

Workers of the world, unite!

Subscribe to RED FLAG
1 year £5.00

RED FLAG



PO.Box 134
Nottingham NG1 3QT.

Cheques payable to:-
'IV International Publications'

Price 30p.

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

425 8 9 95.

Contents

- Page 1..Editorial.
2 Structure of the Workers State.J.Posadas.
3 Beethoven and Human Sentiments.
4. Yugoslavia;Class struggle In Italy.

Editorial

THE LABOUR VANGUARD IS ELEVATING THE ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLE IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

The efforts by Major to stabilise his government and to contain the persistent flatulence of the right seek a return to a less apparently abrasive "consensus". But it will not stop the process of social decomposition of capitalist society. Big business is reasonably pleased with Blair who duly prostrates himself before capital and assures the trade unions and the population that the market economy is one of the eternal verities ordained of God. However capitalism is certainly not going to abandon electoral competition because they fear that a Labour victory even if under the leadership of a reliable admirer of big business as Blair, will inevitably tend to mobilise and encourage forces which seek social change and will not sit still and allow the new clique to decide. The labour vanguard is preparing for new struggles against the dictatorship of finance capital and will become inevitably more critical of the traditional trade union leaderships who are part of the fabric of capitalism and block any advance towards the establishment of a workers state. The defeat of Blairs nominee for the leadership of the TGWU Dromey, a typical representative of capitalism in the workers movement has some considerable importance. Blair-endorsed by Thatcher - before and after this defeat at the conference of the TGWU, repeatedly tries to intimidate union members by saying that the days when the unions could influence a labour government are over. On this doctrine the workers must accept capitalist discipline because the LP is now a "national" party. This openly capitalist policy is terminating with a basic part of the traditional structure of British capitalism and

shows the historic desperation of the system. The role of the LP as intermediary is being reduced. Thus there is no way forward for long term conciliation. The results of this may not be dramatic in the short run, but ultimately will lead the class struggle to a higher level. The TGWU insist on a basic minimum wage which is too high for Blair. They reject the anti trade union legislation which the LP leadership very largely wishes to keep. In his programme for re-election Morris also demanded the return of the water industry to public ownership and tougher control of the privatised utilities plus full employment and minimum standards in the conditions of work, that is job security, minimum wage, equality for black and female labour. The conference of the TGWU supported also the re-nationalisation of the public utilities, earlier retirement and a shorter working week. These are basically modest demands considering the monumental and vicious incompetence of capitalist society but they have a great echo and stimulate the labour and socialist vanguard.

Dromey criticised the TGWU as acting as another political party. This is the centre of the concern of all these reactionary functionaries. They see a militant resistance developing to capitalism which is based not just on combativity, but on defence of the programme of clause four, the defence of the collectivised economy. Yes the labour militants support the centralisation of the masses around the Labour party, but yes they also defend the independence of the union to propose its policies

irrespective of the antics of the apparatchiki in the LP party leadership. Basically it means the tendency towards an alternative leadership to the LP apparatus, based upon the trade unions in defence of socialism. The capitalist organs of opinion do not like this. In their book employers can openly extoll the virtues of the exploiter class but the unions must not talk about socialism. The labour MPs who support Benn, s programme are objectively an alternative leadership to that of Blair as they contradict everything he stands for. The recent conference of the RMT also had much importance. There the leadership line on accepting Europe was defeated and criticisms voiced on the results of last years signmens strike. There are many Dromey's in the trade unions. They are a caste of people dedicated to ironing out the "difficulties" of the capitalist system at the expense of the population. They are not going to go away and they have to be combated for what they are - direct representatives of the capitalist class. They are no different from the Noskes of the old German social democracy - enemies of socialism and enemies of progress. As Posadas analysed once the British proletariat breaks from the control of this sector, it is the downfall of capitalism because the trade union bureaucracy is its basic prop.

There are those who argue as always, that such arguments put in jeopardy the election of a Labour government. On the contrary there is already an immense pressure for social change. It is the LP apparatus which is causing disruption and wishes to impede any discussion of ideas. The recent by election in

Littleborough which was won by the LD, s was an example of a very degenerate campaign by the LP apparatchiks in which they substituted mere abuse for a socialist programme. This is part of the profound degeneration of the apparatus whereby they substitute electoral ploys for ideas and programme.

The criticisms of Blair that he acts like a Stalin are also revealing. Sectors even of the centre right like Hattersley are alarmed because they sense that the old role of the LP is falling and what is going to happen then?

CAPITALIST PUTREFACTION.

The catalogue of capitalist incompetence and repression is endless. This is a government so putrid that if there had been a serious opposition from the LP it would have fallen long ago but the present LP leadership is fearful of anything which may relate to popular participation in changing society. After a deluge of cases involving the normal swindling and lying of the exploiter class whether in the privatised industries or financial services, suddenly the conservative government claims that it is cracking down on fraud in social benefits! yet the wealthy crooks go on as usual whether in business or their entrepreneurial activities in parliament. To top it all in a thoroughly racist intervention the head of the Metropolitan police said that young blacks were particularly dedicated to mugging in London. Then teachers are accused of writing poor reports on their pupils! The attempt to stimulate backward attitudes at all costs has been shown in the immense

campaign developed by capitalism that "Japan" should apologise for its war crimes. The British prisoners of war were certainly tortured and murdered but the Japanese people were atom and fire bombed and who put back Japanese capitalism after the war? who never punished the vast majority of German and Japanese war criminals? American and world imperialism. The war was not just caused by the Japanese fascists but by world capitalism and its contradictions. British capitalism on this basis should apologise to the Irish people for centuries of torment and slaughter and to the African peoples for the atrocities of the slave trade. All this shows the cretinous level that bourgeois politics has reached as a result of the total impotence of their system to solve any social problem whatsoever. The despotic behaviour of the privatised water companies in rationing water, then saying they had no duty to recompense users and admitting that vast quantities of water are being lost through poor maintenance is just another example of the parasitism of capitalism. With immense and increasing concentration of economic and financial power, socially and politically capitalism is senile. Capitalism cannot convert its racialism into mass social support. As can be seen in the riots in Bradford, Luton etc, capitalist society is abandoning whole sectors of the population to poverty and alienation. Similarly in Ireland, capitalism has nothing to say, except more of the same. Having been obliged by the pressure of events to

continued on page 3

THE EMPIRICISM OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE BASES OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATE.

J. POSADAS

(EXTRACTS FROM "THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATE AND FROM THE WORKERS STATE TO SOCIALISM" - SEPT. 1968)

It is not possible to construct any new society without understanding in an organic and scientific way the social, economic and political measures which have to be taken, how production and social development must be combined and how the intervention of the population is a necessity.

Capitalism was constructed in an empirical way and organised in relation to individual interest. In this way the capitalist state made its appearance. Private property developed to a stage which led to the formation of the state. In the historical process it became the organ for the various capitalist sectors and the administration of capitalist interests against the rest of the population and it served to balance the competition between the owners of capital.

The later development of social relations, of economic principles and their application is determined by the interest of private property and by internal competition, by the domination of the strongest capital.

Capitalism developed through free competition. At the beginning there was a free for all because there was an open field for the competition of capital. But from free competition there emerged monopoly, the monopoly of the cartels, the trusts, the holding companies which are the forms of expression of the concentration of capital, of the production and domination of high finance.

The development of industry, the accumulation of capital develops ever more rapidly and in the most concentrated form and determines the cycle of production. In order to mobilise industry an enormous concentration of capital is necessary which of itself industry does not possess. Hence it is the financial institutions which dominate and not the industrial. The banks, the credit institutions, insurance etc determine where capital goes.

The state exercises a fundamental function and depends more and more on finance capital not only because the financial circles possess the money to invest and effect the circulation of capital but because the economic structure of the

great countries depends on large scale industry and finance capital.

Steel, petrol, petrochemicals, the car industry are key sectors of the economy and absorb the greatest mass of capital. Even if they do not employ the greatest number of workers they represent the greatest mass of capital and the decisive centre of industry on the national and world plane.

Finance, the economy, production, culture, science, art and medicine, all the sources of inspiration and orientation are determined and dominated by the needs of the capitalist system and particularly by the financial sector. This sector clashes with all the others although they are all united by their objective class interest, of structure and defence of the capitalist state, of inter capitalist competition and of defence against the workers states and the revolution.

But at the same time internal competition develops. Other sectors develop and feel that the laws the economy, the policy, the army, the disposition of the budgets, costs and the orientation of government are at the service of the established sectors and hence the various struggles which encompass the state apparatus.

On occasion the top layers of finance and industry do not have the direct power to exercise their dominion. At other times the top financial layers mobilise political support as in the period of Roosevelt and Kennedy.

Both conducted a policy which did not profit immediately the financial circles but seen from a long term point of view reinforced the capitalist system. Roosevelt had much more field for manoeuvre than Kennedy. This struggle between the capitalist circles seems like a play but it is a very real struggle as was shown in the assassination of Kennedy.

In the aggression and the fury of this struggle are expressed differences of conception, of thought of judgement, of capacity to defend the interests of capitalism. The struggle does not reflect their internal economic differences but divergences on the best way to defend capitalism.

The simple fact of reaching this situation reflects the

agony of capitalism as Trotsky defined it in 1938. From then they no longer fight to discuss the expansion of capitalism but they are obliged on the contrary to reduce, to concentrate and to dispute how to preserve the capitalist system.

However capitalism maintains a complete unity faced with the world revolution. It has its writers who organise bourgeois thought, dozens of organisms which diffuse the ideas, culture, science, technology, cinema, art, radio, and theatre which defend the system. But as it does not succeed in being accepted by the population which feels and understands the illegitimate demands of the capitalist interests, it prepares for the atomic war while developing its arguments, campaigns, committees for peace and progress.

All its internal crisis, its pessimism, defeatism do not hinder capitalism from seeing that the final settlement of accounts will be nuclear. It concentrates all its world forces in this decision. But the revolution advances more than them and constantly checks the preparations and the alliances of capitalism. Capitalism is then obliged to retreat as its existence is determined and ruled by the fundamental centre; the interest of the functioning of its system.

Whereas the vital need of the reproduction, of accumulation and investment of capital is confined and concentrated to increase its financial and military power, it loses at the same time its social authority and base. Capitalism loses constantly its capacity because the bourgeois circles small capitalist and petit bourgeois layers constantly shrink. The concentration of capital leads to an increase in financial and economic power but also a diminution of social power.

The historic legitimacy of every regime is expressed through its economic superiority, but if it is not accompanied and affirmed by superior social relations it dies and the social relations turn against the apparatus of production.

Three elements are indispensable for the construction of the workers

state; statified property, the planning of production and the monopoly of foreign trade. They allow the elimination of the essential sources of capitalist empiricism; free competition, the free market and the capitalist influence on the social economy.

That can be achieved in any country where the proletariat takes power, but it is necessary to develop the economy and the organs of society as there still exists a conflict over the distribution of income.

Production does not only result from the planning of the instruments of production, machines and technology. Production progresses as a function of social interest. Communist interest supports itself on the collective interest of society.

Planning the decision and the collective functioning are the source of inspiration of these interests. At the same time as the level of production is elevated, social relations are equally elevated, the confidence and assurance of sentiments towards social harmony. It is thus that consciousness replaces submission to the economy even if the latter is not immediately eliminated.

The essential condition to pass from capitalism to the workers state and from the workers state to socialism is the functioning of the whole population, its possibility to intervene to administer its own interests. For the masses the interest of the workers state does not consist only in the distribution of wages, but in the construction of organs in measures and plans developing the state.

Capitalism has not had and has no need of the participation of the masses in order to develop. It acts through private initiative and competition which is why capitalist progress is very limited.

The construction of the workers state is based on the structuring of organs of economic power and organs of the functioning of society. The installation in power of the workers state means the statification of all the means of production or the most important. Capitalism cannot undertake this type of planning because each capitalist is interested in

his own property and his own particular profits.

In the workers state the statified structure allows the planning of production with the monopoly of foreign trade to be a source of impulse of social development and the economic and political development of society, while providing the means to compete with the world capitalist system in the most concentrated way.

Socialist society eliminates social differences and not only economic differences. The functioning of the workers state must lead to the development of social relations which even without sufficient economic strength to satisfy all needs, shows the possibility of entering the new phase of fraternal socialist relations where reason eliminates private interest, where society, individuals and organisms are judged as a function of consciousness and not as a function of private interest. The intervention of the masses in the functioning and the structure of the economy allows them to understand, to learn and to elevate their ability to lead the economy rapidly and at the same time to share a mutual confidence as a function of their common interests.

The proletariat is not accustomed to the exercise of power. It has known very limited experiences such as the Paris Commune. Marx and Engels examined its limitations and concentrated their conclusions in the fundamental principles which were the basis of the later triumph of the Russian revolution.

Once power is taken, it is necessary to destroy the structure, the apparatus on which it is based, the power of the ruling classes; the army, justice, parliament, finances and political functioning. It is necessary to destroy the apparatus, and create a new apparatus submitted to the masses, that is the first conclusion.

In the workers state, the state must not accomplish the function of establishing equilibrium, or order or to regulate disputes for economic interests because private property does not exist.

The music of Beethoven expresses the harmony of human relations.

J. POSADAS

In listening to the music of Beethoven, there is no pre-occupation with self, the problems of women, of children, of sex, but the harmony of human relations. The music of Beethoven aspires to this harmony. It allows the development of ideas because it seeks a harmony between thought and human relations. It gives the foundation to be able to think and express the profundity of human relations. Bach also expresses the profundity of the world but under a form of mystery, mysticism or uncertainty. Beethoven on the contrary expresses this profundity in seeking an answer in social relations. He does not give political definition in his music but expresses profound human and social relations. His music has a harmony and a sweetness which elevate the sentiments of the listener to immense levels which have nothing to do with the mysticism of the heavens.

The music of Beethoven never distances itself from human life. It does not lose itself in individual problems, in the mysteries of the heavens, in prayers to God, in prostration in front of a saint, but impels human sentiments. It is a language of life.

Beethoven addressed himself to humanity, to communicate how he experienced the harmony that life could reach. He himself received the influences of the society of his time in which this objective was on the agenda. What Marx expressed later in texts, Beethoven gave before in his music.

The emotion which one experiences in listening to

Beethoven has its source in human relations. Music cannot withdraw into itself but must integrate into humanity.

Beethoven expressed in his own way the gates opened by the French revolution. Music is not a revolution nor a political treatise but acts within the abstract sphere of human relations. Beethoven was not able to measure the political consequences of the revolution, but he felt through that experience the possibility of much profounder relations than those expressed through the society of his epoch. That is the most elevated function of the artist. Michael Angelo also expressed something far more than the immediate society of his epoch.

The music of Bach also has harmony but it does not develop a sentiment of security. It appears like a consolation whilst the music of Beethoven is a dialogue which finds its aspiration in human relations.

The artist can have individual problems but these problems must not determine his artistic creation. The artist who represents the sentiments of humanity transcends personal problems in his work. The others remain bound to their individual problems including religious anguish. The centre of the life of a true artist is his creation. The latter makes an abstraction from the tragedies of his daily life and communicates through his work what he feels of social life and social relations. He tends to see and to think objectively because he expresses what humanity feels.

The bourgeoisie has given almost no importance to Beethoven but utilises him as a pastime. The Russian Revolution in elevating the cultural understanding of people gave without proposing it directly, the bases to understand Beethoven. He will be logically the teacher of the musicians of socialism.

The music of Beethoven was not destined to satisfy a class, a sector of society. It expresses objectively human relations and it is only socialism which will allow him to be well understood. In the measure that the revolution develops, Beethoven will be more and more retaken as with Michelangelo and da Vinci.

The passion of Beethoven is superior to that of Bach, Handel and Mozart and the other great musicians who still have some mysticism. Beethoven wrote without the protection of heaven. Although believing in God, he showed in his work that he believed in humanity. In the same way Michael Angelo painted for the Pope people who went against the papacy.

Beethoven represents on the plane of artistic creation the most elevated relations which correspond to Marx, Engels and Lenin on the plane of ideas. Music is more abstract than the idea which must confront life and concrete experiences. A level of understanding is necessary of society and of the development of social progress to be able to accept Beethoven. The harmony which he expressed did not exist in the society of his epoch. He foresaw that humanity would develop with this harmony in the future. His

symphonies are the synthesis of the most elevated human relations.

Music has fulfilled a very elevated function since the Egyptians. But it was the Greeks who took music as an instrument for the organisation of human relations. They made amphitheatres for listening to music, theater and songs. The song like all music is a creation of humanity destined for communication between people but also for the development of the spirit. Music aids the development of the ability of thought and the assurance of the human being.

But a harmony like that expressed by Beethoven cannot be attained in a regime where people kill each other or where there are antagonisms and contradictions. This music requires a society which eliminates antagonisms. Socialism is the most elevated form of harmony. The music of Beethoven in spite of its depths is not the most elevated expression of the harmony of human relations. It is ideas which allow the establishment of the most complete harmony. Music is only an aspect of human creation.

Between the noises of nature and music, there is the intervention of human creation. Nature produces noises which we consider more or less harmonious because they are part of the development of life, but it is a question of a development without order. Music on the contrary is a product of the human intelligence and of the consciousness of humanity. Nature has produced

plants and the human being has produced music which has aided the plants to develop.

Beethoven wrote the most complete music and the most harmonious which exists because he did not create for himself nor for an individual. He wrote with passion. The sixth symphony for example has a great simplicity but is also of an intense passion. It gives the impression that Beethoven is playing on the piano in the middle of millions of people.

Music is a creation of human relations and not a copy of the noises in the universe. Creations coming from human relations are superior to noises emitted by the movements of the earth, the stars and perturbations of the atmosphere. Music comes from nature but it passes through human beings and tends afterwards to return to nature and to establish with it a new unity which does not copy the point of departure but incorporates human sentiments.

Education through the intermediary of music has very great importance. To the extent that humanity has greater assurance to construct socialism the music of Beethoven is more and more understood. It responds the most to the needs for harmony. Bach who wrote the most eloquent music still receives the influence of religion that is the uncertainty of human relations. But on the contrary Beethoven expresses the assurance already acquired by humanity. The Ninth symphony is a hymn to friendship, to fraternity and unites poetry with music.

In the spirit of Beethoven,
continued on page 4

FOR A REUNITED COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA!

The state can have no interest to repress, because it supports itself on the conscious will of the masses. It has no need to legislate because that is not necessary for the development of society. It has no need for people who work on the promulgation of laws because the laws come from the thought expressed by the population.

The source for the inspiration of ideas, of principles and resolutions comes from there, from the discussion of each sector of society represented in the soviets. This form of functioning allows the

control, exchange and application of ideas. The revocability of mandates allows the change of a delegate when the latter has not represented the will of those who appointed him.

The progress towards socialism is not uniform and cannot be done at one blow. Progress is a constant and permanent process which advances and is elevated as a function of the possibilities and above all of the existence of organisms allowing the masses to exercise the function of power, to render sentiments and relations collective and to elevate communist confidence.

Socialist society as opposed to the workers state has then the sufficient economic bases to advance and develop according to consciousness and not according to economic needs. It suppresses the organs of repression, the executive, of administration and replaces them by organs of natural leadership. It is then that this society acquires a fusion of collective communist sentiments allowing naturally reciprocal understanding.

J. POSADAS. (from the text The construction of the workers state and from the workers state to socialism).

from page 1

enter discussions on peace, it shows it has no capacity to develop Ireland and is fearful of any socialist tendency developing there.

The best example recently of the social debility of capitalist society was the capitulation of Shell on the issue of its disposal of an oil rig platform. It is true that nothing is basically decided by such a turn, but it makes clear that immense economic power lacks the authority of previous epochs.

The continuous reanimation of the left in Britain requires a process of discussion amongst all the

extensive forces in the Trade unions, the LP, the CP and the left groups. It is of importance to gain a parliamentary majority for the Labour party, but in the coming struggles for social transformations, the development of complete trade union democracy, the organisation of the labour vanguard around the trade unions, extra parliamentary forces in demonstrations and the independent organisation of the masses in their own committees in the factories will be the decisive forces.

OUT WITH NATO AND THE UN TROOPS FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA!

The criminal imperialist bombardment by Nato of the Bosnian Serbs comes as no surprise, as it is the logical result of capitalist policy and is part of the programme for "a greater capitalism" on the basis of the hoped for destruction of what remains of the former Yugoslav workers state. Croatia and Bosnia with their grotesque "leaders" are essentially inventions of Franco German and Yankee imperialism. These powers wish to subordinate Serbia as part of their plans to dominate the Balkans but also as part of their wider concerns to keep Nato at combat readiness for intervention towards the ex Soviet Union at a later stage. NATO has nothing to do with "security" but is the military arm of world capitalism and imperialism. The puss poured out by the bourgeois publicists including the so called "democrats" and "liberals", against Serbia contrasts with the silence over French organised genocide in Rwanda, the massacres by the Indonesian army in East Timor the murderous UN sanctions against Iraq and the massacres by the Turkish army - a NATO ally - against the Kurds. Nothing of importance is said about the massacres organised by the Muslim fundamentalist government in Bosnia nor those by the Croat leadership. Such is the barefaced duplicity of imperialist diplomacy that no sooner than the army of chief stooge Tudjman - well trained and armed by the yanks - was unleashed against the Serbs than US diplomats

claimed to have discovered evidence of Serb massacres. In between rounds of vodka Yeltsin has spoken of the need for a political settlement but as his government is in hoc to western capitalism and lives in hopes of foreign investment the recent proposals by him to discuss with Tudjman and Milosevic were ignored by the former who is acting under instructions from Washington and Bonn. Yeltsin has been obliged nonetheless to speak of lifting the embargo on the Serbs and rejected Nato attacks. The ignoring of Russia by the imperialist gangsters shows the triumph for the moment of the "hard" line in the camp of imperialism. Clintons policy of attempting to maintain Yeltsin by conciliation has been dropped. Imperialism has no faith in the future of the "free market" economy in the former USSR and they seek to dispose of what remains of Yugoslavia. In Britain people like the "liberal" Ashdown have been well to the fore in war mongering, but the British people like the masses of the rest of Europe and North America have no interest in this Nato war and service families are not swayed by imperialist sentiment. This is an indication of the weakness of the capitalist class. They can only influence the most backward elements to generate war sentiments. These are not the days of jingoism. The British people have seen through all that rubbish. Moreover a sizeable section of the bourgeoisie here such as Heath are against the extension of the conflict. As one might expect the LP

leadership proving its credentials to capitalism has supported the Nato actions. The fact remains that neither capitalism nor the left infantilists - in the habit of making the most crass and ignorant parallels with the Spanish civil war, while ignoring the class objectives of Nato - have any support in the working class or its allies. Even the present barbaric strategy of Nato bombardment is none too clear in its objectives. To really impose on the Serbs requires a massive military operation or the mounting of the equivalent of nuclear war. But that would lead to all out world nuclear war and imperialism has stumbled on this problem for the last fifty years.

It is necessary that the reanimation of the communist sectors in Yugoslavia leads to appeals for the return to a communist federated state, that is the former Yugoslavia and the termination of the deformed regional cliques. This is the only rational solution. Capitalism and its puppets in the region have a vested interest in "ethnic" conflicts, so that the class struggle against its free market policies is negated. Imperialism wanted the end of communist federated Yugoslavia, took advantage of bureaucratic regionalism and the consequences of "self management" and developed the charge of "greater Serbia" to cover its dirty manoeuvres. What it wants is a series of small states submitted to imperialism a new colonialism submitted to the IMF etc. In these circumstances it remains

important to call for the immediate withdrawal of all Nato and UN military forces. The latter have simply acted as a justification and a cover for the former and the UN representatives quite openly support Nato attacks even though the UN formally never sanctioned these attacks. The recent invasion by the Croats of the Krajina area was cynically stimulated by imperialism, but as soon as the Serbs are said to threaten the "safe areas" - which are used by the muslim fundamentalists for military raids - then NATO threatens air attacks. The recent massacre in Sarajevo has predictably been ascribed to the Serbs (Mladic the Serb commander said it would be used as a pretext to justify NATO military bombardment.) by those masters of objectivity the UN puppets servile to the Yanks. The belligerent atmosphere directly stimulated by imperialism in this area is linked to all the other simmering problems between Greece and Turkey and the imperialist intimidation aimed at Iraq and Iran. The way is being prepared for uncontainable wars in the future. What has happened in Yugoslavia has to be seen as part of the remorseless logic of imperialism and capitalism. As Lenin on many occasions repeated, so long as you have capitalism you have war and that means the inevitable use at some stage of nuclear arms. It is in this context that it is necessary to see the Chirac decision to resume nuclear testing. This is the reality of the "end of the period of the cold war". If there are no enemies why the

existence of NATO and the maintenance of atomic arms? Precisely because there are enemies and they continue to be "dangerous" competitors for the capitalist system like the ex Soviet Union, China and any power which does not fit in with the dictates of American imperialism or the European Union.

There have been no demonstrations in favour of the Nato strikes but the left in general has failed to organise campaigns against this war. The support given to the Nato strikes by some sectors of the left show a complete prostration in front of imperialism and the abandonment of class positions. We call upon the labour left, the CP and the progressive union leaderships to condemn these Nato attacks which represent the interests of international imperialism in their desperate efforts to smash what remains of the former Yugoslavia.

OUT WITH NATO AND UNO FROM THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA!
NO TO AIR ATTACKS
FOR THE REESTABLISHMENT OF A COMMUNIST YUGOSLAVIA!

Out of NATO

Out with the monarchy!

PROGRESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN ITALY.

Extracts of a report from the Italian Section illustrating

Bertinotti of the PRC in his speech in July at a demonstration in Rome reaffirmed the struggle against the new pension laws and the necessity to return to the previous structure. He pointed out the enormous increase in productivity and profits plus the colossal tax evasion, but this has accompanied a decrease in the standard of living of the working class through inflation and the elimination of the sliding scale of wages which the trade union bosses supported.

Bertinotti said the party would struggle to organise an offensive against this in the autumn. On the other hand in a recent speech D'Alema of the PDS observed that now "it is necessary to understand that the objective is to help

aspects of the new process at work in Italy. There the collapse of the old regime politically has in fact changed nothing. The same parliamentary fiascos continue at the expense of the working population. Dini's "achievement" is to have reduced the value of pensions in a government sustained by the PDS, the League (Bossi) and the rump of the old CD. However the most creative element now stems from the workers independent actions and the threat to the trade union bosses whose collaboration with capitalism knows no bounds. Further plans for privatisation will intensify the class struggle.

capitalism to resolve its difficulties". He also spoke of the fact that the country was entering "normality" !! Bertinotti replied that such a normality in Italy is quite unacceptable. He also pointed out the appalling character of the present world situation with massive poverty, disease and starvation. Such normality would never be accepted and the world had to be changed. In calling for a pact of all the left forces including the PDS he said that to defeat the right, did not mean a cessation of the need of the PRC to criticise the policies of the PDS and to argue the case for the programme of

social transformations.

On the question of trade union democracy, the other decisive plank of any left programme in Italy, Bertinotti challenged the official trade union leaderships to submit to a genuine trade union democracy in other words the workers in the factory have the right to elect a hundred percent of their leaders from the base in the factories, independently of their trade union affiliation. This is a very good position because it does not get involved in splitting unions etc. or give advantage to the small unions that have formed in more recent years. It

means that the struggle for trade union democracy is founded also on the struggle for the 35 hour week, the struggle to recover the old pension system. It is a blow to the traditional trade union bosses, that is the CGIL, CSIL and the

from page 3

there was a unity between nature, the universe and human relations. It is that which gives such an elevation of sentiment and spirit. Although still a believer, Beethoven did not submit to Pope or God. All his work tends to the harmony of human relations even if he did not propose

UGIL who in the recent period have signed the most shameful agreements in the history of the workers movement - for example the agreement over agricultural workers with minute wage increases while allowing greater labour "flexibility" to a sector already at the mercy of the mafia which specialises in precarious labour conditions (this was finally so monstrous that the CGIL said it did not wish to sign). But the chain of capitulations has been outrageous.

this consciously. The clarity of his music is the clarity of his thought and intentions. His music does not lead to doubt, to sentiments opposed to human relations, but it impels, develops consciousness and gives the conditions for thinking with clarity.

13 4 78