured by experience that capitalism is incapable of answering positively to the great questions of our epoch". This is a reality but not of today.

The Communist Manifesto of Marx and Engels published in 1848 posed in its epoch all the elements of understanding of the functioning of the capitalist system and of the bourgeoisie, of its incapacity to serve the interests of society, of the division of society into antagonistic classes and of the necessity to overthrow the system to construct a new society. The evolution of the economy the ever greater concentration of production, the great developments of science and technology, the constant

reduction of middle layers into the ranks of the proletariat, the questioning of social rights, all this does not put in question any of the principles established by Marx and Engels but on the contrary tends to demonstrate the validity of their method of interpreting the world.

FUNCTIONING AND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM.

Democracy within the party such as is proposed in the draft for the manifesto with the confrontation of all points of view, the plurality of opinions necessitates new practices. The discussion over democratic centralism and its elimination is a false discussion because it was never applied in the first place. What was applied was bureaucratic centralism where the leadership imposed its political positions which afterwards had to be applied by the militants. It was in this way that the FCP could modify its positions on many occasions without possibility of internal discussion within the party. It is thus that numerous militants could be expelled from the party in previous periods through differences over one position or another and that tendencies could be created recently through lack of internal democracy.

Democratic centralism on the contrary when it is effectively applied allows the party to discuss all problems, to be able to express different opinions, to compare ideas of everyone, but with a centralisation of the objectives of the party which is the basis of functioning. If the centralisation of all in the objectives of the party exists then the problem of tendencies does not arise.

But it is not sufficient to say or write that the old practices do not exist anymore so that there may occur a radical change in the party. The militants who for years have maintained "the hard line" of the party using contempt, condescension or exclusion in front of different opinions are not going to modify their attitude from one day to the next. Those they meet under the guise of tendencies are not going to do so either. On the other hand the old militants who have returned their cards in previous years and who have known and suffered from the functioning of the apparatus are not going to rush to work for the renovation of the party. This

functioning of democracy calls for new demands and practices which the militants still have to learn but also require the necessity for the deepening of the theoretical and political capacity of everyone to sustain every discussion, every polemic, to defend their ideas and convictions and to convince others. In the present situation of a structured centralisation with the abandoning of democratic centralism and the notion of the dominance of the members as defined in the recent manifesto and the new statutes of the party, the danger lies in the fact that there can exist opposed ideas, conclusions, and strategies on the same theme in different regions, cities and zones and the party is then placed in front of uncontrollable and difficult situations and breaks can ensue.

Every abandonment of marxist principles by the leadership of the FCP which constitute its theoretical and political base leads to a greater and greater impoverishment of the discussion, eliminates the points of reference to the party and accentuates the lack of political confidence in front of events. There lies the basis of the progressive erosion of the FCP and not in the arguments of the Manifesto. They say "The electoral erosion of the FCP which comes from the period of the Common programme and the progressive degradation of the image of the countries in the East has been stopped". This means for the leadership of the FCP that on the one hand the Common Programme was too revolutionary for the electorate and on the other denying the policy of Union and support of the October revolution are going to be two determining factors for an increase in the adherents to the party. The leadership of the FCP is mistaken. The future of humanity lies in the construction of a socialist society but this cannot be structured without conflict because the capitalist system will fight to the end and with all possible means to maintain its power. To construct this new society a party is necessary that is capable of giving to its militants the marxist understanding of the world and to draw the conclusions for the tasks to undertake the tactics to apply and the anti-capitalist programme to apply.

5 11 93.

THE NECESSITY FOR AN ANTI CAPITALIST PERSPECTIVE IN THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE IN ITALY — J. Posadas

There are no crises in the trade unions, but there are in the trade union leaderships which do not respond to the necessity of advance in the workers movement with an anti capitalist programme. This is the crisis shown in the confrontation between the base and the leadership which seeks to impose its control and so prevent this resistance expressing itself.

The trade union leaderships make no resolution, no plan which corresponds to the necessity of the crisis of world and Italian capitalism. In full crisis they propose to take measures to cleanse it somewhat which is absurd. They do not adopt or take positions that are logical but as though they want capitalism which is dying which has Caltagirone's (referring to a financial scandal of that period) to adopt a behaviour in accordance with the needs of the population. Capitalism is only logical in accordance with its own needs not that of the population. Italian capitalism consists of Caltagirone's and the North American military bases which are going to be installed. More than forty percent of the budget will be devoted to arms. That is to say that there will be more unemployment because the population pays all the costs through price increases, taxes etc.

The trade unions have to act on the basis of the nature of the capitalist system, but on the contrary they make a series of plans like demanding a series of wage increases which capitalism cannot afford. Then they seek to collaborate so that capitalism has the means and possibilities to make concessions. They give oxygen to a capitalism which is dying. This is what they are doing and they propose that the solution to all problems is accommodation to the necessity of the competition of Italian capitalism with the rest of the world capitalist powers. They make no dispute with the capitalist system and to day it is not possible to have any trade union perspective without confronting the capitalist system—otherwise the perspective is adaptation.

Italian capitalism needs to throw out more than ten to fifteen percent of the labour force at the present moment....

This is expressed in the way it organises production to accelerate the turnover and rhythm of production. If they produced a commodity with using ten workers now it has to be done by five. It lowers the price of production and increases profit which it then invests in war. But this in turn causes a reduction in national consumption. Thus when they propose an increase in production the question immediately arises for whom if consumption diminishes?

The crisis of capitalism does not arise through the lack of an increase in production but through

This is a much reduced article on the role of the Italian trade unions. Although events have moved on the problems of the trade union leaderships have not. There are differences between Italian and British trade unions but there are striking similarities. The crisis of these leaderships is even more profound than when this article was written. Apart from some sectors of left trade unions, the trade union leaderships are collaborationist. Their general concern is to maintain their privileged status and act as a social service department. At a recent TUC conference the leaderships invited a conservative minister to speak—and this in a period when the refusal to develop organised resistance to anti union legislation has been marked. Moreover there has been an immense lag in response to the growing importance of women in the labour force. Similarly nothing whatsoever has been done to organise the unemployed. They are ignored by the union leaderships just as the employers have no interest in them. Such a leadership is in as much a crisis as the social democracy of the LP. They share the capitalist illusion that the system is eternal and they will be its reliable servants.

the crisis of a system based on private profit. Capitalism is not in crisis because the workers produce little or do not go to work. Fiat does not sell more cars because there is no market and because the countries which incorporate themselves in the world market enter one which is no longer solely capitalist. That is to say that the perspective of the plan, of the programme of production and the development of capitalism meets obstacles, and is rejected and damaged by the advance of the revolution in the world. This is then expressed nationally in this crisis of the economy. In front of this what is the programme which it is necessary to make? One which secures the life of people not the life of the capitalist system. But in reality the trade unions do not make either a criticism or a programme critical of the capitalist system. To secure the decent living conditions for the population for example it is necessary to lower the hours of work not to thirty five hours but to thirty hours. If the factories say that they cannot put up with such a reduction it is necessary to pose that the workers cannot tolerate this form of life. Then if the boss won't accept then it is necessary to expropriate the plant and make it work.

It is a natural right that the increase of technology which is expressed in the increase and quality of production should be for the benefit of the population and lead to the reduction of the hours of work, and an increase in the time of rest which means to increase the quality and progress of life. The unions do not take this into account. They see only what this means for the owner. The reduction of the hours of work is a necessary event independent of the situation, it is a logical necessity. An increase in technological capacity corresponds to a reduction in hours otherwise it means that the technology is a concentration of the benefits of the progress of society, of human intelligence for the service only of the owner who uses it just for himself. This is completely irrational. The unions have the policy of respecting the owner. The

owner what does he have? the factory. But the workers have life. The owner loses the factory but the workers lose their livelihood and not just the livelihood of one but of thousands and thousands. The mentality of the trade union leaders is simply that they cannot conceive of a society where there is no individual boss, a property and someone who controls. It does not mean that they accept the capitalist system. For them there has to exist a system where there is always some one giving orders and they play the role of intermediaries.

It is necessary to see that the working class participates, intervenes proposing a programme of production, of wage benefits and of better conditions of work. In Italy they say that the cost of production is very high and that the responsibility is that of the workers. That is a great lie for a start because if they eliminated all the swindles, all the robberies the cost of production could be lowered by twenty percent. How come the workers are responsible? The workers have a standard of life which demonstrates frequently poverty and shortages like the people who live in the areas hit by earthquakes.

The problem is that the trade unions do not have a programme to deal with the crisis of capitalism and they want to solve the crisis by helping capitalism to find solutions on what to produce, how to produce and how to diminish the cost of production. In this way there is no solution. The solution which has to be the basis is statification. There is no other way of confronting this crisis. Capitalism is totally incapable.

For example Italy could produce thirty to forty million tons of steel and has to produce no more than twenty four in accordance with the E.C.M. It could get meat at half the price outside the E.C.M. in Argentina or Rumania and it cannot do so. That is because the E.C.M. is a mult national managed by the great consortia which orientate their policy according to the great investors, the great industries

who plan output to impede an excess of commodities that could lower the price and reduce the profit. The E.C.M. represents the multinationals.

In front of this what do the trade unions do? They want the local bourgeoisie to oppose this but continuing within the E.C.M. This is impossible. There is no solution within the terms of capitalist society. The countries who feel the recession like France, Britain and Germany do so at the cost of the fantastic state debt. In Germany for example the state has immense debts with the private sector. The capitalists who are the owners of the debts by this exercise an immense pressure on the state. In front of this crisis of capitalism the communists and the trade unions say it is necessary to improve the situation. They may improve but not transform it. The trade unions can increase production but then who buys? Lama, Carniti and Benvenuto are very desirous of reducing the cost of production by making the workers work more. Thus the trade union orientates itself to a process of criticisms and persecution over absenteeism instead of developing a campaign against the plunder of the state which are the real causes of the increase in the cost of production.

No trade union leader nor even the communists have an answer to these problems, to the social crisis of the capitalist system which is expressed economically. It is social because the problems affect people but there is no political leadership to effect such a response. If they made a plan of production for Italy they would need at least three more million workers to fulfill it.

...It is necessary to develop in the trade union the anti capitalist political life. This is going to influence all the small trade unions and the groups. One of the most complete forms of working for the future is to concentrate the trade unions but with the full right of tendency so that people can speak, explain and discuss and resolutions can be decided on the basis of the majority.

The trade unions speak of terminating with absenteeism. Some

workers go absent because they have another job, that is they do not earn enough from one job. But the immense majority do not go to work simply because of the general exhaustion from work. Thus it is not a question of absenteeism but from the conditions of work imposed by the owners. That is the crime. Against this it is necessary to launch a campaign against the worsening of the conditions of work not against those who are absent from work. Its nonsense that absenteeism determines a change in the cost of production. Its only necessary to consider the immense frauds like the Caltagirone scandal to see that absenteeism is not the real problem. It is necessary to ask how has the life of the workers improved when they are absent from work? The standard of living has not improved. On the contrary it has got worse. This has been shown conclusively in the treatment meted out to those who suffered from the earthquakes who have experienced complete indifference from the Italian capitalist state. In front of this the trade unions must discuss a programme of structural changes. They may win certain wage demands but at the cost of thousands of dismissals. It can then be argued that the winning of such demands are not gains. How can it be a conquest at the cost of unemployment? The dismissal of workers quite apart from being a blow at the standard of living of the population is a blow at the cohesion and the strength of the workers movement because thousands are excluded. This is one of the objectives which capitalism seeks in order to weaken the concentrated force of the proletariat. In front of this there are no partial solutions. It is necessary to struggle for wage demands but not at the cost of this.

It is necessary to develop trade union democratic rights, the right to liberty of tendency within the trade unions and to open a discussion on a programme of progress and of education of the masses on the basis of posing that capitalism cannot concede anymore. Any improvement or increase is taken back in other ways. They may increase wages but then they increase prices, taxes, prices of public services. In this situation it is logical that sectors in the trade unions and the professions, specialised technicians demand salaries higher than the average worker. The capitalist state is responsible for this and they plunder far more than the gains of these sectors. The problem is not that the workers ask for too much or

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that they go on strike, but that the capitalist state is led by people who rob and swindle.

The trade unions must take into account that there is no possibility of progress submitted to the policy of the capitalist state, of the bourgeoisie and of the CD which leads the state. There is no possibility of Italian capitalism conceding anymore. It is the weakest of the large capitalist powers. The trade unions must make a discussion over the development of the world, of the trade union struggles and of the incapacity of the competition of Italian capitalism.

Fiat bases its competitive capacity on the basis of the

exploitation of the workers and this determines the lowering of the standard of living of the population. Thus the trade unions must not dedicate themselves to the campaign against absenteeism or propose that the strikes are regulated but for example make a campaign proposing measures against the inertia of the state expressed in the attitude to the earthquake, to make movements for this. But the unions are not involved in this type of struggle.

The workers see that their trade union leaders are conciliators and that they have a series of privileges that the average worker does not have. They see that they do not discuss as a function of defending the life of the workers but like technicians not as workers leaders.

8.3.81

Out of NATO, Out with the monarchy! For the Socialist Republic with the Unification of Britain and Ireland.

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support from the prosperous layers of the petit bourgeoisie to gain office. For the future they are: underestimating the accumulation of failures of the system and the interaction of the process here and the process in Europe and the world. The classical social democratic remedies will not work any longer. The days when the social democrats and the stalinists between them could destroy one revolution after another and throw back social change for decades and decades as happened with the German revolution in 1918 or Germany in 1933 are not going to recur. Nor will the attempts of various communist parties to adapt to the social democratic formulas be any use. Whatever the difficulties for the population, capitalism is socially very weak and humanity is not going to wait for the ideal prepared leadership. New leaders will emerge in the heat of struggle. That is why also capitalism prepares for war. It has no way out. It is totally exhausted.

THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE.

The process in South Africa is of fundamental importance in this respect. In spite of massacres at the level of civil war and every type of intimidation, the masses of South Africa have imposed a demoralising retreat upon imperialism and the elections of themselves are an immense encouragement to the oppressed in all continents. In many respects the utmost savagery of the war in Angola waged by

Savimbi directly aided by the connivance of UNO is both an act of revenge and an effort to contain the results of the South African revolution by imperialism. The strength of the ANC and the SACP plus the reanimation of new forces in the former Soviet Union prepare future defeats for world capitalism, new forms of the objective anti imperialist and anti capitalist united front. The massacre of Palestinians in Hebron has also demonstrated that there can be no final settlement in the Middle East without the superseding of imperialism and the Israeli and Arab bourgeoisie.

Within the bureaucracy of the CIS, the former Soviet Union, there are efforts to reconcile its various factions, the release of Rutskoï being an example. But a genuine discussion within the communist sectors in particular is fundamental. The attempts to ignore the character of marxism and replace it with nationalist slogans or acceptance of forms of privatisation are not going to solve either the problems of the former Soviet Union or the world advance to socialism.

In order to progress there is still need for a much more rigorous discussion in the world workers parties and trade unions on the character of the world process and the need for a comprehensive programme of social transformations to liquidate the capitalist system. Similar discussions are particularly necessary in the labour and trade union left in Britain. 18.3 93.

ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLES IN FRANCE.

(Extracts of a report from the French section.)

The situation in France shows that the European masses are not prepared to shoulder the total crisis of the capitalist system. On January 16 there was a massive intervention of a million people for the defence of public education against the policy of privatisation. It was basically a rally of the United front against capitalist policies incorporating all layers of the population including the children.

On the 15 February there was another demonstration of about 15-20,000 people against racism. Socialists participated but the SP as an organisation did not, typical of their squalid deals with capitalism. The CGT and the CP were represented. There is an immense popular resistance to the persecution and arrest of foreign immigrants. Capitalism is desperately trying to develop a racist mentality but it will not work and there is no basis for a fascist movement. Capitalism is trying to find an equivalent to the persecution of the Jews in the second world war.

Incidents occur of the murder of young immigrants by the police - recently there being a notorious case in Rouen. The violence in Garges-les-Onesse following the death of a Chinese immigrant shows the growing malaise of French capitalism. The resistance of the fishermen to foreign imports which is ruining them led to massive confrontations with the police and there were seventy seven wounded. There have also been considerable interventions by the bank workers, telephone and airways personnel, nurses etc. There is now estimated to be about five million unemployed and no sign of their diminution.

The European situation is very rich. Although without a firm organising centre as the workers leaderships are all in profound crisis, this intervention of the French masses shows that capitalism is not able to get away with policies as in the past.

The process in Italy, the weakening of the CD in Germany where the PDS (former communists of East Germany) are advancing and the crises of the Gonzalez government in Spain all tend to weaken the hand of capitalism as the former Soviet Union recovers from the attempted counter revolution of Yeltsin.



Demonstrations for state education in France

ON PARTY FUNCTIONING. J. POSADAS. EXTRACTS.

These are short extracts from a larger text of Posadas on the Structure and Functioning of the International. This is intended not only to orientate the members of the IV International but above all the the world communist movement in order to recover the roots of marxism, the genuine functioning of the revolutionary party as opposed to the distortions of stalinism.

The party must live internally and receives the same pressures the same forces, the same objectives doubts and hesitations of all the population. To preserve itself from these doubts and hesitations, to prevent them penetrating the party, to reject them it must concentrate the will in seeking to dominate objective reality and guide it, to use scientific study of reality and theory. Without this theory it is impossible to learn or to grasp reality. It is possible to see immediate facts but not the

conclusions where the emphasis must be placed, where to organise and where to direct attention. Absence of theory imposes blind empirical action. Thus reality runs away like water. Only when one learns to swim, then the water does not dominate and is a point of support. Then swimming is not enough and it is necessary to know where to go. The problem of science is that of knowing where to go and in what way. The scientific instrument has the aim of preparing and organising the internal life which allows selection among all the pressures of society, all its forces all its doubts and hesitations, all the pressures and problems which exist, economy, war, revolution, concerns of militants or group of militants. The scientific instrument determines what is most important to organise the security, the consciousness, the capacity for action and to organise action itself. In

isolation no one can achieve a complete understanding or do all that is necessary. The party contains comrades more capable of understanding partial aspects or of applying partial aspects. The party unifies everything. In the party all are equal, there is no hierarchy, no privileged sectors. In the party there are militants. This militancy is unequal. The scarcity of human resources and the world division of labour we repeat has produced and will produce until the attainment of socialism in a number of human beings, more elevated than others, a greater scientific development, a greater political and theoretical capacity of orientation. How to profit from the ability of everyone is the role of the party in writing and orientating the political activity... In scientific functioning, the difference of functions does not mean privileges or exceptions.

THE LP AND TRADE UNION LEFT MUST DEVELOP A UNIFIED PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AGAINST THE CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT

The defeat of the conservatives in the local elections with the loss of hitherto firm electoral bases has showed yet again the weakness of the government and the demoralisation within the conservative electorate. Sectors of the conservative right seek to unload on Europe all the accumulating failures of British imperialism. It plays the xenophobic card, while at the same time proposing more intense attacks on the already impoverished living standards of the working population. Hence the row over the single currency. The xenophobes seek to maintain the "special" quality of Britain in consort with the USA. Such a policy has nothing to do with the interests of the British people but is designed to divert attention from the real issues—the responsibility of capitalism for the carnage to society and the economy. The Labour party pseudo "opposition" continues on the path of welcoming a capitalist Europe with no presentation of a serious anti capitalist programme. Britain is being ruled as is the case of Germany by a form of grand coalition. On the domestic front the LP presents a catalogue of the evils the government has perpetrated, but it never proposes anything that threatens the capitalist structure. Thus the poll over water nationalisation in Scotland was a massive rejection of capitalist policy but in terms of a campaigning intervention by the Labour party it is ignored—as was the mass struggles which overthrew the poll tax. All that is offered is claptrap about "more training" and using the welfare state to promote "financial independence". The latest slogan is the need for "full employment"—very good but how achieve that? by running

capitalism better than the capitalists?.

The death of Smith was an occasion to stress the united front of the conservative and labour parties. The politicians via lachrymose declarations re-dedicated themselves to serving the capitalist social order. In view of the devastating effects of capitalist policies on the population this type of unctuous religiosity is particularly repulsive. Smith was seen as a barrier to "leftism" in the LP and there is the fear that with his disappearance matters may be more difficult. This is especially so as there are signs of reanimation in the trade union struggles and the pressure for more left policies is bound to increase. Above all in the election of the new labour leader the functionaries of the social democracy want to limit discussion as much as possible. Democracy is for the self serving apparatchiks and their clientel. These people are among the last pupils of stalinism.

FAILURE OF IMPERIALISM TO OVERCOME THE SERBS.

The insistent and vicious campaign of capitalism against the people of Serbia and the support for the muslim Bosnian leadership has not worked. General Rose and fellow hirelings pretending that UNO was "neutral" proceeded to bomb the Serbs after the latter had defeated a Muslim offensive. But such are the contradictions in the capitalist camp with NATO and UNO in conflict that finally even Rose was obliged to criticise the miserable "Bosnian" leadership for its efforts to promote a wider war against the Serbs. It has been clear that this muslim leadership is quite capable

as over Gorazde of calling for the bombing of its own people. But there is no organised communist leadership in the former Yugoslavia or the CIS that can take advantage of this and prepare for the reconstitution of the Yugoslavian workers state. The mixed character of the Serb leadership means that the anti imperialist struggle is not given a socialist character. The fact that some so called left sectors in the LP are all for intervening against the Serbs is a revealing commentary on the superficiality of this "left" which has one foot firmly in the camp of imperialism. Out with all British and UNO troops from the former Yugoslavia! Imperialism would have gone much further in its interference but for the intervention of the former Soviet Union where the Russian army denounced the NATO air strikes and attacked the provocations of the Bosnian muslim leadership.

THE VICTORY OF THE ANC.

The elections in South Africa and the victory of the ANC are important social blows not only against Apartheid and capitalism in South Africa but against world capitalism. The latter did its very best to maintain the South African fascist dictatorship and although its representatives herald the new changes, they did everything to prevent what is occurring today. De Klerk changed because he had to. That is why the victory of the ANC is a complete achievement of the South African masses and the masses of the world. The immense desire of the South African blacks to vote is a very profound expression of their desire to take their destiny into their own hands free of the oppressors sustained by international capitalism for so long. This

triumph has come about not through parliamentary reforms but the extended revolutionary action and resistance of the black peoples which finally proved to be overwhelming. A new phase is now developing on the need to intervene against the capitalist economy to provide the masses with the most necessary means to advance, transport, education improved wages etc. There will now be disputes over the degree of state intervention in the economy and the forces of the SACP and the black proletariat will all be involved in this.

THE ITALIAN ELECTIONS.

The bourgeoisie have tried to interpret the Italian elections as a fresh start for the right. However the turn to privatisation of Berlusconi and the League plus the xenophobia of the National Alliance will not provide Italian capitalism with a great new epoch. Although the left was hampered by the conciliatory policies associated with the former Italian Communist party, nonetheless the PDS increased the share of its vote from 16.1 per cent to 20.4 percent and the Refondazione from 5.6 percent to six percent. The worst aspect of the election is that it has given the right a basis for attacking the masses when in practice Italian capitalism is exhausted and has no important perspective. But it is also a right which is severely fractured. The policies of Bossi do not coincide with those of the fascists. The forces of communism still require a complete anti capitalist programme and the split in the ranks of the communists will have to be overcome. Objectively there has to be a greater discussion to overcome the heritage of stalinism and Togliatti.

THE TRADE UNIONS MUST DEEPEN THE ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

The labour party leadership is prostrate in front of capitalism. But the trade unions can put forward a programme of socialist planning. It is necessary that they do so. Lowering interest rates is not going to transform the situation. The virtues of labourist stalinism have been assiduously cultivated ie shut up and worship the "market". This is what Kinnock means when he talks about "ethical socialism" ie plenty of pious turning of the eyes unto a holier place and no interest in social transformations. Brown has even spoken of "our principles" —but the only ones which can be detected are a thirst for office—not power—and the inbuilt desire on that basis to contain the pressure of the masses for change. However the apparatus does not determine history and the population will have the last word. At various conferences such as the Welsh TUC and the conference of the civil service union—NUCPS—public ownership ie the renationalisation of the public utilities and greater state intervention were reaffirmed. One of the major weaknesses is the lack of a common programme in the left which goes beyond piecemeal reformist demands. The left remains divided and fragmented without a marxist centre. Demands tend to remain at a minimum reformist level—with some nationalisations —submitted to electoralism. Capitalism is never going to give way peacefully. It is necessary to reiterate the planned economy with transitional demands so that all factories about to close must be taken over by

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Workers of the world, unite!



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

420 3 June 1994.

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THE MAY DAY MANIFESTO OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL. 1994

TO ALL THE WORKERS, REVOLUTIONARY AND WORKERS PARTIES

TO ALL THE SOCIALIST MOVEMENTS, ECOLOGISTS, PACIFISTS PROGRESSIVE RELIGIOUS SECTORS

TO ALL THE TRADE UNION AND POPULAR ORGANISATIONS.

TO ALL THE YOUTH, OLD PEOPLE AND WOMEN.

On this First of May, humanity celebrates the liberation of South Africa from the racist regime. This represents an impulse for the liberation of Central Africa from colonial and social oppression. Neither the disintegration of the Socialist system nor the tendency to impose the new capitalist order nor the massacres by the white South African right have stopped the struggle of the black and coloured peoples, of the progressive whites and of the South African communists for their liberation. The population voted massively, old people, people of the most isolated communities all in spite of bombs and threats.

Despite the oppression of the racist regime, the ANC and the SACP did not pose vengeance but electricity, houses, health and education for millions of the oppressed who until now have no rights. They do not renounce the objective of socialism, conscious that the base of racial oppression was and is the system of private property which is going to utilise all means (and it has shown this fully) to prevent the deepening of social transformations and that the communists and the ANC advance from government to power.

Also the attitude of the Palestinian masses who have not ceased mobilisation against the Israeli government is an example for all the masses of the world. The Israeli leadership has failed completely in its intention to smash them militarily and by terrorism to suffocate them in the isolation of the occupied territories. It has been obliged to negotiate and to make concessions. The Intifada has not been confined by the limitations of the peace agreements or the divisions between the leaderships and it has succeeded through its mobilisation in placing itself in contact with the

population of Israel. This no longer wants the continuation with the system of domination and occupation of Palestinian territory. Hence Israel has been obliged to negotiate including with Syria.

In Brasil the Workers Party shows itself decided to win the next elections in October and has the decision and the programme to govern the country for the benefit of the great popular masses excluded from capitalist society. It poses the end of "social apartheid" which is the repudiation of the capitalist model allowing in Brasil as in South Africa, the exclusion of millions of human beings from the right to live, the assassination of children and women, social and racial massacres.

Even without coordination, millions of workers and their allies throughout the world have maintained the struggle for the fundamental elements of the communist programme of this stage; the struggle against exploitation of man by man, the struggle for homes, for health, against racism, colonialism, war social injustices, oppression of minorities and the struggle against the destruction of the environment and nature encouraged by capitalist society.

The electoral process in Argentina with the victory of the left electoral front in Buenos Aires, in Uruguay and in Mexico with the probable electoral victory in 1994 of the democratic and left oppositions, form part of the recovery of the forces at a world level damaged by the dismantling of the system of the socialist countries.

THE EX SOCIALIST COUNTRIES (WORKERS STATES)

On this First of May, it is possible to make a balance of the catastrophic degradation generated by the partial reestablishment of capitalist relations in the workers states, of the looting, mafias and generalised corruption, the wholesale handing over of material and human resources to the capitalist market and the attempt to establish a new bourgeoisie. It is also possible to assess the reply of the masses which in spite of the massive betrayal of the leading bureaucrats at the level of the party and the state, are seeking forms of organisation of collective

replies to defend the gains of the workers state.

From Russia to the Ukraine, from Tajikstan to Uzbekistan, from Poland to Rumania and Albania there is a general tendency to contain the disasters of capitalist restoration. There are strikes and protests, elections in which the most nationalist and mafia responsible for disasters are defeated and even the sectors which maintain power have to change policy, answering to the structural force that seventy years of socialist experience has left in revolutionary tradition, in culture and social relations. In Moscow the trade unions and the communist organisations marched past for the First of May against Yeltsin and his policy and this is now a permanent protest.

It is only possible to measure fully such power indirectly. Thus the reaction have not succeeded in dismantling the soviet Black Sea fleet after months of negotiations because the sailors and officers are opposed. They have not been able to terminate with the Lenin Mausoleum (even though the existence of the mausoleum is open to question, the resistance to its closing expresses rejection of the reactionary regime). Above all there is the memory of people; thousands and thousands continue to visit the tomb and demonstrated on the anniversary of Lenins birth. The process can also be seen in the reassembling of economic links and agreements with Georgia, Lithuania, Ukraine among all the regions of the former USSR (showing the total failure of the separatist and nationalist perspective) and also with China, Cuba, and North Korea. In addition after having bombarded the parliament building and assassinated thousands and imprisoned members of the said parliament, Yeltsin loses the elections, remains in a minority and has to accept an amnesty to his enemies. There is a permanent dual power in Russia. Yeltsin after having supported NATO now has to block their intervention in ex Yugoslavia. There are a thousand other facts which show if not the total recuperation of the workers state that in any case the present camarrillas have no control of the situation.

Another significant fact is

that the process of privatisation experiences enormous difficulties— if rather less for speculative activities and the robbery and sale of state property. Structurally heavy industry and even agriculture, mining, communications, energy remains in general in the hands of the state. The dominant bureaucracy have no enthusiasm for dismissing workers even at the cost of maintaining production at great loss. Why? because they do not wish to confront the most concentrated and organised sections of the working class. They hoped that world capitalism would help them and it did not happen. Firstly because the world bourgeoisie is not in the conditions to do so or indeed help themselves, secondly because it has no confidence in investment with such a factor of risk and finally because it is not prepared to support the development of a new bourgeoisie which has every intention of competing in the world market (the Chinese are quite sufficient!). Hence everything which the world bourgeoisie does apart from some commercial dealings is to foment counter revolution.

While in the existing western workers parties there is a defensive attitude of not entering into the problems of the former socialist countries, capitalism promotes and finances in these countries a real "Black International", the diffusion of religious sects, mafias, phoney trade union contacts drugs, prostitution of women and children and all the criminal "culture" which the "advanced" societies generate in this stage. The reaction of the masses to all this influence increases day by day and this also has to be discussed on this First of May together with all those who demonstrate in all the ex socialist countries (or more correctly workers states). A fundamental task of the comrades of the ex USSR and the other workers states and of the revolutionaries throughout the world is to contribute to return to life soviet democracy, to organise the trade unions and the revolutionary party.

THE CRISIS WITHOUT SOLUTION OF CAPITALISM.

World capitalism having

transitorily defeated its historic enemy, the socialist system, has not been able to triumph; immediately all the contained contradictions, the new recession and the military and commercial confrontations have come to a head. Having destroyed and excluded two thirds of humanity from the great consumer markets with imperialist policy, world capitalism has met with a crisis of over production without precedent. It needs to maintain profit which is the essential part of its nature and has to attack the purchasing power of the very populations who live in the advanced countries; the problem of unemployment with the use of new technologies is irreversible thus closing the possibility of the expansion of consumption for these people.

Europe advances towards sixty million unemployed. Japan has no means to sustain its own commercial expansion. The United States is far from beginning a new cycle of production because it has not renewed its industrial base and all its "economic recovery" is based on the recent Nafta agreement and the advantages which agreements like Gatt secure for rich countries. "Free Trade" is an empty slogan in the phase of the absolute globalisation of the economy. As in no other historic epoch the world proletariat must unite to confront the imperialist policy of exploiting the differences of wages and of the standard of living of the exploited of the whole globe. This has been understood perfectly by the Indians of Chiapas in Mexico in appealing to the North American and Canadian working class and to reject the NAFTA agreement. This has been understood by the PT of Brasil which has called for the international conference of the workers organisations of the world on the world cost of labour to prevent capitalism exploiting the wage abyss between the exploited.

IMPERIALISM AND WAR.

The oligopolies, the groups of high fianace which control the world economy are more and more concentrated. The war is ever more intence between them. The strongest groups try to secure their own dominion, the French against

the Yanks in Africa(civil war in Ruanda and coups in Central Africa),the Germans against the French and the Yanks in the former Yugoslavia,the Germans against the Yanks in Turkey and in an infinity of conflicts which reach the level of global confrontations. "Capitalism is war" and nothing can change its nature. But behind every war there is revolution in gestation.This was the experience of the first and second world wars and hence capitalism contains, discusses, fights, approves attacks and afterwards does not make them or intervenes in a disastrous way as in Somalia.But it has not dissolved Nato nor any of the most important military apparatuses because it still prepares to make the war against communism,against the perspective of the retaking of the socialist and communist experience.

It is necessary to help the peoples who endure war as in Yugoslavia to identify and oppose those who cause it and promote the nationalist camarillas supported and financed by capitalist governments who try by whatever method to enlarge the area of influence of the oligopolies. There are no "tribal" or "ethnic" wars. These are all invented to cover imperialist interference and the interest of the local cliques. In Yugoslavia the basis for maintaining particular interests was regionalisation, "self management" which allowed the development of private and regional interests. But the socialist experience has allowed an undeniable cultural, social and economic development and has generated an integration among peoples which now capitalism wishes to conceal, suppress and above all eliminate by force.

IT IS NECESSARY TO APPEAL FOR THE UNIFICATION OF ALL THE PEOPLES, TO CONDEMN THE FORCED SEPARATIONS AND DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITIONS, TO OPPOSE EVERY MILITARY INTERVENTION OF NATO, OF THE EU, OF UNO AND THE YANKS WHATEVER TITLE THEY USE! ENOUGH OF THEIR WARS! OUT WITH THE MERCENARIES, THE ARMS TRAFFICERS THE MAFIAS WHO LIKE VULTURES BATTEN ON THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA AND USSR! OUT WITH TURKEY FROM KURDISTAN! OUT WITH ISREAL FROM ALL THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES! OUT WITH THE INDONESIA'S FROM EAST TIMOR!

Capitalism foments conflicts supporting itself on the disintegration of the socialist system or simply on local interests, but after it cannot control them to lead and use the situation in a stable manner. In Iraq they won the war but failed in the effort to establish their own

policy and now they dedicate themselves to shoot down their own planes as happened in Kurdistan. In Somalia they had to get out at enormous cost in lives and resources and all that they succeeded in doing was to unite against them all the armed movements and the population. In Yugoslavia they do not know how to extract themselves from a quicksand. In Afghanistan after years of sustaining the counter revolution as an anti soviet function, all that they have created is a permanent civil war. In all cases the population of these countries have to pay the cost as in Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Salvador through the interference of the counter revolution sustained by Yankee imperialism. Just as Cuba pays with the Yankee blockade.

We appeal to the pacifist movements to discuss on the meaning of the struggle for peace in the world.

All the Pacifist solidarity and will is only valid if it is accompanied by the denunciation of the role and responsibility of imperialism in these wars. The populations who are being helped have to see this. They have no confidence in the "neutrality" of the blue helmets because they see that they cover the other aspect of imperialist policy, of interference and support to one faction or another. Thus it is not possible to speak of solidarity in the abstract. The greatest solidarity is the struggle against the gangs in Europe which as in the case of Italy are suggesting the revision of frontiers with the former Yugoslavia. This has to be discussed in the tribunals for crimes against humanity and not only the rapes and massacres of the Serb, Croat or Muslim bands.

THE UNIFICATION OF EUROPE AND INTERNATIONALISM.

European capitalism is seeking through interference in these wars a solution to its catastrophic crisis. The European Union, the Treaty of Maastricht have resolved none of its problems. The measures applied until now are a "common programme" of the liquidation of social gains; reduction of pensions, reduction of wages, privatisation of public services, liquidation of gains in working conditions such as work security in favour of "flexibility" in working relations in order the better to exploit the work force. The result can be seen and is a social disaster comparable to conditions prior to the second world war. The military provocations serve also to divert the attention

of workers, stimulate xenophobia, "European" against the "Slavs" and according to convenience against the "Muslims".

We appeal to the trade union organisations, to the socialist and workers parties, to the communists, to all the organisations which are opposed to war in Europe to denounce the reason behind such a policy and to oppose the extension of the conflicts with any form of military intervention and not to accept the pious humanitarian propaganda with which the capitalist information services are bombarding the population. This is to create the "bad" and the "good" to justify new attacks and the repetition of the criminal alliance against Iraq.

The European workers already understand this, but it is necessary to encourage in a unified way this discussion and struggles. Even in the countries with socialist parties which try to promote the policy of big business, the proletariat and its allies do not restrain their struggles do not accept such a policy to the extent of defeating the government as has happened in France. Millions and millions of workers, young people, old people women and children have demonstrated against the plans to reduce wages for young people, privatisation of education and factories, against racism and discrimination against foreigners thus defeating the government of the right previously elected. This shows that elections in bourgeois democracy are not the real representation of the true character of society. and of the class struggle. In Belgium the greatest general strike has been organised since the end of the war against the plans of the government to apply the Maastricht Treaty, in spite of the submission of the socialist leadership in the government and the weakness of the trade union leaders. In Spain recently also there was a general strike of 24 hours of great unanimity against the same anti social measures and the socialist government preferred the risk of losing office to the right than to change its policy. But with all the crises and limitations of the socialist left, incapable of formulating a programme alternative to the capitalist model, the trade unions and the popular and trade union base maintain themselves on a war footing.

The dismantling of the Christian Democracy in Italy is an earthquake in the capitalist structure. The generalised corruption, the

alliances with the mafia emerged because in the narrow margins of the Maastricht agreement and of the intensification and crisis of competition with the other centres of capitalist power such a structure was no use. The proletariat which has made innumerable strikes and factory occupations has not been able to intervene in this crisis because it lacked a leadership disposed to represent it. The students having occupied for months the schools against privatisation were left abandoned to their fate and were made to support a part of the left to sustain the reactionary measures of Ciampi.

The electoral defeat of the left in the March elections in Italy was much more the product of the weakness of the ex communist leadership of the PDS and of the trade unions which for years have capitulated in front of the measures imposed by Maastricht. It is not an expression of the strength of the right which came together to form the government. The electorate of the left maintained the 32% of the votes, has various mayors and important regions under its control but in the new mayorality system it cannot weigh. Again it is the "crisis of leadership" which prevents advance. But the enormous demonstration on the celebration of the Liberation from Fascism on the 25 April was a response of the masses and of the communist vanguard, of the proletariat, of the youth to the government of the right and the demonstration which shows the will to fight is intact.

In Germany the great corruption and failure of the dreams for a Greater Germany have led to the crisis of decomposition of the CDU-CSU government. This is not only a crisis of production and the market but of the insuperable contradiction between the necessity to increase the exploitation of workers, extending the social damage of the dismantling of the former DDR to the former Federal republic and the resistance of the workers and large sectors of the population to this process. Also in East Germany the social struggles have been maintained and the proletariat of the former DDR has not let it be smashed by the defeat represented by the extinction of the Workers State, but reacts and introduces contradictions which neither the trade union bureaucrats nor the rigid system of co-management can contain. In Germany there is not only racism, there is an enormous popular reaction against the

imperialist role which they want to give Germany on the international plane. The result is that the Greens, the SPD and in all probability the DSP- the former CP of the DDR - advance electorally. The latter has great possibilities of extension into western Germany to overcome the five percent barrier. It already has 30% of the votes in the former DDR.

In Britain the government vacillates, stuck in crises of every type including sex scandals. The British government has failed in the economy, privatisations have brought the country to poverty, to the disintegration of social relations so that now they have decided to bring in laws against children normally only applied to adults in the "civilised" world. Such a regime only continues through the absence of an alternative from the labour party and the trade unions who reject the will to struggle of the working class, of the youth and the marginalised sectors who regularly clash with the police and pose that this a bankrupt regime.

HENCE THE DEVELOPMENT AND THE STRUGGLE FOR THE PROGRAMME WHICH CAN UNIFY EUROPE FROM THE SOCIAL POINT OF VIEW IS URGENT-FOR THE 35 HOUR WEEK WITH NO REDUCTION OF WAGES. SLIDING SCALE OF WAGES, DEFENCE OF PUBLIC PROPERTY AND OF PUBLIC SERVICES AT REASONABLE PRICES! DEFENCE OF ALL THE SOCIAL GAINS WHICH HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED BY THE SACRIFICE AND STRUGGLE OF GENERATIONS OF WORKERS AND THAT THE MEANS OF MODERN PRODUCTION, THE VAST INCREASE IN PRODUCTIVITY MUST BE USED TO EXTEND AND CONTINUE THEM.

It is not true that this is impossible. If the state is overcome with debts this is through the speculation, privileges and capitalist accumulation without hindrance through the action of the financial and industrial oligopolies. With planning, Europe can not only produce and maintain the standard of living of its own populations but participate actively in the development of Africa, Latin America, Asia at present being pillaged by the policy of imperialism. It is absurd to pose that Europe must "compete" with the other countries of the American and Asian block. There is no necessity to compete but to develop the production for human necessities. The production of "socially necessary goods" or "socially useful activities" as proposed by a series of political and social forces has this sense. But neither capitalism

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nor the "market" will do this. The state, governments under democratic control of the population and the mass organisations must do this. It is necessary to deprive the capitalists of the right of deciding what, how and where to produce. It is necessary to reduce to the minimum the production of cars and dedicate resources for hospitals, for the construction of houses, for public transport, for the development of Africa, Asia, Latin America. This is the market which is useful!

THE IMPORTANCE OF THE WORLD UNIFICATION OF THE STRUGGLES AND THE EXPERIENCE OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL.

The difficulty of the anti capitalist forces in Europe and in the world is the separation and isolation of struggles, of the discussions and of the programmes when capitalism now answers to extremely powerful international centres. A computer button can send an instruction to liquidate a whole economic centre or the economy of a country or on the contrary salute the triumph of a government of the right as was done by the Stock Exchange before the electoral results were known.

How can the workers movement impede such disastrous effects? The first thing which the Bolsheviks did when they took power in Russia was the organisation of the Communist International. Although at this moment there not the conditions to re propose this, it is absolutely indispensable and urgent and we propose again on the First of May to seek all possible means of political and trade union co-ordination of the world and European workers movement much more than the formal meetings and organisms which are apparatuses without control and relation with the base. It

is necessary to be based on the European General Strike of 1992 and to extend it for all the common issues which today threaten the gains of the workers in Europe. IT IS NECESSARY TO SUPPORT THE CONTINUATION AND EXTENSION OF THE FORUM OF SAO PAULO (THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MAJORITY OF THE LEFT IN LATIN AMERICA) TO APPLY THE PROPOSAL OF THE WORLD CONFERENCE OF THE WORKERS MOVEMENT ON THE VALUE OF LABOUR, TO ORGNISE SOLIDARITY WITH ALL COUNTRIES WHICH UNDERGO THE ATTACK OF IMPERIALIST INTERESTS AND WHOSE POPULATION SUFFERS EXTREME EXPLOITATION LIKE THE COUNTRIES OF AFRICA, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA. NO TO "SOCIAL DUMPING" AGAINST THE WORKERS. UNIFY WAGES AND SOCIAL GAINS ON THE BASE OF A BETTER STANDARD OF LIVING!

It is necessary to discuss for example the situation of the thousands of agricultural workers (including children) in the so-called third world who die through the excessive application of pesticides in the plantations of the multi nationales, producing fruit consumed by the rich countries as in the case of the banana

It is necessary to discuss this with the environmentalists who many times do not unite the problems of the environment to the problems of work, the mode of production and the objective of production. The problem is not the boycott of the consumption of banana, but to discuss how to see that the riches of this product return to the population who produce it and can create better conditions of life and of work, protecting at the same time the life of the European consumer, American or Japanese who is also a worker. In 1993 in Thailand a toy factory was burnt and dozens of workers, women and children died. They were working in the most indescribable

exploitation and insanitary conditions. These toys are bought by consumers of a "rich" country for a very few dollars for their own children as is the case with all products today which come from the east at incredibly low prices. The solution is not protectionism but the common struggle so that the value of work is recognised internationally and not as an arm of capitalism to reduce the conditions of life and work and destroy the social conquests with the argument of the "market price". To the triumph of the market" it is necessary to oppose the solidarity, the internationalisation of the social conquests and the world planning of the economy, of resources and the environment for the good of the whole of humanity. But this can only be done against the spirit of Gatt, against the policy of the IMF and of the world bank which only responds to the interests of the strongest sectors of imperialism.

World capitalism has practically unified the prices of industrial products. In Brasil, Peru, Thailand and India the majority of the products are valued by the dollar. The workers pay similar prices although their wages may be ten, twenty or fifty times less than the more developed countries. Thus it is necessary to pose the principle of "equal pay, equal work" not only in each country but at the international level.

This is the appeal which we make on this First of May which is a day of struggle for millions of workers in the world like the rural workers and truck drivers of the

THE REBELLION IN CHIAPAS.

The peasant rebellion in Chiapas in Mexico has a very great importance. It may well have been precipitated by the government as a justification to repress, judging by the brutal speed with which the army acted. But if that was the case the government had a very great shock and its whole regime has been called into question. In practice this rebellion of "those who have nothing" in the powerful indictment of capitalism made by the peasant guerrillas has to be seen in the context of what Posadas has called the "interrupted revolution" of Mexico.

The Mexican bourgeoisie do not have the "legitimacy" of longer established capitalisms in Europe or the USA. Its merciless exploitation and double dealing has never given it much authority. They have ruled via rigged elections and trade union gangsterism. In addition they have the problems facing all the lesser capitalist classes of the world, that they have problems competing with the technologically advanced capitalisms of Europe, Japan and the USA. This class lives under the shadow of Villa, Zapata and the anti imperialist heritage of Cardenas. The treaty recently signed with Clinton the NAFTA is part of the Gatt regime which allows the transnationals access to national markets without regulation. These TNC have doubled their foreign investments since 1987 and the pressure on Mexico is immense.

The perspective for the TNC's is to exploit cheap labour for industrial products, barge into every possible market and destroy agricultural protection. This has serious results for Mexico. Chiapas is a province which is particularly poor with high rates of malnutrition and half the population without running water, but the rebellion of the peasants there is determined by the systematic government attack on the small farmers and the famous ejidos-communal lands originally affirmed by the peasant revolution of Villa and Zapatos. A gangster war has been waged in Chiapas to drive the peasants from the land, a type of struggle well known in Brasil with government connivance. Nonetheless in face of this inferno the peasants found the strength to rebel and ultimately because they found support in Mexico and the rest of Central and Latin America.

The massive demonstrations in Mexico city showed the lack of social support for the government and the weakness of Mexican capitalism despite its show of military force. After the sudden assassination of Colosio the president elect, his replacement by another technocrat Zedillo supported by the USA was a reaffirmation by the right of the PRI of the policy of the government.

Mexican capitalism is shown to be in bad shape with a base of resistance forming to its draconian measures. It is necessary to develop a united front throughout Mexico incorporating the workers and peasant trade unions, the communist party, the party of Cardenas, the sectors of the left in the PRI to defeat the policies of the Yankee-Mexican bourgeois alliance which is a disaster for the Mexican people. The coming struggles are going to lay the basis for the future completion of the Mexican revolution.

United States which at this the world unification of the moment are in struggle, the masses to end wars, to end miners of Poland, the landless exploitation to develop the peasants of Brasil, the workers infinite resources of the of Indonesia, of Bolivia of all human genius for the benefit the world. These are formidable of humanity is the greatest class struggles, a will for necessity of this stage of revolutionary change which are history.

not co-ordinated, concentrated it is necessary to be based and led towards the on the partial but gigantic programmatic alternative to victories like the triumph of capitalism at the world level. the ANC and of the SACP to the USSR and the Socialist world level.

The loss of the centre which retake this struggle on a system represented to confront and overcome the crisis of world capitalism has made the organisation of this struggle more difficult, but

from page 1 the state under workers control, all the gains of productivity and automation to the workers, the liquidation of the monarchy and the House of Lords and out of NATO. It is necessary to have a programme which links domestic and foreign policy against capitalism and for a marxist current in the LP and the Unions which is based on the places of work not just on the electoral constituencies of the Labour party.

Posadist IV International.

1 May 1994.

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Editorial

**THE STRIKE OF THE
 SIGNALMEN
 HAS STIMULATED THE
 UNITED FRONT
 AGAINST CAPITALISM.**

The most important event on the British political scene has been the powerful intervention of the Signalmen who in spite of the anti trade union legislation, the united front of government and big business and previous class collaboration of the TUC went on strike and defied the exploiters, the capitalist system. It has been a remarkable performance only possible because this sector of the working class has felt a great ambience of support from the rest of the working class and its allies. It is an attempt apart from the justice of the wage demands to stimulate other activities of the class against the repression of the capitalist government and the acquiescence of the Labour party. The LP leadership dare not offer direct support such is the "democracy" they represent.

In spite of the efforts of the most right wing to contain an election over the labour party leader, some form of "contest" developed in however limited a form. Blair represents in his vacuous observations, the forces most remote from socialism and shows how far the Labour Party is a fixture of the capitalist structure in Britain. In one of many vague general pronouncements Blair actually referred to "socialist principles", what they are in his case nobody knows, but big business appreciates that type of meaningless ramble. Blair's "principles" amount to a recycled version of the solution of the social democracy that somewhere there is a system which is neither capitalist or socialist, a special third way. But the social democracy have played this tune many times and the result has been nil. The social democracy has never achieved anything save betrayal and ignominy, even Sweden their old paradise has gone down the tubes. Blair has coined

the latest in humbug ie the country needs a sense of "community" and the problem of "ownership" of property is not relevant. "Obligations" are as important as "rights". Big business can say amen to that because they have always believed that so long as they have the property there is absolutely no need to discuss it. Capitalism is preparing for the possible accession of Blair to government and so Murdoch puts in a appreciative word. There was some degree of tension in the leadership election as Prescott did focus on the unemployment issue and made some observation on the subject of taxing the rich which provokes bitter laments among the bourgeoisie. Becket lost out probably because she may be regarded as a bureaucrat prone to unreliability-she may play the feminist card on occasion- a little too "left" for the inquisitors of the apparatus. The election itself was ludicrous. The majority who could vote did not vote. The union vote showed an enormous abstention. Nor is it a vote of one man one vote- the votes of the Parliamentary MPS count for far more than the individual votes of the Unions. The working class and its allies have no time for Blair and other such "leaders" on the make.

The main contenders were obliged to talk about the need for full employment. But it is clear that within the functioning of the capitalist system such a demand cannot be secured on a permanent basis. At the same time that capitalism speaks about recovery there are constant announcements of further cuts in employment to allow "greater efficiency". For capitalism, particularly now, the famous "industrial reserve army" of Marx is indispensable for capitalism to hold down wages. Thus the slogan which

the LP has felt obliged to accept shows the pressure coming in from the base and the difficulty of containing the discussion. The issue of full employment cannot be isolated from the necessity of social transformations. Full employment must mean not a subsistence wage but a reasonable standard of living and if full employment is a right, so is the right for proper medical care, housing, transport, a full education a non polluted environment, in fact all the rights which the hoodlums of capitalism are endeavoring to destroy. The left are well placed to take advantage of this situation and push the arguments on the means of implementing them. There is most certainly an "enemy within" and its capitalism. It represents barbarism and has to be terminated on the basis of the programme of social transformations.

THE EURO ELECTIONS AND THE TOTAL CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

An enormous crisis is developing throughout the whole of Europe. The Euro Elections were a very faint echo of this situation-in many respects they could be called an utter farce. This was not because the left did not take advantage of the situation in various countries, but the utter cynicism of the bourgeois parties whose campaigns were very formal showed how distant the reality of conditions for the population is from the dictatorship of the multi nationals. In Britain only about thirty three percent of the population voted. In the circumstances of their confused condition the conservatives did quite well and the campaigns were feeble considering the depth of the problems. Parliamentary elections are always a distant reflection of the concerns of the population and this was particularly so here. Capitalism wants campaigns without serious discussion

because they have no answer to anything.

THE NAPLES SUMMIT AND THE MYSTIFICATION OVER THE GLOBAL ECONOMY.

Another fiasco was this conference on the world economy, taking place as the falling dollar benefits US trade. Capitalism presented no answers to all the gigantic problems of the indebtedness of the "under developed" countries, world poverty and more and more unemployment. This conference showed the utter historic incapacity of capitalism to do anything except prevent humanity advancing. It is the dictatorship of the dead over the living. Their spokesmen use words like the "market" or the "global economy" as though they represent impersonal forces against which there is no possible appeal. Their journalist sycophants speak as though people must get used to precarious employment, constantly changing jobs and insecurity as a way of life as though human destiny is irrevocably decided by the "rate of interest" or the "rate of inflation" or - the latest feat of interminable turpitude "performance related pay". All this is pure incantation. The term global market is itself used in a distorted way because the fact is that the majority of mankind is excluded from any market whatsoever and reduced to utter poverty. All these issues have to be more and more profoundly discussed in the world communist, socialist and nationalist movements. Marx predicted the historic tendency of capitalism towards greater and greater monopolies and at the same time the tendency towards absolute pauperisation of the population. The famous phrase of the "Communist Manifesto" "Workers of the World Unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains, you have the whole world to win" has never had such a complete echo as today. The brutal dictatorship

of the accumulation of capital is confronting more and more the immense human accumulation of forces which has no other way than to seek to obliterate world capitalism. The wave of capitalist privatisation has ended in the exacerbation of all the class struggle throughout the world. The arguments of capitalism are exhausted. It does not have the strength to develop a fascism as with Hitler, what it tries to do is through its economic despotism to smash humanity to its knees, to submit it to a form of slavery, but it will not work. Reforms have no future. The social democracy and the reactionary trade unions leaderships have led directly to this situation. In Britain it is they who opened the gates to Thatcherism and as such they are totally discredited however much they prat about. In the next stages, it is necessary to accelerate the left in the LP and the Trade unions in conjunction with the use of extra parliamentary campaigns and mobilisations. Elections do not reflect the reality of Britain. When for example in a period which has seen the growth of more and more repressive policies we have persistent demonstrations against the moronic road plans of the capitalist class, it is certain that there is a popular ambience very hostile to capitalism which the three parties of labour, conservatives and liberal wish at all costs to contain.

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THE SOCIAL DEMPOSITION OF CAPITALISM AND ITS LACK OF AUTHORITY.

One of the clearest signs of the decay of a social system is when it is perceived as being totally degenerate, when it loses minimum social authority. Ashdown the leader of the Liberals has been obliged to admit that the population sees politicians as irrevocably corrupt, being

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THE FUNCTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS IN THE ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLE

EXTRACTS.

J. POSADAS

Capitalism in order to survive has to compete more savagely than ever which means liquidating employment and reducing living standards internationally. It has no other choice and this is as Marx predicted not just a phase but a permanent condition. Trade unions have to elevate their role and combat not merely particular conditions but campaign for an alternative socialist society.

The development of the class struggle decides the function of the trade union. Historically the trade unions were considered to be the representatives of the interests of the working class in factory struggles. As such they were contained within these limits.

The trade unions have been instruments of struggle within the capitalist system in the whole previous stage of the class struggle and sought to raise the living conditions of the workers, but this was in the days when the capitalist system was developing.

In this stage of the total world crisis of the capitalist system, the function and field of action of the trade unions has been extended beyond the normal bread and butter demands. Now they have to make an intervention at a social and political level. This intervention does not substitute for the party but if the trade union does not begin to play a role in the anti capitalist social struggles, for the defeat of the capitalist system, if it does not elevate itself beyond the simple trade union, factory or economic demands then the trade union dies.

The role of the trade unions is determined by the development of the crisis of the capitalist system and one of the essential factors in the crisis of the capitalist system is the existence of the workers states.

Competition within the capitalist system sharpens all their internal differences but it does not alter the regime of private property. On the other hand the capitalist system has a relationship with the workers states that is both competitive and antagonistic.....

Capitalism can no longer give either wage increases, better working conditions or a better quality of food without at the same time adopting methods and introducing conditions which immediately erase wage increases or the improvement in conditions of work. It produces a constant deterioration and contamination in the quality of food for example.

The deterioration of the capitalist system is an irreversible and unavoidable process..... The law of supply and demand and world wide capitalist competition is the law which determines that production has to be based on the minimum necessary time. This is the law of capitalism and the one which is the most rapidly applied in this stage. This law and the preparation of the war characterise and spell the death of the capitalist system.

This is not the question of a given stage but of a permanent condition. It is not one crisis which is going towards some sort of regeneration of the system.... The crisis can be expressed in various ways. For instance North American, French, German and Japanese capitalists are the most powerful in the world. They all manufacture cars and this is one of the bases of capitalist industry and constantly the process of production is automated and computerised to reduce the time spent on each individual car. This means that for the capitalist the top priority is to reduce the labour force, to sack workers. At the same time as the means to reduce the

work force are increased the environment is polluted, the work is intensified, the air is contaminated with toxic gases and noise increases. In other words Capitalism increases production and its competitive capacity at the cost of the workers life. At the same time the recession and crisis of the system constantly increases.

Capitalism can no longer offer wage increases and higher salaries without immediately increasing prices or lowering the quality of production, augmenting pollution and preparing for war... The top representatives of German industry declare that shortly German capitalism will be able to do without forty percent of its present manpower. The level of competition between the capitalists of France, Britain and Germany forces them to increase unemployment. But the antagonism between them all and between them and the workers states compound all the problems.

This situation forces capitalism to increase the rhythm of production. Of forty workers, it throws out twenty and those in work experience greater intensity in production... as they do this capitalism finds greater scope for taking decisions in the highest spheres of the system and they eliminate at the same time all that they used to call the base for their democracy..

Capitalism tries to make it believed in the Trade unions that competition on the world market prevents it from raising wages and the trade union leadership listens to these arguments and accept

them, saying there can be no increases because otherwise the firm "will go bust" and people will be left with no work.

The TU leaderships use these arguments throughout the capitalist countries. But it is a false argument. Why should the workers suffer the consequences of a firm which is no good and cannot provide more wages? If it is incapable then it must be expropriated and in this process a plan of production should be proposed. In planning production the power of private property is eliminated. China for example was a country more backward than Zimbabwe and now it is capable of making atomic weapons which can reach not only the (ex) Soviet Union but the United States.

The trade union movement must intervene to confront all problems, economic, social and political. This is so even considering that the union is not a party. There is no strict separation between trade union and party, there is no such separation leading to antagonistic functions between the two. The function of both is determined by the course of the capitalist system itself and by what the workers states do also. The conditions of crisis in the capitalist system lead to the situation that the unions can no longer just fight the boss or the enterprise, or imperialism for better conditions of work, improvements in pay etc. This is because imperialism can no longer provide these. It is then necessary to unite the struggles for immediate demands with that for the

expropriation of capitalism and the planning of production.

Let us take a simple example: the trade union leaders of Italy, France, or of Spain are telling the workers that the capitalists cannot satisfy their demands and thus they must make no demands or reduce them. This is quite incorrect. Why should the population have to pay for the incapacity of capitalism? The enterprises have to be expropriated and a plan of production has to be made. The trade union itself must do this but no trade union has such a programme in mind at the present moment. The trade union leaderships maintain the respect for private property and the so called organisational capacity of the boss. If capitalism is undoubtedly a very good organiser of private property, it is clear that it is not concerned for the satisfaction of the needs of the population.

This is the problem. There are raw materials, there is no shortage of technical capacity and the organisation of production exists. But what then is the problem? That the capitalist is incapable and leaves people without the means for a decent life. Thus the trade unions have to intervene on this without waiting for the Communist party to do so or the Socialist party or the United Front of all of them to go to power. The workers must discuss this in the factories and discuss about work conditions, wages, and the need to end the types of production which poison people. They must all intervene.

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only concerned with emoluments and careerism. These parliamentary windbags who have the impudence to award themselves salary increases denied to signalmen express the cynical nature of the social system. The majority of MPs have no authority and are derided as experts in backhanders. Such is the decay of capitalist authority, the "mother of parliaments is now a commercial thoroughfare for a quick profit. Everything is up for grabs. The corrupt character of privatisation, the fixing of the market against the coal industry, the massive profits in water privatisation and electricity and the

profligate use of taxes to promote the quangoes show that British capitalism is reduced to a legitimised mafia. All the characteristics that Lenin analysed in his Imperialism are here magnified in a dialectical leap—total parasitism and the destruction of productive industry. The right wing of capitalism is of course interested to use criticisms of parliamentary corruption for its own projects to prepare the way for authoritarianism and new forms of repression—but they have a problem because the system as a whole is weak and messing itself. There must be no

respect for the so called laws of the Market. We begin with the social needs of the population and the economy serves this not the other way about, where the needs of the multinationals dictate what humanity is allocated. One of the great contributions of the Greeks to human culture was their central preoccupation with the human being. Capitalist barbarism has reversed all that. For big business human beings are the least important. For it the only important thing is the liquidation of human beings either through war or the reduction of the labour force. Only Capital is central

for them in ever greater concentration.

THE INEVITABILITY OF THE PROGRESS OF THE LEFT.

It is indeed not inevitable that the Labour party will win the next election. A powerful impulse to its victory would be the increasing activity of the left in the LP, the Trade unions and outside these organisations. The leadership of people like Blair is primarily designed to assure capitalism that there is no danger from the left and that provided there is a sufficient quality of prayer to the Almighty capitalism need have no fears. However although the LP and TU apparatus have had

their way for some time particularly in the period of Kinnoch, their future is not quite so rosy as hitherto. In this stage so soon as they admit that the system needs "modifications" it opens up a debate which will be very difficult to control.

In this respect the observation by Benn that the Labour party has never been socialist has some importance because it strips away a mythology about this party. It certainly does not diminish the importance of the forces of the left in the Unions and

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FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT TRADE UNIONS AND PARTIES TO APPLY THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

Since the elections of 1989 European capitalism proposed to demonstrate its superiority over the socialist camp which was in complete crisis and disarray. But instead all that has happened is the increase in unemployment, the deterioration in the conditions of life of the majority of the population of Europe and their exclusion from all social and economic life, a process of destroying more and more layers of the population. Inter capitalist contradictions have augmented and there has been the direct military intervention in Yugoslavia. The Treaty of Maastricht has legalised this level of competition and the primacy of German and French capitalism over the rest of Europe throws any conception of a "social Europe" down the tubes.

With this Treaty of Maastricht, the European Parliament has still less powers than before in relation to the organs of the European governments and the European Commission. Parliamentary democracy is more and more reduced in every country and still more the European Commission.

The left parties which intervene in these elections must show that the masses can obtain very little through this parliament. The latter has been created to divert the popular and worker struggles and create the illusion that the left parties are able to make changes in favour of the masses in these parliaments.

The masses in general do not feel represented in the capitalist apparatuses of each country and still less in a European parliament which they see as inaccessible and far away and quite incapable of giving an answer to the most pressing problems—work, housing, education, health and culture.

Parliament is also an instrument to contain and control inter capitalist competition. Before it was Great Britain, now it is France and Germany which decide monetary, industrial and agricultural policy in Europe and which submit the weakest countries to their will and necessities—within the limits permitted through the competition of the United States which intervenes constantly in Europe as for example now with the new raising of the rate of interest. All Europe is involved with the war in Yugoslavia. This war shows that capitalism cannot disarm, that it sees by war and with war and is preparing new crusades in the name of the European

Union and of peace against what remains of the Workers States in Europe and in the ex colonies (with the horrific example of Rwanda for example).

FOR AN ANTI CAPITALIST PROGRAMME TO WIN A SOCIAL EUROPE.

It is necessary to intervene in the European Parliament to denounce this function and also to defend a programme to win the "Social Europe" which can only be achieved by anti capitalist measures. It is not possible to argue that a "social charter" is missing from the Maastricht Treaty. The latter is antagonistic with every social progress of the European populations. It is necessary to sustain a programme of socialist transformations of Europe.

—Defence and unification of all the public enterprises and public services under popular control

—Expropriation of key industries of production, energy distribution and the means of communication, of the banks and their unification under the control of trade unions and the workers councils

—Common European Planning of the Economy to respond to the needs of the population of Europe and to participate in the development of the rest of the world.

—A fundamental problem which concerns all the European masses is unemployment. It is necessary to show that capitalism has no longer the historic capacity to solve it. It can be calculated that the next privatisations in the European Community are going to add a million unemployed to the twenty five million which exist already.

—When the Soviet Union existed and the system of workers states, the bourgeoisie was obliged to guarantee a certain level of employment and of social security, not in a humanitarian sense but from fear that the masses would be attracted and won by the perspective of socialism. Now following the crisis and the transitory disorder of the socialist countries, capitalism has a greater margin of manoeuvre to force back the social gains of the masses won in a previous period. On the other hand it also has to do so because of the intensification of world competition, of technological advance and world capitalist concentration.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE PROLETARIAT IN FRONT OF THE BOURGEOISE IN EUROPE.

However the European bourgeoisie takes part in these elections in the total crisis of its own ranks. The governments of the different countries have met with a great resistance in front of the measures to make the masses pay for the application of Maastricht. They have met general strikes as in Belgium. There the masses made the most important front since the war of the three trade union centres, of the private and public sectors. As a result the De Haene government was not able to win all its objectives.

In Germany the proletariat of the East and West defend a series of demands to equalise conditions of work between the two Germanys and refuse to pay the price of the liquidation of the DDR. They continue the fight for the thirty five hour week. The electoral victory of the SPD in Brandenburg and Lower Saxony is an anticipation of what could be the next legislative elections.

In France after the electoral victory of the right, the government of Balladur tried to lead the policy of the bourgeoisie and threw itself into a campaign of privatisations of factories nationalised by the socialist government. The French masses have answered with a great social mobilisation, millions of people threw themselves into the streets to defend the public enterprise ie Aero Space, Air France, Elf Aquitaine etc to defend the right to work, the right to a decent wage for the youth, the public school and have made the government retreat.

In Spain great mobilisations have taken place such as the general strike in January to defend trade union rights, social security and the right to work.

In Italy the bourgeoisie has created a masquerade of political power with the Forza Italia and the government of Berlusconi. That does not compensate for the fall of the Christian democracy which was its essential political support sustained by corruption and political clientelism. This corruption expressed the profound loss of confidence and the political decomposition of capitalism. These struggles of the Italian masses have not concluded in taking power but they have enabled the left to take power in almost all the big cities and to maintain 43% of the votes in the legislature. The manner of

EXTRACTS FROM THE APPEAL OF THE INTERNATIONAL IN THE EUROPEAN ELECTIONS

voting gave a false majority to Forza Italia.

The experiences of France and Italy show moreover that the bourgeoisie is unable to develop fascism although it needs it. It has not been able to organise an important fascist social base. That does not hinder it from taking more and more reactionary and anti democratic measures throughout Europe. There is no possibility of reanimating capitalism, of elevating the standard of living or the consumption of the population nor of giving work to the unemployed.

On the contrary, besides these measures of social regression European capitalism is oriented towards war, increases the production and sale of arms and its direct military intervention as in Yugoslavia. It is necessary to demand the immediate withdrawal of all the European troops and the end of sending arms to the former Yugoslavia, to support the reconstruction of the Federal Republic Yugoslavia, to reject the formation of the European army.

THE NECESSITY FOR THE EUROPEAN UNITED FRONT OF THE LEFT PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS.

The parties of the left with the trade unions must intervene in this process to defend integrally all the social gains and their European harmonisation at the most elevated level, for the thirty five to thirty two hour week without loss of pay, the total defence of public services and enterprises, the negation of the public debt of all the states and the expropriation of the banks and main modes of production to be able to begin the economic planning for the benefit of the European masses and of all the world population. It is necessary to extend the alliance of the left beyond the twelve countries of the Community and in particular towards the countries of Eastern Europe and Russia, in order to integrate them in this common planning for the benefit of all.

The Alliance of the left parties and of the trade unions must assume the defence of production and of small agricultural production, their organisation in co-operatives and a common planning of agriculture to produce healthy food, to eliminate waste, overproduction, swindling in food stuffs which is the activity of the multi nationals. The same must be

done for the protection of the environment.

We appeal for the realisation of the United Front for the European elections and under a permanent form in all social and political activities. It is necessary to extend to all sectors what the lorry driver did in their European general strike, that is a day in defence of the public service. It is necessary to do the same thing immediately for the 35-32 hours week, to reestablish the sliding scale of wages, to hinder privatisation, to programme in common all the European public services, communications, transport, production and energy distribution.

We appeal for a vote for the communist and socialist parties and other left movements where they present anti capitalist programmes and with the perspective of the socialist unification of Europe, to strengthen the left in the European parliament, but fundamentally to give points of political support to the united front of parties and trade unions which it is necessary to construct in the social struggles and in the perspective of the Socialist transformation of Europe.

International Bureau
Posadist IV International
May 1994.

ITALY

Analysis of the Italian Elections
—from a letter of the Italian Section.
Extracts

It is possible to see once again that elections are not a means to express the real relation of forces in Italian society. With the first past the post system their non representative character is even more marked. Although the parties of the left increased their number of votes, the right was able through the single seat system to unite the most separate tendencies with the sole object of blocking a government of the left and also succeeded in obtaining the absolute majority in the two assemblies.

The "Forza Italia" got the votes of the preceding government of the Christian Democracy and of the Socialist Party. This "organisation" reflects the orientation of contemporary capital, its desire to destroy the social state, to reduce wage increases, to destabilise the

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THE RWANDA MASSACRES

The catastrophe which has overtaken the people of Rwanda with possibly half a million murdered by the outgoing government is treated by capitalism as an example of "ethnic" violence as in some form of "mysterious" event, an "irrational" experience. But it is not mysterious. It must be put in context with the general backwardness of Africa which imperialism has consciously maintained. The latter associates with forces that it hopes can fetter progress. "Genocide" always relates to specific social situations. The genocide organised by the Israelis against the Arabs was a conscious effort to enslave and reduce the Arab masses so that Yankee imperialism could terrorise the area. Savimbi in Angola is supported by forces in Imperialism who desire to liquidate any form of social progress in Africa. A success by the government of Angola could encourage social progress throughout Africa. Thus it must be annihilated. There are many examples where the Savimbi troops not only kill everyone in sight but systematically destroy schools, railways, houses and hospitals so that efforts at social progress can be retarded as much as possible. This is the mentality of capitalism when it is impossible to control or contain progress then exterminate it. This is one of the political expressions of the famous "global economy" which is sheer oppression for the majority of mankind. It is in line with the continued attempt to destroy the people of Iraq via an inhuman blockade.

The conflict in Rwanda has not been a tribal conflict but the attempt of a new ruling class to develop itself on the ruins of a tribal society. The government of Habyarimana was sustained directly by French imperialism and Zaire, another example of an African capitalist "experience". French imperialism has intervened to seek to protect the perpetrators of the massacres and exert a pressure on the new government. The former ruling clique reflects the brutal impotence of an African bourgeoisie to develop Africa. It does not have the means to develop the economy through private property, to answer the needs of the population. In such situations any sort of democracy however limited threatens the interests of the ruling clique especially when established in the army - which is frequently the expression of the bourgeoisie trying to construct itself in collaboration with imperialism. To defend its class interests the former government of Habyarimana sought to develop a vicious type of "nationalism". Like the Khmer Rouge, although in different circumstances, it developed a concern to wipe out the professional sectors ie teachers, intellectuals etc, people who showed an interest in human rights so that the new ruling class could exploit and terrorise the peasantry without problems.

Yankee imperialism decided to intervene only when the massacres were completed and thousands dead and only to try to intimidate the new government. And lo and behold the former government assassins have gained control of the refugee camps and continue to terrorise yet imperialism knows nothing about it! The RPF is part of the transitory movements that arise in the fluid crisis of African society. Nonetheless imperialism is concerned to see that it does not advance and threaten its interests.

Such sanguinary experiences are the direct result of the continued existence of the world capitalist system. This is the barbarism to be expected from the iron heel of international capitalism. Africa to develop requires support from a world organisation of resources only possible through the liquidation of capitalism on a world scale. Ultimately only a world planning of the economy can facilitate the advance of Africa from backwardness to progress. At the same time the weight of the experience of South Africa is going to help maintain the struggles of the African peoples in their historic effort to defeat imperialism and its policies of enslavement.

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the LP but it does provide a much more objective view of the peculiar character of the LP. In many respects it has similarities to the Democratic party in the US in the sense that it is governed by a wing of capitalism. Lenin said quite directly the Labour party was a bourgeois party with a worker base and now it is going to experience the full weight of the agony and decrepitude of the capitalist system. It is impossible to ignore the weight of the

apparatus, but its ability to automatically contain and regulate the class struggle is lessened because capitalism itself is weakened and with diminished capacity to present arguments and defences. Now that Sinn Fein and the IRA have successfully defended the Catholic minority against the terrorism of British imperialism, a new phase is opening which requires the united front of the British and Irish people against the common enemy -

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working class and eliminate all parliamentary control over the economic process, giving free reign to the accumulation of capital and financial speculation.

Forza Italia does not have a consistent social force, but through this alliance with the fascists, the League and the former supporters of the CD, it has come to power and has the opportunity to change the balance of forces in the country. The economic structure will remain the same but the main industrial and financial bourgeoisie is going to seek to free itself from all parliamentary control. Thus it has entered into conflict with the Constitution with the trade unions and the left organisations. Its work begun in these elections is going to be continued in the effort to destroy social conquests.

Forza Italia and its allies have recycled the votes of the CD. This has provided them with a plentiful clientele of the Mafia. Then there are the sectors of the Craxi, ISP and the business apparatus based on both, with all the other swindlers who supported the various governments for the last twenty years. The votes of the National Alliance come from the state bureaucracy, the small capitalists and marginal layers of workers who in this way have protested against the left. The Northern League is the only force to include in its electoral base social layers who have an interest in production; the small enterprises who protest against the state for excessive fiscal pressure.

But this new government in no way represents the will demonstrated by the youth in the occupations of schools, in the national organisation of their movement and the congress of their delegates. This movement defended with great strength and responsibility the state schools against the reductions of subsidies and the introduction of private sectors. This new parliament does not represent in any way the will to struggle of the working class in its battles to defend employment and production. The workers have been at the centre of the mobilisations in Italy in the centres engaged in production. They have organised forms of workers control and led in their struggles other social layers like the "white collars", the small traders and artisans. Nor does this election represent in any way the

struggles of the women and the pensioners nor the social movements of the workers areas, cultural and artistic movements which have played a decisive role in taking the left to power in numerous towns in the preceding elections. The new electoral system has aggravated the disadvantage which weighs normally on the masses in electoral struggles.

The unity of the left, crystallised in the front of the Progressive forces which presented itself as a force for government, has meant an important progress. It is a bridge for the social forces which exert a pressure from the base to advance to government and change society. But this Front lacked the programme and policy. It is necessary to open a discussion on these problems and to acquire the necessary political courage to break links with the capitalist system. It is not a question of dismantling the capitalist economy on a piecemeal basis but of breaking links with it by taking alternative initiatives and propositions, breaking with the idea that it is not possible to go beyond the regime of private property.

The precariousness of this union of the left is due above all to the fears and the opposition of part of the leaders of the PDS, of the AD (left Christian Democracy) and of the ISP. The militant base welcomed with enthusiasm the unity of the Progressive Front, of comrades united normally in the social struggles and found a new terrain of agreement on the political objective to advance to government. These meetings gave place to new proposals of struggle, of programme and of policy. The leadership of the Progressive Block was not capable of following this tendency.

The unity of the left develops with the intervention of popular forces. At present it is necessary to make a profound debate on the reasons for the electoral defeat and to discuss a programme to change society. It is necessary to develop united activities but it is not possible to be satisfied with a unitary block in parliament. Each party, each organisation must participate in this united activity with full autonomy and maintain complete freedom to express their arguments and propositions. A part of the leaders of the PDS, of the AD and the Socialists think that they can pass over this active

participation of people and that it is necessary without making too much noise to seek the support of the "centre". They do not understand or wish to understand that this "centre" will only move to the left if it is attracted by an important social movement which gives confidence to it instead of conciliating with big business.

Rifondazione Comunista and Bertinotti in particular developed an important function in proposing a rupture with the past in refusing to adapt to the proposals of the "Ciampi government". Rifondazione has proposed to tax financial income, to reduce hours of work and to come out of NATO. These points allow the left to distinguish itself without equivocation from the right. The left showed the best electoral results where it presented itself with clear propositions. At Naples for example the leadership of Bassolini has set to work to implement radical changes and has continued to progress electorally.

The alliance of the right with the government of Berlusconi was not solid. The capitalist system cannot continue to function in this way. Confindustria supports Berlusconi but does not show much confidence in him. In order to impose itself in this alliance, the top layers of the bourgeoisie would need a dictatorship but the right can only achieve this with the greatest difficulty. The political left, the trade unions have not been smashed. It is necessary to construct now a radical opposition based on a programme to confront the capitalist crisis.

We call upon all the forces of the left - PDS, Rifondazione, Rete, the Greens, the left Catholics, the socialists - to mobilise to prevent every attack on the gains of the workers and the change to the Constitution making a Federation of the country. The left must show that it alone is capable of maintaining the unity and assuring the progress of Italy. The capitalist economy has multiplied class and regional differences. The working class, the young the women, from North to South are the essential resources of the country.

It is necessary to unite the anti fascist resistance with the struggle against the capitalist system responsible today for the retreat in the democratic and social conditions in Italy.

3 April.

capitalism. Out with the despotism of the market! Out with the plunderers! the dictatorship of the banks and the industrial bosses! It is not enough to pose only limited demands because capitalism is not going to concede them or only on a very temporary basis. Capitalism is quite clear on what it intends, the subjection of the population to the arbitrary decisions of big business. This means that an equally vigorous counter programme is

proposed! For the planned economy on the basis of the full participation of the population! Workers control in industrial enterprises! For an emergency workers plan of production so that the unemployed are all employed!

For a workers budget!

**Out of NATO, Out with the monarchy!
For the Socialist Republic with the
Unification of Britain and Ireland.**