

THE PREPARATION OF THE WAR AND THE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

J. POSADAS

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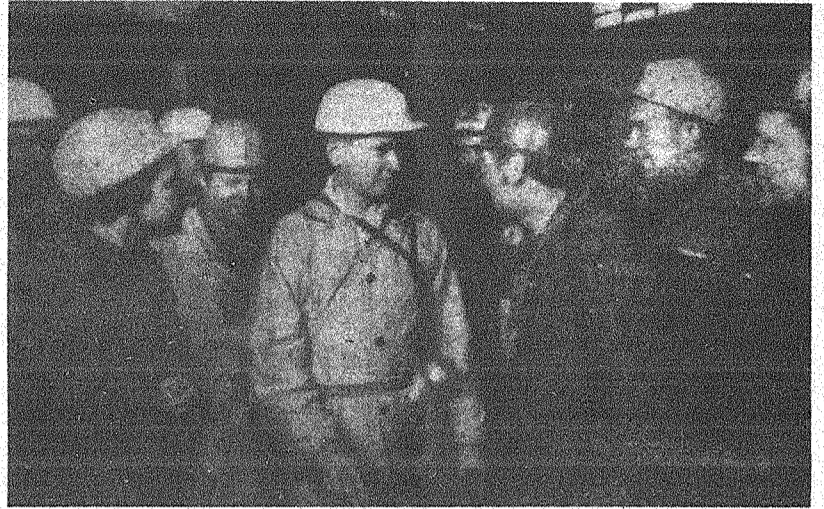
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GENERAL JARUZELSKI WITH POLISH MINERS.

Editorial

The intervention of the army in Poland is a stimulus to the progress of the Labour left

The intervention of the Polish army is a continuation of the clearance of the Polish Workers State originally impelled by the formation of the trade unions independent of the bureaucratic trade unions and state apparatus. The army has received the support of the Polish masses, and now population, and the army are all involved in the task of learning how to conduct a Workers State and how to eliminate bureaucratic mismanagement. Imperialism has endeavoured to use the specific problems of a Workers State to develop a world campaign of lies and distortions to try to present the Polish masses as being submitted to a military dictatorship, i.e. 'Communism has failed'. But the masses of the world, the workers, peasants and petit bourgeoisie, are not impressed and have repudiated all such campaigns. Imperialism has hardly been able to organise anything against Poland or the Soviet Union - pathetic meetings of a few Polish counter-revolutionaries and other reactionary persons, otherwise nothing! All the experience of Poland, before and after, has been a disastrous episode for imperialism and capitalism. It has shown to the world that the Workers State can develop and learn and rid itself of deformations without a massive slaughter. The world also sees that the imperialist elements who sanctimoniously speak of mythical executions etc. in Poland are the perpetrators of mass assassinations in San Salvador and Angola, and their social system of capitalism condemns millions of mankind to lives of starvation and war.

Moreover, the Polish situation has had the effect of further disorganising the imperialist forces against the Workers States. Germany has refused to abandon trade with the Workers States, much to the chagrin of the United States who, of course, also seeks - in imposing sanctions against the Workers States - to damage the economic competition of capitalist Germany. Imperialism has been free with words but, in reality, it has only achieved another defeat. The vanguard and the world masses have shown a great maturity in this, particularly the Communist vanguard. Some Socialists and trade union leaders have spluttered somewhat over the intervention of the army, but have found no echo in the masses, and hence no campaign has developed. This has been the position in the Labour Party and Healey was firmly against any policy of reprisals against Poland. Even on the plane of elections, policies such as these would be stupid.

The Labour Left should draw all the conclusions of the events in Poland. It should seek to analyse the reasons for the process in the Workers States and the significance of the role of the army and the clearance in the Workers States. This is the way to give strength to the Labour Party so that it attracts, through the power of ideas and not within the confines of localism and impressionistic conclusions.

THE VICTORY OF SCARGILL IS AN IMPULSE TO CENTRALISE THE MASSES AROUND THE LABOUR PARTY.

The victory of the Left, represented by Scargill in the election of president of the Miners Union, has great importance. The vote was seventy per cent for Scargill, and this represents a vote for social transformations not simply for higher wages. It comes at a time when the perspective is that of throwing out the Thatcher government and taking advantage of the profound decomposition in the forces of capitalism shown in the emergence of the SDP-Liberal alliance. The latter force attracts

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The significance of the discussion in the Polish army

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J. POSADAS

This article was written by Cde Posadas over six months before the intervention of the Polish army and is fundamental for the understanding of the process at work in Poland. The army is continuing the work of the political revolution which requires more and more a profounder education in Marxism of the cadres of the Workers States and the greater intervention of the masses directly in the advance to Socialism. The analysis of Cde Posadas facilitates the understanding of the character of the political revolution in this stage and the immensely progressive course of events in the Polish Workers State.

The article published in the Polish Army newspaper 'Zolnier Wolnosci'(1) makes an analysis which is aimed at raising the relationship between all army members, improving their rights and democratic principles. It suggests that the army does not exist for itself but must live the life of the Party, a life of cells in which everyone has the same rights. This proposition is also contained in the Soviet constitution and, even if it is not really applied, Suslov (2) defended this principle when he went to Poland.

The Polish Army is one of the closest to the Soviet Union and its structure is such that its adhesion to the Soviet Union is a hundred times more solid than that of the Party, or the people in general. The Polish army was created by the Soviets and Poland lives because of the Soviets.

This discussion in the army is an index of the depth of the changes, as much in organisation as in political preoccupation, that are taking place. The soldiers are equal to the Generals in the organisation and the cells. This stimulates the soldier to speak and to live politically rather than simply to make accusations. The general sense of this article is an orientation to live the process of the world politically, and that the function of the Polish army is Socialist. The article calls for the development of the socialist role of the army.

One can see in this what the capitalists really mean when they scream, 'The Soviets are intervening in Poland, look out they are going to bite!' In part, it is true. Just consider this plane which crashed in the United States because it had been 'bitten' by the Soviets (3). Is it not true that they found one of Brezhnev's teeth among the wreckage? This is the way the process advances: the Yankees kill each other, assassinate each other, bring down each other's planes, whilst Poland advances by leaps and bounds.

We have to recall the criticisms made by Brezhnev at the 26th Congress of the CPSU (Soviet Communist Party) when he said, 'The trade unions must be open to ideas, the trade union leaders must not be puppets but allow people to intervene'. The bourgeois press had no scruples in saying that Brezhnev was manoeuvring, but it made no mention of the fact that Brezhnev proposed the removal of five thousand bureaucratic trade union leaders, and that this was actually done. It shows all the unwieldy nature of all the trade union apparatus.

This discussion on the role of the Polish army is one of the most important events in the history of the construction of Socialism. In reality, it is the political revolution! The original statutes of the Soviet Union catered for cells of the Party to exist everywhere, for equal

rights for all its members, and that it was the cell and not the director or the General who elect the leaders. It remained this way for a whole period. Trotsky was a political commissar in the army and if he did not attend cell meetings it was because of his activity during the civil war. In fact, his cell granted him a special dispensation for this.

The Polish army is the most Soviet of armies, even though there are a few opponents within it who try to impede Soviet influence. These opponents have developed because of the existence of private ownership of the land. However, private ownership of the land does not result in the development of capitalist power because it has not been able to develop a capitalist function. The leaders and the whole military structure of the Polish army is Soviet, and it is the Soviets themselves who organised the Polish army. The Polish army went through the struggle against the Nazis and against Stalin, side by side with the Soviets. We must not forget that the Soviet army entered Poland despite the sabotage of Stalin and without waiting for his orders, and with even less regard for the orders of the 'allies'. The 'allies' did their best to stop the Soviet army entering Poland, and Stalin went along with them. He ordered the army not to enter Poland, but the Soviet chief of staff told Stalin to go to hell, and went in. In Poland, the

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THE PREPARATION OF THE WAR AND THE FUNCTION OF THE SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

J. POSADAS

War is a consequence of the development of capitalist society not of armaments production. The role of arms production as the cause of war is secondary. Capitalism needs war.

The great splendour of the capitalist world has come to an end. It is in retreat, but there is an uninterrupted and uncontainable ascent of the revolutionary process in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Countries which arise from nothing have had the will to progress. In all these countries there are wars and the ones who triumph are those who free themselves from capitalist oppression and seek to organise the economy in accordance with the needs of the population. The previous form of the control of property was private property, and now the countries which liberate themselves organise stratification to develop the economy. These countries which free themselves are economically backward countries and also culturally in a general sense. But in all these aspects, whether socially, economically or culturally, it is the cultural aspect where they advance most rapidly. Even without having enough to eat, or eating as before, they see and learn from the world the way to progress.

War is a consequence of the system of private property. Private property impels the crisis, and previous stages found the solution in wars between the capitalist powers; but now, with the existence of the Workers States, there is a confrontation of system against system. The wars of 1870-71, of 1914 and 1939 are examples of inter-capitalist wars - and not only of wars but also of occupations. For examples, zones of Germany occupied by France and parts of France went to Germany, the same occurred in Belgium. There were wars between capitalist powers in a stage in which Workers States did not exist. That is, it is not because Workers States exist that capitalism launches wars but there have always been wars in capitalism.

Inter-capitalist wars were motivated by the contradictions of the capitalist system because a moment is reached when production is superior to the level of consumption of the population and there are no markets to absorb such a production. It is the system of capitalist production which leads to this crisis: the capitalists clash among themselves and launch the war to eliminate each other. New world trusts are formed and although Germany, Britain and the United States have common consortiums, confrontation is still produced because competition between countries continues.

At the same time, the preparation of the war and the production of armaments is a vital necessity for capitalism, because it uses them both for the inter-capitalist struggle and against the masses of the world, as in the war between France and Germany in 1871. In the course of the war, the French bourgeoisie

allowed the Germans to enter France to liquidate the Paris Commune. The war is not the result of ill-will or because people with bad intentions exist. This is certainly so; but it is not the determining factor of the war. That stems from the logic of the production of private property which leads to war.

War does not originate just from circumstances now, but from before. It is a consequence of the natural life of the capitalist system. It is not by chance that it arises, through a decision or an unforeseen situation, but it is a logical consequence of the capitalist system: and hence it prepares for war. At the same time, to prepare for war each capitalist system needs to develop to the maximum its competitive quality, the capacity of production to succeed in producing in a shorter time, to accumulate more money, to increase the technical capacity of production, and, as a consequence, to be able in this way to eliminate competitors. When one group of capitalists see that they cannot eliminate their rivals through economic competition, they launch war. Hence there were three major wars between capitalist powers, in 1971, 1914 and 1939.

Besides the great wars there have everywhere been small wars like the intervention of imperialism in Indonesia. Indonesia had the government of Sukharno, a social democratic government which tended to take a series of measures for the development of the economy of the country. World capitalism supported Dutch imperialism to overthrow Sukharno, but he overthrew the Dutch. Imperialism overthrew the government which was developing measures favourable to the development of the economy of the country and of the masses, and, at the same time, they overthrew the principle competitor which was Dutch imperialism. They did not overthrow it completely, but let it continue in order to have an associate against a possible uprising. This is an example of the different forms of capitalist war.

Another example is the war of the Yanks against Cuba. This was under the dominion of Spain until 1898, a year in which the Spaniards had to give them independence, but the Yanks entered and the masses continued the struggle against the Yanks. But the Yanks took half of Cuba and even now the province of Guantanamo is under the dominion of the Yanks. That is the most brutal assassin and criminal form of impeding the objective development of the population. The Yanks have the military power of Guantanamo and use it for this end. Economically, Guantanamo has no value and now from the military point of view, because with one atomic bomb it's all over. The Yanks know this, but they are not leaving - because it would be a demonstration of very great weakness which would stimulate the revolution throughout North America; and, besides, because it is a military base to intervene in the coun-

tries of Latin America. From the military strategic point of view the base has no value. Imperialism possesses it to exert a pressure on Cuba or to send arms and soldiers to other parts; but historically, when the atomic confrontation begins, the Yankee base will be finished with one bomb.

All these strategic sites which were of importance in another stage of history have no value today: like the Fleet which, in a general sense, has no value. The Navy is useful as a means of transport and atomic arms, but now it has lost all military value. The Airforce is useful, but the relation between the army and the population which has to occupy the country is more valuable than all the Navies and Airforces together. The Soviets know that they have a welcome in the population and know that they are going to receive bread and water, but the Yanks are going to receive bullets and crap.



AMERICANS DEMONSTRATE AGAINST THE WAR POLICIES OF IMPERIALISM.

WAR IS A NECESSITY OF CAPITALISM NOT OF THE WORKERS STATES.

War is inherent in the capitalist system but not in the Workers States and the war which capitalism is preparing against the Workers States is a war which has as an objective to try to block the development and progress of history. War is a result of capitalism. There is not a single war of the Workers States among themselves. The invasion of Vietnam by China is not a war of one Workers State against another, but of the counter-revolutionary camarilla of China against the Vietnamese Workers State. Hence, in the invasion, the Chinese leadership sent a limited number of soldiers and they had to leave. This was not done because they had achieved the aim of teaching the Vietnamese a lesson, but they had to withdraw before they were thrown out and before an internal rebellion broke out. They were afraid of a rebellion - the product of the effect which the invasion had on the Chinese people and also of a Soviet intervention, because the Soviets would not have delayed intervention but would have supported themselves on the internal revolutionary opposition in China to strengthen and develop it.

In this sense the Yanks, after seeing that they had no success, advised the Chinese to get out because they saw how things were when tomorrow came and that the Soviets had the advantage.

The capitalist system, through the logical necessity of its existence and production leads to war as it leads to the crisis in which the Germans now find themselves. But, in this stage of history, the nature of war between capitalist countries changes. It is a war without arms, but one in depth of economic and commercial laceration, because now they confront the Workers States, which prevents them fighting among themselves.

The crisis of capitalism is expressed in production, in finances and in accumulation and export of capital, and, at the same time concentration develops more and more in the multi-nationals. Marx and Kautsky predicted the inevitable

war of the capitalist system, not because the capitalists were bad only - they are indeed bad - but because their system leads to this. The Workers States have no need of of war.

The war which the Chinese launched against Vietnam was an attack by a counter-revolutionary camarilla. Thus it is not a war of a Workers State, but a war of a counter-revolutionary leadership. Yugoslavia, in spite of all the confrontations which it had with the leadership of the USSR, was not invaded by the Soviets - and it was not because capitalism defended it but because the whole structure of the Workers State was opposed to war with Yugoslavia. It is not true that it was imperialism which gave guarantees to Yugoslavia. If the Soviets had wanted to enter they would have done so. Also, in the Second World War the Yanks and the British gave guarantees to Hitler so that he could invade the USSR. Churchill proposed to let the Germans invade the USSR and afterwards capitalism would smash both. Before the end of the Second World War Churchill was proposing war against the USSR and the Yanks were opposed because they saw that it was madness, as it would have strengthened Europe against them. These are the contradictions

of the capitalist system and antagonisms with the Workers State.

The Workers State does not need wars. When there are such counter-revolutionary activities from the Chinese these are not the product of the Workers State but of the counter-revolutionary leadership, as in the epoch of Stalin when he assassinated the Bolshevik leadership. This is not the product of the Workers State. The structure of the latter does not need to launch wars or assassinate. It is the responsibility of the political leadership which usurps power and then assassinates and makes war.

War is not a necessity of the Workers State to live or to progress. On the contrary, the necessity is the development of the logical relations of the population. But, in the capitalist system, it is the reverse, because it is a system based on profit. The Workers State is not a system based on profit, but on the development of production, of science and culture. In the USSR there is an immense development which is not only economic but is also scientific and cultural. The Workers State does not develop in inter-state competition or in opposition, but through logical necessity. It tends to unify the economic, social, scientific and cultural relations. If the existing Workers States still do not do this, that is because of the limitation of the leaderships of the Workers States. But, even so, the progress which has been made since 1945 until now is immense. In no Workers State is there unemployment or hunger. On the contrary, the Workers States in order to develop themselves have used the previously existing structure of production in capitalism. The Workers States have to continue with this structure, later they are going to change it, but for now they cannot do so. First of all, technically it cannot be done because there is a structure on which they depend. The Workers States are based on the capitalist system from its social and economic structure and from there it proceeds to construct Socialism. The social structure is changed, and this can be done because it is a question of a relation of leadership, but the economic structure cannot be so changed because the material structure of production is already constructed and it is capitalism which has the technology of production. The Workers States have to be based on this. There are already conditions for the Workers States to have a superior technology, but a better relation and development of the Workers States is still necessary.

THE EXISTENCE OF CAPITALISM LIMITS THE CAPACITY OF THE WORKERS STATE.

The Workers States inherit this structure and from there they have to advance to a condition which annuls all the anterior situation. It does not throw it out but annuls it because the system of production is made in accordance with the ne-

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army was more representative of the Party than any other organisation. The new Polish army was organised on this basis. A series of Generals from the previous regime were won in the same way, as happened before in the Soviet Union and Bulgaria. It was only afterwards, thanks to the power of command it had acquired, that the bureaucracy managed to create sectors of support in the army.

This article on the army in Poland indicates that this process is going to go very far. We are not just dealing with Poland but with other Workers States which are going to follow suit. The Hungarians have recently cast their eyes a little in the direction of Soviet democracy; it is a bureaucratic apparatus which thinks to itself, 'Let's take the antibiotic before the infection appears.'

This attitude of the Polish army will be a tremendous stimulus to the development of the political revolution and will have some considerable influence on the other Workers States. This applies to Yugoslavia, in particular, where the bureaucracy is so large that you can hardly avoid seeing it. Belgrade is a very beautiful city, very dynamic and in full development, but there is an enormous hierarchic apparatus with roots in the various federations and even in the Party. This is why the process in Poland has such an influence on all the Workers States, and particularly on Hungary where the bureaucratic apparatus is frightened: it fears fear itself. Its roots go right back to the first stages of Stalin and, although it has made many changes in order to keep up with the changes in the Soviet Union, it nevertheless remains quite an apparatus. In Bulgaria, on the other hand, the influence of Poland is going to develop much more easily.

THE ROLE OF THE ARMY IS TO DEFEND THE WORKERS STATE.

This article of the Polish army is Bolshevik in character. We should not expect it to be applied immediately, because it is going to meet resistance and sabotage. The path which leads to the application of its conclusions follows the same lines as the world process. The Soviet Union denounces Yankee war preparations specifically and they are quite clearly prepared to confront them. At the same time, Poland has the historic confidence to say, 'Life in the army has to be organised so that there are equal rights for both soldiers and Generals. In the Party they are all equal'. The only time this relationship can be changed is in technical aspects, military knowledge, and in times of war. But, even then, what has to prevail is persuasion rather than arrogance and imposition on the part of those who have the most tech-

nical capability. This is exactly what the Bolshevik Party used to do.

This article on the army in Poland influences the Party, the people and the intellectuals politically, even if it does reach the other armies. It will possibly have an influence in the capitalist countries, but individually rather than in the form or immediate action or effect. It influences and prepares within the capitalist countries, but the most direct form of this is political.

We must see that the Polish army is an army of a Workers State, and functions to defend, impel and support the Workers State. The fact that such a resolution (this refers to the article - editorial note) could be taken means that the army cannot remain separated from the life of the population. It depends on it. The capitalist armies, on the contrary, are not prepared for this conclusion because, for them, the maintenance of the regime means the recognition of the authority of those in command. In capitalism the army is there to obey. In the Workers State it is not a matter of obedience. Indeed, 90% of the activity of such an army is social; it intervenes in the day-to-day life of the Workers State. Here, the soldier is equal to his officer, in discussions and meetings of the Party the General and the soldier are exactly equal.

This resolution is not the creation of the Polish people, it is a Soviet resolution which comes from the Bolshevik Party and from Trotsky, who was the first to take such an initiative. It was the Bolsheviks who first adopted the resolution to form cells of the army in which both Generals and soldiers could intervene on equal footing.

Mao Tse Tung did the same thing. He organised an infinity of activities in which the General could say to the soldier, 'What a good thing it is that I am a member of the cell, because it allows me to learn'. There is the story of the Chinese General who was a bricklayer. One day, when he was carrying his bricks, someone asked him, 'Why are you, a General, carrying bricks?' He replied, 'This is what I know best, everything else I have to learn'.

The present scum in the Chinese leadership is sending all this experience to hell. However, this is the contribution of Mao Tse Tung which he took from the Soviets and, even if he did not apply it at such a high level as the Soviets, he gave it the same meaning. The Soviets acted in this way, and even the old Czarist Generals won over by the Bolsheviks - who used to be in the habit of carrying mountains of medals around - were taught to participate in classes where they used to be educated in social processes. Nobody forced them to participate, but they were persuaded to do so by the Soviets. The best Generals of the Czar went

over to the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky referred a lot to the case of the four Generals, one of whom was from an old aristocratic family and was so in love with his military function that he was more a military man than an aristocrat. He saw that it was possible to make a career with the Bolsheviks, and, besides, he was decidedly anti-German. The Bolsheviks turned this anti-German General into an anti-capitalist one.

The military became part of the base which the Bolsheviks won, but these people could not be formed politically in a complete way, or receive sufficient education before Stalin came and used them. Trotsky explained how the Bolsheviks won leaders of the Motorcycle Brigade. He made a speech to them, to which they listened with a certain curiosity and reticence. They had their hands on the throttles of their motorcycles and were ready to go. A quarter of an hour later, three quarters of them removed their hands from the throttles. Two Czarist leaders, renowned for their military ability, were amongst them. Trotsky, who had a great deal of military knowledge himself, spoke to them as a soldier. After a while, the group around Trotsky started to relax and light cigarettes. Trotsky tells us that, at that moment, what he was saying was beginning to sink in and that they were resorting to cigarettes in order to think it out. Trotsky won them all, bar one and a few women, who were listening from a nearby balcony.

THE EXPRESSION OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE ARMY.

We must discuss the problems of democracy in Poland and the solution to them. We are dealing with a process, and a stage yet to be reached, in which political cadres, with the objective maturity needed by the Workers State, are going to appear. In an historic sense, Comrades, the Soviets are promoting this process and it indicates that they are advancing this process in Poland in order to be able to develop themselves. This resolution of the Polish army is a very deep matter, because it is part of the Soviet preparation for the coming war, and, besides, it tells the Yanks quite clearly what they can expect!

This resolution is intended to stimulate the political life in the army and signifies that it is going to be cleared of all the people who waver and doubt. Until now, imperialism has supported itself on these people, and now it screams, 'The army, the army!' Imperialism hoped that a reaction would come from the army and that this would find a support in nationalist sectors, outside the army, in order to contain the Soviets or even to oppose them. The Yanks were behind all this, as much in the army as in the trade unions.

The formulation of such a

resolution goes against all these sectors and it elevates the whole country. We must not consider it as a limited or casual event. This resolution has the aim of breaking the bureaucratic apparatus and the roots of this are very deep. Who is the resolution directed against? Does it not say, 'Rights for everyone?' It must be that someone is not in agreement with this, is not letting it be applied. The progress of the soldiers has become necessary in order to make the next step, but, against whom? It is not against Brezhnev, since the resolution talks of Socialist development. Therefore, it is against a bureaucratic clique which has formed itself inside the army, and which shot a large number of workers in 1970. The present Polish government, on the other hand, has rendered homage to the dead workers. This is the best proof that it is not they who killed the workers.

We have to see all the importance and effect this discussion in the Polish army is going to have on the life of the country, and particularly in the Polish Communist Party (PUWP). In a very profound, if general, way, it indicates the manner in which Socialist democracy develops. This is really the political revolution, and, at the same time, it is also the Permanent Revolution developing in the form of the political revolution. When such a process has reached this level, it is because Poland - and the other Workers States - are ripe for progress 'a la Polonoise' and not simply through a Polish process. This is so because the force which has allowed this progress in Poland is the Soviet Union. It is the Soviet Union which has had to oppose the pro-capitalist sector inside Poland. It is the Soviet Union which has had to oppose sectors who want to conciliate with capitalism and the nationalist sectors who look for changes in Poland in order to fend-off even bigger changes. All these people cling to capitalism eventually. In all this, the Workers State is undergoing the process of political revolution.

This process of political revolution unfolds in a partial and fragmented way. All the aspects have to be united to each other, but already this process has reached the army. Why is this? It is because there was a clique in the army which prevented advance! What does it mean when they resort to such a discussion in the army? It means that there was a gang in the army, a clique which oppressed the country and the army, and had its agents in the police and the whole administration. This process in the army announces a clearance in the Communist Party (PUWP) itself, and it is not peculiar to Poland. It is the form which the clearances in the Workers States either will take, or are taking. It affects the Party, the trade unions and the army; soon it will reach the judicial apparatus.

This is the way the political revolution advances: without civil war, which means without people dying. In the mobilisations of 1970/71, there were some deaths. There was an uprising, but it did not succeed in clearing the bureaucratic apparatus. This uprising was the result of a process which prepared the ground for today. Now the workers are attaining the wishes - to change the Party apparatus - they proclaimed, but could not obtain, in 1970 and for which they died. Now it is being done without people dying, and without the aid of the Pope or the Church. It is the Party which leads the movement. The meeting and demonstration on the First of May in Poland have given us immense joy. It was an historic event which marked a stage of very great advance in Poland.

This resolution of the army is a proof that the new functioning will be beneficial to the political revolution. It will ease our intervention, and it also means an impulse to all the Communist parties of the Workers States, even when they have limited leaderships. They will see that Poland means a process of elevation of culture, of learning and teaching how to oppose the immediate social interests of some layers in the Workers States; how to triumph over these interests. These bureaucratic cliques could be formed in the army because of the historic conditions of the Workers State and not because of the nature of the Communist process. Bureaucratism comes from the fact that the Party, the leadership and programme were not formed in time. All this process also demonstrates that the Party, the leadership and the programme are things which have to be constructed. In itself, Communism is not a construction but a necessity of history. Capitalism cannot draw the least profit from this process, and the masses of the world - particularly those of Poland - see that the development of Socialist democracy, now reaches the sectors most remote from the life of the Party. The army - which, by its very nature and the conditions of this stage of history, had to be busy all the time with military preparations, constantly on the watch against Yankee intervention - is a prime example of this.

May 7th, 1981 J. POSADAS

(1) Extract of an article published in the Polish army newspaper, 'Zolnier Wolnosci', published in the Italian Communist Party newspaper 'Unita' on 7th May 1981. After having asserted that an increase in autonomy in the basic structure of the PUWP (Polish United Workers Party) would not be against the principles of democratic centralism, the article goes on: 'The fact that the armed forces support themselves on an authoritarian structure means that one has to pay particular attention to the need to strengthen the principles of equality by which all members of the Party have equal rights and duties, regardless of their grade or rank.'

*Propaganda is often general and repetitive. This is why it is neces-

cessity and the interest of life of the population. The capitalist system operates on the basis of profit, that of the Workers States on the basis of social development. But the economic and social structure from which the Workers States have to depend comes from the capitalist system. In reality, sixty years is a small time to overcome capitalism taking into account that the Workers States have to co-exist with capitalism, and they have to dedicate up to fifty per cent of their resources to war expenditure rather than costs of development. If capitalism had already been defeated the development in production would be immense. The Workers States have to arm the technical structure to produce while capitalism has had this already structured in feudalism. The Workers States have to do it with bureaucratic and assassin leaderships like Stalin first and Khrushchev afterwards, which annulled and limited this development. Khrushchev, for example, sought to impede the development of China. He wanted to maintain China against capitalism but in this terrain, that is to say, impeding its development so that it did not compete; not so much economically or commercially as socially, so that it did not become the centre of revolutionary development in the world and thus influence the Soviet Union. If the Workers States do not advance more it is because the necessary leadership is not present. The USSR is the second country and in many aspects the first in production, including superior technical, scientific production superior to, for example, capitalist Germany. The voyage in space of Soyuz is industrial production. It is not the type of production of articles of consumption, but is production for human intelligence - which, with time, is going to eliminate the other type of production.

Capitalism continued the scientific structure which came from feudalism, while the Workers State had to acquire it: and they dedicate an important attention to the problems of the development of humanity as with the space vehicles. This shows the confidence and the security in life on earth that, in order to continue, has to be linked with the cosmos.

The Workers States have to co-exist with capitalism and, as a consequence, they have to weaken their technical functioning and pre-

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sary to educate the cadres better... the process of command in the armed forces must be improved and democratised, decisions must be arrived at collectively, and those who are expected to apply them must express their opinions freely. This will end subjectivism'. (Note of J. Posadas: What they want to say in this is that the opinion of the soldier is as valuable as that of the General). The newspaper article concludes that: 'It is necessary to democratise life in the armed forces, to reduce the distance between ranks and to combat firmly the remnants of the authoritarian spirit and attitudes of superiority on the part of those who have more experience, or service, towards the young soldier'. (Note

paration, and, at the same time, they have to create a new leadership in historical circumstances inherited from the stage of Stalin and of the war which destroyed half the world. Capitalism is war, Socialism is peace. This is not a declaration or a maxim or a slogan, but a logical conclusion. Capitalism, in order to live, engenders war; the Workers State, in order to live, has to engender peace. It is the leaderships which limit these levels and conclusions. They limit but do not impede them, and the proof is that the Chinese had to leave Vietnam.

The Chinese had to abandon the attack on Vietnam and the Vietnamese on the occasion of the invasion did not massacre the Chinese or the population of the Chinese which they could have done. Nothing prevented the Vietnamese utilising their planes to bombard the Chinese population. But they let them alone not through fear but because this was not the objective of the Workers State, war with another Workers State. Part of the withdrawal of the Chinese was also through this conclusion. The Chinese Workers State cannot exercise the same criminal action as imperialism, because internal resistance would tighten the ropes. It was not only fear of the Soviet Union which stopped them, but the internal reaction in which the strength of the Soviet Union was included.

In order to understand the present state of capitalism it is enough to see what is happening in capitalist Germany. One of the great democratic gains of humanity is that work is a right before being an obligation. It is a right in the system of private property; they have to give work, afterwards comes the obligation to work otherwise you die. This has as a consequence other rights: the right to vote, the right to be elected, to be protected by the law and to participate in the leadership of society. But Germany has two million and a half immigrant workers who have no political or municipal rights. The children who are born in Germany and live in Germany do not become Germans. This is the capitalist system. There is no point of comparison with the Workers State.

THE WORKERS STATES ARE LEARNING TO LEAD.

The Workers State is organising itself, and capitalism has hundreds of years of existence. The system of private property has thousands of years of existence. It passed from one sphere of functioning to another,

of J. Posadas: When they speak of those who have more experience they are talking about the officers because soldiers never acquire much experience, since they only serve for two years).

(2) This refers to the visit of Suslov - member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union - to Warsaw in April 1981.

(3) This refers to a Yankee military aircraft carrying documents on the missile system which crashed 'in mysterious circumstances' in the United States.

but the system of property is maintained. Slavery feudalism and capitalism have in common the same regime of property. The systems of production are different. One of the conquests which the bourgeoisie made against feudalism was universal suffrage, but why don't the immigrant workers vote in Germany. Aren't there two and a half million of them? And why don't their children vote? That is the suppression of the capitalist system.

The Workers State is the representative of a superior society. It does not mean that it may have the most suitable leadership to represent this necessity, but it has a leadership which represents the necessity of this society. It still does not have the necessary policy and capacity. But the most important fact is that the working class, for the first time in history, is seeking to lead society. An example of the security and the construction of Socialism is the USSR. The Soviet masses put up with Stalin and Hitler. When it dealt with Hitler, world capitalism sought that the USSR would resist Hitler so that Hitler and the USSR would be weakened and the workers would rise against Stalin. The workers said that it was necessary to liquidate Hitler and afterwards settle with Stalin. They had the consciousness which creates the security that is given by the Workers State. Hence, Hitler lost not because North America intervened but because the workers of the Soviet Union, the masses of the whole world, concentrated in the defence of the USSR against nazism. Afterwards they threw out Stalin, and the USSR progressed. The USSR passed from nothing to what it is now, through the form of society which it has, which is statified property, planning of production and the development of science, culture and the political level of society.

The USSR is not a contradictory society, but a society which is learning to lead and where there is an uninterrupted progress. In Germany, on the other hand, this is not the case. There are two and a half million foreign workers who have no political rights. There are problems of unemployment, lack of houses, and increase in the cost of living. This shows that there are no democratic liberties, and the base of capitalist society in Germany is 'liberty'. In the USSR the basis of society is not democratic liberty but statified property, planning of production, the development in the world of the struggle against capitalism. This is the basis of Soviet society, and to maintain this at the highest level Soviet democracy is necessary. Brezhnev himself limitedly demands it.

Capitalist Germany developed after the Second World War, but not through its own capacity. Imperialism devoted milliards of dollars to develop Germany so that it might be a bridge against the Workers State. This is the essential basis of the development of Germany. It is not that Germany, after the war, had the strength to develop. From where did it get the capital? Imperialism, with the Marshall Plan, sent an enormous amount of dollars so that

Germany would develop and serve the opposition, an obstacle to the development of the Workers State. But, at present, Germany is a country occupied by the British, French and North Americans. It has no democratic rights, nor its own military force, but depends on Yankee, French and British imperialism, above all on the Yanks. It is a subjugated country which was developed to have the strength to confront the Workers States, but also to impede independence in

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economic development which would then give it military and social rights. If Germany had developed militarily there would have been another war with France and Britain, not with the German Workers State but with France and Britain.

The solution to terminate with wars, with unemployment, with hunger, with the exploitation of immigrant workers, the workers of every country, is the elimination of the capitalist system - and that is the way of avoiding war.

J. POSADAS

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elements within capitalism who see no future within the perspectives of offensives against the masses when capitalism lacks the world strength to impose its will. The election of Scargil will give confidence to the petit bourgeoisie that the working class is resolved to deal with capitalism. The disputes within the SDP and Liberal alliance also have significance because forces, particularly the Liberal base, are sympathetic to aspects of the anti-capitalist policies of the Labour Party, particularly the policies of nuclear disarmament. All this disintegrates capitalism and gives opportunity to the Labour Party to centralise the masses against capitalism.

All the conditions in the world and nationally are an impulse to better initiatives from the Labour Party Left. The discussion over the fares crisis in London or that over 'parliamentarianism' in the Tatchel case all require a much more coherent political life and discussion to resolve and clarify. The Labour Left could develop a whole series of campaigns and discussions on issues such as Poland and the London fares crisis to develop better links with the population and begin to develop a capable political cadre and vanguard which would make the Party a much more attractive instrument than it is now. A whole series of initiatives should be developed towards the factories to develop a life with the Party so that the needs of the population weigh in the Party, but linked to a real political understanding of what is happening in the world. As there is no tradition like this - as limitedly there is in the big Communist parties -

it cannot develop suddenly. But events such as Poland and the decomposition of capitalism place very firmly on the agenda a different and more elevated Left that discusses the world, develops a revolutionary culture opposed to the claims of capitalism, and brings the masses directly into discussion through the intervention of the Labour Left in strikes, occupations and the immediate problems of the population. A new Labour government actively involved in imposing measures that limit and confront capitalism requires a more scientific party linked to the masses in order to advance.

8.1.82

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Editorial

Base the organisation of the left Labour currents on the advance of Poland and the Soviet Union

We are in the stage of the mortal and total agony of imperialism and capitalism. The only thing it has left is military preparations. The extent to which it prepares militarily is proportional to its social, political and economic crisis. When Pym says that there are only cuts in living standards ahead, he gives the lie to all previous Government statements and only shows that they cannot agree among themselves and that they have no perspective. The progress of Poland against bureaucracy and the allies of capitalism has brought to light all the incapacity of imperialism to do anything against the Workers States, and has revealed greater disintegration inside them. The working class feels that it has the Workers States on which to rest, its natural allies, that will support its endeavours in bringing the remnants of this corrupt and desperate regime down. It is not anguished by unemployment or impending war. The Labour Left and, in part, the Labour Party are learning how to grasp that the process does not pass through Parliament but through the direct intervention of the working class and masses in the leadership of society. This conclusion remains to be drawn and will take a whole historic stage. But it is fundamental.

IMPERIALISM HAS NO MORE INTEREST IN CULTURE OR PROGRESS.

Whilst Reagan and Thatcher took part in the 'spectacular', an epitome of the vulgarity and desperation of imperialism, US imperialism has been unable to 'punish' Poland for getting rid of the bureaucrats linked to world capitalism. The inter-capitalist struggle is so great that not one capitalist country can trust that the others will boycott anyone. Meanwhile the French government has now allied itself to the Germans in their purchase of Soviet gas, a deal which will make France practically dependent for a great part of its energy supplies on a 'Communist' country, and which can hardly be said to announce acrimonious relations between the two countries. The full depth of this capitalist crisis shows also in the fact that even the ITV have refused to show the 'Spectacular'.

The recent incident involving Bush and his car shows that the US imperialists live in an atmosphere of panic fear and internal struggles on the level of assassinations. However, when leaders such as De La Roque of the US Navy attack the whole increase in arms expenditure by the US government, it shows the state of decomposition and rejection of the war plans within the heart of the military apparatus. The same goes for all the armies of Europe and, of course, for the British army. These are the conditions in which the development of the Left in the Labour Party takes place that allow immense possibilities for advance, not just against the Tory government but against the capitalist system and its war.

THE NEC OF THE LABOUR PARTY SUPPORTS ASLEF.

When the NEC of the Labour Party, even though it takes no action, supports an industrial dispute such as that of ASLEF, it is because changes have been made in the Party leading in the direction of supporting struggles that aren't strictly of a Parliamentary order, and of making the Labour Party - with the aid of further changes - more a Party to lead struggles. The implications of this process are manifold. The fact that Livingstone calls for direct mobilisations in support of the Labour Councils and workers involved in resisting the Tories' cuts, shows the climate that develops in the Party, of grasping the need to take direct action and not wait for the next local or parliamentary elections. The ruling class is not in a position to roll back the process of history. The proposed Tebbit laws against the Closed Shop are quite desperate and very belated. Besides, the support which the SDP gives to the Tories on this issue destroys any conception that there is a "new" way in British politics. A sector of the SDP does not like this, however, and this is yet another example of the disintegration of capitalism.

The lack of generalisation of the struggles comes from the mortal fear the trade union leadership has, nationally, of the devastating proportions of the struggles to come - which are going to bring down all the compromisers with capitalism. The continuous struggles and factory occupations at Plessy's in Scotland, the virtual blockade of Leylands at Bathgate, the occupation at SENLAC (the channel ferry) at Lawrence Scotts, are cases that show the confident security of a class that isn't smashed, far from it. Capitalism is desperate, not on the 'offensive'. The anti-Closed

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RESOLUTION ON POLAND (MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS). 2.1.82 EXTRACTS

The meeting discussed the recent events in Poland and the development of the political revolution on the basis of all the theoretical and political elaboration of comrade Posadas which has accompanied, from the beginning, this process which is the expression of the course of the Permanent Revolution. This includes the whole of the Workers States, their relation with the progress of history, and the proximity of the final settlement of accounts between the systems. It is important to live the march of events in Poland with the theoretical work of comrade Posadas, to make use of it, to diffuse it, and to teach our Sections to help in the construction of Socialism. His work on Poland has been diffused throughout the world in the newspapers and pamphlets of our Sections and in eight languages; now the articles are being brought together as books. The most complete work on Poland by comrade Posadas appeared recently in Colombia, and others will soon appear in English, Portuguese, French and, finally, in German. The whole of the International is conscious that this work is indispensable to help the world Communist and revolutionary movement to learn from this Polish experience, on how the masses and the Communist vanguard of the Workers States learn to construct Socialism.

The events in Poland with the intervention of the army in the political leadership of the country are a continuation of the process of changes - of political revolution - which the workers movement has already achieved and realised through strikes and the cleansing of the bureaucratic elements in the Party. The lack of means and political leadership in the working class and the Party imposed the need for this transitory action of the army. It has not been against the masses or against the existence of the independent trade union, but has been a measure to put order into the discussion opened in the country.

It has been a method of the Workers State to cleanse the bureaucratic structure and facilitate the process of reconstruction and formation of the political leadership of the Workers State to make it more efficient in social, economic and political programming. The working class and the Polish masses have not participated in strikes and provocations against the military intervention. The cadres and militants of the Party have collaborated with the army and, in all cases, the masses have behaved in



POLISH WORKER WITH PHOTOGRAPH OF LENIN IN A DEMONSTRATION.

such a way as to do nothing that would damage the Workers State. It is in this sense that Poland - even in this form of the intervention of the army - continues being a centre of experiences of all the masses of the world for the Communist world movement, for the leaderships of the whole of the Workers States, a centre through which one learns to construct Socialism.

This present process in Poland forms part of the process which the Workers States are living through, of interior selection and preparation of the political leadership which must confront the final phase of the liquidation of the capitalist system. It is not the military or armaments aspect which is uppermost, but the social development of the Socialist countries as the most powerful weapon to influence the capitalist

capitalist countries, and to integrate the masses of the world in a united front to liquidate capitalism and to construct Socialism. This is the process which identifies the Workers States more and more with the revolutionary process throughout the world.

This stage is determined by the existence of the Workers States, not by the bureaucratic leaderships. It is determined through the social structure of the Workers State, which has passed the proof of history and has given the security to the whole of humanity that it can organise society on rational and scientific bases in accordance and with the intervention of society. This level of intelligence is the element which has developed the Workers state so that any country, in order to advance, takes the road of Socialism and impels the organisation of society with Socialism; society, not each country.

Hence, this stage in which 'now Stalinism does not exist' (definition of J. Posadas - on the political leadership of the Workers States) in the leadership of the Workers States. For the bureaucracy of Stalin was the support, the conciliation with capitalism, but the present leadership give their support to the liquidation of capitalism throughout the world. The Workers States must extend themselves as a necessity of the economy and of science, and this extension is against the capitalist system.

The present process in the Workers States, which is the force which determines the revolutionary process of this stage, is that of the establishing of the political leader-

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RESOLUTION ON POLAND (MEETING OF THE

ship which answers to this structure of the world. This is not a simple process, nor one in which one can expect a consistent and homogenous form because it is a question of a change of conception from that which led the Workers States after the first seven years of the Russian Revolution until now. The Soviets are the ones who have advanced most of all through this previous tradition, and the ones who have more responsibility in the confrontation with the capitalist system. It is in this way that they have lived the Polish process from its beginnings. Comrade Posadas always linked in his analyses the workers' intervention in Poland with the attitude of the Soviet leadership. From 1956 until now, the transitory solutions that were reached were a combination between the impulse of people, the decision of the Soviets, and the specific conditions of the social constitution of the Polish Communist Party. In 1956 the movement was made as a consequence still of the continuation of the Stalinist policy of Khrushchev. In 1970 the Soviet leadership already - through Brezhnev - expressed a greater interest in changing the bureaucratic apparatus and seeking points of support in the masses. But, as regards the Party, they had to support themselves on the leadership of Gierk and to make a rapid agreement so as to contain the impulse of the masses to intervene. Now, in 1980, the Soviets have accepted the creation of the independent trade union and the conquests that have been obtained; and the most important aspect is that they have resolved to be supported in the strength of these worker mobilisations to give a much more profound blow at the bureaucratic structure of the Polish Workers State because this structure goes against the homogeneity which is required to prepare to confront the capitalist system, and they have supported the liquidation of Gierk.

Comrade Posadas has analysed with clarity the function of the army in the Workers State, in the way that its character and behaviour is different from capitalism. The army in the Workers State is constituted with the objective of defending society. Even with the bureaucracy the Workers State represents a socially centralised form determined by the army represents a gamut of competing interests, with its leadership determined and dependent on the most powerful and dominant sector of the economy. Hence it works in accordance with the interests of sectors or groups and not of the country. In the armies as in Poland, the character of the army as representative of the system prevails because it was constituted in the struggle against nazism and in its application and defence of social transformations. Hence Posadas emphasised that the ranks of the army were among the most genuine sectors in the defence of the Workers State, an important sector of the Communist vanguard of the

country.

The Communist vanguard could not carry out, with the Party or the trade union, the degree of cleansing which can be done with the army. It is important to take this into account in the discussion in the Communist movement. Thus one can not now question military action as if it were in capitalism. In the first place, it is not a military action but a political one taken by the army that required the discipline and the centralisation of action which only the army has. And, secondly, it is necessary to see against whom the army was acting. Anyway, the army includes the Party and, above all, includes the objective of the defence of the Workers State. All this has been seen by the Polish masses and the masses of the world. The Polish army ten months ago had resolved to deepen the democratic character of its function. It had also developed the recent social activity of interesting itself in the problems of distribution, and had resolved in general correctly and in favour of the population and the small peasant. It is this constitution and this experience which is seen by the masses of the world. There is no place in the world where the army of the Workers State is to be found destroying or subordinating a country. Afghanistan, Angola, Mozambique or Ethiopia contain forces of the Socialist countries: are these countries submitted or do they develop? They develop! Mozambique has just achieved self-sufficiency in food. But in El Salvador there is a Yankee army which does nothing else but kill. This is how the situation has to be judged.

It is important to understand the sense in which the army intervened in Poland in order to learn the stage of the present development of the political revolution in the Workers States. Already Cde Posadas had characterised the non-bloody character of the process of liquidation and purging of the bureaucracy in the majority of the Workers States and this process in Poland confirms it. The army has intervened not through its capacity of possessing arms, but through the capacity of working in a centralised way in defence of the Workers State. It has been an action of forces against an apparatus which resists the discipline of the Workers State. This could not be done by the Party and much less by the independent trade union. A measure of this is that the POUP, having thrown out hundreds of leaders, still did not have a capable leadership and had a tradition of corruption which made it lose authority with the population. It is for this reason that, foreseeing this, the army had already acquired a more preponderant role both in social life and in the Party life, integrating many soldiers in posts of leadership. But there was not the time nor the previous preparation which would make it possible to re-animate this Party.

POLAND IS A WORKERS STATE AND NOT SOCIALISM.

Socialism is a society which is constructed without the means with which previous social regimes have relied upon in history. Besides, it is a regime which eliminates private property and everything which that system has developed in the formation of thought and human relations. The previous regimes had modified their ways of organising production, but always maintaining private property. The Workers State is the instrument of the transition to Socialism. Previous regimes have also had periods of transition where they dedicated themselves to the accumulation of economic and political power to impose themselves later. But the Workers State is an instrument of the accumulation of social capacity to lead and construct humanity. It is a quality which does not come from power nor from the economy, but from the intelligence and the understanding, a capacity which is acquired in the experience of life

Hence, in the construction of Socialism, one cannot demand an accommodation to bourgeois good manners and practice.

The Workers State is a transitory process which combines aspects of capitalism and Socialism, coercion and social persuasion, as means of securing progress to Socialism.

Comrade Posadas analysed profoundly the bases of the origin of the Polish Workers State, that it arose after the Second World War devastated by the previous regime as also by the action of the nazis. In everything a very firm Communist nucleus acted which had a preponderant role in the resistance to the nazis. The Soviet army, after triumphing in Stalingrad and expelling the nazis from the USSR, delayed on the orders of Stalin its intervention in Poland. Stalin hoped, firstly, for the conciliation of capitalism and, then, the liquidation of the bulk of the Polish resistance. Hence, an economically backward Workers State arose, which was also socially and politically subjected. Stalin established a leadership with interests linked to agrarian property so that it would respond to the interests of sustaining the 'great Soviet Union' and the policy of conciliation with capitalism. All these antecedents have to be taken into account to understand the present changes in Poland, and those which still have to come.

Poland has made an immense progress in the thirtyfive years of being a Workers State. Before the revolution people died of hunger, the peasants had no shoes and the immense majority did not know how to read or write. Now, with the backwardness which still exists in the countryside, all the peasants have houses and a secure life; there are hospitals, schools and universities when before only one in a family could study in Warsaw and abroad. This has been achieved

through the stratification of the most important aspects of the economy and centralised planning developed by a leadership educated in the consideration that this could be done, together with the conciliation with capitalism as Stalin had taught them. Thus it saw in the relation with capitalism not a transitory agreement or a necessity because of the backwardness of the Workers State - and after the necessity was resolved, the construction of Socialism, which is the centre against capitalism, was to be continued - but believed that it was possible to make a harmonious Socialist-capitalist development where Socialism was a peaceful form which gave better conditions of life than under capitalism. But the existence of the Workers State developed the understanding of the masses and of a sector of the leadership that the Workers State can lead society and extend planning and Socialism throughout the world. For this, it is necessary to be based on the democratic Soviet intervention of the masses and to prepare the confrontation with capitalism which resists this process. This is the present course in the leadership of the Workers States, and this has contributed enormously to the progress of the world and the intervention of the masses of the Workers States.

The relation between the Polish Workers State and capitalism was not eliminated with the elimination of Stalinism but still continued with Gierk and today. Gierk had applied a programme based on the development of heavy industry dependent on the world capitalist market and foreign credits. He created a whole bureaucratic leadership dependent on this programme - associated with a layer of medium agrarian proprietors, the internal commercial apparatus based on private co-operatives (which distribute basic food products, accommodation and domestic electrical appliances) to the commercial apparatus with external trade linked to the World Bank and contraband of every sort, and also to a privileged layer of the leadership of the Workers State and of the official trade unions. In some areas of the economy an authentic workers aristocracy arose.

The political leadership developed on the basis of all this condition and as a means of surviving to defend all these economic and social relations. This is what Cde Posadas defined as one of the most powerful bureaucratic apparatuses of the Workers States and one of the most linked to the world capitalist structure. Even with the cleansing developed up to this moment - Kania being secretary of the PWUP - in one of the last Central Committees, they resolved to request entry to the International Monetary Fund. This is a whole quite corrupt leadership, and even those who have not been corrupted are educated in leadership taking into account the capitalist system. This is why they have 30 million dollars in external debt with capitalism. The

Soviet Union has a volume of trade with capitalism a hundred times greater, without this in any way determining the Soviet economy or society. On the other hand, in Poland it does.

This structure gives an idea of the profundity with which one has to approach the changes in Poland, changes which could not have been carried through solely by the trade unions. The workers movement, fundamentally the trade unions and the Communist vanguard, had pointed to the corruption of the bureaucratic apparatus and the need to correct it. But they did not have the means to get rid of it. This is why the army, as a representative of the Workers State, does it. The army continues the clearance initiated and brought to light by the Communist vanguard. This does not diminish in any way the capacity of the Polish masses, because without the actions of the masses in 1956, in 1970 and from 1980 until today, there would have been no such intervention of the army. The army intervenes to continue the process of development of Soviet democracy initiated by the masses. But, because of the scope of the task in hand, this could not be resolved just by the masses in the face of all the feebleness of the political leadership. Thus the economic and social structure in Poland is the result of such a political leadership and not errors or incomprehension. To change this structure signifies to prepare a leadership for this task. The intervention of the army has been necessary to put order into the situation and to open the way for the constitution of the political leadership of the Polish Workers State.

The trade unions are not the organs of the Workers State which could carry out such an activity, because of their social constitution and the very road which the independent union Solidarnosc took. The trade union is not just composed of workers, but also of various sectors ranging from petit bourgeois, technocrats, functionaries, who all influence in the formation of thought, the resolutions and conclusions reached by the trade union. The Party should have made there an activity of political education, allowing the working class to weigh and attract the rest, to participate in an activity of the defence of the Workers State at the same time as defending sector interests in front of bureaucratic deviations, allowing the class to defend itself from the bureaucracy as a social sector and as Workers State, letting it develop in management, control and the elaboration of the plans of production. But, in Poland, the then political leadership was not interested in doing this. Its interest as a bureaucratic apparatus led to policies of relationship with capitalism which called for containing and crushing all trade union and political activity.

As a leadership was lacking to centralise and develop the full force of the Communist base and workers movement, to clean the Workers State up and advance

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in Soviet democracy, a political vacuum was created and used by groups which acquired a certain prominence and clambered into the leadership of Solidarnosc. This wasn't the result of some necessity but of the lack of a political leadership; and also, because of the support world capitalism was giving them to create difficulties to the Workers State. The trade union was a necessity and a creation of the masses, but not the leadership of that trade union. This is highlighted by the crises of all the last stages in the leadership of Solidarnosc.

In its origins Solidarnosc attracted the massive support of the workers movement, and there were ten million workers affiliated. The Communist and trade union vanguard considered that Union not so much for economic improvements only as to reach an agreement with sectors of the leadership of the PUWP to make the Workers State advance. This was the reason why they affiliated to Solidarnosc and intervened. But, in not having the organisational capacity for a greater development - because of the previous lack of trade union and political life - a camarilla and counter-revolutionary groups made their appearance in the leadership. In the main, that leadership turned out to have nothing to do with the working class and was made up, above all, of petit bourgeois intellectuals, consultants, people who appropriated the Union; and they have done this with the support of world capitalism through all these 'donations', such as those of the AFL-CIO and the German Christian Democracy. If this were not the case, how such a movement managed to acquire an immediate international nexus of representatives in the whole capitalist world and bases of propaganda against the Polish Workers State could not be explained. This is why the affiliations to Solidarnosc quickly dwindled of late, and it is also why the workers have boycotted meaningless strike ventures. All the last strikes were strikes of functionaries and well-off sectors; the greatest 'resistance' to the army's action came from management personnel and privileged sectors. The workers' base abandoned the adventurist interests of these leaders and even Walesa had to recognise that the working class 'is tired of all these strikes and strikes.'

Thus the 'democracy' they advocated had little perspective. On the other hand, even when there has not been the greatest intervention of the masses, the action of the military provides better conditions for democracy. What democracy could there have possibly been with all these people now thrown out? The Polish Ambassador to the US allowed democracy as long as it did not hinder his intrigues with imperialism - and, then he ran away on all fours! All the corrupt and thieving apparatus is now challenged; it did not mind the sort of democracy that allowed it to get on with robbery and privileges. The same goes for the majority of the leadership of Solidarnosc, which appointed itself at the top of an apparatus that discussed over and above the head of the workers' movement. If they discussed behind the scenes, it was not at all by mistake but to plot against the Workers State, in quest of 'democracy'; that is to say, the right to discuss secretly and conspire against the Workers State.

By the process of the necessary progress of the Workers State to clean up the bureaucratic apparatus and develop Soviet democracy to advance to Socialism. The Polish masses have moved for Soviet democracy and certainly not for the abstraction of 'democracy for all' and 'liberty for all' - which means democracy and liberty to maintain individual interest in the Workers State, be it to conciliate individual interest with the centralised structure of the Workers State, or to create difficulties for the State and make it retreat.

This is the way Cde Posadas analysed tendencies like KOR, a group which had a certain success for a time, when it had a policy of opposition to the bureaucracy and, in that way, a certain reason for being and a certain support from the Communist base. But, as political life elevates, there comes a differentiation of interests: the Communist base opposed bureaucracy in order to make the Workers State advance, whilst the groups oppose bureaucracy in the name of individual interests. These groups have lost any support and have remained bogged down in recriminations in the name of private property in the countryside, private co-operatives, and self-management. These interests are contrary to the necessity for the economic, social and scientific centralisation of the Workers State. They are such interests that now unify from Gierk to Kuron. The enemies of yesterday are united today, because the progress of the Workers State has censured them all. At the point where abstract anti-bureaucratic struggle is being overcome, these groups don't hesitate to link up with, and open the door to, world capitalism - which uses them to further its counter-revolutionary aims.

The recent National Congress of Solidarnosc, as much as the meeting of its national leadership, have been apparatus meetings and have brought out apparatus resolutions. Walesa was challenged there directly, and threatened with death by the most reactionary sectors. The intention of these groups wasn't the same as that of the workers movement; indeed, it was completely opposed to it. This is why, in the clearance which the army is now making, one can see a united front appear between the old Gierk apparatus and groups, former members of KOR and the 'Confederation of Independent Poland'. Gierk and these groups have been cast aside

The democracy which has to develop in the Workers State, however, is Soviet democracy, to allow dis-

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Shop laws show the desperation of a government that has to give blows but has no policy, and even less hope to see its laws obeyed if they are passed.

The working class is acting with a lot of calm and composure in the face of unprecedented attacks on the part of the capitalist system. It is neither submitted nor demoralised. All the changes in the Labour Party have allowed it a greater say politically, and it is working at these changes. For the working class, the changes in the Labour Party are immensely more important than a good many strikes. They see that what is needed is a leadership not to tackle just the government but the system, and they are preparing it under the form of constant pressures that never isolate their action from the need for a political leadership. This is why, after having voted 70% in favour of Scargill, the miners did not vote for strike because they felt the lack of leadership and programme.

WHY WAIT FOR ELECTIONS ?

The apparent slowness of the process of bringing down the government is accompanied by a very dynamic change in the Labour Party. There have been no expulsions of the Left, and the Left is learning how to judge the process in Poland through the support the Right wing of the Party gives to the capitalist campaign against Poland. The Right are mourning the loss of their bureaucratic friends, now thrown out of the Polish Communist Party and State, through whom they could appear linked with Socialism. A whole-scale liquidation of 'eurocommunist' ideas is being made, and the Left is learning about Poland, the Workers State and its army.

There is a marked discrepancy between the confidence of the working class and its continuous anti-capitalist activities, and the lack of intervention in support of ASLEF nationally. It is necessary to discuss, now that support to ASLEF has been given, that appeals should be made publically to all the Unions, and a public debate opened about the conduct of Weighell and his like in the Unions. The Labour Party can, and must, do this. This means not to wait for the next elections, but to mobilise in support of a policy which cannot be implemented except by force against the government, and bringing it down. The call of Livingstone is another instance of what could be done, and there is an immense support for it. It is necessary to educate cadres, tendencies and currents in the Party who are firm and clear about the road to Socialism, the nature of the Workers State, and the violent character of the progress of history. The workers are quietly showing the way - occupations, the challenge by means of force of the right of ownership for the benefit of a few whose interests have become outrightly murderous in this stage of history. These are problems that must be, and will be, discussed in the Labour Party.

6.2.82

carry out the plan of the 'Junta of National Salvation'. It is not enough that the military declares that it is in favour of Socialism to ensure such a progress. Already, Gierk has done the same in the name of Socialism. What is important is the proposals they have made which are in keeping with the need for the progress of the Workers State, supporting the acquired level of intervention of the masses. The masses must intervene and discuss in Poland and all the Workers States about the intervention of the army, its meaning, its objective, and how to continue from there. The problem is that private property persists in the Workers State as a source of corruption and difficulties. It is necessary to centralise the Polish economy, to extend centralisation and planning more strictly with the rest of COMECON, breaking links with capitalism. All this will create conditions for the progress of the country.

Capitalism has been newly hit by these events in Poland. It is not just that its points of support within the Workers State have been snapped further, but that the campaign of slanders which it has made did not go beyond the little candle that Reagan has put in the White House window. The attitude of the masses

of the world has been one of understanding the meaning of the changes in Poland, and it has cut short capitalism's efforts to take advantage of the position. Capitalism has not been able to make a united front within itself against Poland. The German capitalists have been much preoccupied to preserve their particular trade relationships, and there is a maturing in the social democratic Left in learning how to understand the Workers State and how to construct Socialism. This is why there were no demonstrations against Poland, and the bourgeoisie is wondering in bewilderment where all the 500 thousand who demonstrated for peace have gone to. Why don't they come out? The other element in the cautious attitude of the Germans is that they hope that the private property sector and bureaucracy remaining in Poland will manage to stop the clearance. This is why Brandt says: 'Better Jaruzelski than the Soviets'. He realises that if an impulse is given to a Soviet intervention, on the one hand, capitalism will not be able to stop it; and on the other, it will lead to much more measures against private property and bureaucracy in Poland.

The economic boycott the Yankees proposed has been discarded by the whole of world capitalism.

The failure of the policy of Deng Xiao Ping and the lack of trade union and political life in China

J POSADAS

The bourgeois press says that in China there are millions of unemployed young people who are seeking the way to live, to settle down etc. Capitalism wants to show that there is a degradation of Chinese society, but they show nothing more. They are concerned not to show what happens in the army or the factories.

All the plans of Deng Xiao Ping failed. The plans which they have made to trade with the capitalist world and triple production have failed. On the contrary, there is a fall in production. The daily papers which published these reports like the newspaper 'Repubblica'(1) have placed all the blame for these problems on deficiencies, incapacity or lack of economic programming and means. All this is true, but is very relative. The essential limitation is that there is no trade union or political life. This means that in the economy only small layers intervene, who think with the mentality of a ruling group, with a conception of a caste. They are the sectors who have imposed that in the University politics is not discussed, that the teacher must be addressed as 'sir', and that the plans of study can only be those which limit knowledge to the science which is capitalist. All this is to favour the development of China 'at any cost'. This is the basis of the lack of development of the country.

It is absurd that in China there are twenty million unemployed. They have infinite plans of production, and there is no political leadership. Thus capitalism and the dailies like 'Repubblica' try to show those aspects of China which demonstrate that Communism has failed, when what in reality has failed is Deng Xiao Ping. They want to show how China is the result of the incapacity of Communism, as they want to show that Stalin also was the result of the incapacity of Communism. Anyway, now they hardly speak of the 'incapacity of Communism', because they see all that the Workers States have done; but they speak of the 'barbarity of Communism'. This is the game played by all these dailies which aim at a petit bourgeois public. This public is not reactionary and it seeks progress, but within the capitalist system. They fear they would have to submit to Communism. They are frightened over discipline because, according to them, it 'denies personality'.

Deng Xiao Ping said nothing when Mao took power. China was a desert in which only Shanghai, Canton, and some other city had workers.

China was a great desert with many Yankee, British, German and French enterprises. Now there is nothing of this. China has made

one of the greatest developments in history with the most limited means. The Soviets, in part, continue the previous conflict of the Stalin epoch but an important and almost decisive part of the Soviet leadership wants agreement with the Chinese and expects it; hence the supple attitude of the Soviets.

In 1973, a great number of Chinese who were technicians and scientists arrived in France and Italy and gave interviews. They were asked about marriage, love, children, and they answered very well, although with some ingenuousness. They said that they wanted to marry and have children, but that now they could not do it. They were young people, many of them graduates, engineers and technicians. They proposed that they were very interested in all the activity that they were doing, and hence they did not have time to think about children for now. It was in the epoch in which there was still not the prohibition of marriage before twentysix. This prohibition still exists, as also that of having more than two children. With this, crime and assassination was being inculcated. That is not to say that it is so because, as China is a Workers State, there is no reason for this to happen, but they are stimulating this. Anyone who has more than two sons has a wage reduction and is deprived of family allowance.

All the plans of Deng Xiao Ping have failed, the same as when he went to the United States- In the United States the Yanks wanted to utilise him against the Soviets, but they saw they could not do it and then they left and gave him no more importance.

There are layers of students, promoted by and linked to the great bureaucrats, who accept the study of Confucius. They are linked to the leading layer and the bureaucrats. They take from Confucius and put Marx on one side but, at the same time, there are tendencies which propose that they are against eliminating the study of Marx and Lenin in the University. Deng Xiao Ping wanted to leave Marx and Lenin as texts of consultation, of reference, nothing more. This shows the intellectual poverty of the present Chinese leadership, which cannot last much longer. It is necessary to expect shortly great struggles and uprisings to re-take the road of Communism. This leadership is a debacle. It has no position on anything. And, when they do take one, it is against the revolutionary process and against the Soviets. Anyway, recently they have not taken positions as before, but are more cautious, which shows the great internal struggle which exists.

The present Chinese leadership hoped that the capitalists would invest and they sought the massive entry of capital into China to develop the country. They expected - without saying it - to make a type of NEP, believing that the capitalists were mad and they were still in 1918. They have no coherent or logical plan, and it is not true either that they hold all the power- It is enough to see all the time that they were very slow to sentence the 'gang of four' and the trial which they made was not a real trial.

The previous policy of the Soviets of Stalin and Khrushchev impelled the Chinese to arrange matters as they could. They relied upon developing the Chinese economy with Soviet help, and the Soviets withdrew all the technicians, machinery, loans and economic help and cleared off. Part of the plans for the rapid development of the economy in China arose because the Soviets deprived them of everything. Capitalism does not say anything of this, nor do the Soviets record it. The Soviets also hide the importance that the Chinese communes had in their epoch, which was an immense progress. It was a very rich experience for the revolution throughout this zone, and the Vietnamese had very good relations with the Chinese. But, afterwards, the policy of the Chinese changed. They hoped that the Soviets would confront the Yanks in war, so that they would mutually destroy each other and they could develop.

All the recent policy of the Chinese leadership is to seek capital so that capitalism invests in China to develop it. It does not matter that the capitalists profit, but that they develop China. They are all plans which are dreams and based on a mystical conception. All the basis of the mystical conception which existed in Mao, and partly in this leadership, is not because they have a mystical origin but because they have no other way, no other example to take. Hence the maxims of Mao, 'walking on one's own two feet' and others, were destined to create the will because the Soviets had deprived them of everything. At the beginning of the Chinese revolution all these maxims did not exist, and they were born when the Soviets cleared off, and they had to develop through their own means.

Part of the progress of the Chinese revolution was the creation of the Communes, which was a very great impulse for Asia and which, to a certain extent, must be repeated in Vietnam and Cambodia. The communes have their origin, for example, in revolutionary Russia but in the peculiar form of China. In Russia, there was a formed proletariat and a revolutionary Party, something which China did not have.

RESOLUTION ON POLAND from page 3

The events of Afghanistan had already shown the fiasco of such measures. The Yankees returned to propose a boycott to see up to what point they could still count on centralising world capitalism; and also, to see if they could wrench some concession from the Soviets. The Soviets have not conceded anything; and have managed to deepen further the contradictions within capitalism. Argentina has already proposed to sell wheat to Poland, on the same line as it did at the time of the Carter's embargo against the USSR.

The Communist movement must discuss Poland, considering it within the scope of the problems and experiences that arise in the process of the construction of Socialism. It must do this also considering the maturity shown by the world masses who have understood the events in Poland. Europe is animated by the demonstrations of millions against war, and it occurred to no one to mobilise against the military intervention in Poland. On the contrary, in the instances where demonstrations were called, these gave rise to political declarations being passed against the leadership. In this way, the general strike proposed in France failed completely. The Italian working class was absent from the various activities proposed by the Italian trade union leadership and the Communist and Socialist

The same goes for Spain, Britain, Germany and the whole world, the US included. The masses of the world differentiate perfectly between capitalism and the Workers State, and they are learning from Poland that bureaucratic deficiencies are something that can be put right. The Communist movement must discuss and educate its cadres and militants in the experience of how to construct and lead society; and to discuss this need for changes in Poland, democracy is needed; but Soviet democracy.

The Workers States have reacted in a unified way in the face of the events in Poland, and they must continue to discuss the Polish experience to see how to continue the progress of the Workers States. Thus, in the same way as it made factory assemblies in the Soviet Union, condemning the reactionary Solidarnosc groupings, they must call similar meetings now to discuss how to make Poland advance; to discuss the problems which stem from private property and the need for its gradual elimination, and the need also for the intervention of the workers' movement and the masses in the control of the economy. These are necessary measures to affirm the present clearances because they mean removing the bases of support of the corruption of the bureaucratic apparatus.

RESOLUTION OF THE MEETING OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS.

Hence the type of communes which they made, and the particular form which they took.

One of the most significant aspects of the Chinese revolutionary process was when Lin Paio and Chou en Lai made, at the same moment, speeches which were completely opposed. Mao was in the middle of the two, which showed the weakness of the leadership. Chou en Lai posed that the University had to be concerned with the factory and the army with military affairs; and politics should not enter into any of these areas. But Lin Paio posed that, in order to be a good soldier, it was necessary to be a good Communist, and the good Communist had to live politically. He was correct, including the fact that in the University sixty percent of the students must be workers, paid by the state to study. All this was liquidated afterwards by Deng Xiao Ping.

There were things in the Cultural Revolution which were not correct: for example, when the teacher was sent to work like the students. I posed at that moment that I was not in agreement with this function, because insofar as the necessity existed to pass from capitalism to Socialism, it was necessary to be

dedicated to the task of the leadership, and if the teacher dedicated time to manual work he would not have time to think. What happens is that he has to be a leader with revolutionary thought, and then he does what is necessary.

In the army it was different and simpler, because the reforms which they made allowed them to remove all solemnity from the ranks, and the ranks simply meant the knowledge and that person has to lead in case of war. In a period when there are no hostilities, the soldiers live the usual life of the population. All this has been liquidated through the present policy of the Chinese leadership - which means a very great retreat. This is part of the discussion which will arise again in a short time in China.

J. POSADAS 27.3.81

(1) 'Repubblica': Italian daily paper aimed at a petit bourgeois public and with anti-Soviet positions.

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The Irish elections and the need for the perspective of the socialist unification of Britain and Ireland

The sudden collapse of the Fitzgerald's Fine Gael/Labour government and the complete failure to form any government after the general election in the Irish Republic are expressions of the total crisis of the world capitalist system. The Irish Republic is the smallest and weakest of the European capitalist countries and suffers correspondingly in the present vicious level of inter-capitalist competition but its crisis is that of the whole capitalist system. This crisis is particularly acute - with 12% unemployment, 23% inflation and a national debt of 10,000 million Irish Pounds, because the Irish State is not really viable from any point of view. The level of political, economic and social crisis of the Irish State underlines the fact that for Ireland (26 of 32 counties) there is no national solution for its problems. Of course, some sort of government will be put together, and probably with Fianna Fail in control, but whatever form of government appears it will continue to be completely unstable. There is for example, already deep division in Fianna Fail, which at a later stage could lead to a split, and certainly doesn't make for stable government. In fact, the indecisive result of the general election comes from the fact that neither of the two main bourgeois parties has any perspective or solution. The solution to the problems faced by the Irish masses has to be a Socialist solution and in the context of the whole of the British Isles. The fall of Fitzgerald is a

EDITORIAL

The progress of the Labour left requires a more consistent political life

The process of political revolution in Poland and the consequent need to deepen the discussion on how to elevate the Workers State and the reasons for the limitations of the Polish Communist Party are an historic step in the capacity of the working class, led by the Soviet Union, to learn to control and decide on the functioning of the Workers State. The experience of Poland tends to deepen the discussion on future policy in all the Workers States, especially in the Soviet Union where the dismissal of the head of the trade unions demonstrates the continuation of the policy of eliminating sectors whose particular interests do not coincide with the need of the Soviet Union to finish with elements conciliatory with capitalism abroad and perpetuating bureaucratic abuse at home. The basis for a historic reappraisal of the development of the Soviet Union is being laid, for the understanding of Stalinism and its decline, in the Workers States. All this is an immense progress and tends to elevate the security of all the world vanguard, not least in Britain where, more and more, the superiority of the Workers States and the lunacy of capitalism is being understood much more profoundly than in the past. Poland means progress. All that Yankee imperialism is capable of doing is menacing the masses of El Salvador who are struggling for liberation and Socialism. The fact that the Yanks are afraid to intervene directly is because they fear the strength of the Soviet Union abroad and the opposition of their own masses at home.

The Thatcher government has failed because it lacks the social strength and the historic conditions to impose its policies. It wanted to smash the working class and somehow produce an economic miracle. But objective reality allows no space for such fantastic notions.

Capitalism has certainly led to millions of unemployed and dealt savage blows at the population, but it has failed socially. Thus the triumph of ASLEF, despite the lack of effective support by other trade unions - who could have intervened powerfully with proposals for the re-organisation of the transport system in a Socialist direction, if they had the will - brings out the basic weakness of this government and capitalism. The Conservatives continue in government, not because of their own forces but from the limitations of the workers' leaderships. At the same time, the process of change to the Left in the Labour Party is inexorable. Rightist MPs like Mulley are thrown out and such is the force of the process that Healey attacks the Yanks over El Salvador and has no interest in creating problems over Poland.

There are many examples of the progress in the Labour Party. The fact that the NEC supported the ASLEF strike, that Benn intervened to support the demonstrations of the young unemployed, the type of discussion over the London fares crisis - such that now the London transport unions are preparing a struggle to impose low fares - all this shows the growing power of the Left. But what is still missing is the deeper and continuous discussion of fundamental problems of the workers movement, nationally and internationally. This, in itself, is not surprising because the history of the Labour Party has been one of accommodation to the norms of capitalist thinking and behaviour, reacting to events within the structure of impression and pragmatism. But now the Left has to develop a functioning which consistently discusses what is happening in the world and at home and developing a consistent response, because the perspective is social transformations, not accommodation with capitalism.

For example, it is clear that a very important process is developing in Ireland. British imperialism is hoping to incorporate Southern Ireland into NATO - at the same time, the anti-imperialist forces of the IRA and others are beginning to seek a political discussion and intervention. At the same time, the Southern Irish capitalism is in a disastrous spiralling crisis. What is the policy of the Labour Party? It is impossible to continue describing the IRA as a 'terrorist' force - which is a capitalist conception - and, at the same time, it is not possible to accept that Britain and Ireland can solve their problems in isolation - basically another capitalist proposition. To resolve these problems means a serious effort at a continuous life of discussion and publication. This applies to all other problems such as Poland, the role of the USSR, so-called eurocommunism etc. This means a discussion of a world outlook, a discussion of method, and it means an uninhibited discussion of Marxism. Theoretical clarity is not a luxury but a necessity because the construction of Socialism cannot be conducted as was the construction of capitalism: that is, empirically and blindly. It requires the co-ordination of the population through ideas and defined objectives, continuously discussed.

A continuous life gives security and generates initiatives. Without it the Party oscillates from moments of intervention to long periods of inertia. The discussion of extra-parliamentary activity is approaching the depth of these issues and needs to be extended. At the same time, such extra-parliamentary activity - to be consistent - requires consistency and profundity in political life. The conditions for this are favourable in a way that

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IRISH WORKERS IN MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST CAPITALISM PRIOR TO THE RECENT ELECTIONS.

profound blow to the policy of British imperialism, which is - inasmuch as it has any coherent policy - to try to integrate the Irish bourgeoisie into NATO and the imperialist war alliance against the Workers States. It is to this end that British imperialism is openly ditching Paisley and a whole sector of the 'Unionists'.

The revealing of the scandal at the

Kincora Boys Home, in the six counties, involving 'Unionist' and Orange Order sectors, after twenty or thirty years is a 'Water-gate' against these sectors. After all, this could have been made public at any time in the period of years in which British imperialism has had direct and absolute control over the six counties of Northern Ireland.

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VICTORY TO THE MASSES OF EL SALVADOR!

THE FINAL STAGE OF CAPITALISM AND THE COLLAPSE OF THE CAPITALIST CONCEPTION OF LIFE

28th March 1981.

J. POSADAS

In NATO they are discussing about an agreement that no power should have atomic arms in orbit. When such a discussion occurs, it is because they know that the Soviets have them. The quality and capacity of the Soviets is that they can arm and disarm space apparatus, that they can transform equipment with atomic arms which can descend on the territory of the United States in a few minutes. The reply which the Soviets have given to the Yanks has frightened them: 'You must realise that we are not going to permit a military superiority of the West.'

The Soviets have a whole system prepared for war, but it is accompanied with support to the social development of the revolution. Thus, every button which they press is part of the progress of history; that is to say, they are the weapons of progress which are seeking application. This is paralysing the Yanks who have no initiative nor can they as regards the Soviets. What initiatives are they going to have if they know that the war is coming and that they are going to disappear? The French bourgeoisie and the government (referring to the government of Giscard d'Estaing) are alerted on this because they see that the Soviets have powerful arms capable of making them disappear.

The Yanks have constructed anti-nuclear refuges and bunkers - the anti-nuclear refuges are necessary to protect themselves, but capitalism seeks to utilise them with the mentality to seek to continue living after the war has finished. It is all mad schizophrenic. The objective is to defend private property to continue living. They believe that they are going to continue dominating the country from the shelters. But, once there in the bunkers, the capacity, acceptance and authority of the Yankee leadership to give orders is terminated. They see what happened to the Germans in the second world war. Part of their defeat began in the 'siege of Moscow', where the soldiers and officers saw that they received orders without sense or notion. The debacle of the Nazi army began there. The questioning of the central authority was the form in which the disintegration of the army began to be expressed, because they saw that there was no objectives, capacity or perspectives.

In North America, with the fall of ten skyscrapers, New York, Washington and the rest of the important cities are finished. The skyscrapers are anti-human. At a certain height, the air becomes rarer and the greater the increase in height the more the ability and quality of living diminishes, both from the standpoint of health and of human relations. Those who live in the skyscrapers live apart from the world, a fictional life apart. The existence of the skyscrapers is the product of the organisation of the capitalist system. Competition and the drive for profit, and the relation of life which this system gives, determines what they construct. The skyscrapers are not

necessary; it's a lie that there is no space sufficient for people to live by, there is physical space sufficient for a hundred times more than at present.

In 1952 I had the opportunity to read the recommendations made by the atomic centre of the United States to the Mexican army in case of atomic war. It proposed that in case of war it was necessary to close the ports, have aspirins available to calm the nerves, not to be near garages, and go immediately to an atomic shelter. And, in case of very urgent necessity, it was necessary to resort to the most available doctor.

Capitalism did not foresee, did not expect that the process was going to reach such a level before its existence was terminated, that it would be submitted to the Workers State. They did not expect this, because they do not have a notion of history but continue believing that they are going to frighten people if they say, 'Look what they are doing in Poland, in China'. They believe that the events that are occurring in Poland are the demonstration of the impotence of the Workers State. They are incapable of seeing that what the United States was doing sixtythree years ago is the same as it is doing today - the same misery, the same crimes, and the same barbarism. But sixtythree years ago in the USSR there were crimes and poverty, and today not only is there no poverty or crime but the USSR has increased its economic, scientific, cultural and social development. The capitalists have no notion of this. It is not because they are not concerned with looking and seeing what is happening, but they do not look too deeply because they are afraid of what is happening.

The example of what capitalism amounts to can be seen in the assassin Haig, who makes declarations that are all threats. They put him first to see what effect his declarations have. He delivers the blows, the button recalls him, and then they stop and contain him. The present policy of the Yankee government is neither of Reagan or Haig; it's not they who make the policy. It is the top financial circles who settle the policy to follow. Neither Reagan nor Haig can do anything important without first consulting these sectors. The high finance sector, which is the war sector, has a very great internal opposition. Its five times that Reagan has had to say that they are studying whether to sell wheat to the USSR. But it means that the USSR now does not say that it wants to go back to buy. It has other sellers, including Canada, Argentina, and Australia,

Capitalism cannot have theoreticians to provide capitalism with solutions. It has fair-ground charlatans like Kissinger, but they cannot have anything else. There is no room for them to have theoreticians. If capitalism had a theoretician it would mean that there is someone who thinks, and if he

thinks he shoots himself and the whole capitalist regime goes over to the Soviets. The capitalist regime in this stage cannot have anyone who recommends a solution to save them, because there is no solution. Capitalism has no solution or salvation, and so it has to seek to centre the world attention on the events of Poland

In the physical and mental structure of the big capitalist layers there is a process of preparation of heart failure or another new illness expressed in the form of a heart attack, but whose origin is new. It is a psychic process which is a form of fear. But fear of someone who sees that a whole conception of life is crumbling, because the capitalist cannot conceive that he is not the one giving the orders. He has millions and millions of dollars and does not need them; he has them to make investments. This structure in his head is such that, if a million is missing, for him it is a disaster.

This conception has created a structure in the human organism and, above all, in the nervous and cerebral system. The present situation produces in the capitalists a series of sensations which move through the fibres and which produce something superior to fear. It is not the usual fear, but that of someone who sees that life is ceasing; without ceasing to see, breathe, looking, life is ceasing. For example, Rockefeller has millions and millions of dollars, and who needs all this? What does he do with all this...investing, investing?

For this, it is very important that throughout the world there is

an immense number of sons of the very rich bourgeoisie who go over to the camp of the revolution and, although not revolutionaries, support the revolution. Even sectors of reactionary origin see that the situation as it is now cannot continue. They see that the most backward peoples of history rise up and progress.

The capitalists cannot create logical thought in accordance with the necessity of life. Their life is outside the life of a hundred per cent of humanity. Thus their thoughts are outside life. Capitalism lives more and more cycles of recession and is beleaguered by history. In the United States Carter did not succeed in organising a demonstration in his favour; the only demonstrations have been against. This situation liquidates them psychologically, and the psychological effect is aimed at the nervous system. This creates a tremendous complex of insecurity in life and they are afraid.

The Soviets speak with security and say, 'You must realise that we will never permit a military superiority in the West'. This is aimed at France, Britain and Japan. The capitalists cannot resolve the problems which they had before among themselves. But the Soviets can resolve their problems, and divergences with the Chinese and the problem that the behaviour of the Chinese leadership poses are more damaging to the masses than the consequences for them of inter-capitalist competition. But the policy of the Chinese leadership does not affect in any way the process of the continuation of the revolution. It affects it in rhythm

and in stages, but not in the objective of development.

Capitalism cannot understand that this is a stage of transformation of an historic situation. The capitalists do not see that the regimes of property are circumstances of history. They can last many years but are circumstantial in history, not from biological but from human determinations. The difference with the earth is that the plants and the animals do not intervene to modify, but human beings work and intervene consciously - although, in general, the capitalists work, answering to zoology because they are brutes.

I would be happy to present a piece of theatre with a type of dance showing what is happening in the minds of the capitalists. For them, life is falling and this is the sensation they have. If the capitalists do not have or accumulate millions, they die. An example of this is the stock exchange which Marx already called in his epoch the 'lunatic exchange'.

Inter-capitalist contradictions are intensifying and European capitalism sees that it does not determine, but only the Yanks. The fear which Germany and France have, followed by Britain, Holland, Belgium, Sweden and Norway, is that they know that in the next war they will be the first to be eliminated. For capitalism, it is a conception of life which is ending. People like those of El Salvador who have nothing rise up and say, 'Get out. We want to construct a Socialist society'. This disintegrates all of them.

J. POSADAS 28.3.1981

Ireland from page 1

It is clear that the provisional Sinn Fein did not gain as many votes as it did in the previous general election in the Irish Republic. However, Fianna Fail gained an increase of 2% in first preference votes. Obviously, a sector of the base of Fianna Fail - who previously voted for the Provisionals - voted tactically, preferring to vote Fianna Fail on this occasion in order to prevent a return of Fitzgerald - who had an ultra capitalist programme - to government. Anyway, the fact that the Provisional Sinn Fein is turning from purely military action to political activity is far more important than the number of votes gained in this particular election. The intervention of McAliskey was also important. This turn towards political activity means an inevitable elevation of programme and policy above the purely military, nationalist and anti-imperialist plane.

The Sinn Fein/the Workers Party (Officials) also gained three seats in the Dail and are seeking a Left alliance, with appeals to the base of the Labour Party which is itself in revolt against the Fine Gael alliance. Certainly, with the collapse of any national bourgeois

perspective which the world confrontation of capitalism and the Workers States makes impossible, the conditions exist for an alliance of the forces of progress in the Irish Republic; for an alliance of the Left of Fianna Fail the Provisionals and 'Official' Sinn Fein, the Left of the Labour Party and the trade unions - on the basis of a programme for the nationalisation under workers control of major industry, the nationalisation of the large land holdings and the collectivisation of the small farmers, the withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland and the repudiation of NATO. It is important, in this context, to recall that the mobilisation of the trade unions against the policies of Fitzgerald were an important factor in his collapse.

All the political interventions show the search for a new way for Ireland, combining the defeat of imperialism with the need for social transformations. At the same time all the forces at work in Ireland have to recognise there is no 'Ireland alone' solution. The struggle for the unification of Ireland and Socialism in Ireland is part of the struggle to liquidate British Imperialism, which means a

United Front with the British masses and the elevation of the relationship with the Labour Left.

The courage and militancy of the Irish masses in the anti-imperialist struggle is legendary and has a world influence, but Ireland is not the centre. Clearly, on a world scale, it is the Workers States which are the determining centre, but in the context of the British Isles the centre is the proletariat and the Labour masses in mainland Britain. The Labour Left is advancing, not least in its support for the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland, but it tends to be submitted to the methods and perspective of the Irish movement which are of a previous historic period, or to the idea of building a 'Labour Party' in the six counties in the image of the British Labour Party. The Labour Left is beginning to question 'the parliamentary road to Socialism' and it now has to consider the process in the British Isles as a unity. It has to appeal to the movement in Ireland, discuss with it, on the basis of its own programme of nationalisations - under workers' control - and, at the same time, pose the perspective of a United Socialist British Isles.

VIVA THE GENERAL STRIKE IN PORTUGAL!

The historic advance of the USSR, goes against the backwardness of the Italian Communist Party leadership

The recent meeting of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party, which elaborated a political line of 'not recognising the USSR and the 'Eastern bloc' as the model to Communism' and of 'seeking a road between social democracy and Socialism as it exists', is not bringing anything new to the fore. It is the bourgeois press that highlights these positions which have existed for a long time in the PCI and which imperialism uses to stem the rise of secure and firm ideas in the developing Left in the world Socialist and Communist movement. However, the extent to which imperialism feels the need to use this goes to show the depth of its crisis, its lack of ideas and capacity to impede the radicalisation that is taking place, particularly in such parties as the Labour Party. The Labour Left gets its education in the school of Poland - where the Right wing Communists and bureaucrats are being got rid of - in the school of the USSR - which supports progress in the world - and in the school of the most advanced Communist parties which - like the French CP - learn to make a united front with Socialists without abandoning their principles for the nationalised and planned economy, and, indeed, make a rectification at the same time of their previous errors. The world balance of forces with the Soviet Union in its centre decides the progress of the Labour Left, and not the Chinese leadership or the backward and conciliatory Communist leaderships.

The positions of the Italian Communist Party aren't homogeneous and result from various tendencies, all united among themselves by Italian nationalism, 'Italianism', as Posadas has put it. As imperialism obviously prepares for war and installs bases all over Italy and Sicily with the agreement of the various Socialist leaders who have no mass support at all - as the Right wing Christian Democrats the Socialist leaders and bourgeoisie become increasingly associated with war policy - in spite of their internal and quite rabid disputes - and the Italian Communist Party starts losing a sector to the Right. In other circumstances imperialism would have used the lack of anti-capitalism of the CP to smash it to bits. The only reason why this is not happening is due to the world balance of forces, in which the Soviet Union and the

Workers States have the initiative and support in the world and impedes imperialism and capitalism from smashing all the weak and feeble workers' leaderships. The Italian Communist leaders - like the trade union bureaucracy - profit from this world balance of forces and make use of it, constantly attacking the very source of their strength. However, historically, this will be short-lived because, if the Italian workers remain in the ICP, it is because they are preparing for a Communist solution in Italy and not because they support these leaders. The recent regional ICP Congress in Sicily where they did not dare to discuss Poland, or the polemic between the USSR and the ICP, shows that the resolutions of the Central Committee have little weight politically in the face of a very solid and pure pro-Soviet vanguard, which has the support of the mass of the workers; whilst resolutions from above have only a support in an apparatus that will not survive the coming onslaught of the class struggle. The Communist leaders have little idea of the importance of the USSR, but the Communist vanguard has, and will show it when the time comes.

The criticisms of the USSR levelled against the ICP are generally correct and necessary. Indeed, the position of a lack of anti-capitalism in front of NATO, the habit of seeing the process through an Italian national standpoint and the abstract goal of 'democracy' and 'liberty' in Socialism, lead the ICP to equate the USSR with the USA, to qualify them as 'blocs', and to hide their own fear of the anti-capitalist struggle behind a criticism of the USSR. It is quite unacceptable, for example, that the Italian Communist leadership has paid no heed to the unanimous and very deep understanding of the Communist base over the events in Poland, which lead the workers of Italy to support the USSR and a possible intervention of the USSR in Poland. Indeed, even factories sent resolutions to the Central Committee, but the CC never "received" them. Instead, it listened to the desperate campaign of world imperialism, which was motivated by the latter's incapacity to intervene itself as much as it would have liked in Poland. The fury of imperialism over Poland comes from the fact that it could do nothing to protect the bureaucrats (like the

Polish Ambassador to the US) who have been removed, and are still being removed by the Polish army.

The ICP leadership has been blind to all this, because its lack of anti-capitalist will leads it to conciliate with bourgeois opinion, and a sector of the ICP is purely and simply aligned with capitalism. The result is that the ICP never mentions the imperialist bases in Italy, it does not draw conclusions from the attendance of the Communist vanguard at Longo's funeral, it does not understand the maturity of the Italian Communist base. However, the fact that the USSR is now making criticisms and analyses will tend to rectify the ICP, will bring out the best elements, and will help a selection - as in France - whereby the worst intellectual and technician sector of capitalism in the Party will be cast aside. Already there is a differentiation which will prove very important, and the intervention of the Soviets is fundamental in this. The Soviet comrades must recall, however, that it is the responsibility of Stalin if such a nationalism has entered and flourished in a Communist Party of such importance. They must explain that the USSR has changed and that, today, it is system against system and that the USSR is making more profound and sweeping changes in the trade unions and Communist Party, more even than in Poland itself. This way, the Italian CP base will be able to point to the USSR as the way forward without any doubt, and intervene to help the more thoughtful and Communist sector in the leadership, such as Berlinguer and a good many others.

A lot of what Berlinguer says is determined by the necessity - as he sees it - to keep the Party unified. However, in the process that led to the Soviet's criticisms, Berlinguer has shown that he was sensitive to the discussion and that he did not want the Soviets to close the discussion. He is saying, in so many words, that the Soviets have to argue, and this is because in the argumentation the sector that he represents will be able to make some advance and to convince Centrist tendencies which can be won. Beyond all the declarations of the ICP there is the fear of the struggle, for which they are not prepared, and confidence has to be given to them, included in the leadership.

ON THE CONCEPTION OF THE ITALIAN TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP J. POSADAS

The present position of the Italian trade union leadership is opposed quite erroneously to the working class when they propose to give priority not to wages but to employment and productivity, and they discuss allowing an increase in the building workers wage to stimulate what they call 'professionalism'. They begin by discussing how to protect industry and thus the base of the interpretation is: first industry, afterwards wages and life, and finally the earthquake. This is the concept of the trade union leadership and they propose it as a pressure on the working class to increase production and accentuate, as a consequence, relations in work on the basis of greater capacity and more work.

But what must be considered in this stage in which there is a very elevated technology and even though it may not be available, are the needs of the population. The life of the workers is not the essential aspect in the reasoning of the trade union leadership; what matters to the latter is to save industry. This is the conception of the trade union leadership under the influence of capitalism. Hence their concern with Afghanistan and Poland, and they exert a pressure so that the Italian workers adapt themselves to the needs of capitalism. Thus their base of interpretation of wages is not determined through the need, the capacity of the workers through the world relation of forces or through the necessity of Socialist progress within capitalism, but through the concern on how to maintain industry. This is the criterion of the Italian trade union leadership. It is a thought which

is within the area of the capitalist system, not of the workers movement, because in this case it would have been a mistake. In the case of the trade union leadership it's not a question of a mistake, but of conception.

It's not possible to discuss wages in the abstract. There is a process of permanent unemployment. How to meet this? To say to capitalism that it must provide work? What if capitalism cannot compete with the others if it provides work? That is so from the capitalist point of view: if there were a state take-over and production were organised for the population, industry can compete with any one because then production is not a function of profit to reproduce the accumulation of capital but a function of the needs of the population. It is a lie that the accumulation of capitalism is the element which promotes the development of the country; any people shows this such as Nicaragua.

The Italian trade union leadership ignores all the experiences of history which show that to develop the economy of the country so that there are no unemployed, it is necessary to statify, to plan and to exercise control by the workers movement; and in control let the factories intervene, not the bureaucrats who are appointed and who think with a capitalist, not a Communist, mentality. The way of posing the problem of the Italian economy by the union leadership is absurd. It is a thought which tends to defend private property, the competition of Italian capitalism with the rest of the world. This is the concern which arises from the proposal of the leadership. They are not concerned with the needs of the masses of the world, including the Italian masses. There is going to be a very great reaction of the workers against this leadership.

When there are scandals of all sorts like those of the Caltagirone Brothers (brothers who appropriated several thousand millions of lira from the Italian state in association with the government of the time), it is because putrefaction now dominates everything. That is to say, there is no perspective in the development of competition and thus capitalism rots. When did the great expressions of crisis of capitalism appear in the United States? When they killed Kennedy! Then the economic crisis in its present form did not exist, but basically it had already begun. The rest followed.

When there are scandals like that of the Caltagirone, it's because capitalism is now exhausted and the trade union leadership proposes to save the country by modifying capitalism; but there is no modification which can save it. Capitalism cannot make concessions any more. This is the basis of all the so-called scandals.

The trade unions must discuss the crisis of capitalism. The present leadership discusses the crisis of the terrorists, discusses against the autonomous unions; but they do not discuss that capitalism is exhausted. The 'cassa integrazione' is increasing more and more (Italian equivalent to unemployment security, in part paid by the state, in part paid by the factory), and who pays it? It is the people which pay it. The boss pays a part, but afterwards puts up the price and so finally pays nothing. Moreover, there are many ways of increasing profit. We appeal to the workers movement, to the trade unions, to the workers parties, to discuss the crisis of capitalism publicly.

J. POSADAS 21.12.80

The advance of Socialist POLAND Democracy and of Socialist Influence in the world. J. POSADAS

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POLAND ACCELERATES THE PROCESS OF POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN CHINA.

It is clear that a process of re-orientation of the Chinese leadership is taking place. It is only a beginning, but a very, very profound process is occurring in China — a process towards political revolution which will tend to bring China more and more within the overall process of political revolution occurring in all the Workers States. Under whatever specific auspices or conditions, Deng Xiao Ping does not enjoy the authority within the apparatus, or a sector of the apparatus, which he once did. His reign is ending, and none too soon because, as Posadas pointed out, his leadership with the team around him has been an unrelieved disaster.

This counter-revolutionary leadership has not succeeded in one of its objectives. It sought to contain the Soviet Union — total failure. It sought to develop an alliance with the centre of world imperialism, the United States, to do this: and now it is clear that Yankee imperialism has no belief in the future of the counter-revolutionary clique in China, and sees no point in negotiation over Taiwan. All the steps of support to the counter-revolution — whether in Chile or Iran — have failed to stop the immeasurable progress of the world revolution and inevitably the over-riding strength of the world process, led by the Soviet Union, has meant that even for the stoneheads in the Chinese leadership they cannot continue as before.

The process that has shown this most clearly is that in Poland. The Chinese masses have seen a massive process of upheaval in a Workers State in which a corrupt leadership, pursuing objectives of material aggrandisement alien to the needs of a Workers State, has been overthrown; and with the intervention of the army this process has been continued and amplified, leading to the liquidation of Party functionaries, managers and trade union bureaucrats. The Chinese masses, Party and army see all this and the present Chinese leadership realises that it has to tack with the wind, that it cannot continue as before. Hence the talk of negotiations with the USSR.

The Soviet leadership for some time has modified its attitude towards the Chinese leadership, not in the sense of overlooking its rotten policies but not engaging in massive retaliatory polemics on

super-powerism etc. It hopes and expects the removal of this leadership and the triumph of a pro-Soviet wing without too much upheaval. Official Soviet publications still attack the whole phenomenon of Maoism in a crude way, without being able to go to the roots of the problem for which they are not ideally equipped. On the other hand they have tried to enter into discussions and not to deepen the differences — in the same way that they have persisted in trying to discuss with the Albanian leadership. The example of the Soviet attitude over Poland will also weigh in China. The fact that the Soviet Union is quite prepared to accept the independence of the trade unions from the state apparatus and is enthusiastic over the need to develop a different kind of Communist Party — strictly speaking, the PWUP was not a Communist Party as the original Polish Communist Party was wiped out by Stalin, and the new organisation was established in 1942 with no Bolshevik tradition — which does not function with bureaucratic and careerist interests, but on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

On the specific issue of Poland, the Chinese officially have had nothing to say; and unofficially there are reports that a whole sector has supported with documents the intervention of the Polish army and analysed the problems of Poland as being due to a corrupt bureaucracy. This represents a fundamental collision with all the Rightist sectors in Party and government who would identify with the policies of the Gierk clique. Even although still persisting in the game of sustaining opposition to the Soviet Union, the Chinese when supporting the Italian Communist Party over recent polemics with the leadership, made no mention of Poland. The Chinese supported the ICP in its rejection of recognising the Soviet Union as leader of the world Communist movement but, at the same time, the positions of the CPSU on this issue were not repressed.

It is quite clear that the present leadership in China is transitory and does not represent the weight of the internal pressures. There is an attempt to accommodate to changes, without going too deeply into problems. Attacks on bourgeois ideology have been accompanied with warnings against sectors who

seek to go outside the orbit of Socialism and get away from Party leadership, and those whose connections with foreign commerce led them into corruption.

Poland and China have similarities. The previous experiences and traditions are not exactly the same, but the effects of lack of political life, a distorted conception of Marxism and the development of tendencies more preoccupied with individual material interests than with the objective progress of the Workers State to satisfy the needs of everyone, means that quite an explosion is to be expected in China. The game of camarilla politics tends to reach its limits when the whole historic process of confrontation between competing social systems — capitalism versus collective ownership — diminishes the margins for all forms of nationalism, localism and regionalism. The weight of particular interests diminishes, the weight of centralisation in the Workers State increases. Thus the role of the Soviet Union augments and augments and the leadership in China is obliged to feel this, even if some sectors only feel it on the basis that their own policies have led nowhere and that China cannot be 'great' by herself.

Constantly there is the need for a more elevated intervention by the Soviet Union to weigh within China, to raise the issue of extended development within COMECON, proposing plans of mutually beneficial economic co-operation (totally superior to the mad schemes developed with world imperialism). But, at the same time as proposing plans to alleviate the economic progress of the Chinese Workers State, it is necessary to propose political discussions to draw upon the experience of Poland for the independent functioning of the trade unions, and the need for Party life to develop on the basis of Marxism and with a Party fused in discussion with the population. In this respect it is necessary to draw upon not only the texts of the classical Marxists, of Lenin on 'State and Revolution', for example, and his famous intervention on trade unions; but on the most recent texts of Posadas, which enter into great depth on the problems of the International Communist movement, the significance of the decline and fall of Stalinism, and the new stage in the progress of humanity towards Socialism.

Only the imposition of lower fares etc on the basis of popular mobilisations which impose on central government can achieve such desirable objectives. When the law comes into play, what possibilities are open to the Labour Councils who are not based on the life and force directly of the population? Only acceptance of the law! Thus they are back where they started on this issue. But the lesson is that demands which go against the system, such as lowering fares, require the force of the population to impose them

It is an important experience, because it demonstrates to the Labour Party that electoral gains have to be supported by the mobilisation and discussion with the population.

The other issue which brings out the decomposition of the capitalist system is that of rape. This is a crime connived at by capitalist society because it is part of its conception of women as inferior and a fitting object for violence. Thus, many rapes are not reported because humiliation is piled upon humiliation and then it is as likely the woman will fail to obtain justice.

One judge, speaking of the rape of a young woman, more or less said that by taking a lift late at night she had connived at it. Capitalism, in its attitude to rape, colludes with a primitive social conception of women just as, in different ways, it connives at all forms of anti-social behaviour: assassination, swindling, speculators avoiding the law, etc. At the same time, there are clearly sectors linked to, and of, capitalism who are alarmed at the vicious nature of the system, and particularly at the central sectors of the police who seek to repress the population. This is part of the over-all struggle within capitalism between those who are preoccupied only with smashing the population and those who seek to modify and make the system more supple and diminish the 'independence' of the police. Hence the denunciation of

the police on television reflects this internal struggle which, politically, has already manifested itself in the divisions in the Conservative Party and the emergence of the SDP. Sectors directly anti-capitalist also enter this arena.

These crises are going to worsen even if they are not always visible. The system generates a steadily declining social services and comes more and more into conflict with the population. As everything under capitalism is dominated by preparing for the final encounter with the Workers States, there are no resources for anything else; and hence conflict between the population and the police is inevitable. This augments the internal conflicts of capitalism. The Scarman Report showed the efforts of some sectors of capitalism to re-organise the character of the police. The Labour Left has to intervene much more on these issues, develop interventions towards the police, demonstrating that the police are not an arbiter of society but, as an organism, acts as a form of social coercion for the sake of private property. The Labour Left should organise its own publications, intervening on issues such as that of rape, and establishing links with sectors of the population — the youth, for example — in most direct collision with capitalist society, to give a perspective and programme against the system. To do this requires, more and more, to act outside the narrow confines of the existing structure of the Labour Party, to discuss with the population, intervene towards the base of the police for a police trade union with the right to strike. The legal structure of capitalism can only regulate the civil war which is capitalism; it cannot transcend it. Only the intervention of the population can decide the most vital issues of transforming society, eventually leading to the replacement of the legal structure of capitalism with popular tribunals to deal with anti-social behaviour. When capitalism speaks of 'law and order' they mean 'law and order' for them and repression and disorder for the population.

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE LAW AND THE POLICE ENTER INTO GROWING CONFLICT WITH THE NEED FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The increasing incapacity of capitalism to respond to the needs of social progress emerges in every aspect of its functioning. Splits and fissures appear in the capitalist class and its authority steadily diminishes. The central institutions of capitalism — the armed forces, the police and the legal system — enter more and more into collision with the necessities of the progress of society. Moreover, as the crisis deepens, the fictions of capitalist society can no longer be sustained. The idea that the legal system can always be adjusted to the needs of social change and stands above society as a golden mean, as an arbiter standing above the classes — like the monarchy — all this

collides more and more with reality. This is similarly with the police. Recently, there has been a spate of cases which show this crisis and the inability of capitalism to contain its own contradictions.

The crisis over the fares increases for London Transport has brought out the class character of legal formulations and, at the same time, accelerates the need for a reorientation of the Labour Party in opposition to the repression of the population carried out by the capitalist system. Capitalism tries to re-assert its lost authority through the legal system by taking advantage of the lack of preparation of the Labour Party. To outlaw an

electoral programme as illegal has nothing to do with democracy, acceptance of the popular vote or all the usual norms of the democratic system the capitalists are always braying about. To take such a step, to utilise the law in such a crude way to defend the interests of the system is no sign of the strength of the system, but one of its weakness and incapacity. As with everything else under capitalism, the transport system is increasingly disorganised, costly and does not correspond to the needs of the population. It is a just demand to lower the fares for the public, but to raise the rates cannot answer the situation as this also weighs on the population.

WE SALUTE THE SUCCESS OF THE SOVIET LANDING ON VENUS

Editorial from page 1

could not have been possible at an earlier stage. Capitalism is feeble in initiatives. Its chatter about drafting the unemployed into the army and preparing 'home guards' to combat the Soviets only demonstrate that its sinister intentions lack a social base save among small capitalist sectors.

This government has no perspectives save one of inflicting more damage on the population. It is necessary that the next process of struggles in strikes and demonstrations is not only led by the Labour Party but used as a means

to develop closer and more permanent links with the population, and to develop the discussion of the most fundamental themes such as the importance of the events in Poland. The struggle for progress and Socialism means the need to prepare the way for workers control and organs of power in factories and workers areas which sustain a Labour government based on parliamentary elections but are not submitted to it.

THE MALVINAS ISLANDS (FALKLANDS) CRISIS AND THE INCAPACITY OF CAPITALISM

The dispute between British imperialism and the Argentinian government over the Malvinas Islands brings out in the most demonstrable form the incapacity and parasitism of capitalism as a world system. British imperialism has no right to these islands and there is no justification for its policies. The Argentinian government confronts the massive opposition of the masses to the policies of the oligarchy which are ruining the economy. The bourgeoisie themselves are anxious for changes from a barbarous regime which has failed to contain the masses or solve the problems of capitalism. Galtieri faced directly with problems of tendencies within the structure of the army has used the Malvinas Islands to deflect temporarily these difficulties.

The Thatcher government is in process of going through bombastic military and naval operations to assert the authority of British imperialism with appropriate quotations from Queen Victoria. Neither the masses of Argentina or Britain have the slightest interest in these manoeuvres which are of interest only to the leading cliques of their respective countries. Capitalism as a world system is driven to these expedients because it is incapable of developing or changing society in a progressive manner. British imperialism was most likely apprised of the proposed invasion previously, and now tries to use the situation for its own objectives — to try to give itself authority and to appear strong and capable — whereas the history of the government shows it to be both feeble and stupid. It has failed to smash the British masses, failed to contain the influence of the Workers States and is now in full process of decomposition within its own ranks. The departure of Carrington is because he sees no future in the policies of this government.

Yankee imperialism is hoping to play the role of imperialist world leader in all this prating about as conciliator and chairman of the board of assassins. French imperialism wants to be seen as important and as a world power supporting another world power against 'inferior' powers. It is all outside reason and intelligence and arises from the inability of capitalism to solve its problems. As a world system it cannot compete with the Workers States. Its internal competition is enormously aggravated and its internal disputes multiply — Yankee imperialism tries to impose on Japanese imperialism so that the Japanese market is opened to American products, British imperialism tries to impose its will on the Common Market, and they all try to crush the life out of every other capitalist power.

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EDITORIAL

The advance of the discussion in the Labour party and the need for mobilisations to overthrow the government

The present phase of the total crisis of the capitalist system and the disintegration of its authority which is expressed in the debacle over the Falkland Islands — as we analyse elsewhere in this edition of Red Flag — is expressed in a more fundamental form by the crisis of the EEC. Argentina is peripheral to the world capitalist system, but the EEC contains the bourgeoisies with the longest-standing traditions and they can agree on nothing. The antagonisms, particularly between British imperialism, France and Germany, would have led to an inter-capitalist war long since if it were not for the existence and growth of the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States. Of course, the real antagonism which is expressed in the EEC crisis is that between the policy of open war preparations by Yankee imperialism — supported by British imperialism — and the European bourgeoisies that, for their own survival, follow a much more conciliatory policy towards the Soviet Union and the Workers States. Disagreement over agricultural prices is only a surface expression of the fact that the existence of the Soviet Union and its growth as a leadership of the world masses has robbed the capitalist system of any possible historic perspective.

The statement of Brezhnev that the Soviet Union is willing to make agreements on nuclear weapons but, failing that, is also prepared to confront Yankee imperialism in a direct form, is not only a warning to Yankee imperialism but designed to give confidence to the growing movement of the masses against the war preparations of imperialism. The fact that the criticism by the Soviet Union of the Italian Communist Party (ICP) leadership over Poland was followed by a virtual uprising, an enormous demonstration in Rome, of the Italian Engineering workers, shows that the Soviet Union gave a leadership to the Italian proletariat in its confrontation with the policy of conciliation with capitalism followed by the leadership of the ICP. In a less direct form the very violent and powerful actions

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FOR THE TOTAL VICTORY OF THE MASSES OF EL SALVADOR AGAINST REPRESSION AND IMPERIALISM!

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ON THE COMMUNIST PARTIES

ARGENTINE AND THE PROCESS
IN LATIN AMERICA.

J. POSADAS

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The Permanent Revolution and the armed struggle in El Salvador

The process in El Salvador is a complete expression of the world balance of forces, whereby a small people can enter the struggle for social transformations and win, in the face of all the enormous military arsenal of US imperialism and very near to its borders. If there were not world conditions favourable to this, if the Soviet Union and the system of Workers States did not exist and were not engaged in a constant process of advance and political revolution, the advance of El Salvador would have been made to retreat and crushed. However, it is all the other way round.

significance of the Soviet Union into contempt for the masses whom they think are driven forward out of despair and utter misery. Far from this, however, the El Salvador masses act with the consciousness that the removal of capitalism and imperialism from their part of the world has been done before, that it is possible — as Cuba has shown — and that they can count with the world balance of forces favourable to them, in which the Soviet Union is one fundamental part and the United States masses another. Socialism is not constructed out of despair or misery, but by consciousness, programme, leadership and

was a consultation between a few bourgeois people.

Without Yankee imperialism these people wouldn't exist. Having supported this 'democratic' feat, Yankee imperialism now finds the need to organise a government for El Salvador; to do so, it needs to set up a coalition between the Christian Democrats who weren't elected and the murderers of ARENA who are no less than Death Squadrons. Thatcher, who has much to say about the 'British sense of flair and ability', has defended Reagan's intervention in those 'elections' as 'the fight for freedom



Cuban masses against the Yankee blockade

Not only Nicaragua and El Salvador maintain themselves and advance, but the revolutionary process now spreads to Guatemala and other countries. El Salvador is the proof that what happens in Poland is for progress.

Those who see Poland as a retreat have no explanation of the process in El Salvador and translate their lack of understanding of the

tactic. The teacher of all these are Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, the Soviet Union etc. The masses and children of El Salvador are driven by consciousness, aware that they can fight and win, because imperialism cannot destroy them.

MILITARY CAPACITY IS A SOCIAL AND POLITICAL MATTER

The so-called 'elections' recently have no importance, for it

and democracy'. 'Freedom and democracy' are truly shown for what they are in capitalism: the right for the bourgeois always to win, even if by murdering opponents. Much light is being cast by these few events on the nature of the 'one party state and system' of the Workers States, which is notorious for not allowing murderers and capitalists to stand. Indeed, only those

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THE DISCUSSION BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

The open polemic between the Soviets and the Italian Communist Party is part of a necessary discussion which must still be extended and deepened throughout the world Communist movement. It is not a question on the part of the Soviets of any 'ex-communication' - of an anathema or of an intention to break the ICP. It is a necessary discussion for the life of the Communist parties, because it confronts the fundamental problems of this stage of history, such as the function of the USSR, the construction of Socialism and the principles of the anti-capitalist struggle. At the same time, it constitutes a very rich experience both for the Communist parties and the Workers States, because the whole Communist movement is learning from the process of Poland and this discussion.

The bourgeois press and some sectors of the Communist movement who echo it want to make this discussion appear as a crisis of disintegration. On the contrary, it means a progress because it indicates that the Communist movement seeks to resolve its problems through discussion. It is still superficial and, in part, answering to bureaucratic interests, but it is a question of a discussion within the revolutionary camp, whilst in the capitalist camp differences are resolved through assassinations, assaults and every type of violence or campaign among the capitalist summits. Moreover, the events in Poland have created and developed in the Communist movement the necessity to discuss, and this is a fundamental condition for the homogenisation of the anti-capitalist struggle. The capitalist system, the 'observers' and the bourgeois political leaders (including the Craxis) place themselves to some extent as defenders of the ICP 'attacked' by the Soviets, but the principal objective of them all is to impede the levels of this discussion whose continuation is going to bring out more clearly that capitalism is surpassed by history. Capitalism seeks to divert and conceal the content of the discussion and stimulate the Communist Right to lead the ICP to a break with the Soviets, but it has failed. The Soviets, on the other hand, do not seek a break but to reinforce the Left within the Party, and this is against capitalism.

This discussion arises after the events of Poland which have brought to light the lack of theoretical and political preparation of the Communist leaderships, including the ICP. This is expressed in the fact that the Communists, in front of the Polish process, instead of investigating and seeing that the present problems in Poland are the product of the weakness of the bureaucratic formation of the Workers State and its political leadership, put into question the principles on which all the experience of the Socialist camp rests; that is to say, the structure of the Workers State.

At the same time, this discussion is a change in respect of the Stalin

and Khrushchev epoch. Stalin imposed and assassinated entire leaderships opposed to the bureaucratic interests. There was no discussion. But, today, the Soviet leadership polemicalises on the basis of ideas and arguments. Stalin assassinated the whole Bolshevik leadership, handed over to the police two leaderships of the Polish Communist Party, and persecuted every leader opposed to his policy of conciliation with capitalism. How is it not possible to see such a difference?

It is precisely the antecedents of absence of discussion, of tradition and experience in the debate of ideas and principles in the Communist parties which means that this present discussion is not being made in a completely objective and natural form. Hence the reaction of the leaders of the ICP is that of feeling 'offended' when to make such discussions should be natural and normal.

The rupture of Stalin with Tito, the discussion with Mao and, later, the rupture of Khrushchev with Mao have nothing to do with the discussion now with the ICP. Stalin wanted to impose an alliance with King Peter on Tito to maintain the capitalist system, because it was part of the Yalta agreements. Tito was opposed, and developed the Workers State. It was the same with Mao: Stalin first, and then Khrushchev, sought to impose a policy of alliance with Chiang Kai Shek to divide and impede the construction of the Chinese Workers State. Twice Stalin, in order to defend bureaucratic interests, sought to impede the installation of new Socialist countries. Today, the Soviet Union utilises all its strength and authority to create new Workers States, and in Italy they impel an anti-capitalist policy of confrontation with imperialism and NATO, of rupture with the Christian Democracy, of denunciation of the preparations for war by imperialism which supports the Italian bourgeoisie through the Red Brigades, as Posadas has analysed and as now the Soviets say.

The leaders of the ICP have not understood the nature of the changes in the Workers States after the liquidation of Stalinism. Part of the behaviour of the Italian leaders of resistance to the USSR is as though they believe that Stalin is still there, and it is not so. As Cde Posadas analysed, it is not possible to measure the Soviet Union on the basis of this criterion. Stalinism in the USSR was overcome although there still exist the bureaucratic consequences of this stage, expressed in the insufficient democratic functioning. It was overcome because it was a necessity of the logical development of the Workers State and the need to confront the capitalist system. It cannot co-exist with capitalism because it is a question of two historically antagonistic regimes. This necessity to confront capitalism developed a change in the conception of the class struggle much more rapidly in the Soviet Union than in the Communist parties. The Stalinist conception of the class

struggle was determined through the egoistic national vision of the bureaucratic layer which Stalin represented and which was expressed theoretically in the possibility of 'constructing Socialism in a single country'. Hence, it was opposed to every extension of the Socialist camp in Yugoslavia and

China. But, today, this conception in the concrete intervention has been overcome by the Soviets who, today, include in their Constitution that 'the USSR supports every movement of national and social liberation'.

While the Soviets have overcome such a conception, the Communist leaders of the capitalist countries - including the ICP who, on the other hand, were formed in the Stalinist epoch - still continue with that conception. The essential characteristic of Stalinism represented a policy and a conception of conciliation with capitalism which, to impose itself in the Bolshevik Party had to base itself on the repression and on the assassination of the whole leading vanguard of the revolution even at the cost of betraying revolutions.

On the other hand, the leaders of the ICP make a political centre of the fact that Pravda does not publish its articles, trying to show in this way the absence of objective democratic life. We believe that the Soviets should have published the positions and articles of the Italian Communist Party, but this is not in any case the central aspect which must be discussed. It is not in this way that one must measure the absence or not of democratic life in the USSR on the basis of individual right, because this attitude of the ICP means the demand for its 'right' above the objective reality. Stalin persecuted Trotsky to the point of assassinating him - but nevertheless, Trotsky never measured the Soviet Union on the basis of the attitude of Stalin towards him; on the contrary, he continued defending the Soviet Union. It is a fact that the Soviet Union at present, even with the limitations in its Soviet democratic life internally, fulfils a function in the world which is the basis of the democratic rights conquered by the working class and the masses of any country in the world. To measure by individual criteria does not allow one to see the immense progress which the Workers State has made in the field of science, culture and human relations. It is the existence of the USSR in the world which created the democratic right to live and to develop economically and culturally all the people of Africa, Asia and Latin America which, if they had depended on capitalism, would still be living in tribes or submitted to a brutal exploitation.

El Salvador is an experience which is moving the entire world. It shows that the masses of a small country are capable of intervening in the events of the world, creating a division and crisis not only in the capitalist countries like Italy but much more importantly in the centre itself of American imperialism. How can one not believe that this

(FROM THE EDITORIAL OF LOTTA OPERAIA ORGAN OF THE ITALIAN SECTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL).

is possible due to the relation of world forces where the USSR is fundamental and which impedes capitalism subduing El Salvador? How not feel that it is the USSR which is contributing to create for the masses of El Salvador, as earlier for the masses of Nicaragua, the right to struggle and win? Thus history is measured in a global and universal form and not submitted to national preoccupations or criteria.

Class against nationalist conceptions

It is this local and national form of the ICP to conceive the class struggle which prevents it having a position over the struggle of El Salvador. They propose a 'negotiated solution', 'cessation of war', when what is at stake is giving unconditional support to the guerrilla movement and condemning Yankee imperialism. Negotiation is a tactic, not an objective. And, if the way the revolutionary front considers it useful to negotiate, it does so as a tactic which does not substitute in any way for the necessity of the armed struggle to expel definitively the junta of assassins and the capitalist regime which sustains it. This is because the essential base is that, if the junta and Yankee imperialism accept negotiation, it is because they have no other alternative and they are cornered.

It is necessary to organise a campaign of support to the struggle of the guerrilla movement in El Salvador and to bring out the murderous intervention of imperialism in the region. It is necessary to give all the support to Cuba and Nicaragua against the manoeuvres and provocations of imperialism and of NATO, such as the military and naval manoeuvres which they prepare in the vicinity of Cuba, which include arranging the disembarkation of marines in the Yankee base of Guantanamo in actual Cuban territory. It is necessary to denounce this situation which shows that it is world imperialism and capitalism which imposes on the masses of Latin America poverty and backwardness, and sustains regimes that murder the population. The capitalist system is the enemy of any progress in the region because this progress is made against it.

This discussion is going to continue and have repercussions in all the Communist parties which, like the Spanish, have wanted to distance itself from the USSR and now find themselves disorientated and influenced by opportunist and bourgeois conceptions of the class struggle. The Italian Communist masses were not affected by panic nor was it disconcerted nor has it taken the events in Poland as a motive to condemn the Soviet experience and accept its 'exhaustion'. 'The Communist masses are Communist through the USSR and not through the leaders of the ICP'. This conclusion of Cde Posadas is fundamental in order to under-

stand that the intervention of the Soviets stimulates the Communist masses to intervene to correct its leadership. Capitalism certainly is very conscious that the Communist masses are not going to break with the USSR, in any case it tries to stimulate a rupture because it has no other objective for its intervention.

At the same time, it is necessary to unite this discussion to the problems of Italy. A programme of social transformations is necessary and to discuss that the capitalist system is responsible for the catastrophe in which the masses are obliged to live, because in discussion the necessity is posed for the elevation of the Communist Party as the instrument to transform Italy.

Hence the Soviets intervene in the discussion, putting arguments on the conditions of life of the Italian masses, among them the children who die in work, to which it is necessary to add the case of regions where they sell or rent out children. Evidence that such a discussion has an effect in the Communist Party is shown in the position of Cossutta. But, before Cossutta, the Communist masses had criticised in a thousand ways the leadership of the Party, including electoral abstention. It has been the Communist masses which have refused to participate and support either the trade union policy of alliance and support for the Italian bourgeoisie in their crisis, or the political positions of criticism of the USSR and the Workers States. In this sense one sees the enormous maturity of the Italian proletariat in which there has been no expression of anti-Polish or anti-Socialist character as the demonstration in Milan, and earlier ones, show also. It is in reality such a critical opinion and attitude of the Communist masses on which the Soviets base themselves and try to stimulate. If the result of Poland had been to weaken confidence in Socialism, El Salvador would have been smashed - because imperialism would have found justification and conditions in order to intervene. But it cannot intervene because the masses of the world understand Poland as a process of overcoming previous bureaucratic obstacles not as a retreat, and prepare to impel the anti-capitalist struggle throughout the world.

It is necessary to discuss the Italian capitalist system led by Yankee imperialism which continues to apply its plan of installing in Italy missiles to be used against the Workers States and the Revolutionary Countries of Africa (Libya, Algeria and Syria) and to make the Italian population pay the costs. One example is the fact that unemployment has reached levels never seen before, while the Bank of Italy communicates that profits have increased, and by a great deal - this is the capitalist system such that its profits mean at the same time the worsening of the life of the masses.

While in Poland and in all the Workers States work is assured, in Italy capitalism seeks to blame absentees for the low production. But, in the majority of cases, it is not because the absentee does not want to work; but, on the contrary, he would need to work sixteen hours or more to be able to live and maintain his family. The absentee is the Italian State which is not capable of providing work for the four million unemployed 'absentees' forcibly denied the possibility of work.

Hence, when lack of democracy is discussed in the Workers States, it is necessary to discuss that in capitalism democracy has a limit which is fixed by private property. For example, the interest of profit of FIAT is protected by the government which allows the dismissal of workers and, at the same time, invests in the production of armaments which afterwards are sold to the assassins of South Africa, Israel and El Salvador.

It is necessary to continue to deepen the discussion over Poland. It has been shown that there was no massacre and that the intervention of the army was aimed at the counter-revolutionaries and the corrupt sectors of the Party and state apparatus which defend individual interests, and this was not against the masses. The attitude of the Polish Ambassador in the United States, who embraces Reagan demanding 'democracy', indicates the great weight of the apparatus which has to be thrown out in Poland. But the essential aspect to discuss is the conduct of the Polish working class which has not done anything to damage the Workers State. Hence, in general, there is an increase in production save for those sectors of the economy which depend on imports. The Polish working class is centralised in its instrument, which is the Workers State, and is learning to lead society. Although all the problems of Poland are not resolved or the problems within the Communist Party, the speech of Jaruzelski in the CC of the POUW confirms that the leadership is seeking to resolve them by elevating the Socialist structure of the country — and this cannot be done against the population but has to be done by elevating the intervention of the working class.

22.3.1981

GOETHE'S CONTRIBUTION IS CONTINUED IN THE WORKERS STATES.

The anniversary of the death of Goethe is now being commemorated both in the Workers States and in the capitalist countries. The Workers States do so with justification, but capitalism discusses Goethe — and not much at that — to attempt to appear preoccupied with culture, and that is total fraud.

Goethe belongs to the great heroic period of German thought and literature in the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. To mention him is to think also of Hegel, of Schiller and of Beethoven (on whom Cde Posadas has written extensively). All of them at their best — particularly Beethoven — transcended the limitations of the society around them, developing thought and perception which tend to go against the narrow interests of private property and the arrogant preoccupations with money and plundering nations characteristic of capitalism. In their different ways they were concerned with the most important concerns of humanity — why has society evolved as it has? what provides the continuity in human experience? with what understanding do we approach the future? None of them approached life or thought with the superficiality of the capitalist or the frequent arrogance of the scientist influenced by the relations of power of capitalism.

Goethe was much more contradictory than Beethoven. The latter was more direct in his contempt for the ruling cliques, such that Goethe can appear to be very conservative. To that extent, Goethe reflected the dual character of many of the intellectual sectors in Germany — a great audacity of spirit, and often conservatism in political affairs. But Goethe recognised the force and power of the French Revolution, and that a new epoch had opened with its effects.

Above all, the total effect of his personality and thought was one of liberation and optimism.

He was not a systematic thinker, a professional philosopher but, like the Greeks, he was interested in everything and it is evident he was seeking for a total synthesis of human experience, a fusion of humanity with the universe. There is no sharp boundary between his artistic and scientific interests, and his poems on the metamorphosis of plants and animals reflect his passion for a unity with nature founded on a sense of profound love. The lyricism of his poetry is rightly famous, based as it is on his deep feeling for life and his optimism. All his thought was greatly coloured by his evaluation of the role of Greek culture which, for him, was a highpoint of human achievement, and his use of the Faustus theme was essentially a re-affirmation in different conditions of Greek security and Greek openness to experience and progress.

Goethe, like Shakespeare or Dante at an earlier stage, embodied within himself the highest culture and outlook of his time, but, for the epoch which came after, a new type of thinker was necessary — one in which intellectual capacity was geared to the concrete transformation of society. Marx was to abandon poetry for the life of thought to transform society. It is only through the overthrow of the regime of private property that mankind can surpass the perspectives of the greatest intelligences formed within class society.

The Workers States are now the basis for the progress of human culture. Through the Workers State, knowledge is centred in human relations and the love which Beethoven expressed in his music and the unity with nature which Goethe sought, find a basis altogether superior to the society of private property in which their geniuses were obliged to live.

OUT WITH YANKEE IMPERIALISM FROM CENTRAL AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN!

from page 1 THE MALVINAS ISLANDS

All this contrast with the historic progress of the Workers States. There Brezhnev appeals for an end to the dispute between the Workers states of the Soviet Union and China on the basis of discussion without pre-conditions. Progress is supported in Afghanistan with economic aid to develop that country — whilst imperialism did nothing for Afghanistan except to keep it in backwardness and still supports assassins who attack and kill the population and try to damage the apparatus of production and blow up schools.

The attitude of the Labour Left that has rejected any support for the bellicose manoeuvres of the Thatcher government and the 'task force' is right, but a much more profound discussion should be initiated, bringing out the profound decomposition and weakness of

British imperialism. The tactics of Thatcher is pure histrionics to acquire some authority. Imperialism and capitalism are at their wits end. Thatcher has nothing to offer but Trident, more profits for the bankers and less wages for the population. All this should be said. Suddenly Galtieris government is 'fascist', but on El Salvador Thatcher has nothing to say but gives all her support to Reagan as the defender of 'freedom and democracy'. The Labour Left and the trade unions should point out all this and that the imperialist and capitalist powers — however serious their dispute — cannot afford major military conflicts among themselves, because their prime preoccupation is to unify against the Workers States. When the system leads to conflicts such as the Malvinas episode, it is because the system as a world system has reached decrepitude and

infantilism.

The Labour and trade union Left should not limit itself to attacking the Thatcher government.

The British trade union bureaucrats were very concerned about Poland — now there is time also to be concerned about the masses of Argentina, and they should condemn the manoeuvres of British imperialism for the mendacious policy it is. If the trade union leadership had mobilised the British masses the Thatcher government would not be in the position of making such manoeuvres today.

9 4 82

Mobilisations to smash the Thatcher government

ON THE COMMUNIST PARTIES OF EUROPE. J. POSADAS

The declarations of Cunhal (Secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party) that euro-communism is a passing sickness is aimed at many members of the Italian Communist Party and also the French. In France, they are renovating the Party and they are going to have to do the same in Italy. They have thrown out many members in France, as in Poland they threw out many; but, in the case of the French Communist Party they were many more. The Italian Communists conceal all this cleansing in the Communist parties — it is a reaction which has nothing to do with Kabul nor with Poland. The same process is going to occur in Italy.

It is necessary to prepare for the process which is going to occur in Italy in order to intervene and try to influence. Some time can pass, but the same process is going to occur in Italy. The renovation of the Communist parties are not problems belonging to the French or the Poles, but are an objective necessity of the proletarian and intellectual vanguard which sees that it has no instrument. The Italian Communist Party is a paper instrument which has no security or strength, because it has no method of Marxist interpretation. There are currents within the Communist Party in France, as in Italy, which deny Marxism. In France it is less so; they continue supporting the USSR but, in reading them, one sees that the support is very superficial and is not firm.

Now a cleansing is coming in the Communist parties, and will be very profound. In Italy, the bourgeoisie has no preponderant or secondary role in the leadership of world capitalism. France has. French capitalism had a de Gaulle. It had it through the necessity of the historic position of French capitalism; that is to

say, a French capitalism which sought to support itself on the contradictions and antagonisms between the Workers States and Yankee imperialism and also on the competition with Germany and Britain. De Gaulle expressed the powerful centre of French capital which would not submit to either competitors, which was never defeated in war: the Germans were defeated twice. Thus the French bourgeoisie had the security to be able to develop. Hence now, a new Gaullism arises but in the stage of the death of capitalism. De Gaulle had already demonstrated that he was living in the stage of the death of capitalism, but that he was still breathing: hence, he went to Rumania* to help the Rumanians, but had to return in haste as they threw him out.

The 'new May' will be the universal May which now will not be May, but the form which the movement acquires this time, with the Communist parties who are not opposed to Afghanistan. In the earlier period, yes, they were all against. Now they have to support all the Afghanists that come. Capitalism has nowhere to support itself; its contradictions are so great and exacerbated through the development of the Workers States that France unites with Germany. It is not true that they are natural allies; on the contrary, capitalist Germany was the greatest competitor with France. What is happening is that the British are the representatives of the Yanks, and the latter — through the British — threaten Germany so that it does not distance itself. French and German capitalism are between the USSR and Yankee imperialism. They are allies of the Yanks and depend on them, but they try to breathe as much as possible.

7 March 1981 J. POSADAS

* Reference to trip of de Gaulle to Rumania on the eve of the 1968 French May.

POLAND

from page 4 Argentina

J. POSADAS

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SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND

POLITICAL EDITIONS

BCM BOX 6220, LONDON WC1V 6XX —

logue with Lenin. Culture now is not simply knowledge, but the desire of people to intervene. Hence the old people of seventy in Italy have a demonstration where they appear as young people.

In Argentina all this process is going to have an influence. Argentina, Brasil and Mexico are the three great countries of Latin America in which there is ferment.

J. POSADAS

of the steel workers in both Belgium and Luxemburg is part of the same process. In these circumstances the continued discussion of Britain's membership of the EEC cannot be left, by the trade unions and Labour Party, as a choice between a retreat within national boundaries and attempts to hold together a 'common market' which never had any perspective and is now very obviously in a state of total disintegration.

A WORLD VISION

The lack of a world vision is an impediment to the advance of the trade union movement and the Labour Left. A clear understanding of the real balance of forces represented by a Socialist government in France which maintains four Communist ministers and its electoral support – contrary to what bourgeois commentators would have us believe – and a Socialist government in Greece which is implementing a policy of general anti-capitalist measures would quickly lead to the conclusion that the Tory government only remains standing because no leadership has moved to push it over. The Hillhead by-election result was another disaster for the Thatcher government, with a considerable desertion of its electoral support.

In these conditions, the response of the trade union leaderships to the proposed anti-trade union 'Tebbit Bill' has to be seen as essentially limited. The 'Wembley conference' of the TUC, even with some militant speeches, is not very convincing when the trade union leadership remains passive in front of far more important problems, like four million unemployed, which the crisis of capitalism produces. It is clear that the intention of the trade union leadership, in one degree or another, is both to make threatening noises in the hope that either the 'Tebbit Bill' will not be passed or not implemented and, at the same time, to pacify the working class by giving the impression that the TUC is prepared to actually confront the government. However, when the TUC opens itself to the possibility of being forced to call mobilisations against the government, it means that it is under a great pressure from the working class.

Also the trade union leadership is not monolithic, containing as it does people like Scargill, for example, who are much more responsive to the pressure and aspirations of the working class.

This trade union leadership sense very well that the changes in the Labour Party and the advances of the Left are not generated from within the structure of the Party but are an expression of a world balance of forces which is against the capitalist system and the preparation of the masses, as part of this, for a confrontation with the capitalist system. They are, at the present time, less able to contain the process in the Labour Party than they are to contain it in the trade unions. It is clear that a sector of the trade union leadership hoped to contain the advance of the Left in the Labour Party by taking 40% of the votes in the 'electoral college', but the advance in the Labour Party takes another and more profound form. It is being expressed now on the level of ideas. The speech of Benn on the necessity for Marxists and Marxism in the Labour Party and for a discussion of Marxism is part of this. As also, in another sense, is the differentiation made by Shore between 'Marxism' and 'Marxism-Leninism'. In reality he is recognising that the conditions exist in the Labour Party for a Labour-Marxist tendency applying the Marxist method of thought to programme, policy and organisational forms. He would not have mentioned the subject if there were not a real possibility of this. Above all, he expresses a concern with the real and potential influence of the Soviet Union on the Labour Left and the anti-capitalist movement as a whole.

9.4.82

from page 1

THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN EL SALVADOR

who defend progress and Socialism can stand. No wonder capitalism finds this horrifying.

The demonstration in London against the visit of Reagan and the boycott of the visit by MPs is important. It shows that a sentiment of repudiation of this 'democracy' is developing. It is necessary to deepen the discussion in the Labour Party and trade unions by opposing 'ceasefire' and 'negotiated solution' in El Salvador. Those who propose this want to stop the armed struggle. There must be a campaign of full support for the armed struggle in El Salvador and mobilisations against the operations of NATO in the area. There must be mobilisations against the threats of putting marines ashore at the American base of Guantanamo which is actually on Cuban territory. It is British and Yankee imperialism which are responsible for the con-

tinuous process of repression and under-development. The capitalist system is the enemy of any kind of progress because any kind of progress goes against it.

Yankee imperialism may have the most deadly weapons but it has little military capacity. The proof is Vietnam and El Salvador. In practice, it means that it cannot count on its soldiers for the adequate activity of repression of people whose sole crime is to want to get out of abject backwardness. Besides, the bourgeois press is forced to admit that at least 30,000 people demonstrated in Washington against a possible direct US intervention in El Salvador. These factors concretely sap confidence in the military apparatus and make it insecure and unco-ordinated.

ARGENTINA AND THE PROCESS IN LATIN AMERICA

26 February 1981

J. POSADAS

We publish this text of Cde Posadas on Argentina which is confirmed by the most recent events there.

The massacres of the army have not led to the solution of the problems of Argentina – their equivalent of a fascist solution – and the continuation of this type of rule has not, in fact, facilitated the dominion of the bourgeoisie. The same process has occurred in Brasil, whatever the zig zag of the course. Latin American militarism has failed to solve even the smallest problems of any Latin American country. The Yanks are intent on trying to organise a military pact against Communism throughout the continent and in co-operation with South Africa, but, as with Europe, there are too many disagreements and imperialism lacks the strength of previous epochs.

The Argentinian bourgeoisie which is concerned with the export of manufacturing products to the rest of Latin America, has an interest in creating a relation with layers of the workers movement and the bureaucracy, in order to have points of support in the new stage because, as a bourgeoisie, it now has no strength. Thus, in order to confront the oligarchy, the military and the sectors of the petit bourgeoisie which are linked to the oligarchy, it needs the working class. It has to make a Peronism without a programme and without the objectives of Peron but, in social policy, it is going to have to repeat Peronism to a certain extent because it is a rachitic bourgeoisie. Thus, if the internal struggles are resolved among themselves, it occurs through military coups which ruin the economy, because the military coup gives power to the bourgeois sector more linked to the military, and thus to the cattle-raising agrarian oligarchy.

The Argentinian army continues to be the matrix of the oligarchy and its structure is oligarchic. It's like this in all the capitalist armies. There are nationalist layers of the Left, and some including Communists, but they have no force and decision. Thus the bourgeoisie is seeking how to get shot of the military apparatus which destroys the economy and seeks to make all the cattle raising profits go to itself – to continue cattle export, but the profit for itself. This is the dispute which exists between the new guitar (Viola) and the previous guitar; the strings are the same, but the melody has changed a little.

It is necessary to take into account that all the dictatorships have had to retreat in the development of their power – that of El Salvador is going down and shows that it has reached the maximum it

All this has its effect on the military capacity of imperialism as a world system confronting the system of the Workers States. Conversely, the masses of El Salvador see that they must not submit to the war threats of Yankee imperialism against the Soviet Union. They see that the Soviet Union has social and political support in all parts of the world, and that the final settlement of accounts between the two systems will mean world revolution and the end of the capitalist system on a world scale. If the masses of El Salvador did not see this, they could not have such confidence.

can do, not because of local conditions but world conditions which influence El Salvador. In Argentina and Brasil it is also world conditions which change the structure of commercial relations, and thus it has an effect in the political composition of the government. Hence the bourgeoisie admitted the soldiers without great problem, without great interest in throwing them out: because, if they threw them out, who were they to put in their stead? how settle their disputes? and how deal with the masses who have a centre? Hence they let them get on with it. The bourgeoisie accepted this passively (including the great star Frondizi), shouting and protesting and taking their coffee 'This is a barbarity, the people go hungry!' But the bourgeoisie didn't go hungry!

Moreover, it is necessary to see the immediate result in El Salvador, as the bourgeoisie of El Salvador is already liquidated. The immediate result can be still to keep it formally but it has already been liquidated, as also in Guatemala and Honduras. They are liquidated by history, and history means that people can see that they can advance. When the children of ten in El Salvador and Nicaragua intervene, not now with a rifle but making political judgements – it is because the power of capitalism is already finished. The child of Guatemala listens to the child of El Salvador, and they see the bourgeoisie only as another ogre, but the bullets can also reach the ogre, and thus fear no longer dominates but becomes a question of where and how the rifle is aimed.

The Yanks, through the logical necessity of function of dominators of the capitalist world, are going to tend to dominate Brasil. But the Yanks do not have the commercial and economic structure, for example which the French bourgeoisie has and which allows them to accommodate to the local bourgeoisie (through industry, through export or import, it has a margin to accommodate), but the Yanks do not have a margin for anything. Thus they have to dominate or make an agreement at deeper levels which now goes against them, like that over nuclear production which provides the greatest profit. Then the Yanks cannot do this because, if they arm the bourgeoisie, this elevates and leads to confrontation as has begun with the Brazilian bourgeoisie and, in part, the Argentinian. But they do not confront the Yanks only through this process but because the bourgeoisie sees that the policy of the Yanks leads them to confront the population and it does not feel capable of confronting it.

In the years of massacre of fifteen to twenty thousand in Argentina, ten thousand Uruguayans, plus Bolivians and Paraguayans, the bourgeoisie learned that it was not possible to dominate like this, that its power did not increase but, on the contrary, its power decompo-

sed. In Paraguay Ministers shoot each other. Stroessner every six or seven months shoots a minister. It's the decomposition of power, and now one sees that they have just themselves killed Somoza.

In Latin America the bourgeoisie realises that confronting the population cannot be done as with Videla or as in Bolivia. It cannot do this because anyway social, economic and cultural development goes beyond every possibility of imposition. The problem is not only economic but cultural and social, as they see that they cannot dominate the population. They made a massacre in Argentina; they arrested people in the middle of the street as in the epoch of Hitler, and now they have to retreat on everything, and this without great mobilisation on the part of the masses. It has been the world which is reflecting itself in Argentina, as also in Brasil. Who forced these changes on Figuerido? No one. It was the world which obliged him to change because people were advancing, advancing ...in the Church, the petit bourgeoisie, and also the army. The Church of Brasil is a 'subversive trade union' as regards capitalism.

Then it is necessary to consider the cultural development of people. Cultural means political, above all. The true culture is born and develops with political development, otherwise it remains the culture of knowledge. But culture through political life teaches how to lead, change or regulate society, which is the essential base of culture. Before culture was to know, to know who was this or that. Now culture is how to develop society. Knowledge has a practical application and a strict end product – to serve the human being and the stage in which the human being is developing and intelligence is the human being with the cosmos. But capitalism wants to enclose humanity in a dispute in a permanent form.

In Surinam, a very small country where they know little, they know very well who Lenin was. The capitalist system and the bureaucracy do not take into account the influence and the function of culture. For them, culture is knowledge. But culture is the formation of the social consciousness to intervene and change society. This is the basis of culture. For this, its instrument is politics. We have developed this understanding, which is a creation for knowledge. People live this conception not only from now but from the epoch of Lenin. Already in that epoch in the most distant places of Russia people who did not speak Russian, because they had their own language, acted as Leninists. There are many stories which describe these places where the icon co-existed with Lenin. The peasants venerated both. They venerated the icon and had a dia-

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MANIFESTO FOR THE FIRST OF MAY 1982 Insert

Workers of the world, unite!

EDITORIAL

FOR LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNION MOBILISATIONS TO THROW OUT THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT

The crisis over the Malvinas is yet another instance of the incapacity of imperialism to decide the world process, and to have any initiative in it. Starting from an inter-bourgeois dispute, the matter has become one of system against system: the system of imperialism against the Workers States. Far from being in danger of invasion by imperialism, Nicaragua, Grenada and Cuba are now having an enormous authority over the masses of the whole of Latin America. This is because, behind Cuba, the Soviet Union warns imperialism that it will not draw any gain for itself from this situation in the Malvinas. Galtieri will not last long, but the anti-capitalist advance of the masses in Argentina is here to stay, and this fills imperialism with foreboding. The various governments of the EEC have now partially distanced themselves from Britain, thus bringing out the desperate nature of the crisis in which the British masses are learning to make inroads in the apparatus that prevents their intervention, as part of this process in which the Soviet Union is showing the way. Out of this crisis, a better functioning of the Labour Left, more systematic opposition to imperialism and a greater preoccupation for method of thought will arise. It is necessary to take this forward consciously.

THE IMPASSE OF THE GOVERNMENT.

One of the most outstanding instances of the boomerang which the policy of the government has led to, is the attitude of the Irish government, which is now seeking to lift the EEC trade ban against Argentina. This obviously comes from the pressure of the masses, and also a weak bourgeoisie which has no desire to be submitted totally to imperialism.

The sinking of the *Belgrano* has to be clearly analysed as an act of piracy, unnecessary and murderous, aimed at terrorising Argentina into submission. The blind arrogance of power left British imperialism unable to foresee that the 'colonial' countries have now solid backing, and when Galtieri is gone the support of the USSR to Argentina's government (in all probability a nationalist government of the Left, of the kind of Peron) will go on. Imperialism could not see past Galtieri, but the USSR could. There is more in force than simply military power. There is the ability to think and foresee, and the Soviet Union has all these things plus military power.

The sinking of HMS *Sheffield* and the shooting down of the *Harrier* show that Argentina is not inept and that it has very good backing. This is a military warning that demonstrates to imperialism that matters are not so simple. For that reason, whole sectors of the bourgeoisie who do not want war are showing their defeatism, including in the army. Meanwhile, others see the futility of this struggle against what was, up to now, a class ally - Galtieri.

The British masses, see the need to be against this government and the capitalist class. This is why the Labour leadership Foot, in particular, over the instance of 'talks' in private with Thatcher had to refuse to participate. It was literally imposed on him by the situation, and this is also due to the world balance of forces, determined by the Workers States which inspire the masses and give them strength in spite of the lack of co-ordinated organisms of the Left of Labour and the trade unions.

The working class of Britain is against this war, and this shows in the strike preparations by the Health Unions, those of NUPE, and on the Railway against closures. The Welsh TUC has declared its opposition to the war. turn to page 3

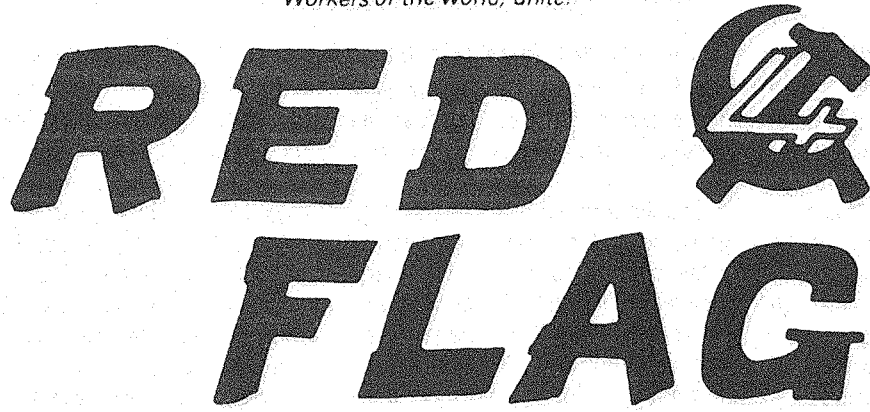
Forthcoming publication

a homage to Cde Posadas

A year ago this month Comrade Posadas died, but all the events that have occurred since his death have confirmed the profundity of his ideas - particularly the historic role and elevation of the Workers States in the advance of humanity to Communism, and that culture and the course of progress is no longer defined by the accumulation of knowledge but in the elevation of social relations. The leadership of the International is preparing a text of homage to Comrade Posadas, including several previously unpublished texts by him, and this will be published shortly in English.

VIVA MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, TROTSKY, POSADAS !

FORWARD TO COMMUNISM !



Monthly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

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THE ARGENTINIAN INTERVENTION IN THE MALVINAS AND THE WORLD CRISIS OF CAPITALISM.

The Posadist IV International

The occupation of the Malvinas by the military junta has shown the precariousness and the depth of the crisis of world capitalism. Argentina, which was prepared to be the gendarme of Central America together with Yankee imperialism, to intervene in El Salvador, ends by invading the Malvinas and creating a situation of internal confrontation in capitalism which, if certainly it is not going to go very far, weakens capitalism enormously before the masses of the world and the whole of the world bourgeoisie. Capitalism is incapable of resolving this type of problem within the bourgeois structure; it cannot do so because

support and a backing to the anti-imperialist action of the masses of Argentina and the world. Imperialism is very conscious that such an attitude of the Soviet Union is firm and resolved and that, if it is necessary, it will intervene. In another stage of history, capitalism would have decided everything rapidly and by force any conflict of this nature. Today there are the Workers States and the world process of the revolution which impedes capitalism resolving such questions and disputes within the capitalist framework.

At the same time, the occupation of the Malvinas represents no mili-

of the masses and, above all, of the economic crisis which is insoluble within capitalism. The intervention is not only to canalise the discontent of the masses but also to centralise within the apparatus itself the tendencies which push for a change in the economy against de-nationalisation and privatisation. The military dictatorship has killed, assassinated and handed over the country to foreign capital, but has resolved no problem for the masses. As a consequence, such a measure indicates the level of the crisis and the internal struggle within the military team which has had to take a measure seeking support in the



PART OF THE MASSIVE POPULAR DEMONSTRATIONS IN ARGENTINA

the Soviet Union is alongside any confrontation between the capitalist powers and gains in any such conflict.

The Soviet Union, even if it has not involved itself politically with the military junta, is intervening to impede any military movement or manoeuvre of British imperialism that allows capitalism to impose conditions to strengthen itself in this zone or place at risk the commercial or economic relations of the USSR with Argentina. At the same time, it is - in opposing the colonial interests of Britain - a point of

AGAINST THE IMPERIALIST POWERS

tary, political or economic objective - less socially - of importance for the country or the masses of Argentina. The capitalist formation of Argentina and, as a consequence, the basis of its present contradictions came very much later after the British occupied by force the Malvinas. The intervention is a measure of the Argentinian government aimed to canalise, to provide a safety valve and to contain the dissatisfaction shown in the army and a sector of the national bourgeoisie which feels the effects of the social situation and of the pressure

anti-imperialist sentiment of the masses which they themselves have repressed in their previous policy. This, anyway, stimulates the intervention of the masses which will not stay where it is, but will seek to go further. Nevertheless, it is not this event which has provoked the intervention of the masses who, a few days before, showed their real level of intervention and anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist combativity and intervention. But such an action of the government offers a possibility of intervention which in no way is

Turn to page 3

NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AND THE PREPARATION OF THE WAR IN THE MIDST OF THE CAPITALIST CRISIS.

J POSADAS

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This is the end of the existence of capitalism and its leadership completely lacks ideas. It cannot have ideas because it has no material historic bases to have ideas. The most fundamental of these is that already it cannot dispose of the world as it was before. Before, it could paralyse opponents through force of arms, but now it cannot. The populations of the world, in front of arms, answer by elevating the revolutionary struggle against capitalism.

It is this situation that develops the internal contradictions in the capitalist system to the level such that now it is Europe against the Yanks. This is no manoeuvre but a real contradiction and a very deep one. To the attitude of France and Germany there is now added that of the British, and it is a change in the British bourgeoisie which came after the triumph of Foot in the Labour Party.

Capitalism has no notion of how history is advancing nor do some Communist parties. But the Workers States do have such a conception, because they are participating and living in the middle of the progress of history. The Communist parties who develop with the capacity of decision are the ones who are fused integrally with the Soviet Union. In this present process, the USSR sustains the revolution on all sides, as in Vietnam, and the Soviet leadership recognises this when Brezhnev declared, 'We support Vietnam because it is a point of support to Socialism without it mattering whether we share frontiers or not', 'We are a system of Socialist countries against another system which we are not going to conceal', and, 'Take care you do not interfere with anyone in our system'.

It is an immense progress of the Soviet leadership, an historic progress in using the term 'system' and speaking as a system. The change realised in the Soviet leadership from Stalin to now is immense. Stalin, in front of the resistance of the Yugoslav Communists to serving the Stalinist policy of alliance with capitalism, preferred to abandon Yugoslavia to its fate. He wanted to do the same with China. In both cases the revolution triumphed. But later, and even with Khrushchev the USSR sustained Cuba against the Yanks. This was in 1959 and even with the risk of war the USSR sustained Cuba. Soon after imperialism tried 'the Bay of Pigs' and dirtied itself.

The policy of Soviet conciliation continued up to the time of Khrushchev. He had an interview with Kennedy when he took a stalk of maize and said, 'We will be a great country when we have the maize that you have'. This was the great dream of Khrushchev: to have the maize of the United States! It was also Khrushchev who broke relations with China as part of this policy of conciliation with capitalism - which is the policy which the Chinese have now, conciliating with the Yanks

and, in this way, to go on existing- The Soviet leadership has no plan of the future, it does not feel the process of the progress of history.

The Soviets have to stimulate, to intervene and to give open support to the movements of national liberation which are anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. These are profound changes in history, and imperialism does not feel this. It sees the disposition of the Soviets, and they do not know what to do. Meanwhile the internal differences of capitalism intensify. Capitalism sees that it is going to disappear from the map. A situation is in development which no capitalist foresaw, because he could not foresee it; and even if he did foresee it he could do nothing about this process.

CAPITALISM DECOMPOSES RAPIDLY

The world capitalist apparatus is in the course of a very great disintegration in which every sector tries to save itself. In the next war they are not going to be able to unite as they did in the Second World War, when different sectors of capitalism united against another capitalist competitor. Now they are going into war in a most desperate form. In the last war they went with the confidence and the security that they were going to win. But now they prepare for a war in which they know that, as soon as it is begun, half the population of the capitalist world is going to be against them.

Hence the present concern of the capitalist system, and they try to pretend that it is not they who want war but, as a regime, they have no other way out. At the same time, they feel that the next war is the end of them. This explains the reason for how they act at the present moment. Capitalism has no other policy than the one it is putting forward. It cannot choose. Even with Reagan, the capacity and resources, means and possibility of the United States of Reagan are the same as when Carter was around. The change of political leadership does not mean that capacity, resources or forces change. The difference is that Reagan simply appears to be more precipitate and wants to run about more, but he falls anyway.

Poland is one of the greatest blows which the capitalist system has received. After the retreat which Yugoslavia underwent, the retreat of Poland was the most profound crisis of a Workers State. Yugoslavia showed that in any case it did not stop being a Workers State and, in Poland, there is a process in which a vanguard is being educated, one which comes from being led by the bureaucracy but which knows that the bureaucracy is not Poland, and that Poland is the Worker States and the Polish masses. In Poland, a better relation is being established between the Party, the army and the masses.

The Catholic masses of Poland, as we have already said, are Polish Soviet masses and, after that, they are Catholics. The Polish masses do not go through history with God. They put God in the pocket, like a watch which they consult when they want to know the time. And it is a watch which has stopped, which comes from the epoch of the grandparents and does not function any more, however much they wind it up. Besides, today, there are watches which now function atomically.

The Polish masses are teaching the masses of the other Workers States, in Hungary, Czechoslovakia and the German Workers State. The 'interships' of East Germany are furious because of the Polish process.

Capitalism is preparing war in the middle of the vacillation and the doubts of a large part of its apparatus. This makes the whole of the apparatus unstable and erratic. Hence, in this stage, capitalism has no writers, novelists, artists, filmmakers or singers. Capitalism has nothing, but the peoples advance and develop where the Soviets are.

Capitalism has no notion of the state of the world, hence it has no writers who write on the character of this epoch. It is not only that they lack ideas, but that they cannot understand this stage. They believe that the revolution is the product of the sagacity of Lenin and revolutionaries, when Lenin himself declared, applying the formula of Marx, 'The Bolshevik Party is the conscious expression of the unconscious process of history.' The Bolshevik Party was the conscious expression of Russia, but also of the world because it was the world which also allowed the revolution to be made in Russia. Now the situation is much richer than then. Now there are the Seychelles. The latter are the conscious expression of the process, now conscious of history. The process is now sufficiently conscious because it is led by the Soviets. The revolutionary process in this stage has many more aspects of the conscious than the unconscious.

Imperialism resists believing in this situation of the world, the stupid figure of Reagan shows this. They believe that the Church and capitalism are inevitable institutions and that egoistic interest is permanent, and that people want to accumulate for ever and everything is as they believe it to be in the United States. Hence the Yanks have no literature or art. If they had literature this would say, 'We are backward in the world'. It is absurd for the greatest capitalist country to have no writer. Now there is an extensively promoted book by Nixon, which only says stupidities. This idiot has in front of him twenty Workers States and

forty revolutions on the march, like that of the Seychelles Islands, and writes that 'the Soviets are going to lose the world struggle'.

YANKEE IMPERIALISM IS SHORT ON ABILITY

The present Yankee government is the representative of the last stage of capitalism. They do not have a single idea, except to give support and stimulus to resist revolution. The bourgeoisie of the rest of the world feels that with this leadership things are going nowhere else but war, and it feels that it is going to lose because now one can no longer think about military or economic superiority because life is measured socially. Socially it sees the Seychelles Islands which are minute, but resolve to be like the Soviets.

The Yanks have more than ten million sons of Mexicans born in the south of the United States. They have been more than a hundred years in the region, where they all speak Spanish. They know English very well, which they need for work, but resist using it as a protest. They speak Spanish and force the Yanks to speak Spanish. It is a whole region which was stolen from Mexico. In all the time that they have been there the Yanks have not been able to convince these people that they are North Americans. The same with the Puerto Ricans. The attitude of the Yanks towards the 'chicanos', as they call them, is contemptuous.

These are the Yanks who complain about the Soviet Union. Another criterion is the actual history of Yankee imperialism, which had to assassinate Sacco and Vanzetti, organisers of the first North American trade unions. With this assassination it sought to terrorise the workers' movement and its trade union demands. Capitalism of the United States does not have the structure which British, French or German capitalism developed. These have a mass of relations with the petit bourgeoisie and the workers' movement, and of leaders who stand between capitalism and anti-capitalist measures. But North American capitalism has nothing of this. Reagan is a complete buffoon with not one idea about anything. He is the cowboy who has forty revolvers with endless bullets, and threatens the whole world.

European capitalism was able to provide leaders, as those it has now, but the Yanks produce Reagan. North American imperialism does not have the social base to be able to have political leaders of value. European capitalism can count in part with the Socialist parties and the Social Democrats, but the Yanks have nothing of this. They do not have the social base, not even for a transitory alternative of some years. This explains the function of Reagan, which is the utilisation of a bad actor for whatever turns up.

Capitalism cannot now decide in history. Before it did. It decided the day, the stage, and how to act. But now it cannot do this, because it does not have the historic strength. This change is due to the development of the Workers States. It is the Workers States who are deciding the course of history. This situation renders capitalism completely incapable of thinking. The Yanks cannot think in accordance only with their particular interest but have to think about the resistance which they find in the other capitalist states.

Europe fears to be yet again the bridge to war and that the Yanks will be outside the principal encounter. The Soviets have declared well, 'this time it is not going to have a bridge'. Even in the leading military circles of NATO this conclusion has been drawn. The French General, Sanguinetti, said some years ago, 'In 48 hours the USSR would control Europe'. When a journalist said that this was impossible, Sanguinetti explained to him that the Soviets counted upon the masses of all the capitalist countries besides its own forces. Sanguinetti commented, 'They have had two wars and they transformed both into revolutions, and it is because they decided in accordance with social necessity.'

War is one of the greatest events which affects society, bringing out all the existing contradictions. And, with these, an internal force which could not emerge up to this moment which is the working class. From imperialism what can emerge? North American imperialism has certain orientators, like Kissinger who is the orientator of death. He cannot be the orientator of a stable programme of the capitalist system but only just about survivors. Kissinger is a merchant who is shopkeeping just to go on living.

This situation of officers in NATO like Sanguinetti exists in all the capitalist countries. In Belgium they established a special anti-Communist shock troop; and cells of officers and soldiers have appeared who demand democratic rights and to be able to intervene in the problems of the Party, and they declare that they do not want to repress strikes. This occurs in carefully selected groups. Belgian officers have declared that the war against the Soviet Union is madness, because it is not a question of arms but the USSR represents social progress, thus there is no possibility of conquering us.'

With this spirit and sentiment these armies are going to war and among the Yanks also there is this situation. Part of the deficient intervention of the Yanks in Vietnam joined to the resistance of the Vietnamese people with Soviet support was due to the mistakes committed by soldiers and officers. There is evidence which shows that of twenty bombs which they dropped, ten were dropped at the wrong time

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going to be used by the initial objectives of the sector which posed the intervention in the Malvinas.

MATURITY OF THE MASSES OF ARGENTINA

The masses first of all understand perfectly that the defence of the territory means to defend the economic resources which allow the progress of the country. While, on one side, the approval of a law is discussed which hands over the sub-soil to foreign companies, on the other hand, the Malvinas is occupied - which, from the economic point of view, incorporates absolutely nothing into the progress of the country. But the masses have shown an enormous maturity seeking to utilise such a situation to deepen its social and political intervention against capitalism, and this present government. This was the sense of the mobilisation in the Plaza de Mayo, on the arrival of Haig and the whistling at Galtieri. The world bourgeoisie, which has been in solidarity with Britain, has concealed deliberately the participation of the masses and the sense which they seek to give to the process; that is to say, that of deepening the struggle for democratic rights, freedom of the political prisoners, increase of wages and increase in the standard of living.

Such a mature intervention of the masses in Argentina corresponds with the attitude of the proletariat and the masses in Britain who have not mobilised to support colonial interests. There has been no attitude of support on the part of the masses to the imperialist government of Thatcher. This explains the retreat of the Labour Party leadership who, at the beginning, supported a military response and then have retreated, supporting the positions of the Left Wing of Benn who was opposed to an armed intervention. It shows also the maturity of the British masses at the same time as the cynicism and hypocrisy of the whole of European capitalism which supports the government of Thatcher but does not say a word about the repression of the British troops in Northern Ireland, as it said nothing before when the same dictatorship in Argentina massacred the uprising of the masses.

Capitalism feels that all this situation has escaped from its hands, that the visit alone of Haig to Argentina provoked a powerful mobilisation and, at the same time, increases the authority of the Soviet Union which, without compromising itself politically with the military dictatorship, has conditioned it through its commercial and economic relations. The Yanks have sought by all means to cut such economic relations which, anyway, tend to elevate the influence of the USSR on layers of the petit bourgeoisie and sectors of the bourgeoisie who feel economically overwhelmed and, at the same time, do not have the confidence now that imperialism can solve any problem. They have seen that all these years of economic submission to imperialism have not only brought poverty and repression to the masses but that, at the same time, have smashed the ambitions

developed by the bourgeoisie or, at least, of maintaining the potential of competition and superiority with the rest of the Latin American bourgeoisie. That is to say, dependency has led to more dependency, while the Soviets offer economic possibilities of agreements and relations which are aimed at elevating the economic structure of the country as opposed to the Yanks who have destroyed the economy and the productive apparatus of the country.

This influence of the Soviets over a whole sector of capitalism - not only over the Argentinian but over world capitalism - enormously weakens the centralisation and capacity of action of the whole of capitalism and of Yankee imperialism and the links which bourgeois sectors establish, as in Argentina with the Soviets, is partly to blackmail and use such a crisis; but also seeking a perspective which gives a solution to the economic crisis. If certainly this was a policy, in part necessary for a sector of Argentinian capitalism, this weakened its capacity of action, its homogeneity and, as a consequence, its centralisation with Yankee imperialism. Hence, now Haig has no authority and goes like a madman from one side to the other without resolving anything. It is thus the presence of the Soviet Union which is conditioning the possibility of imperialism finding a solution to the conflict.

The proletariat and the Argentina masses are elevating their intervention and are going to deepen the content of the mobilisation, including, the animation of anti-imperialist sectors, to go much further and confront the present policy of the government. The masses have not supported the objectives of the occupation of the Malvinas, but have felt that this was a possibility for intervention and, as their own tradition and experience in former epochs have taught them, to intervene to impel the process as a whole. In principle the single fact of imposing a mobilisation, as it did with the coming of Haig, indicates the elevation of the process of the class struggle and, at the same time, the disorganisation of the military and repressive power of the government. This does not come from present events, but is part of the process of resistance and mobilisation which the masses have imposed throughout this last period. Such a situation is used by the masses as an instrument to elevate their intervention. It is a quality and characterisation of the mass movement in Argentina but also of the disintegration and failure of five years of military dictatorship.

SYSTEM VERSUS SYSTEM DECIDES THE COURSE OF EVENTS

The Communist and Socialist parties of Europe do not understand this process or they compromise with their governments in the support to Thatcher or do not directly take positions like the Italian Communist Party. Principally, they do not understand the structure of the world confrontation between Workers States and the capitalist system, and the relation of forces favourable to the revolution in the world. They assess the occupation of the Mal-

vinas only by the existence and the objectives of the military dictatorship in power, and thus they prefer to support the colonial interests of Britain. The fact that the military dictatorship remains in Argentina does not mean that capitalism is strong in Argentina or that imperialism has a free hand. If it had that strength, it would have exerted a pressure for some time so that Argentina broke with the Soviets. But, not only have the latter remained but they have increased their intervention and influence. But, fundamentally, the rebellion of the masses which has been organised has been the decisive factor which ties the hands of capitalism in Argentina and fills it with contradictions and disputes. Hence the intervention in the Malvinas is not the result of a calculated manoeuvre and planned in depth, but a consequence of this process of contradictions, crisis and confrontation within the army and the Argentinian bourgeoisie, which has sought in such a measure a way to resolve its internal problems and contain the process of disintegration.

If there had not been such a process of crisis and world disintegration of capitalism, Britain would already have recovered the Malvinas. When there is such vacillation, marches and counter-marches, and a level of confrontation which does not correspond to the importance of the Islands, it shows that the level of contradictions and disputes in the heart of capitalism have reached an unendurable level. Neither the British nor the Argentinians have an interest in an armed conflict but, when there is such a display of military forces and means completely unjustified for such objectives, it indicates that neither of them are secure as to where this process can go. Conservative sectors in Britain try now to stop the military action because they see the absurdity of such behaviour which only weakens them internally and in front of the rest of capitalism which finds itself supporting an enterprise which has no logical benefit or sense. Moreover, the warning of the Soviets on the consequences of a blockade puts the problem in a very different dimension compared with the importance of the islands in question.

The problem of the Malvinas can be resolved or remain in negotiation for a long time, but the crisis which has been brought out in capitalism in Argentina and the process of the class struggle which is elevating, cannot retreat. Hence, now, it is important to appeal for a front to impose democratic rights and an economic plan which elevates the standard of living of the masses, which is the best way of defending the national interests of the country. It is necessary to direct appeals to all the nationalist sectors of the bourgeoisie and the army, to the Peronistas and to the Left, showing the nature of the progress to 'defend the fatherland and the nation'. The masses are clear on the intentions of the government in the problem of the Malvinas, beginning with the fact that the economic cost of such a military action is going to be paid by the masses. Thus, it is necessary to propose that the defence of the national interest requires the

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The interests of the masses of Argentina are the same as in Britain, and much of the programme of expropriations - posed openly for the Banks in Argentina by the CGT - applies to both countries. This demands, naturally, an analysis that has to be conducted in the Labour Left and campaigns made for the re-call of the British Fleet. May Day in Britain was very weakly organised and dispersed in all big towns; one must declare that this policy was aimed at decentralising the masses' pressure from the Labour and Trade Union leadership, to allow the latter to continue a policy of conciliation with the war of Thatcher. In that war, they all divert the attention of the masses from the situation internally, and the apparatus continues with a contemplation of the situation of over three million officially unemployed, which is nearer the four million mark in reality.

In Italy, much of May Day was a point of rallying against the murder of the Communist Mayor of Palermo. Why not do this in Britain - use such occasions to discuss massively the Malvinas and what the Labour movement proposes?

What is important is that the Left has learned to separate itself from the class interests of imperialism and has condemned the war. But the abstention of Labour sectors in the local elections is a conscious blow at the limitations of the policy of the Labour Party.

The CND demonstrations against the war and the forthcoming 'reception' for Reagan are instances that show that the population is not behind Thatcher and the 'nation' she represents. In the local elections they have not found the means of expressing what they are learning, but it will be expressed later. Large movements and campaigns must be organised in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions for the recall of the Fleet, for support to the Argentinian masses, and for a programme for the social progress of both Argentina and Britain, to include the bringing down of the Thatcher government. This is what the masses seek, and they must be allowed to speak, discuss, debate, intervene and organise with the Trade Union and Labour movement.

7.5.82

The crisis of British Rail and the need for workers control

The threatened closure of the Shildon and Norwich railway workshops - and the reduction of 50% of the workforce at Swindon - with probably loss of 5,000 jobs, marks a particularly acute stage of the crisis in the railway industry. The very fact that the General Secretary and National Executive of the NUR (National Union of Railwaymen) has been galvanised into threatening strike action is a proof of just how deep the crisis is.

The rundown of the railway system and the decimation of the workforce is the logical response of a system which has neither the ability nor the interest to develop the economy. Its only interest, as the attack on the Malvinas and Argentina shows, is war and the preparations for war. This crisis in the railway industry is another proof that the policy of conciliation, followed in one degree or another by all the trade union leaderships, no longer has even the slightest validity. The fact is, in this instance, that the refusal of the NUR and the TSSA to make common cause with ASLEF to resist the 'productivity' agreement demanded by the government and British Rail management has not resulted in the protection of employment but in yet another brutal attack on the workforce. Of course, the decision of the NUR Executive to resist with strike action the threatened sacking and closure is to be welcomed. It is certain that the mobilisation of 5,000 people in Shildon - most of the population, in fact - against the threatened closure of the workshops has had its effect on this trade union leadership.

WORK SHARING WITHOUT LOSS OF WAGES

This demonstration is just one indication of the fact that the essential force to confront and defeat the policies of the present Tory

government is the mobilisation of the masses. The railway workers, in common with the whole of the working class, are not faced with a simple 'industrial' problem. The railways are not only the source of employment for a quarter of a million or so workers, but also an essential service to a large proportion of the population. Therefore, in any confrontation with the government, the railway workers have to base themselves on the masses who are the users of the service. In a very limited way, the three railway unions did this in 1976. This was under a Labour government which gave some financial aid to the railway industry and thus allowed the trade union leaderships to drop the campaign. Now, any such mobilisation will have a much greater significance. Now we are in different circumstances, with a government of a different complexion, and with the crisis of the capitalist system that much more profound. Today, and for a long time, the problems posed for the working class and the mass of the population by the total crisis of capitalism cannot be answered by traditional trade union methods and thinking. Demonstrably there is no possibility of the trade unions, or anybody else, running the capitalist economy better than the capitalists. Certainly, in this instance, the demand for work-sharing without loss of pay has to be made, and occupations as a method of struggle used. The argument that workshops have to be closed because 'there is no demand' has to be refuted! There is plenty of demand for rolling stock. Zimbabwe, for example, is submitted to South Africa to fulfil its need for railway equipment and stock. It would take all that was offered. There is plenty of demand, but capitalism works on profit and not for need. This is how the discussion has to be developed, together with the struggle. Turn to page 4

or fell in the sea. A great number of soldiers went over to the Vietnamese. The military patriotic sentiment even in high level officer rank of the capitalist armies is yielding place to social sentiment.

Reagan shouts more than Carter, but without having increased his strength or his means. Carter showed that at the end he had to negotiate. One president may negotiate more than another, not because he is a better person but because he is obliged to negotiate otherwise, anyway, he has to close up shop. The relation of historic forces are not now only military but are essentially social. Capitalism disintegrates enormously. Socially the Soviets have half their army in the United States, France, Germany and all the capitalist countries - because people are going to act in a way convenient to social progress, which is the Workers State. For capitalism in the middle of the preparation of the war, Foot emerges as leader of the British Labour Party. European capitalism aims at Reagan, showing to him the experience that they have in matters of war. For example, the French. The French fleet rebelled in 1919 in the Black Sea where half of the officers and all the soldiers refused to bombard the new-born Soviet Union. In Algeria, an immense quantity of officers served in the liberation struggle. In Vietnam, in Dien Bien Phu, half of the officer deserted. It is this fear that the French pose to Reagan, for in any new war, a war against the Soviet Union, half the officers will go over to the other side and all the soldiers. Part of the capitalist military leadership is already won by progress, which means Socialism; and another great part will go over to Socialism as soon as the war has begun.

This is one of the determining factors of the crisis of the European social democracy. They are trying to impel their International, or any instrument that allows them to put themselves inside, because they feel displaced. It is the first time that they have given support in a great measure, consistent support to anti-capitalist movements like Nicaragua and El Salvador. They support Cuba also. It is not only a manoeuvre. The Social Democrats have to give a certain reply to what is happening, to be able to continue surviving and not to be surpassed in their respective countries. Examples of this are the British Labour Party and the German Social Democrats. The Labour Left, through Foot, is going to the leadership of the Party, and twentyfour deputies of the German Social Democracy demand in parliament the reduction of military expenditure. When twentyfour deputies make a declaration like this it is because they represent a much greater strength.

The resistance of the French and Germans to the Yanks expresses the impotence of capitalism. The other side of this is 'we want to live, to live'. The German population feels occupied by the Yanks, and hardly has the next war begun than they will proceed to liquidate the Yankee soldiers. Moreover, half the Yankee soldiers will go over to the other side or stop fighting, because in the

North American army in Germany there are a great number of drunks and druggists and thieves. In a recent report a North American soldier denounced the conditions in which they were living: 'We have been here for twenty years without being able to bring our families. In Germany no one wants us, and this work is not worth the little we earn'.

HUMANITY HAS A VISION OF PROGRESS SUPERIOR TO CAPITALISM

The whole structure which must serve capitalism is disintegrating - the army and the Church. Without having transformed the principles, the conclusion and the texts of the Church, the behaviour of people now is not strictly religious but Bolshevik and Soviet religious. Capitalism sees all this transformation and cannot do anything. The Polish Catholic Church is not the Church of John Paul II but a Polish Church. The Russian Orthodox Church is similar. Who is capable of convincing the Soviets to believe in God? If some priest comes to ask that people listen to the word of God the answer is 'My brother, we listen to the voice of the Central Committee, and God is in agreement'.

On the side of capitalism there is a continual deepening and extension of the crisis of bourgeois policy. This is because it does not find the forms of applying the conception of the defence of capitalism at the same time as preparing the war against the Workers States. The indication of this crisis is the change within twentyfour hours in the policy of the United States. They change from Carter to Reagan. If there existed a policy of understanding on the part of the leading caste of a capitalist country, whoever might be the president should continue with the same policy. When they have to change as they do with opposition from one moment to the other, it is because there is no security in the capitalist system that it is going to last. Neither does Reagan have the security that he is going to last much longer.

Hence the measures and declarations of the Reagan government are efforts at blackmail, pressure or serious preparations to bring the capitalist world behind it. These events occur when there is no security or stability in the capitalist power, nor in its ruling class - otherwise it would not make this policy which divides and disturbs capitalism itself. Although it goes as far as war, it is going to do so with a thousand different interests, even in those interests as regards the Soviet Union. This is a product of the final stage of the capitalist system.

Capitalism, the partisans of self-management and the non-aligned, are by-passed at every instant by the implacable objective necessity of dialectical materialism. Humanity already has an indication of progress in life: statification, planning, workers control, intervention of the trade unions, and

that a Workers State must sustain and defend the other Workers States because it needs to progress, and it is necessary to defend every movement of progress which is inherent in the Workers State.

The strategies of the capitalist armies know now that the next war will not be won with missiles and atomic bombs. The war is going to mean a great disaster for humanity, but the factor that wins is the necessity of social progress. The masses of the world already know what progress is - the Workers States, Poland, the Soviet Union and Cuba. Cuba had 80% of the population illiterate; and now has an army equipped with modern arms of every military capacity, and also with pencils, blackboards and exercise books. Somoza, before falling, cried 'They are invading me, invading me'. And, when asked if foreign troops were doing this, he said: 'No. Pencils and exercise books!'

All this has a repercussion in the Communist and revolutionary movement, leaving no place for the policy of conciliation with capitalism. An indication of the failure of the policy of conciliation is Tito of Yugoslavia. What is the weight and the present importance of Tito? None. And not only because he died, because even before dying he was supporting nothing. The last meeting of the 'non-aligned' in which he participated was aligned in progressive form in the defence of the Workers States. They did not name the Workers States, but when it was necessary to resolve on attacks and condemnations, they were all against capitalism. The support which these movements give to the revolutionary process and that of liberation is an objective alliance with the Workers States. Hence it is that there is no place for 'neither with one nor the other', as Tito said.

All the forces of capitalism are in contradiction, and these arise from the antagonism between capitalism and the Workers States. These are not the contradictions which arise through internal disputes only, but are developed through the historic antagonism between capitalism and the Workers States. The inter-capitalist contradictions do not substitute for the principal antagonism, but they are combined. This situation reduces enormously the capacity of imperialism for war, because a very great opposition is the result. World capitalism is preparing war with a very great decomposition and with symptoms of immediate capitulation in extensive sectors of capitalism. But the Workers States enter into the preparations of the war with the most profound cleansing which has ever existed in history, as in Poland.

13 February 1981 J. POSADAS

THE MALVINAS

from page 3

expropriation of foreign capital which is the real coloniser and cause of the present economic crisis. The British in the Malvinas have no right to be there, and they have to be thrown out; but also it is necessary to throw out the Yanks and the financial sectors who, for some time, have occupied the Argentinian economy - the very

The essential question that has to be raised is: who runs the railway service and for whose benefit? The question of workers' and popular control is particularly relevant to a service which is already nationalised. If the struggle to defend the railway industry takes the form of a united front between the workers and the users of the service, then the basis for the control of the railway industry by committees of workers and users of the service is already laid. At the same time, the railway workers have to direct themselves to the advancing Labour Left which can be in the position to form a bridge between the workers, on the one hand, and the population, on the other. In all this, the essential first step is to open a discussion which involves the workers of the industry, the comrades of the Labour Left and the population generally. It is not simply a question of calling on the masses to support workers in struggle, but of tapping the social intelligence of the masses. Capitalism, as a system, has no ideas because it has no future. The development of ideas for the progress of humanity comes essentially from the intervention of the masses based on the existence and advance of the Workers States.

WORKERS AND POPULAR CONTROL.

The crisis of the railway industry is not an isolated event. At this moment, all the social services - and transport is a social service - are under attack. The workers in

both education and the Health Service are beginning to mobilise.

The 'triple alliance' of steel, coal and railway workers would be a very good thing if it were actually put into practice, but the immediate necessity is for a united front of workers in the social services. Primarily health, education and transport. If there is a reluctance - and there is - by the trade union leaders to organise such concerted action then it has to be done through local committees at the base of the unions in the social services which are not coming into struggle. The reluctance of the trade union leadership in general - some more than others - to take simply organisational steps, like a united front of public service workers, stems from the illusion that it is possible to solve problems within a single industry without confronting the government. However, it really does become impossible to avoid

the conclusion that the capitalist system is no longer open to reforms of concessions. It is on the basis of this fundamental conclusion that all the discussions and mobilisations in the next period have to be based. If the railway workers are to be mobilised, and it is going to be difficult for the union leadership to avoid, then appeals have to be made for the mobilisation of the population in support of the railway workers struggle, for a united front of all public service workers and for the widest possible discussion in the work-places and amongst the population generally, on the basis that all social and public services must be taken under workers' and popular control.

POLAND

J. POSADAS

Volume 1 £1. A selection of texts from 1970 to 1981

Published in February 1982

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND

POLITICAL EDITIONS

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element which allows Argentinian territory to be utilised in the service of the masses.

At the same time, it is necessary to expect in Argentina a deepening of the crisis in the heart of the army where a sector is not going to stay still and will seek to continue with other measures in the economy and, at the same time, elevate the relation with the Soviets. This situation has not given force or authority to capitalism and to the government itself in Argentina. On the contrary, the crisis increases its weakness and will soon deepen the internal confrontation. Cde Posadas has already analysed this, as regards the relation of the Soviets with the Argentinian government, five years ago. Such a relation can fortify capitalism momentarily in one or another matter but weakens it internally and, as a consequence,

prevents it working in a centralised way as a class in front of the action of the masses. We are helping this process which is going to become more profound.

This situation, provoked by the occupation of the Malvinas, shows the fragility and the level of dispute in the whole of world capitalism which makes conflicts without importance like this acquire such a dimension. At the same time, the Yanks, without having been those who provoked such a situation, try to extract advantage; hence the decided attitude of the Soviets who, more than just the defence of the position of the Argentinian government, go against the intentions of imperialism which seek in this process an excuse to increase its intervention in this zone.

14 April 1982

Manifesto for the the First of May



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

J. POSADAS

MANIFESTO FOR THE FIRST OF MAY 1982

MAY 1981

This manifesto for the First of May 1981, published in the name of the International Secretariat of the Posadist IV International in 1981, was formulated by comrade J. Posadas who died a few weeks later. We reproduce it here as a salute to his memory, and because it retains all its relevance as a document for a whole historic stage.

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

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

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

This is the Front of the progress

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

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

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

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

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

(Continued on back page.)

We salute this May Day celebration 1982, which symbolises the fact that the process of advance in Britain forms an integral part of the world process. At the centre of this world process, a determining centre is the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States, whose existence and advance determine the advance of the whole of humanity to Socialism.

The Workers States represent the social, scientific, cultural, human and even economic progress of humanity. The level reached by the world economy, and productive forces, demands a superior form of social organisation, of property relations and of planning. Capitalism wants to stop this necessity with the war it is preparing against the Soviet Union and the Workers States, and with the deployment of first strike capability in Western Germany and Europe. But the Soviet Union has acquired the confidence that the struggle with imperialism is an antagonistic one, and makes no secret that it does not depend on missiles in Europe to attack the USA directly. Imperialism cannot crush the progress of the Workers States any more than it can prevent Socialism. Socialism is a necessity of the economy, of science, of culture, human relations, and life itself.

The confidence of the masses of the United States to oppose the war preparations of their ruling cliques is based on the feeling that the Workers States determine the world balance of forces today, and have the initiative. This decomposes imperialism, right to the core, inside its state and military apparatus. An increasing number of top ranking military leaders of imperialism have opposed the nuclear war prepared by imperialism against the Soviet Union. The resignation of Carrington in Britain contains some of this and forms part of the historic weakening of the moribund capitalist regime. The drawing close of the final settlement of accounts fundamentally debilitates and divides the ruling teams of imperialism, whilst it continuously strengthens and renews the leaderships of the Workers States.

The changes in China are slow but in an anti-imperialist direction. They tend to draw China closer to the Soviet Union, if only because any Workers State, in order to live, has to stop co-existing with imperialism. Poland breaks its links with the World Bank and comes closer to COMECON and the Soviet Union, the same as all the other Workers States. In front of this decisive unification of the forces of progress and Socialism capitalism has no answer but counter-revolution and war.

The masses of Britain, like those of the world, express the advance of the world balance of forces favourable to Socialism in their extra-parliamentary and political progresses. The elections in Southern Ireland - a completely unforeseen event by capitalism that strikes at its war preparations - form part of the impulse which the Irish masses give to the advance in the Labour Party, and have been in part motivated by the advance of the Labour Party themselves. The 'peace' movement advances in strength and maturity, linking itself each day more with the trade union and Labour movement. There are movements like that for 'natural birth' which mobilise thousands of people preoccupied not by the obsession with nuclear war but with leading a conscious and dignified life, human relations and relations with nature. The source of strength and inspiration for this lies in the Soviet Union and the Workers States, which allow people to prepare themselves without fear, conscious that all problems can be resolved.

Whilst capitalism fills its papers with slanders against the Workers States and news about its own crisis, like the Malvinas Islands, the USSR investigates space, builds a complete orbital space station, explores Venus by remote control, and proceeds confidently with the investigation of this planet and the cosmos. The confidence with which it does this is that of a regime that has no doubt about its superiority, military included. The formidable confidence and security of the USSR in the face of the first strike Yankee nuclear missiles being deployed in Europe is immensely more important to characterise the Soviet Union as a regime than its bureaucratic limitations, which are each day weakened.

In the face of this, any sort of progress in capitalism is rendered impossible. Capitalism is exhausted. Any proposal of progress, like the 'fares fair', meets with the opposition of the judiciary, the police and the Law Lords. The masses learn that, for capitalism, 'democracy' is what serves its interests of accumulation, domination, undisputed power. The support given by the Thatcher government to the elections in El Salvador is an epitome of this. For capitalism 'dictatorial' is all that allows the workers to decide in the leadership of society, free of all bourgeois hindrance. The capitalist conception of nature and history is essentially subjective, limited purely to the defence of its crude class interests. The masses are learning to differentiate between their own class interests and those of British imperialism, and the changes in the Labour Party are about the break of Labour from imperialism.

Capitalism is incapable of allowing any change that spells progress for the masses. As its crisis deepens, the social regime of capitalism becomes more and more antagonistic to even the most simple and common elements of progress. The policy of negotiation with capitalism to obtain

(Continued from front page)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

J. Posadas

more reforms for the workers by the trade union movement has become obsolete. Any improvement of working class life will have to be fought on a political plane and against the interests of capitalism. This demands a political functioning of the trade unions. All those who have displayed the greatest interest in the smallest detail of the Polish workers' strikes and struggles for the right to control society, production and their own Party, must show equal concern for the blatant attacks launched on the British workers, most of whom are severely impoverished and four million of whom have no right to work. The most logical preoccupation is to support strikes and demonstrations, factory occupations, against closures, against unemployment, for the right to life, and against the Tory government.

On the First of May 1982 we call for a United Front Labour/Trade Union and Communist Party, the Left groups and organisations, the 'peace' and 'anti-nuclear' movements, based on a struggle to overthrow the present Tory government and prepared to implement, with the direct intervention of the masses, an anti-capitalist programme to deal with the lack of housing, unemployment, the lack of social and health services, the absence of cultural and fraternal human relations. It has to be a United Front that includes the masses of Ireland, involving mass links and organisations. The perspective is for a Socialist Republic of the British Isles, and this requires an alliance with the Workers States, particularly with the Soviet Union.

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

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THE MILITARY CONFRONTATION OVER THE MALVINAS ISLANDS

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— ANGLO-YANKEE IMPERIALISM, OUT OF THE SOUTH ATLANTIC!

— FOR THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!

The fact that such a small problem as that of the Malvinas, which has no economic or strategic importance, approaches the point of war is the result of the climate of disintegration and tension within the capitalist system and world imperialism. The exaggerated reaction of British imperialism to the Argentinian action is to maintain the authority of the capitalist system by force, and not just over Argentina but the whole of Latin America. Imperialism's intention is to stop the development also of tendencies among the Latin American bourgeoisies and armies, which move towards an alliance with the USSR and the other Workers States.

The murder of 300 sailors from the 'General Belgrano' and of civilians in the Malvinas is the fruit of the criminal desperation of British imperialism, which feels that it is sinking and tries to terrorise the world in this way. It is a demonstration of the assassin character of world imperialism on the level of the Yankee actions in Vietnam or of the daily murder of the Palestinians by the Israelis. The world balance of forces in favour of the masses and the support which the very presence of the Soviet Union signifies drives imperialism to act in this way. The Soviet Union supports on a world scale every national and social liberation movement. It intervenes, as it does in Argentina, with commercial agreements that displace the domination of the markets by world imperialism and its political and social influence. In this way, the Soviet Union is aiding an inexorable process which no dictatorship has been able to check. On the contrary, the Argentinian dictatorship has actually aided the development of a nationalist wing in the military, with all its relationships with the USSR. This nationalist wing tends towards an alliance with the Soviet Union, and this is a factor of decisive importance in

the reversal of the situation- What started as an apparent inter-bourgeois conflict, what seemed to be a diversionary manoeuvre on everyone's part, has escaped the control of them all and turned into a massive anti-imperialist groundswell.

This promotes the unification of the whole of Latin America. It aids the advance of the struggle of the masses on a world scale, and it already constitutes a defeat for imperialism.

The advance of the Workers States and the progress of the popular revolution in Latin America, Nicaragua, El Salvador and Guatemala, has increased the world crisis of imperialism and capitalism, and accelerated the process of retreat by Yankee imperialism in Latin America. The masses, and even sectors of the national bourgeoisies, see all the weakness of imperialism and feel, at the same time, that the USSR and the other Workers States are secure allies in the struggle for progress. This is why the OAS (Organisation of American States) and the meeting of - mainly Latin American - Ministers produced such a revolt against Anglo-Yankee imperialism. It forms part of the world contradictions that beset capitalism and this is why capitalism can no longer unity itself or draw the various world bourgeoisies behind its strategy of world preparations against the Workers States and the masses. Moreover, it can no longer intervene as it used to against countries like Cuba, Nicaragua or El Salvador.

The problem of the Malvinas already represents a world defeat for British imperialism, but it is also a defeat for Yankee imperialism which has had to stand together with Britain because Britain is its main ally in NATO and in war preparations. This explains the

savagery with which they kill, without any military or strategic sense at all. These murders are intended to break the growing alliance between the USSR and the nationalist anti-imperialist tendencies in the Argentinian military and bourgeoisie itself. These tendencies are raising their head in various agreements: on nuclear energy, for example. When a government like that of Argentina - which only yesterday Yankee imperialism hoped to use against the masses of El Salvador - is now thrown headlong into the anti-imperialist camp, it measures the decomposition of the capitalist camp.

The progress in Argentina shows that it is the intervention of the USSR that has influenced and decided things, much more than the dictatorship itself. Indeed, the dictatorship, faced with the intervention of the workers movement and of the masses, has been in a process of retreat for some time. The demonstration called on 30th May by the CGT (Argentinian TUC) against the government was repressed, but this was some time before the Argentinian military intervention in the Malvinas. However, on 10th April 1982 a similar demonstration in which 500,000 people participated took place after the military intervention of Argentina; on this occasion the masses went to demand changes, and this gave confidence to the nationalist tendencies in the armed forces. By these mobilisations the people have taken and imposed the democratic right to participate. They have imposed the 'de facto' recognition of the CGT, which took a line independent from the Government, defending Argentinian sovereignty by calling for the expropriation of British imperialist enterprises, no repayment of the external debt and

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EDITORIAL

Out with the assassin Conservative government!

For a Labour government on a programme of social transformations!

The Malvinas crisis has brought out most clearly the assassin and blind nature of world imperialism. Hundreds of Argentinians have been killed in a war to maintain the authority of imperialism and capitalism who try to intimidate the masses seeking national liberation from capitalism and allying with the Soviet Union. Capitalism does not propose any ideas to develop superior relations of social progress with a country such as Argentina. It seeks only to say: 'We are master here and you, the masses, of Latin America, are to shut up'. But the masses will not shut up, either in Argentina or in Britain. American and British imperialism have simply given an enormous impulse to the forces of the Left in Argentina, in Britain and the world, to organise themselves against world imperialism. Whilst imperialism massacres its way back into the Malvinas, the Soviet Union prepares to send more and more aid to Nicaragua and Brezhnev's proposed visit is aimed to give an impulse to all the oppressed peoples of the entire world that it is possible to stand up to and defeat world imperialism. The visit of the Argentinian foreign minister to Cuba marks a new stage in the upsurge of the Latin American revolution against imperialism. The forcing down of a British plane by the Brazilian air force is also a small image of the resistance to imperialism throughout the continent which is going to show itself in all manner of new ways. Altogether the Malvinas episode is a disaster for world imperialism - the Yanks are immeasurably weakened in Latin America. Its own leadership will be more prone to internal crises (Haig versus Kirkpatrick), and the government of British imperialism has also opened the way for even greater disorder in its own ranks on how to settle this disastrous event (Thatcher versus Pym et al.).



ANTI-REAGAN DEMONSTRATIONS IN LONDON

FAILURE OF YANKEE TERRORISM.

Reagan's policy is one of trying to stop the progress of the Soviet Union and its allies throughout the world by accelerating the positioning of nuclear arms in Europe, impelling Israeli terrorism in the Middle East, intimidating the Caribbean and Angola. But, despite all the efforts of imperialism, there is nothing substantial in the way of social and political success to accompany all this terrorism organised by the Yankee imperialists (including the attempted murder of the Israeli Ambassador). The European bourgeoisie are resistant to the political and economic blackmail of the Yanks and this visit of Reagan to impose Yankee dominion will fare no better than the previous summits. Yankee interest rates cannot resolve the problem that European capitalism, at the same time that in part it submits to Yankee pressure, resists breaking trade links with the Soviet Union. European imperialism backed the big stick against Argentina in the previous stages but it fears the consequences of the Malvinas crisis. All this shows the blindness of imperialism which brings about results the very opposite of what it intended.

British imperialism has tried to pretend that 'national' sentiment has been aroused by the Malvinas crisis. As usual, the opposite is the case. The proletariat and its allies have continued the class struggle with not the remotest chauvinist sentiment. It has not been able to express all

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THE EXTENSION OF THE WORKERS STATE AND THE CHANGES IN THE BUREAUCRACY

J POSADAS

The policy of the USSR and of the Workers States was originated by Stalin, that is to say, a product of the mind of the Stalinist bureaucratic clique. This did not stop the Workers States going forward, but it gave a deformed shape to its internal relations. It also pushed aside the weight of the proletariat, which was then impeded from exercising its function, as the ruling apparatus endeavoured to stop it by supporting itself on the peasants. Stalin passed from the killing of six million peasants to supporting himself on the rich peasantry.

The programmatic, theoretical and practical measures for the construction of Socialism must be investigated further. Theoretical understanding does not amount to pre-conceived analyses which have to be applied like blue-prints for constructing something. True theoretical grasp means something that progresses alongside practical experience. This way, theoretical conception can, and must, be measured against the experience of the Soviet Union, which had to put up with Stalin and Krushchev and end up with a policy completely opposed to theirs. Even Krushchev could not avoid supporting Cuba because it was a necessity; to allow the conditions for the USSR to exist. It was Krushchev who had to support Cuba in 1960, and it shows how much things had already changed from Stalin. Moreover, only four years after the Cuba incident, Krushchev himself was thrown out. This means that we are dealing with a process of ascent in the construction of the Workers States and laying the foundations for the elimination of bureaucracy.

In the USSR there is a whole apparatus that comes from Stalin's time. Krushchev reinforced it. It is a wide structure that goes from factory leaders to top Ministers, and it is costly to put this right - because you have to reach the higher inner circles. However, the political function which the USSR plays no longer gives any scope for the most egotistical type of bureaucracy that existed at one time.

Today, the bureaucracy has to unite its own future to that of Socialism and this shows how confined and circumscribed the bureaucracy really is. This means, in turn, that it is the future of Socialism that makes it act the way it does and not its scientific, cultural and political limitations. The bureaucracy can no longer have either the structure or the aims that were possible under Stalin, or even Krushchev. The old apparatus still lives with the parochial mentality of those who see no farther than the area or the factory, but all the leading apparatus is forced to form itself within the unification of its own existence with that of the development of Socialism. This is what gives confidence in the objectives of Communism and within the objective conditions created by Communism. This is why imperialism still tries to corrupt the bureaucrats, to buy them with private interests.

The world process is ripe for continuous progress and for the Workers States themselves to go on progressing. They have to influence the capitalist countries, they have to disrupt the stages that go to war. To do all this and to influence, they need a policy free of lies and free of inconsistencies. It is the bureaucratic apparatus that puts difficulties in the way, that sabotages policies; and this is precisely why the Soviet leadership has to continuously remove people from that sector. The very top bureaucratic apparatus of the USSR depends on the world extension of the USSR in order to continue to live. Stalin used to cling to the coat-tails of the USSR and remained hidden under them but, at a given moment, even he had to adopt the policy of the Left Opposition (1) which had systematically opposed all that he had done. Trotsky posed that planning of industrial production had to be part and parcel of agrarian planning, and Stalin had to come round to accept this even though he never admitted that it was Trotsky's programme.

In Poland, just as in all the Workers States now, there is a whole process of confrontation against the capitalist regime. Far from being motivated by an economic or political competition with it, it is the final settlement of accounts that moves all this. The bureaucracy itself needs to be able to count on secure people, on cadres, on solid members from within the Party structure. It needs all the security there is, and so it has to expel the others - because, in the movement of confronting imperialism, it cannot rely on weaklings who generate doubt and conciliation; if it allowed this, it would remove all the forces from the Workers States and would yield advantages to imperialism. This goes to show also how mature the process is, when it forces the bureaucracy to have to come down to defend Communist principles in order to keep going as a bureaucracy. Today, the leadership of the Workers States has to defend the Workers States and their extension in the world, and this goes counter to their bureaucratic ways and formation.

THE AGRICULTURAL ISSUE

The Poles are much preoccupied with making changes in the Communist Party, but there is a lack of programmatic and political life and, as this will have to come, they will have to make further alterations. As yet, they haven't allowed the agricultural workers, for instance, to say anything. The workers who labour on the private lands have no voice. But the proprietors themselves complain that their own sons and daughters have gone to the city and joined the Communist Party!

In Poland, all this process that is taking place is quite slow, but it is all happening. One of the essential troubles to put an end in Poland is private property in the

countryside. There is this also in the USSR with the Kholkhoses (2), but they are getting rid of them, modifying them. Now there is only half of the original 260,000 of them remaining. There is a better concentration and increase of production that way. It also diminishes the weight of Kholkhosian social power. They have also concentrated the Sovvkhoses, and a clause in the New Soviet Constitution caters for 'the right of trade unions to function and the right for them to participate together with the workers in the Sovkhoses(3) and the Kholkhoses.' This means that the Soviet Constitution, approved in 1977, has introduced changes in the USSR 'a la Polonoise' by letting the masses have more say against the very privileged Kholkhosians. These are solutions that need to be greatly extended, but soon you are going to see reports of this taking place in Hungary and Yugoslavia. In Yugoslavia, they have all these problems plus those posed by the continuation of the nationalities which is worse than anything.

It is important to see that Brezhnev always talks, in his speeches, of the 'trade unionisation of the workers of the Kholkhoses'. This is a definite blow against the high spheres of the Kholkhoses, where you find the rich layers.

The liquidation of Stalin was characterised by Pablo and the old IV International leadership as a process of 'thawing', but this wasn't a well-founded or representative characterisation because the going of Stalin did not remove the layers of the bureaucracy and of the big apparatus that needed to expand. It could not, because they were tied up with other layers which they had to remove. So what appeared on the surface as a liberation was in fact an enormous inter-bureaucratic fight. The sector which wanted to advance represented the Socialist interest of the Workers State, which had been hitherto subjected. Krushchev wanted to keep subjecting it via an agreement with the Yankees, and it is then that the world heard his phrase, 'that will be the day, when we have as good maize as the Yankees'.

But, to live and sustain itself, the Soviet Union has to progress, otherwise it dies. This is the first, the essential step. To exist, the Workers State has to measure up against the capitalist system and, to measure up to it, it has to impel the revolutionary struggles in the world, to increase its own social weight, its social quality. As all this finds its expression through the expansion of the Workers State, it increases in turn its own social quality. By this, we mean that it improves Socialist relations in the Workers State, it increases its preparations for the final settlement of accounts: and this is well in train now. The final settlement of accounts, in that sense, has already

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VIVA THE VISIT OF BREZNEV TO NICARAGUA!

Editorial from page 1

that it feels, because the Labour Party organisation and leadership as a whole does not correspond to its attitude, and there are no independent class organs where it can express its views and exchange opinions. But, in the middle of the Malvinas crisis, the nurses and health workers (supported by the Miners) come out in national strike, opposition to government policies increase on the railways, public service unions plan a united action against government wage policy, and the civil service unions go Left.

The firm resistance of the thirty three MPs to the imperialist policy of the government parallels all this activity and is reinforced by the heavy abstentionism of Labour sectors in the recent local and parliamentary bye-elections. This abstentionism is a conscious blow at the limitations and lack of initiative of the Labour Party's apparatus in every sphere. The degree of abstention in the Morden election was over fifty per cent, which is a complete repudiation of capitalism. Capitalism tries to conceal the importance of this, because the Tory electoral 'victory' here is in reality a heavy defeat for the capitalist system. Doubtless a General Election will bring a different outcome, but this type of abstention points to major blows against capitalism in a General Election, because abstentionism on this scale points to a profound rejection of the capitalist system.

THE LEFT HAS TO MATURE POLITICALLY.

The Left is in process of strengthening itself in the Labour Party and the trade unions. What it requires to act with greater audacity is a firmer grasp of the world process, a realisation that imperialism lacks the historic initiative which is possessed by the Soviet Union. The Malvinas crisis is a sign of imperialism's stupidity and decomposition. Much more could be made by the Labour MPs of the process in Argentina itself. How come, if Galtieri was a fascist dictator, that the junta has been unable to confront and defeat the CGT and its demands for social change. Open support for the CGT by Left MPs and trade union leaders in Britain would be an enormous stimulus to the vanguard - just as earlier a better discussion over Poland would have given greater confidence to the vanguard and population against capitalism.

It is necessary to see that everything in the world is going to the Left. Zimbabwe develops ties with the Workers States and begins to organise an economy closer to the needs of the masses; the Iranian revolution, despite all its problems of leadership, defeats the aggressor Iraq; Greece strengthens its links with Comecon; and in Spain the Socialist Party gains in the Andalusian elections, and whatever the profound limitations of the Gonzalez leadership, capitalism is enormously weak when it has to seek to survive with the aid of the Socialists.

The Labour Left has to discuss and publish much more, not just protests against capitalism but seeing the world balance of forces, the immense progress of the Soviet Union, the enormous decomposition of capitalism, its splits and fractures; thus allowing an elevation in security to sustain a programme of social transformations, the end of the monarchy, the abandonment of nuclear missiles, and the development of independent committees in the factories and the workers areas. 4 6 82

AGRICULTURE AND THE NECESSITY FOR SUPERIOR SOCIAL OBJECTIVES IN THE WORKERS STATES: J. POSADAS

Seven years ago I posed the agrarian problem as it arises in the Workers States, which is being superseded by forms of agrarian production in the USSR and in China too. The Sovkhos is a form which tends to supercede the problem and to make the Kholkhos decline. This process now in train has become more marked. There were something like 360 thousand Kholkhos in the USSR and they reduced that number by over a half. That means that they concentrated them. The result was an increase of production and, together with that, a decrease in production costs and a better diversification of production. What still goes on, however, is the private use of these units - not in the way private property does, but in the sense of a private use for a camarilla. This has meant clearly that, as production has increased, the camarilla circles have also increased; but so has the weight of the agrarian proletariat increased against all these people.

The increase in agricultural production isn't just a problem of better technology, better co-ordination and mechanical or techni-

cal use of labour. The fact is that the increase of production stems from a superior technology, but this also entails a programme of superior objectives. The base for any such plan of superior objectives lies in that each one is motivated in what he is doing. Each one wants to be a delegate, a controller, an inspector, a director, a boss, a worker, an employee, a father, mother, son or daughter. All these things can be done together. This is a most elevated condition in which to be. There is not a machine that provides humanity with this. All the machines that are being employed to this end remain inferior to this human condition.

The machine is the result of the hand, having originated in the head; and from the head, to the hand. So the hand made technology advance. Technology has also made intelligent aptitude advance. Intelligent aptitude is then prompted by the hand, the finger, in impulses or co-ordination of impulses, and each impulse is the sum total of hundreds of thousands of different things.

In agricultural labour, the most

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the Malvinas Islands:

the nationalisation of the private Banks. They also put forward the need for the formation of a government of transition, with the intervention of the Opposition political parties. Now, an objective alliance between the trade unions and the nationalist tendencies - both inside and outside the armed forces - has been developed. This is the axis of any anti-imperialist United Front in the present war conditions. This will enhance the revolutionary conditions in Argentina and Latin America.

It is a new phase in the struggle of the Argentinian and Latin American masses. It is not the same as in the time of Peronism in 1945, which represented the stage in the anti-imperialist bourgeois nationalism. Now this process opens up the stage of new Cubas and new Nicaraguas! In other words, the anti-imperialist process takes the path of real changes and social transformations. This is implicit in all the programmes of the Argentinian workers movement(*) and the latest declaration of the CGT confirm this fully. Today, this type of confrontation develops the authority of the USSR and the other Workers States in Latin America, because it is proved that the Workers States are united to the progressive struggles whilst the capitalist system, and British imperialism, are intent on crushing every liberation movement, be it in Argentina or in Ireland. However, just as it has been thrown out of Africa, Asia and Latin America, it has very little time left in Latin America. In this atmosphere, the influence of Nicaragua and Cuba advances. The masses of Argentina and Latin America - as they move into action - have these countries in front of them as examples. The masses combine the defence of the fatherland with economic and social measures to put the organisation of the country at the service of the population. This is the reason why they take the Workers States as examples. They acquire the tactical ability of making an alliance with the military government in Argentina against imperialism, and at the same time, developing all the conditions to impose democratic rights to push forward sectors that are anti-imperialist and to take measures of expropriations.

Imperialism's - this means Britain in the name of the Yankees - attempt to crush Argentina and to impose a centralisation on all the Latin American bourgeoisies and armies behind it, has already failed. This failure now expresses itself within the European bourgeoisies and governments. In the beginning they supported the war against Argentina, but now they try to put a stop to it. In fact, they anticipate damaging consequences arising from such a military adventure in the form of increased internal opposition in Britain, in the Labour Party, and the subsequent fall of Thatcher (and with her the whole of the Conservative government). They fear these consequences as much as they fear the anti-imperialist tidal wave in Argentina and Latin America.

The role of NATO is seen clearly for what it is: an instrument for counter-revolutionary war not just in Europe but in the whole

world: in this aggression by British imperialism. The chief member of NATO in Europe, Britain, attacks the Argentinian people, murders them, assassinates hundreds of sailors and soldiers, as part of its strategy to impede the world alliance of the USSR - and the other Workers States - with the masses who struggle for their national and social rights. This is the true role of NATO. It is the High Command of world imperialism in Europe, poised to unleash counter-revolutionary war against the masses, the revolution and the Workers States.

We call on the masses of the world, on the Workers States and Revolutionary States, on the Communist and Socialist parties, on the Socialist governments of France and Greece, on all the Peace movements and movements against nuclear war, and on all Left Catholic movements, to discuss the need for a struggle to expel imperialism from Argentina and Latin America generally. We call on them to take into consideration the fact that it is the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the military enterprise of British imperialism that determines the progress, and not the character of the present Argentinian government. Indeed, the present Argentinian government does not represent even the same forces as it did before this situation arose. We call on the British masses, on the trade unions and on the Labour Party to repudiate the intervention of British imperialism, to bring down the Tory government and to fight for a Labour government in solidarity with the demands of the Argentinian and Latin American masses. The aim of the British Conservative government in the Malvinas Islands is no different from that when it oppresses the British masses and maintains 3 million unemployed. In other words, its aim is to keep the capitalist system going. On the other hand, for the military government in Argentina, to maintain its opposition to British imperialism it has to yield democratic rights and take measures favourable to the masses. The Labour Left must learn from this process how to dismember the imperialist function of Britain by struggling against capitalism and the monarchy.

- For a world anti-imperialist Front against NATO and all the war plans of Anglo-Yankee imperialism!

- Full support to all the movements and peoples of the world who struggle for national and social liberation!

- Full support for the masses of El Salvador, Guatemala, the Palestinians and the Irish masses!

- Out with the policy of the imperialist monopolies of the EEC who hope to crush the Argentinian economy! Full support to trading with the USSR and the other Workers States!

Let the Soviet Union call on all the peoples of the world to discuss and to make conferences and meetings against the war perpetrated by Anglo-Yankee imperialism on Argentina!

Let the masses of the USSR, those of Cuba and of the other Workers States, particularly in assemblies where they make calls

THE ADVANCE OF THE FORCES OF PROGRESS IN EUROPE

The intensification of the crisis in the EEC is part of the defeat which the invasion of the Malvinas represents for Anglo-Yankee imperialism. The crisis of Britain's budget contribution is an on-going one. The present agreement is only partial and by no means favourable to British imperialism. However, the imposition of this year's farm prices, over-riding the veto of British imperialism, is a considerable intensification of the crisis and a blow at British capitalism. In the same way, the reluctance of the EEC to impose sanctions on Argentina - with Italy and Ireland refusing to participate at all - clearly shows what the real depth of the EEC crisis is. This crisis is not a simple one of inter-capitalist competition, but a fundamental crisis of the war alliance against the Workers States which Yankee imperialism is trying to hold together. The antagonism between British imperialism and the rest of European capitalism arises essentially because the European bourgeoisies sees British imperialism as the closest ally of Yankee imperialism. Indeed, the question of Britain's contribution was discussed openly in these terms. The Danes, for example, pointed out that what British imperialism saved on its contribution to the EEC was spent on armaments and war preparations. In regard to the Malvinas, the European bourgeoisies are concerned with the loss of trade with Latin America - to the advantage of the Workers States - but they are even more concerned with the process of advance towards the final

encounter between imperialism and the Workers States on a world scale. European capitalism, for its own survival, looks for conciliation with the Workers States, and the Anglo-Yankee alliance is antagonistic to this. This is what lies at the roots of a situation in which the Thatcher team is at odds with the rest of European capitalism.

In this stage of history the commercial and economic aspects, the EEC itself, are lower on the scale of importance than NATO. The EEC and NATO are not separate entities. In reality, the EEC is little more than the economic under-pinning of NATO. This fact gives the refusal of the Irish Republic to support sanctions against Argentina a particular significance. The world balance of forces, favourable to Socialism, and the anti-imperialist pressure of the Irish masses, have forced the Irish government to take what is an anti-imperialist position. At the same time, it has virtually destroyed the possibility of drawing the Irish Republic into the NATO war alliance. It is of no small importance that the attempts to form an alliance between British imperialism and the Irish bourgeoisie, to confront the struggle of the masses in the British Isles - and more importantly, to confront the Workers States - has been negated. This has very deep implications, both for the development of the revolution in the British Isles and for the process on a world scale. In the immediate sense, it is clear that the defeat of Fianna Fail in the recent bye-election, in which Sinn Fein/

The Workers Party gained a considerable vote, represents pressure on Haughey to base himself more on the Left and anti-imperialist forces in the Republic of Ireland.

The crisis in the EEC is but one symptom of the total crisis of the capitalist system. As such, it forms part of the world balance of forces which is favourable to the advance to Socialism. It also has to form part of the basis of the confidence of the Labour Left to raise its sights and the level of the discussion over the EEC and in a general sense. Indeed, it is the moment at which the Labour Left should push the discussion beyond a search for 'a national solution to the problem posed by the capitalist crisis. The crisis of capitalism expressed in the EEC is -inevitably a search for 'a national' solution to the problem posed by the capitalist crisis. The crisis of capitalism expressed in the EEC is inevitably matched by an advance of the forces of progress in capitalist Europe! There is a Socialist/Communist government in France which, for all its limitations, expresses an atmosphere of confidence and the search for human progress. There is a Socialist government in Greece which, more and more, rests on an alliance with the Workers States, with Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in particular. There has been, in the recent period, the mobilisations of engineering workers in Italy, Belgium and Luxembourg and, in the last days, the enormous electoral majority gained by the Socialist Party in Andalusia in Spain. It is

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important thing is certainly not just the increase in technical ability to produce, but the social objectives of production. A very great part of Soviet production goes to satisfy the circles of high bureaucracy; from the local, zonal and regional sectors, all the way up to the big bureaucracy of the Republics and of the country. A very high percentage of production - I evaluate it around 20% to 30% - falls into the hands of these circles through what they call the 'black market'. It is not the same black market today as it once was, but it still goes on. This creates a rupture in the chain of production. It twists things so that a part of the structure has to be dedicated to necessary production, whilst the most important effort is clandestine! A unification has to be made. Meanwhile, all this results in social divergence which is even expressed in plans of production. These social divergences are be-

to the British masses and to the masses of the United States, those of the whole of Europe, for a show of solidarity with the masses of Argentina and Latin America against imperialism!

Resolution by the Posadist IV International, 5th May 1982.

(*) In 1957 the Argentinian Trade Union Centre produced the programme of Huerta Grande and another of La Falda, which included the expropriation of imperialist property, the nationalisation of most of the economy.

tween what the workers want and what these circles seek.

There is also a difference between the Sovkhos worker and the worker of the Kholkhos. The kholkhosian has no choice but to sail along, even if he sees that the trade union isn't going anywhere. If, on top of this, there isn't a political life in the trade unions, if there aren't any normal, regular and weekly meetings, the workers see no means of venting their feelings, nowhere for them to propose improvements and rectifications. So, albeit reluctantly, they start making their own arrangements outside the trade union, the factory etc. In this case, they start to work outside agricultural production altogether, and become a little open enterprise. Agricultural production itself is more like an enterprise today, an enterprise in the countryside. There aren't any 'peasants' in the true sense. The people employed there are no longer peasants but workers who work in the countryside, in much the same way as the worker of the factory and, through trade unions, the two re-join at the same level.

In the Soviet Union these workers don't have a political life. This is why, in all the changes that were made recently, Brezhnev insisted that trade union life in the Kholkhos must elevate, and in the Sovkhos also. By an increase of trade union life one must mean the right for the trade union representative to intervene in technical problems, in the problems of production itself. This declaration of Brezhnev is an

attempt at getting rid of a camarilla that cannot be anything but very ferocious and gigantic. The bureaucracy is always careful in dealing with these problems because, when you touch on them, you really touch the main body of bureaucracy - not its foot, but the real centre of it. Soon they will have to embark upon doing this.

In China, it is better - in the sense that the Communes which Mao Tse Tung favoured were a real invention in order to defend themselves from such people as Krushchev. When these disappeared, they left a structure behind. They disappeared because of the lack of a Party life and proletarian base. The Soviets managed to supersede the limitations imposed by Stalin because they had such a proletarian base, and also such an Army. In China, there is also an Army but without a proletarian life. The Communists who are members of the Chinese Army have little proletarian connections. They do not lack Communist understanding and conviction, but they do not have a Party life or a practical life of Party. It will not take five years to put this right, not because suddenly they will rectify everything, but there is already a progress which is bound to continue. The Communes of Mao will return, but not in the form of 'Mao's Communes' but rather with the richness of the experience which the masses themselves have made up to now. The same goes for the Soviet Union.

THE ELEVATION OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION IN THE WORKERS STATES

The motor for the progress of humanity, the centre for the rhythm of progress lies in the political revolution in the Workers States. From the point of view of imperialism it should have intervened some years ago to prevent the levels of discussion which is evidently developing in the Workers States, particularly in the Soviet Union. The prime reason for the survival of capitalism after the Second World War, despite the crushing defeat of Nazi Germany by the Soviet Union, was the conservative and conciliatory functioning of the Stalin and Khrushchev leaderships. Now the prime reason for the incapacity of capitalism, its ever-deepening decomposition and degeneration, is the fact that the policy of the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union, openly supports and gives aid to the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the world and abandons the conciliation with world capitalism of the Stalin era. The most recent sending of 300 Soviet doctors to Nicaragua is one recent example of this Communist spirit.

This process nonplusses capitalism but, at the same time, fills it with indecision. The more elevated the discussion and communication of the discussion on how to advance to Communism in the Soviet Union, the weaker imperialism becomes. Despite all the immense lying propaganda of capitalism, the world masses see that the Soviet Union is not Stalinist and is not the source of international tension. What the political revolution and discussion in the Soviet Union has to clarify is a more elaborated programme and policy in the Communist parties, and to give a more profound orientation in the crisis of the social democratic parties. This is developing and the recent intervention towards the Italian Communist Party, and now the Finnish Party, are examples of the greater audacity of the Soviet Party in seeking to rectify the nationalist and euro-communist tendencies in the Communist parties which allow capitalism to survive a little longer.

The progress of the political revolution in the Workers States is a constant and elevating relationship between the internal and external aspects of the functioning of the Workers States. The process in Poland has been one of immense dimensions for the Workers States and the world advance to Socialism. But it was only possible for the Polish process to develop on the basis of the previous progress of the Soviet Union in the struggle against the worst excesses of the bureaucracy and the greater security given to the Polish Communist vanguard by the strength of the Workers States and the weakening of world capitalism as a world system. Although the process was primarily concerned with liquidating one of the worst bureaucracies in the Workers States, one up to the eyeballs in debt to world capitalism and a source of conciliation with it, the Polish experience in turn is objectively a contribution to the overall total regeneration of the Workers States

When, in the Soviet Union, a Minister of Trade is shot for appropriation of state property and, at the same time, a play in Moscow deals with the last days of Lenin when all the pre-occupation of Lenin was with the growth of bureaucracy, this reflects the elevated level of discussion in the Soviet Union to deal with the bureaucracy and the effort to understand what to do now.

THE PRINCIPLE OF THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE TRADE UNIONS FROM THE STATE APPARATUS.

The principle of the independence of the trade unions from the state apparatus, but not from the construction of the Workers State and Communism, affirmed in Poland for the first time since 1917 in the Workers States, has been decisively reinforced now in the Soviet Union. The limitations on the trade union functionaries at the recent conference of Soviet trade unions, as a result of the intervention of the Party, is a decisive step in the continuous liquidation of bureaucratic and administrative functioning in the Soviet Union and a major stimulus to the greater intervention of the Soviet working class in the functioning of the Workers State. The lack of direct worker intervention remains one of the greatest limitations in the functioning of the Soviet Union.

But even without the, as yet, direct intervention of the Soviet working class, the efforts to develop trade union cadres who respond to the needs of the Soviet workers, who pay proper attention to conditions of work and do not live a life of an apparatus, means that objectively the Soviet working class is beginning to weigh more in the decisions of the Party, and this also weighs against the administrative power and interests of the managerial, factory director sectors of the bureaucracy. All this has great implications for the functioning of the trade unions in the other Workers States, particularly in China — where the Chinese leadership has tried to develop a workers aristocracy with its own interests and a predominant weight in the union. The elevation of the function of the trade unions means a better relationship with the working class, which means inevitably a better political orientation which, if utilised with audacity, means a better intervention of the trade unions of the Workers State in the world as a whole, particularly to intervene as an example against the conservative trade union sectors in the imperialist countries, particularly North America, Britain and Germany.

The leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has an immense responsibility and a growing sense of this. More and more it has to act with the objective of a Communist International and the correction of the Italian and Finnish parties reflect this. More and more the CPSU will have to act as orientators of the Socialist parties and the nationalist movements advancing towards Communist movements in Latin America. This

is more and more dictated by the need to confront imperialism as a world system.

THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE LEADERSHIPS OF THE WORKERS STATES.

Throughout the Workers States struggles are taking place and new ones being prepared. The continuous crises of the Rumanian leadership, the changes in Albania, the struggle in Yugoslavia over greater objective planning or concentration on exports to the 'world market', and the unsolved problem of the leadership in Poland: all accentuate the need for new cadres and a better functioning of the Communist parties. Although abandoning the bureaucratic interests of the past — particularly the Soviet leadership — there is still the need for a great understanding of the Marxist method as particularly developed by Cde Posadas, and the understanding that this is the epoch of transition to Socialism, not the question of problems generated in 'mature Socialism' which is the official position of Soviet theoreticians on the Workers States.

The Malvinas dispute, with its crude and brutal display of force by the Thatcher regime, has shown the pent-up forces of world imperialism led by Yankee imperialism which are aimed at the Workers States and the masses of the whole world. All this tends to dissolve the elements of conciliation in the Communist Party and in some countries, such as Spain, has led to a partial shattering of the Party. In its desperation, the Las Marinas episode is an attempt to reply by imperialism to everything that was meant by the Soviet intervention to Afghanistan.

At the same time, the Chinese leadership has suffered a disastrous defeat in all its objectives. It is now trying to adapt to a new international situation in which its allies, like Pol Pot, have been liquidated, and imperialism has nothing to negotiate with — refusing to abandon Taiwan because it senses it can extract no advantage from China against the Soviet Union. Thus it is obliged, despite continuing to use language about 'super powers' to attack imperialism over the Malvinas. The clique in Peking still continues all manner of lunacies against the economy of the Workers State, attacks on the Communies, limitation on state planning etc., but again have also increased their trade with Poland — which is objectively a strengthening of the inter-trade relations within the bloc of the Workers States.

Whatever the immediate response the Soviet leadership will continue to intervene towards China, knowing that the structure of the Chinese Workers State prevails against the camarillas in Peking. In all this process in the Workers States, the army at times can partly substitute for the Party — as in Poland. The base of the Left in China was shown particularly in the Red Army under Piao. Great interventions from the Party and the army and the masses can be expected in China, because

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THE EXTENSION OF THE WORKERS STATE

started; it is like a lift that has not reached the fifteenth floor, but is well on its way.

The Workers State necessitates, at the same time, a world relation with the progress of history. The progress of history is represented by the struggle of the masses of the world, the social conquests of the masses of the world; and that means social transformations. This is totally inseparable from the necessity of the Workers State to breathe, which is also the necessity of the bureaucracy, not because the respiration of the bureaucracy represents that of the Workers State but because, in a general historic sense, it represents the necessity of the expansion of the Workers State which cannot just remain motionless. It has to expand, and to do that it has to impel the world revolution and prepare for the final settlement of accounts. This is a logical conclusion, almost a mathematical conclusion. It is not Einsteinist but Leninist. It is a mathematical conclusion, without which the Workers States would have been engulfed.

Capitalism has little notion of the precise situation we are depicting, because it has neither the means nor can it generate the consciousness, capacity or people to see it. What it hasn't got, in the end, is historic right so it cannot think objectively. It cannot say, 'What a brute I am. I should pack up', and then proceed to eliminate itself. It cannot do that, so it has to go on seeking how to keep going, how to survive; and all it does now is just survive.

The greatest imperialism of the world — the Yankees — can no longer guarantee to any capitalist

(1) Left opposition of the Bolshevik Party against Stalin's policies.

(2) Kholkhos — Collective farm.

country, or anyone else, that they will not fall prey to the Communists. This lack of guarantee stems from the fact that it no longer has the strength to enforce anything, not even inside its own system. All its contradictions impede it from doing anything about it. Capitalist contradictions aren't about contradictory and competitive interest or competition between different countries. They are about the fact that capitalism has to depend on investments, on buying and selling with the Workers States in order to survive, and the masses of the capitalist countries are for the Workers States. All this is in the nature of an antithesis. Capitalism lives a stage of antagonisms that are expressed contradictorily. The problem for capitalism is that it is no longer the sole and unique system. There is the USSR, the workers of each country who are opposed to capitalism; there is the disastrous economic situation of the capitalist system and the need for science, culture, art to progress. It is like the air, you can compress it in some container but, as soon as you make an opening, it expands again. The Workers State isn't quite the same thing but the Workers State has to expand, and it does! Capitalism can't any more. Capitalists who try to extend themselves are now told to get out by the other capitalists, but the Soviets have the capacity to say, 'Here I am, and here I stay'. Then, the contradictions in capitalism do not diminish but increase, and its antagonism with the Workers States accentuates. Capitalism cannot stop the chariot of history or impose on the Workers States. It has to keep going in agony. You will see the day when the White House will have its name changed to 'the Mad House', and anyone who enters as president will become insane.

J. POSADAS 29.3.81

(3) Sovkhos — State farm.

The crisis in the EEC from page 3

also of some considerable importance that the two major Communist parties in capitalist Europe — the French and the Italian — have brought out a resolution of condemnation of the war of British imperialism in the Malvinas and have agreed to work together in spite of differences between their leaderships. This decision represents both an advance in the world Communist movement and a consolidation

of the forces of the Left in capitalist Europe. It is by seeing and participating in this process that the Labour Left can gain confidence to advance.

These are the objective conditions which allow the Labour Left to take the discussion beyond 'Britain — out of the EEC!', towards the formulation of a policy leading in the direction of a United Socialist States of Europe.

the situation demands real changes of policy, not simply tacking with the wind.

As the confrontation with world imperialism grows, it is necessary to expect more audacity from the Soviet leadership and a greater attention to the need for Marxism and Marxist cadres throughout the

world, and in this the texts and development of Marxist method by Cde Posadas are fundamental. Only these texts give a comprehensive synthesis and analysis of the world process towards the liquidation of capitalism as a world system.

FOR THE COMPLETE EXPULSION OF
THE ISRAELI ASSASSINS
FROM LEBANON

EDITORIAL

THE POLITICAL MATURING OF THE
LABOUR LEFT IS NECESSARY TO
ACCELERATE THE DOWNFALL OF THE
CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT

The Israeli invasion of Lebanon — directed by Yankee imperialism — shows both the closeness of the final encounter between the system of the Workers States and the world masses and the capitalist system, and the desperately murderous nature of capitalism. If the Israelis have been stopped at Beirut it is because of the existence and intervention of the Soviet Union. In a very direct form, with the speech of Brezhnev, the Soviets have told imperialism that it can go no further. Using Israel, Yankee imperialism has acted in Lebanon in exactly the same way as British imperialism acted in the Malvinas: they attempted to halt the advance of progress by terrorising the masses and, in both cases, it has been an absolute disaster for imperialism. Of course, imperialism has killed in this process Argentinians, Palestinians and Lebanese, but the



ISRAELI SOLDIERS DENOUNCE THE WAR IN THE LEBANON
(MEETING IN TEL AVIV).

masses of Latin America, the Middle East and, indeed, the whole of the world, have not been terrorised and human progress has not been stopped. The main target, the prime enemy for imperialism is the Soviet Union — and the Workers States — because it represents the centre of world progress; but, as events in Lebanon prove, imperialism is incapable of deciding how, when or where to confront the Soviet Union directly at this stage. In this sense, the Malvinas and Lebanon are substitutes for attacks on the Soviet Union directly. The fact that imperialism has been stopped in Lebanon shows how much the world balance of forces is on the side of progress, on the side of the system of the Workers States and the world masses. This is why the Soviet leadership can announce — to the total dismay of imperialism — that it is not it that will start a nuclear war. Indeed, imperialism was seen publically as incapable of making the same pledge!

This is the nature of the capitalist system at this stage of world history; it attacks without thought, without perspective and without regard for the consequences to itself. The result of this attack on the Palestinian and Lebanese masses has been a deepening of the world crisis of the capitalist system. Yankee imperialism launched this attack, and almost immediately Haig resigned. Immediately there was a crisis at the very top of the leadership of world capitalism, the United States. At the same time, the murderous nature of the capitalist system, the fact that what produces war is the

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SUPPLEMENT TO THIS PAPER (RED FLAG No. 325) ENCLOSED
WITHIN — RESOLUTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
ON THE INVASION OF THE LEBANON BY ISRAEL.

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Workers of the World: Unite!

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THE MILITARY AGGRESSION OF ANGLO-AMERICAN IMPERIALISM AGAINST ARGENTINA AND THE DEFEAT OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST SYSTEM

This text has been published as an Editorial in Operaia, paper of the Trotskyist Posadist IV International in Italy; it was published together with texts by Comrade Posadas on Latin America and Argentina — Editorial Note.

When a military confrontation of the present seriousness arises from a conflict over a few islands whose economic and strategic value is minimal or doubtful, it is because other factors have intervened and begun to decide the character of the conflict. These factors are the world relations of forces which bear on any local event. The action of Argentina in the Malvinas Islands was decided by the necessity of the anti-imperialist struggle; it took this form because of the existence of the military dictatorship in Argentina. That is to say, a force which impeded any political life of parties or trade unions, and thus channelled all social and political contradictions into the army. When world imperialism — British and Yankee — united in an alliance with capitalist Europe and Japan, Latin America had to move towards the Workers State, because it would be crushed otherwise. This is the social and political character of the conflict, even if this has not been immediately expressed in the military field.

Consequently, the initial intention of the Argentinian military government — no doubt inspired more by survival than by any social or anti-imperialist objective — in occupying the islands has lost much importance. When it has had to resort to this in order to survive, it is because forces existed in the army and in the government ready to bring about further changes. These forces were favoured by the action in the Malvinas and by the intervention of the population, as part of a process that went beyond the military government; in turn, they led to further internal changes and

weakening of the structure of the dictatorship.

This anti-imperialist process in Argentina and in Latin America — channelled through military confrontation with Anglo-Yankee imperialism — must be supported. Anglo-Yankee imperialism, of course, is itself intent on impeding this development. Quite apart from the Malvinas conflict, a new and superior chapter in the anti-imperialist struggle in Latin America has opened up.

In order to understand the conduct of Anglo-Yankee imperialism one has to see it as part of the world process. A military reaction of this character is due to fear and desperation on the part of the capitalist system, represented in this case by the British and Yankees, faced with growing links between the Workers States and Latin America and the influence the Workers have developed in that region. It is particularly true of Argentina. It was the alliance of Argentina with the Soviet Union that moved the Fleet more than the Malvinas Islands. The inevitable result of the influence of the USSR in Argentina has proved to be internal political change with an anti-imperialist character. Indeed, there is no event in the world that can remain outside the historic relations of class struggle in the form of the confrontation between the two systems, the Workers States and the capitalist system, on a world level.

Imperialism was seeking to maintain in Latin America a structure to serve its economic, political

and military aims through the various military dictatorships there. As J. Posadas analysed, all the reactionary and pro-imperialist dictatorships have failed, because they could not promote any economic or social development. The sole beneficiaries of this imperialist policy are small layers of high finance associated with world imperialism. A very great resistance to imperialism has developed even in important sectors of the Latin American bourgeoisie. They are driven into an alliance with the Workers States on a world scale, and with the masses locally, because they are economically, socially and politically unable to compete or even dispute with imperialism. This takes place at the same time as the advance of the intervention of the Workers States, particularly the USSR, to stimulate relations that give many impulses to the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle.

The experience of Argentina forms part of this process. Seen in this new light, the previous relationship of the Soviet Union with Argentina is not a factor of strength for the military dictatorship but an impulse for currents and sectors in the army who want to develop the country, aware that while imperialism seeks to crush them all the economic tie with the Workers States gives them scope for development. They feel, at the same time, the influence of the world revolutionary process which destroys what confidence they had in an alliance with imperialism. The example of Cuba, Nicaragua and El

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THE MILITARY AGGRESSION from page 1

Salvador shows them that dictators and assassins do not impede the struggle of the masses, and that the support of Yankee imperialism is no longer indispensable. The depth of the anti-imperialist process in Latin America could be easily measured by the crisis through which all the dictatorships are going, and by the reluctance Latin American governments display in supporting the Yankee intervention in Central America or the Caribbean. It can be also measured through the many ties Latin America has with the USSR and Cuba. Indeed, it can be measured by the support Argentina has received and in the widening gulf between it and Yankee imperialism.

The military aggression by Angol-Yankee imperialism has the aim of stopping this process. What imperialism calculated, stupidly, was that it could impose an agreement on the Argentinians whereby the Yankees could increase their hold, their control over the bourgeoisies and intimidate the nationalist tendencies. However, this has brought to light the will for struggle against imperialism of the Latin American masses, and it has underlined the very advanced level of contradictions between the bourgeoisies and Yankee imperialism. It is a process which has gone beyond all their expectations.

This Malvinas conflict is already a very great defeat for imperialism and for the capitalist system. It develops conditions for very profound changes in Latin America. This experience increases the desire for a unification of Latin America on the political, economic and social levels and, hence, demands a corresponding alliance with the Workers States. This alliance ensures the development of Latin America rather than the creation of a new situation of dependency. Cuba is a good example of this. All this creates the necessary conditions for the development of 'Communist nationalism', as analysed by J. Posadas. It is a process which Argentina is now going through via this conflict over the Malvinas.

The fact that the crisis of the capitalist system has deepened as a result of this conflict has to be taken into account. Little now remains of the initial front of support for British imperialism, that ranged from the Yankees to Japan and included capitalist Europe. The inability of imperialism to resolve this conflict has produced internal contradictions between the capitalist countries and within them. The capitalist front would not have disintegrated if the military action in the Malvinas had been a solution for British imperialism. Now, sectors of European capitalism see there is no solution at the end of this war, only more complications with the Soviets and with Latin America as a whole. And they do not feel that they have the strength to deal with the situation. The refusal of the Italian government to accept the renewal of sanctions against Argentina forms part of this. It also produces social and political consequences in Italy, where the bourgeoisie can no longer simply submit to the Yankees, as it did

before. The Italian population is opposed to the NATO missiles and the movement against their deployment grows. This is expressed, in part, in the election of de Mita as secretary of the Christian Democrats in Italy. De Mita represents a sector of the bourgeoisie that sees no alternative to the policy proposed by Aldo Moro, which was to make agreement with the Communists in Italy and with the Workers States on a world scale; hence, an increasing independence from the Yankees.

These events combine with the movement against NATO's rearmament in Europe, and this movement grows daily. Capitalism feels that the European pacifist movement, now supported by so many people, is an objective ally of the Soviets, rooted in the distrust and rejection of Yankee imperialism on the part of even European bourgeois governments. This is the reason why the fact of not being able to organise any mobilisations in Britain against Argentina represents quite a defeat for imperialism. In Argentina, however, the population did mobilise and is intervening to impose democratic rights. The defeat of British imperialism is the product of the political maturity of the masses, who are not moved by patriotic sentiments but by a social understanding. Also, their experience allows them to understand that the imperialist Fleet does not represent British interests but the imperialist interests of the big British bourgeoisie allied to Yankee imperialism. This process leads to all manner of crises within Britain and it negates the possibility of victory for British imperialism; in turn, this further deepens the rout of the Conservatives at the same time as it impels the Labour Left to break from its submission to the aims of imperialism. In part, the position of Benn expresses this.

In Britain, as in Latin America, the defeat inflicted on the main ally of Yankee imperialism in Europe (British imperialism) means a very profound blow at Yankee imperialism itself. Any solution or agreement to settle the Malvinas conflict can never rebuild the previous ties between imperialism and Latin America. In the same way, the British Conservatives can never give themselves a new perspective. If they continue to maintain themselves, it is only because of the Labour Party.

At the same time, the Malvinas conflict has a very deep influence on the Socialist parties, particularly on the French Socialist Party. The hope Mitterand has to maintain his political authority by submitting to Britain in order to keep his links with the capitalist system and his distances from the Workers States will be very short-lived. In the whole of Europe and the United States struggles are growing against the war preparations of the capitalist system and against NATO.

Every support must be given, in Europe and in the whole of Italy, to the struggle against NATO. NATO has shown in this conflict its role as the absolute tool of Anglo-Yankee imperialism against the national and social liberation struggle in Latin and Central

America. The manoeuvres held in the Caribbean, intended to intimidate Cuba and Nicaragua, form part of this. The same goes for the Middle East. Imperialism has also taken action against the advance of the Left, of the Communist and Socialist parties in Europe. A prime example of this is the terrorist attacks perpetrated in Europe and the murder of Comrade Pio La Torre - a leader of the Communist Party, leading the struggle against the deployment of Yankee missiles in Italy. There is also the case of bourgeois leaders, like Aldo Moro, who get the same treatment because they seek either agreement with the Communists or with the Workers States.

THE WAR IS THE CONSEQUENCE OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

The European Communists and Socialists have a very good opportunity here to learn from all these events. It is not a matter of making a general condemnation of war, but of seeing that the reason for war is the capitalist system, which unleashes it in order to impose the measures it could never have imposed politically or socially. Any support given to Argentina or Latin America against the military aggression of imperialism has the same historic significance as the support given to the struggle of El Salvador, even if the programmatic content of the latter is higher. In this context, it has to be understood that changes were made in Argentina through this process, and in this form, and so one cannot just say - as some Communist leaders have done - that both sides are to be condemned in this war. Far from this, one must condemn the war waged by British imperialism which is aimed at the process in Argentina and in Latin America. On the other hand, the war waged by Argentina is the form the anti-imperialist struggle takes and, for this reason, it must be supported. The assassin action of Yankee and British imperialism, taken for the political and social intention of defending their dominion against the Workers States, must be condemned. In this sense, the war is a necessity for capitalism as a system. It is not possible to change this necessity by appeals and appeasement. It is the capitalist system which is anachronistic more than this particular war. So long as capitalism exists, so will war.

At the same time, one has to look closely at the error committed by those who say that this war is caused by the existence of the 'two blocs'. In this case, the USSR does not have a military presence in Argentina and does not propose to have one; it only proposes to maintain and develop its economic relations. But, imperialism attacks in order to impede the liberation of Argentina, and the action of the occupation of the Malvinas shows this in a very profound way. Then, at a later stage when he found that all his attempts to submit Argentina to Yankee imperialism through mediation had failed, Haig openly sought a military presence in the region. This was because of the

rebuff given by Argentina and because the Yankees had lost confidence in the Latin American military. It is, after all, this failure that imperialism chose to prepare for outright military intervention by every means. It was then clear that anti-imperialist sectors were imposing on the Argentinian government that it should not bow to the Yankee proposals. This is the aim of the capitalists when their 'bloc' intervenes. When the USSR and the Socialist countries intervene with their own force, it is simply to foil the plans of capitalism. There has not been one Soviet military intervention which has damaged the country where it intervened. These interventions have helped the country to develop. In the same way, the support given by the USSR to Argentina is precisely what impedes Anglo-Yankee imperialism from going farther. Even though it is true that they can go farther militarily, they cannot triumph because of the political support the USSR is giving.

This understanding has now penetrated layers of the capitalist system itself, because they see that the Soviet 'bloc' aims at social progress and that its military actions are always determined by this. There is more than simply a defeatist sentiment in the ranks of the capitalist system: there is the understanding that conflicts are not settled just by arms but by the social and political capacity of the contending regimes, or contending processes, as is the case in the Malvinas. The military action of British imperialism shows an enormous weakness and lack of capacity - itself the result of its internal insecurity and fear. The fact that they have had to send contingents from Asia means that they are meeting resistance inside the British

Army proper. This is further confirmed by the news that various British soldiers have been sent again there as a disciplinary measure, which means that these soldiers were opposed to the imperialist war. At the same time, these people represent layers that understand all the hypocrisy of the arguments given by imperialism to justify the invasion in the name of the defence of the 'rights of the people on the islands', when the people 'on the islands' were not even granted full British citizenship and are certainly being bombed and killed at the moment. This is not new. We have heard it all before in Ireland, where various officers and soldiers have refused to continue to serve the function of an army of imperialist occupation.

The military government of Argentina is not the genuine representative of the anti-imperialist process in the country, but already it cannot oppose this process. In spite of all its efforts to reach a quick settlement before it is made to apply economic and social measures against imperialism, it cannot oppose this process. Even with all these manoeuvres it cannot avoid taking these measures for much longer. In the meantime, the leadership to advance this struggle - begun with arms in the Malvinas against imperialism - on a programmatic level is being forged. The Soviet support given to Argentina is the pre-requisite for this process to unfold and to acquire higher programmatic forms. This is already happening and, whatever the outcome of the conflict, it represents an immense blow at Yankee and British imperialism in Latin America and in the whole world.

POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL
23rd May 1982.

WE SALUTE THE VICTORY OF THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES IN MAURITIUS

Editorial from page 1

capitalist system itself, is demonstrated to the masses on a world scale. The result is a massive mobilisation on a world scale, and including in Washington itself, against the war preparations of imperialism. There is a revulsion against the crazy, murderous system of private property, not only amongst the working class and the poorer sectors of the population but within the bourgeoisie itself. This is why 100,000 people - out of a population of only 3 million - demonstrated in one Israeli city against the war. This is why even officers in the Israeli army oppose the war, and this is why a leading Israeli academic characterises the massacre of the Palestinians as 'Judea-fascism'.

THE RESISTANCE OF THE MASSES.

Haig went because all these hopes of drawing the European bourgeoisie together into a war alliance against the Soviet Union and the world revolution, and under the leadership of Yankee imperialism, have been thwarted. Yankee imperialism has been completely isolated even in the Security Council of the United Nations. At the same time, British imperialism has been forced to oppose the attempts by the Yanks to boycott the gas pipeline from the Soviet Union to capitalist Europe. Clearly, the European bourgeoisie, including the British, have a commercial interest in trade with the Soviet Union, but sectors of the bourgeoisie itself see that the origins of war lie in the capitalist system and that, in a very real sense, it is the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States that represent peace and human progress.

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SOVIET AGRICULTURAL REFORMS AND THE COURSE OF THE POLITICAL REVOLUTION

The proposed solution to the agricultural problem in the Soviet Union is of very great importance showing the growing capacity of the Workers States to solve difficulties which have traditionally impeded its function, as part of the process to improve relations between population and leadership in order to confront more firmly and completely the world system of imperialism.

Imperialism, as in the time of Hitler, lives in the world of its own delirious fictions and talks of the 'grave' problems of Soviet agriculture. They do not understand the course of its solution; indeed, some bourgeois commentators have tried to interpret the new Soviet changes in agriculture as giving more scope for private farming. But what is happening is an immense dedication of Soviet resources to improving all aspects of agriculture — technical and social. All the infrastructure of communications, housing and education is being transformed and the elements of isolation between town and country overcome. The changes in the trade union structure in the Soviet Union will also mean a greater weight of the agricultural workers against conservatism. Such a dedication of resources can only come from the planned economy.

The most important aspects of the changes are undoubtedly political and social. Economically, the planning takes into account the objective needs of the population not the conservative necessities of the old bureaucracy to maintain conservative interests in agriculture. But the steady progress

towards the liquidation of the agricultural problem, is, in effect, eliminating a prop of local conservative kolkhoz interests, or so weighing against them in the form of rationalised scientific management that their role is diminished.

The pressure in the Soviet Union to advance to genuine Socialist norms is immense, hence all the purges and attacks on bureaucracy. The overcoming of the food problem is an example, too, of breaking links of conciliation with world imperialism, which has tried to use grain shortages as a means of pressure on the Soviet Union — not that this has worked. The intensification of the confrontation between the two world systems, capitalism versus the Workers States, quickens the pace of the political revolution and promotes a closer relation between leadership and masses in the Soviet Union.

The greater intervention of the planning of the Soviet Union in agriculture is going to have an effect within other Workers States. It will weigh in China, where the incapacity of the Chinese camarilla as regards agriculture is in sharp contrast to the Soviet attitude and, most important, the solution to the land problem in Poland is going to be more sharply raised. There is no justification there for the limited discussions on the private ownership of land. It is a question of assuring the population that food is not to be submitted to the needs of private property, to the Black Market. The Soviet example will weigh in all this.

On the policy of non intervention

J. POSADAS

It is incorrect on the part of the Communist parties and of the Left to maintain that 'no country can intervene in another country'. One cannot consider this as a principle. The true principle is to support every movement which is a progress of history, and this support cannot have limits because it is support to the progress of history, whether with arms, money or matches!

But the principle must be that the most developed country must support the least developed so that this can progress. If this were not so, the backward countries would have no place in history. To propose that no one can intervene is to be based on the principle of democratic bourgeois immobility. This is an immobility which is applied only against revolutions, because when it is a question of imperialism intervening then there is great mobility.

The principle of necessity must determine intervention. Any other way of working is to remain bound to the relations of 'mutual respect' and in that the conception of Com-

munist of some Communist leaders. They believe that Communism is the result of coming to agreement with everyone and deciding that 'Communism is better'.

A leadership is necessary to show to the others how to progress and how to benefit from experience. This should aim at the rest of the countries of the world, to elevate and attract them. The Soviets do this with support to the world revolution and this is also the case with science.

Support to the revolution throughout the world is a principle which is applied without alteration and cannot be elastic. Even the Bolsheviks had to adopt tactical measures of conciliation with capitalism — as was the case with the NEP — but it was a tactical resolution and not a principle. The principle in this case was that it was necessary to develop the USSR in these conditions of history in which the world capitalist threat had weight in order to sustain people, so that the confidence of the backward sectors was maintained.

To have made the NEP on the part of the Bolshevik leadership had more significance than the Soviet intervention now in Afghanistan. The Bolshevik leadership resolved to make the NEP, which meant allowing capitalism to intervene within the Workers State with the security that the Workers State would neutralise every influence which capitalism could use. It had to do this because, at that moment, the Soviet Union was isolated and history was made in those conditions.

The Bolsheviks did not take into account the property of one country or another. This comes from the relation with capitalism, and this demand for non-intervention of one country in another country, without defining with what objective intervention is carried out, is a demand which comes from capitalism.

26 December 1980. J. POSADAS

PUBLICATION: RESOLUTION BY THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL ON THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF CDE J. POSADAS.

THIS BOOKLET CONTAINS TWO TEXTS BY CDE POSADAS:
THE PRESENT STAGE AND THE COMMUNIST FUTURE OF
HUMANITY. J. POSADAS 9 MARCH 1981.

THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE FUNCTION
OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL.

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National rights and the world confrontation between capitalism and the workers states

J. POSADAS

The problem of the national rights of every country is an issue which has to be understood and the relation of this with the global confrontation: capitalism—Workers States. National rights exist, but it is necessary to see how this is expressed in a divided world between two systems, which does not give room for national rights. It is absurd to suppose to demand or to believe that a small country can decide in history. Imperialism is seeking any movement which can make an opposition to the Soviet Union and develops around this a whole situation on the basis of telex, press articles and photos, invented to exert a pressure on the Socialists, the petit bourgeoisie, backward Communist sectors, to develop in these dissatisfied sectors an anti-Soviet sentiment; that is, layers and leaderships who believe that the struggle is between imperialism and the USSR, and that they can remain outside manoeuvring.

In this state those who define the course of history are the Workers States and world capi-

talism led by imperialism. Any movement, however small it may be, has to be taken within this process and one or other — of the two systems — has to intervene. Directly or indirectly, they have to intervene.

The recent meeting of the leaders of the Socialist International act in the name of world capitalism. A measure of this is that it did not give any economic support, programme or policy to the process — only 'careful, proceed slowly'.

In the middle of a gigantic process of social transformations, these people demand that the process should go more slowly.

On the other hand the Soviets support all the movements of the world to construct Workers States. This is the biography of the process which is going to come. The leaderships who do not come or are opposed to this process, posing the abstract right that every country must have its 'independence', propose issues impossible to fulfil. The independent right of a small

country to advance is determined by its alliance with the Workers States, that is, the Workers States help it to advance or imperialism impedes it. There is no other measure possible. All this process is not decided by the will of any country, small or great, but is decided on the basis of the two structures of the world.

The strength which at present the Iraqi government possesses and its assassin repression is due to the political mistakes of the Iraqi Communist Party, which cannot create a movement and of the whole of the Communist parties, including those of the Workers States (2). Not all is error on the part of the Workers States; because they have to take into account the possibility of establishing concessions as in Argentina. This can go so far as prejudicing the development of the revolutionary movement within this country; but, in turn, it does this when there are no real revolutionary movements but only movements of political opposition, even if important ones. When revolutionary move-

ments of importance exist, the Soviets have to support them, as they have done in Angola and Mozambique.

Among various issues, the Socialists criticise the Soviet Union because they maintain relations with Argentina and do not attack the Argentinian government over repression. We have already dealt with this problem in other articles. The policy of the Soviets directly with Argentina is not correct, but taken globally it is part of the tactic of taking points of support in the struggle against imperialism. This was shown with the non-participation of the Argentinians in the cereal boycott of the USSR. Argentina depends totally on the sale of wheat and meat on the Soviets, fundamentally of wheat. The Soviets keep a diplomatic representation — which has much value for Argentina — and this is against the Yanks, including the analysis which they make of how much is spent on arms and all the problems of people which should be resolved throughout the world.

These are experiences to understand that the process is not simply a question of the struggle of a workers movement, but of the confrontation system against system between capitalism and the Workers States; and it is this process that the struggle of every workers movement develops. It is not the latter which defines the process, but the Workers States.

28.8.1980 J. POSADAS

1. Reference to the recent meeting of the Socialist International in the island of Corfu.

2. Reference to the denunciation on the assassin repression in Iraq made by an escaped soldier in Syria and to the support which the Soviets have given to the Iraqi government and the Arab countries.

The Art of Van Gogh, Human Relations and Socialist Art

J. Posadas 1.12.1978

Editorial
continued from page 2

The figures of Van Gogh, the trees, the movements of the trees, the effect of the movement of the wind, of the light, of the sun, are made with an immense love. His work was done with an affection for humanity, for the earth, for nature, and he made a unity without having proposed to do this but his very developed sentiment of human love led to this. The critics don't say this. They take him as a madman.

The strong movements running through some trees, the forms that the wind produces in the branches are not movements which give a gloomy impression, but movements of sadness. The effect expresses, above all, when Van Gogh constantly paints yellow, a desire for clarity, and gives the impression that life is sadness. But the sadness is not communicated to people. He goes beyond this with the whole of the painting — the sadness comes from the nature of his life — but the love of humanity prevails over the sad aspect in the movements and the combination of colours. All the combination of colours, even expressing a certain sadness, expresses joy and clarity, and even though it does not express the joy which impels to work, it is the optimistic joy to see and love nature.

Van Gogh has forms, modulations of movements which are not normal but which exist in people, in the plants, in the flowers, in the effect, the wind over the trees. These effects of movement could only be done with a profound human love. He painted nature thinking about people. Hence when he placed figures of people at work, the figure is one more part of production, the flower, the tree and fruit. Van Gogh has not taken all this as a condemnation of the capitalist system or of exploitation. He sees love like this. Afterwards, painters came along who took these figures in order to condemn, but he did not paint to condemn. He painted like this, and it was a condemnation, as when he painted a pair of shoes that appear real and seem to say how tired they are. The shoes give the impression of tiredness, like people. He painted potatoes which seem to speak. You see the potatoes and they give the impression of saying, 'We are like the poor'. In that epoch there were still painters who simply painted the bourgeoisie. When Van Gogh painted the cafes of Paris, the combination of colours and light is beautiful, but it was the light within that he wanted to be seen and communicated.

The painting of the Potato Eaters is a denunciation. It's not the painting of potatoes as a dedication to nature. He did this with the flowers, but the former is a denunciation of

society. But he did not do it as a denunciation. He was attracted by the poor people, and he painted the old — not as decrepit people but as the consequence of the brutality of life. Thus Goya painted old members of the Spanish Royal Family and showed them as decrepit, and no one said anything about it because it was true.

Van Gogh is very striking in the way he makes a combination of colours and figures, of forms, of movements which reflect a very deep love of nature and people. He takes the details of the fields, of the sowing, of the harvest, the details of someone who loves this, not of the painter who puts himself above life, one more painter. Van Gogh felt himself within all this. In the twisted tree you see Van Gogh, but also in the burning yellow from above, there is also Van Gogh — because his objective was this. A little religious sentiment remained with him because of his origin but the religion that triumphed was the love of humanity.

In the future, the conception of art will be modified. Art arises from a divided, unequal, exploited society where intelligence is oppressed or confiscated. Art arises from these relations. In an earlier stage art arose and had more purity because it arose as a necessity of representation of the human being before life when all this oppression did not exist, and thus it was purer. It is not the fault of the artist, but that is the position. In the future, art is going to be expressed in a form like the primitives. Art is a continuation which centralises itself around nature, but it is a human creation not a product of nature. The human being is a creation of nature, but art is the creation of the human being.

VAN GOGH IDENTIFIED WITH THE POPULATION, NOT THE EXPLOITERS.

The colours that Van Gogh uses do not give a gloomy impression. Sometimes the colours are sombre, giving a sense of poverty — not in a lugubrious way, or giving up — of people who live involved in what they are doing and their lack of resources.

Van Gogh lived during the epoch of the full development of capitalist advance, of capitalist colonial power, and his painting has nothing of this. Thus art clashes with domination because art shows human sensibility and therefore clashes with domination. The brilliant colours, the combination of colours which give a sensation of harmony, has an overall effect of peaceful attraction, not colour which repels. Colour expressed the feeling of people: the mother and the child, the human relation

of people. It is not the sentiment of power. Art has always been against force. To inspire art has to be inspired with noble sentiments, otherwise there is no art. Artists can paint well for someone, bring out the light, but it has no human effect. The conclusion of a painting is to give a human effect, the relation between humanity and painting.

The landscapes of Van Gogh show that he had a feeling of very great solitude but, at the same time, a sentiment of human love which is also very great. Solitude did not lead him to oppose humanity or live in an isolated form or to serve power; but it was a psychic problem which he resolved by producing paintings and uniting himself to nature, because he united more to nature than to people. But, when he painted people, he painted the poor people, people who produced and who worked in contact with nature. He painted the instruments of life, so he does not show the money, the boss and the boss's paunch. He painted the shoe as an instrument of life, that of the worker who produced it.

In the painting of the wheat harvest, the wheat is the work of the human being. Thus the wheat expressed the continuity of the human being and human relations. Hence, some colours are emphasised not as strident colour but colour which has relation with humanity. The wheat is a continuation of human effort.

Van Gogh, in the painting of the Potato Eaters, shows how he lived the tragedy of the Dutch people. He painted their meal, and it is a protest. The potatoes are united to the life, to the poverty of the peasants. Thus he took subjects which were a social protest, a protest against society. He painted the food of the people, not of the rich, the bourgeoisie, the king; — but the potatoes.

The painting of the shoes shows them as a product of human life and work. He did not paint the splendour of capitalism in its full development, when they built the Eiffel Tower and conquered Africa and part of Asia. He painted shoes, showing human labour. But the Impressionists were very attracted by bourgeois subjects. Almost all the themes were bourgeois. Even though they were good painters, they were attracted by bourgeois themes. Van Gogh was not, and hence he broke with the Impressionists.

The art of the past century could not render much more than it did save in an individual form. It could not create a collective development because of private property. Property develops also in the painter a private conception. Even though he may pro-

The attack now being mounted by the Thatcher government and British capitalism on the ASLEF workers is part of the desperately murderous nature of the capitalist system at this stage. As with the Malvinas and Lebanon, the result will be exactly the same: capitalism will suffer a defeat. The idea of a 'Falkland factor', of a growth of chauvinism and support for imperialism, is so much nonsense. If such a thing existed, the very small group of workers organised in ASLEF would not be able to maintain their struggle in front of the whole weight of the capitalist apparatus which is now being brought to bear on them. This strike is maintained, in fact, because the ASLEF workers feel confidence in a favourable world balance of forces and in the attitude and confidence of the working class and masses in this country. There is no other possible explanation. It underlines the fact that the viciousness of the Thatcher government is a product of its weakness and desperation in this stage of the total and final crisis of capitalism. The Thatcher team is launching a series of very real attacks on the standard of living and the democratic rights of the masses, but it is only the lack of a leadership in the Labour movement to centralise the struggle of the masses which allows this government to continue.

There is an absence of a leadership in the Labour movement to respond to the present historic stage, but there is also an advance of the Left, of the forces of progress, based on this favourable world balance of forces. An important expression of this has been the recent annual conference of the NUM. Here a series of crucially important measures were adopted. It was decided to put the NUM headquarters out of London and into the mining areas, to subject officials to regular re-election, and to make the National Executive more representative of the mass of miners. They are limited measures in the sense that they fall short, for example, of the right of instant recall of all trade union officials, but they are all measures which make the NUM more responsive as an instrument of struggle. They are symptoms of a process in which the working class prepares itself for struggles which will go beyond simply removing one Tory government. They show a preparation for an elevation in the anti-capitalist struggle. At the same time, they are measures which are going to act as an example and a stimulus for the advance of democracy in all the trade unions.

GENERALISE THE POLITICAL ADVANCES.

Together with this goes the fact that Labour MPs, including Tony Benn and Dennis Skinner, expressed their support for the ASLEF strike by appearing on a picket line. And if Labour MPs give this sort of support it means that behind them there is a large sector of the Labour Party which has the same attitude. It represents an advance of the Labour Left which the present attack on 'Militant' and other sectors of the Labour Left is not going to stop. Of course, it is to be expected that, faced with an advance of the Left, the Labour apparatus will fall back on these sort of administrative methods of intimidation which have no basis in political ideas or principles, but it decides nothing.

The conditions exist for the Labour Left to make a leap. To express solidarity with the industrial struggles of the working class is necessary, but the problems posed by capitalism in its final crisis cannot be solved on a narrow 'trade union' basis. What is being dealt with now is not simply wages and working conditions but the nature of society itself, and it is being dealt with in conditions where capitalism demonstrably has no answers and no perspective. Of course the Labour Left has to express solidarity, but it has to be done on the basis of raising a discussion on programme and principle. The struggle of the miners, of the railway workers, of the health service workers and in education, poses the question of the nature of society and demands, of the Labour Left, a programme which puts the Socialist alternative. It requires, for example, an explanation of how a transport system, or the health service, or whatever, would be run on the basis of state ownership and the direct intervention of the workers and masses in the running of these services and of society as a whole. When the working class abstains from voting Labour in elections and then mobilises, as the miners and other sectors of workers have done, in defence of the health service, it means that it is demanding an elevation of the political leadership. It is demanding a response from the Labour Left. In other words, all the conditions exist on a national and world scale for a unification of the Labour Left with the working class on the basis of an anti-capitalist programme and a process of mobilisations which would see an end of this Tory government. 10.7.82

duce fine works, it develops the private conception. Art arose as a means of the construction of the human being, which constructs in a form superior to its own nature and the existing social relations. Thus it shows that it can construct much more than simple social relations is capable of doing or allows — this is going to continue in a much better form, but it is not going to have the significance of now because, then, art will stop being a work for someone or a few people but will be for society.

J. POSADAS 9.12.1978

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A comrade of the Bolivian section
has been assassinated

It is with the greatest sorrow that we report the assassination of a member of the Bolivian Section, Cesar Frade Gutierrez, on 25th May. He was found shot dead at the door of his home, and it would seem that he was most likely killed by a para-military group. The death of the comrade has occurred in a period of the collapse of the military dictatorship and the probability of a return to a parliamentary regime. Recently the COB made a homage to those who were murdered in the coup of Meza in 1980 and this included a homage to Cde Carlos Flores, the Posadist Member of Parliament who defended the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan in a powerful speech in the Bolivian Parliament.

The killing of our comrade has to be seen as the result of the impotence of the Right, whose military dictatorship has totally failed and now new possibilities open for the development of Posadist ideas in Bolivia and the participation again of a Posadist in the Parliament.

EDITORIAL

FOR THE ORGANISATION OF THE GENERAL STRIKE TO OVERTHROW
THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT

Imperialism has suffered a great reverse with its failure to wipe out the PLO and to occupy the whole of Lebanon which was its original intention. Although American imperialism has introduced its marines into an area to which it has no right, in reality the great blitzkrieg failed to capture Beirut despite the use of nazi terrorism and massive destruction of the civilian population. The PLO departed in triumph to participate in future struggle against American and Israeli imperialism, whilst the whole world has seen the true nature of world imperialism and its allies - that it has no progressive function whatsoever and is only capable of useless war and destruction. American imperialism and its Israeli stooges have replaced the nazis and have the same objectives, to attempt to keep capitalism in being, and the destruction of the Soviet Union and its allies. It is also clear to the world that the intervention of the Soviet Union, through the warnings of Brezhnev, prevented the Israelis intervening much more and provoked a profound crisis in the American team and also in the European allies of imperialism. Doubtless the Soviets could have intervened more directly and at higher levels, but without their intervention the Israeli nazis would have swarmed over Lebanon.

American imperialism now talks of limited nuclear wars in Europe and of 'preventive nuclear wars' lasting six months. Clearly there are no bounds to their criminal intentions nor to their phenomenal stupidity. They are trying to frighten the Soviet Union and, at the same time, bludgeon their European allies into acceptance of American leadership by showing their resolution to confront the Soviets. Such is the level of their imbecility and impotence that at the same time they take proceedings to impede the fulfilment of contracts for French firms providing equipment for the gas pipeline with the Soviet Union which is essential to French, British and German business. This brings out the utter decomposition

within the alliances of world imperialism. Politically, American imperialism seeks to break the links of its allies with the Soviet Union so as to dominate them but, at the same time, it sees the pipeline as a means by which European capitalism is going to compete economically with itself. Thus, in the midst of the need to harmonise interests against the Soviet Union, a trade war breaks out and even British imperialism, America's closest ally, is against this attack on the contracts for the pipeline. From all this the Soviet Union and the world masses are the triumphant party. Imperialist leadership commits such blunders because it is working against a balance of world forces, a structure in the world which renders its plans useless - and its initiatives impotent.

Even the small Seychelles effectively crushes two attempted imperialist coups. There is only one constant in the policy of American imperialism - the inevitable tendency to attack the Soviet Union and the world masses. But that is the nature of capitalism, with war as the solution to everything. Now they enter their last stages with an unstable leadership, indecision, fear, no cohesion with their allies and without knowing any historic security. The military staffs of world imperialism are losing any confidence in their war machines and the events in Lebanon will have demoralised large sectors of capitalism in Europe and in America itself who see that their fate lies in the hands of lunatics who can only shoot and burn, while the Soviet Union - in the middle of all the pressing preparations to confront Yankee imperialism - has the security to send into space astronauts not with any military intention but so as to improve the possibilities of gaining greater knowledge of space and the cosmos. The American imperialists can only add up the number of missiles they have whilst the Soviets are concerned with transcending the earth and war and private property.

THE MASSES INTERVENE IRRESPECTIVE OF THE LEADERSHIP.

All this world situation completely undermines the capacity of the Thatcher government to present even a minimum policy of progress. It has shown that it can kill a large number of people, as in the Malvinas Islands, and throw people out of work. Thus it can destroy but not create. Judged by any condition of progress it is a government that is insane. As with the policy of Reagan, the Thatcher regime confirms that the capitalist system is of no value whatsoever and has to be liquidated as rapidly as possible to minimise the damage caused by



DEMONSTRATIONS IN TEL AVIV FOR ARAB JEWISH FRATERNITY.

its continued existence. The struggle opened by the Aslef strike is reaching now profounder levels. The strike of the hospital workers has received great popular support and, in the absence of an organised general strike of all the industrial centres of the working class through the incapacity of the trade union leadership, it has become a focus of struggle against the government. The nurses are not a sector with great social weight, such as the miners or the engineers, but, when the struggle is so resolute from a sector traditionally petit bourgeois in origin, it is because the ambience of the population supports and sustains them. The fact that also a group of nurses refused to carry out a treatment devised for mental patients, on the grounds that such

treatment was quite wrong and then took the patients out of the control of the consultants, reflects also an elevation in the conception of medical practice and the rejection of hierarchy and submission to reactionary medical ideas. All this is a great progress in social relations. The support given by a sector of the electricians' trade union to the nurses by intervening against the capitalist press showed the great superiority of the union base to the union leaders. The fact that capitalism, in the middle of the great fanfare for the anti-union Tebbit Bill, was only capable of fining the worker and even that apologetically, shows the true

balance of forces in this country - TOWARDS A GENERAL STRIKE

There is now a profound crisis in the trade union leaderships. The Left are going to develop a much greater capacity to ignore the obstacles presented by the Right in the apparatus of the trade unions. It is important that sectors of the union are trying to break trade union participation on the NEDC which presents a point of collaboration of the unions with capitalism. This is part of the need to break the tradition of functioning with capitalism as though the system were sacrosanct. It is significant that the trade union apparatus has not asked Foot to speak at the Trade Union Congress - for them he is a little

unstable. If he has gone along with all sorts of moans about constitutional Leftists, he also supported the Aslef strike. It meant a political intervention which goes against the tradition that the trade union functionaries can conciliate without political 'interference'. Furthermore, he supported the presence of the delegates of the Workers States at the Labour Party conference, and believes Brezhnev is a man of peace. His presence could stimulate problems for the apparatus.

The Thatcher government is extremely weak. The Malvinas 'triumph' has in reality brought no increase in authority to her tatty regime. As one of the health workers leaders said: the government can produce plenty of money for killing people, but nothing to help life. The Lebanon crisis has deepened all the decomposition in the ranks of the Conservatives, the SDP and the remaining Rightists in the Labour Party. Thatcher has been unable to give sustained and open support to the Israeli nazis. The policy of the government gives no perspective to the manufacturing sectors of capitalism, and this again tends to disintegrate capitalist homogeneity. The Labour Party, whatever its programmatic and organisational limitations, tends towards policies and perspectives on public ownership, education, science, nuclear disarmament, which go against the needs of the capitalist system. The Left is gaining in confidence. The fact that Benn attacks certain aspects of the monarchy, even if insufficient, shows that there is a current developing in the Labour Party prepared to abolish it altogether. Apart from deepening the political life and seeking to develop a Labour Party Left much more linked with the population than in the past, it is necessary for the Labour Left to intervene seeking to unify all the strike actions, to link the problems of the mines, the railways, education, the hospitals, in a

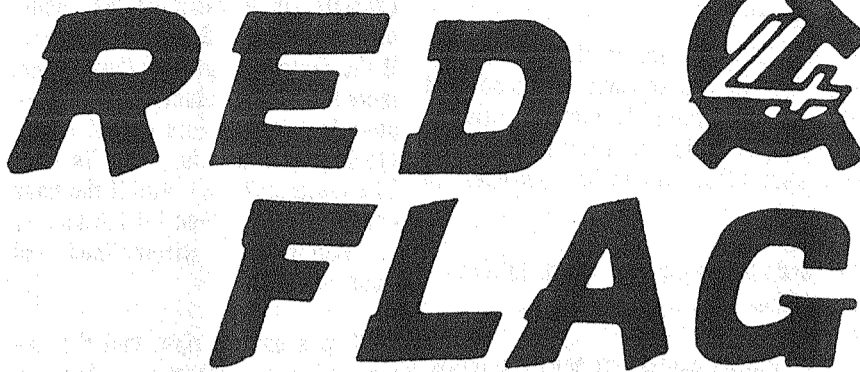
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On the Italian trade unions

(Centre Pages)

J. POSADAS

Workers of the world, unite!



Monthly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

BRITISH SECTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

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THE NEED FOR AN ANTI CAPITALIST PERSPECTIVE IN THE TRADE UNION STRUGGLE IN ITALY.

Title: Editorial Board

J. POSADAS

Although this text is concerned with the particular problems of the Italian trade unions, it has also great relevance to the role of the trade unions in Britain. The total crisis of capitalist society brings with it a profound crisis for the trade union leaderships.

There has to be a struggle to develop a better life of discussion, life and genuine democracy in the unions. It is the absence of these that allows the routinism of accommodation to the system to prevail with the continuation of pro-capitalist elements in the trade union movement. The right of tendency on the basis of Socialist ideas has to be developed in the unions.

There are no crises of the trade unions but crises of the trade union leaderships which do not answer to the need of trade union development with a programme of anti-capitalist struggle. This is the crisis expressed in a confrontation between the worker base and the trade union leadership that seeks to maintain its dominion arrogantly over the base to impede it expressing opinions. The trade union leaderships criticise the 'lack of democracy in Poland', the 'Soviet intervention in Afghanistan', and in Italy impose that 25% of the delegates should be elected by the trade union functionaries. In the name of whom are they elected, and for what? It is the working class which must elect its leaders, otherwise it is the leadership which elects itself.

The trade union leaderships have no resolution, no plan which corresponds to the need of the crisis of world and Italian capitalism. In the full crisis of the system, they propose to take measures to 'cleanse' it, something which is absurd. They do not adopt or take logical positions, but want capitalism which is dying and which has Caltagirone at every moment, to have a logical behaviour in accordance with the needs of the population. Capitalism is logical in accordance with its own necessity, not with the needs of people. Capitalism in Italy is the Caltagirone and also the North American military bases which are going to be installed and which are going to mean that Italy devotes more than 40% of its budget to maintain military expenditure. That is to say, there will be more unemployment, because these costs will be paid by the population in a multitude of ways: in taxes, increase of prices, etc.

The trade unions should be based on the fact of seeing the state of the capitalist system, but they make a series of plans such as asking for an increase of wages from a capitalism which cannot give them. Thus they seek to collaborate in every way so that capitalism has the means, the possibilities to make concessions to them. The trade union leadership is giving oxygen to the capitalist system, which is dying. This is what they are doing and what they propose for all problems is: an accommodation to a necessity of the competitiveness of the Italian capitalist system with the rest of the capitalist countries of the world. They have no confrontation with the capitalist system, and today it is not possible to make any trade union programme which can have perspectives without confronting the capitalist system, otherwise it

ends by adapting itself to capitalism.

Italian capitalism needs to throw out more than ten or fifteen per cent of the employed labour force at present, and has to increase prices, not wages, to increase as a consequence its profit, and thus be able to permit the state a greater part of this profit for war expenditure. This is apart from what is normally extracted from the population through taxes and other means. The budget of any capitalist country increases constantly in war expenditure and the world competition and antagonism with the Workers States. Thus it is not a question of a war between one of other country, whether of Iran/Iraq or that of two countries who compete, but the war of the capitalist system against the Workers States. Thus the capitalist system needs to prepare to sustain itself to the maximum level possible. This is the programme of the capitalist system.

This is expressed in the way production is organised, which has its very conclusive and final expression in the level and speed of production whatever the system or method. If previously they made a hundred rifles in an hour, now they have to make two hundred; and if before it was made by ten workers now they have five. That is, under the cost of production profit increases and allows more and more investment in war. But, in turn, this provokes a reduction in national consumption. Thus, when they propose 'increase of production' immediately the question arises: for whom if consumption is reduced?

The crisis of capitalism is not through a lack of an increase in production, but is the crisis of a system based on profit. Capitalism is not in crisis because the workers produce little, or they do not go to work. FIAT does not sell more cars because there is no market, and because the countries which are incorporated in the world market do not now enter into a strictly capitalist market, but a half capitalist and half Worker State market, or on the road of the Worker State. That is to say, the perspective of plan, of programme of production and development of capitalism, is made difficult, rejected and interfered with through the advance of the revolution in the world which is expressed nationally in this crisis of the economy.

In front of this, what is the programme to make? A programme to secure the life of the population, not the life of the capitalist system. But the trade unions have neither a

criticism nor a programme critical of the capitalist system. To guarantee the life of people, for example, is to diminish the hours of work not to 35 but to 30 hours. If the factories say that they cannot increase such production, then propose that the workers cannot tolerate this form of life. What is life? The factories? No! And if the boss cannot stand it, then let the factory be expropriated, nationalised and made to work.

It is a natural right that the increase in technology - which is expressed in the increase of production and of the quality of the same - should be to the benefit of the population and reduce the hours of work, which consequently increases the level and the progress of life. The trade unions do not take this into account, but see only what is significant for the boss. The reduction in the hours of work is a necessary fact, independent of any situation but a logical necessity. To the increase of technology corresponds a reduction in the hours of work, but the result is that the technology is a concentration of the benefits of the progress of society, of human intelligence at the service of only the boss who utilises it for himself. This is completely irrational. The trade unions have the policy of 'respecting the one in possession'. What does the boss have? The factory! But the workers have life! The boss will lose his factory, but the workers lose life - and not only one but thousands and thousands. The mentality of the trade union leaders is that they cannot conceive of a society where there is no boss, no property and someone who bosses. It does not mean to say that they accept the capitalist system, but for them there has to be a system where there is someone who is giving orders, someone who commands, and they play the role of intermediaries.

THE FUNCTIONING OF THE TRADE UNIONS HAS TO BE TRANSFORMED.

It is necessary to see that the working class participates, intervenes, proposing a programme of production, of benefits, of wages, and of better conditions of work. They say that in Italy the cost of production is very high and that the responsibility belongs to the workers. This is all lies. If they eliminated all the Caltagirone, all the swindles, it would be possible to lower the cost of production by twenty per cent. How blame the workers for all this? The workers have a level of life which shows poverty: the poverty in which people live can be seen from the regions of the earthquakes.

The problem is that the trade unions have no programme to deal with the crisis of capitalism, and they want to resolve problems by helping the capitalists to find solutions on what to produce, how to produce, and how to reduce the cost of production. In this way

there is no solution. The solution has to be based from the beginning on nationalisation. There is no other way of confronting the crisis. Capitalism cannot confront it.

For example, Italy could produce between 20 and 40 million tons of steel, and has to produce nothing more than 24 million through the agreements necessary in the ECM. It could produce sugar for the whole of Europe, and has to import. It could get meat at half the ECM price in Argentina or Rumania, and it cannot buy it. That is to say, the ECM is a multi-national managed by the great consortiums who orientate policy in accordance with the great investors, the main industries which are the ones that plan the increase of production to impede an excess of commodities which lower the price and reduce the profit. The ECM is a multi-national.

Before this, what do the trade unions do? They want the local bourgeoisie to oppose it, but to continue as they are within the ECM. This is impossible. There is no solution within capitalism, and the countries who endure recession, like France, Britain and Germany, do it at the cost of a fantastic state budget deficit. In Germany, for example, the state has immense debts with private banks. The capitalists who cover this debt have a means of constant pressure on the state, and if the state threatens them with something the capitalists present the bill of state debts. In front of this crisis of capitalism, the Communists and trade unions propose 'it is necessary to improve'. Yes, it is possible to improve quite a lot, but not to transform the situation. The trade unions in Italy ask 'to increase production', but who buys? Lama, Carniti and Banvenuto are very concerned with how to reduce the cost of production and making the workers work more. Then the trade union orientates a process of criticisms and persecution over absenteeism instead of making a great campaign against the robbery of the state like the Caltagirone who are the real people responsible for the increase in the cost of production.

No trade union leader, not even the Communists, have any reply to these problems; a social reply to the social crisis of the capitalist system which is expressed economically. It is social because of the problems which affect people, but there is no political leadership to give this reply. If in Italy they had made a plan of the development of the country, they would be short of three million workers at least.

Within the policy of the trade unions it is necessary to reject the proposal of the unions for the self-regulation of the right to strike. There has to be no regulation. The only form in which the regulation of strikes can be determined lies in workers' assemblies. If they regulate strikes, they are going to enter into a tremendous conflict with sectors of the working class and they are going to impel the creation

of new groups, autonomous trade unions (2) and movements. The regulation is for what? They reply that the indispensable public services should not be interrupted by strikes. The country does not suffer from these problems. The country suffers from the lack of attention to the earthquakes, the swindles and robberies. These are the problems of the country, not the strikes in the public services. It is on these problems that it is necessary to launch campaigns of the trade unions appealing for united fronts.

The workers must determine themselves when to make strikes. They are the ones who self-regulate. The workers' assembly determines when to make the strike. The regulation of the strikes is a monstrosity, a benefit exclusively for capitalism. It's the workers themselves who have to see when they call a strike or not, not as a regulation but as a level of consciousness and an expression of necessity. Italy is fragmented into a thousand pieces and each sector of the workers' movement receives daily a blow, a retreat in its standard of life, its democratic, political and trade union rights. In not having a concentrated reply on the part of the Communist trade unions, the reply is fragmented and a number of small trade unions appear, who feel they have the resolution to make a strike and triumph because they are indispensable in the state apparatus. They are not sectors apart from, separated from or against the rest of the workers movement; but arise through the nature of production in Italy, of the public services and of the trade union movement. Before, they were sectors which capitalism bought for little money, but now they cannot do it, and they go on strike. How to force them not to strike? To impose on them means a rupture with the workers' movement. What has to be seen is why these groups are not within such strong trade union centres. It is not that they are badly intentioned, but they show in this way their rejection of the conciliatory policy of the trade union centres.

If there are conflicts between the trade union centres and these 'autonomous' trade unions, it is necessary to seek unification with the right to every tendency to exist and express itself. This is infinitely better that they resolve like this, than as they are now utilised because, in this way, the bourgeoisie are allowed to manoeuvre, to utilise one centre against another, to yield to one against the other. Thus it is necessary to seek as an essential measure a centralised movement at the trade union level.

The trade union centres have appealed to these 'autonomous' trade unions to centralise themselves, but they do not accept because the policy of the main unions does not interest them; thus there must be freedom of tendency in the trade union centre. This does not mean the right for any lunatic to speak, but to allow the right of

tendency. If the trade union leaders demand 'freedom and democracy' in the USSR and in the Workers States, is not the working class going to ask for the right of tendency in the Communist Party and in the trade unions? Freedom of tendency, but within the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to allow the working class to express itself, to give opinion and form itself politically and this will then allow it to influence these autonomous trade unions. If it is not possible to influence the leadership of these unions, then influence the base and attract them.

The existence of these trade unions and of the different groups is the result of the Italian economy, something which does not occur in other capitalist countries where there is a greater centralisation in industry. But Italy has a backward method of production which creates an enormous quantity of currents and tendencies. Also, it is through the political maturity of the Italian people which attract quite elevated levels of technicians and professional workers.

It is necessary to develop in the trade unions the anti-capitalist political life, and this is going to influence all these small trade unions and groups. One of the most complete forms of working for a near future is to concentrate everyone in the same trade union but with the right of tendencies, so that people may explain and can determine resolutions in accordance with the majority.

The Italian economy is not the same as the French, German or that of Britain. It is a very atomised economy, and thus it allows the creation of all these groups. They develop also in the trade unions as, for example, the railway workers, technicians and sectors who see the continuous robberies, the Caltagirone and the daily swindles and propose 'and why should not we ask more increases, more benefits from the state?' These are sectors which, in asking for these increases, do not feel that they are robbing the workers or the people, but that they are depriving the state administration or, on the other hand, it is money of which they are depriving the Caltagirone. This is their reasoning and hence they have strikes demanding increases in wages and a great part are successful because they answer a necessity which the trade unions do not represent.

To propose to regulate the strikes of these autonomous trade unions is absurd. One can never ask the working class to respect and be disciplined if under the leadership of the capitalist system. Never! If within the heart of the workers movement there are differences, it is logical that there are such; afterwards they can be overcome; but it is never possible to resolve them submitted to the interest of the capitalist system. To demand the regulation of the strikes is to favour and to extend the conditions for the existence of the

Caltagirone. These people have robbed the equivalent of entire budgets of the Italian economy. The wealth of production of the Italian people cannot be expressed by the present state of the economy, because the wealth is taken by all these thieves.

The trade unions speak of 'finishing with absenteeism'. This is not the case. There are workers who say they are so ill they cannot go to work, but this is not absenteeism. Part of the workers who go on the sick list go to do other work, which means that one job is not enough and they want to improve the standard of living. But the immense majority do not go to work because of their state of exhaustion through work. Thus, it is necessary to pay attention not to absenteeism but to the crime of the management against the men and women who work.

It is necessary to make a campaign against the deteriorating conditions of work not against those absent from work. It is lies that absenteeism determines an alteration in the cost of production. It is enough to compare the robbery that the Caltagirone have made to take account of the fact that absenteeism is not the real problem. Then it is necessary to ask how conditions of life improved when the absentees were at work. The standard of living did not increase at all; on the contrary, it worsened. This is expressed in how people who suffered from the earthquake with the most complete indifference on the part of the Italian capitalist state.

In front of all this the trade unions must discuss a programme of structural changes. They can get certain wage improvements, but at the cost of thousands of unemployed. That is to say that increase in wages is not a conquest. How make an improvement if it is at the cost of unemployment? The dismissals also of workers besides being a blow at the standard of living of the population, is a blow at the cohesion and at the force of the trade union movement, because they exclude thousands. This is one of the things which capitalism seeks: to weaken the concentrated force of the proletariat. In front of this there is no partial solution. It is necessary to struggle for wage gains, but not at the cost of this.

It is necessary to develop democratic trade union rights, the right to freedom, of tendencies within the trade unions, and to open a discussion on the programme of progress and education of the masses, on the basis of proposing that capitalism cannot give any more. If there is any improvement, it is taken away in another form. Wages may increase but first prices go up, taxes and the cost of public services go up. In this situation it is logical that trade union movements arise and also unions of professional workers and specialised technicians who demand increases in wages more than are given to the average worker. They are right to

ask, one cannot blame them because they ask for more benefits than other workers. The element which is responsible is the capitalist state which robs a million times more than these sectors ask. Thus the problem is not that the workers demand more or that they go on strike, but that the capitalist state robs millions more than the improvements for which these sectors ask. They are robberies which correspond to seventyfive per cent of the wages of all the workers. The problem then is not that the workers demand too much or that they go on strike, but that the capitalist state is led by people who rob and swindle. This is the real problem.

CAPITALISM CANNOT SOLVE EVEN THE SMALLEST PROBLEMS

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 the Christian Democracy which controls the state. There is no possibility, and Italian capitalism cannot give any more. It is the weakest of the big capitalist countries. The trade unions must have a discussion on the development of the world, of the trade union struggles, and the incapacity of the competition of Italian capitalism. FIAT bases its ability to compete on the basis of the exploitation of the workers, and this determines that the standard of living of the population is lowered. Thus the trade unions must not dedicate themselves to make campaigns against absenteeism or propose the regulation of strikes but, for example, make a campaign proposing measures against the inertia of the state expressed in the earthquake, to make strikes and movements for this. But the trade unions are not impelled in this type of struggle.

The workers see that their trade union leaders are businessmen and that they have a series of gains and privileges which the average worker does not have. He sees that none of these discuss as a function of defending the life of the workers. It sees them speaking as technicians not as workers' leaders.

It is necessary to make movements, strikes against the robberies, against the inertia of the state in front of the earthquake and populations. This is what they have to discuss, both the trade unions and the Communist Party. If the Communist Party discusses and promotes this struggle, within two years an important sector of the Left of the Christian Democracy would win.

J. Posadas 8.3.81

(1) Caltagirone: refers to a notorious Italian financial scandal, now a norm of Italian capitalism.

(2) In Italy some trade unions exist in the public services which are not affiliated to the trade union centres and which are called autonomous trade unions.

THE FAILURE OF THE IMPERIALIST ATTACK IN THE LEBANON AND THE DECOMPOSITION WITHIN THE ISRAELI MILITARY APPARATUS.

The extreme brutality of the Israeli attack on the Lebanon has as many have remarked all the characteristics of the nazi method,

But the total failure of this intervention is a striking proof that imperialism has lost all historic initiative and capacity, and the consequences of this failure are going to be profound. The intervention of the Soviet Union has been decisive in containing the worst consequences of this maniac adventure. Brezhnev has intervened twice, insisting that the Yanks restrain their Israeli flunkies and has also intervened towards France, warning Mitterand not to connive in the plan to send American troops into Lebanon.

Despite an immense display of force by the Israelis and the attempt to develop nazi mentality in the troops, that is, sentiments outside any human concern with the mass slaughter of old people, children, pregnant women etc., it is clear that the resistance which they received has demoralised sectors in the Israeli army and, at the same time, provoked tendencies to think. This has led to the case of a young but leading Israeli officer resigning his command on the grounds that the offensive has no purpose in spite of pressure from Begin and Sharon. In origin he was not against some form of attack, but was against the scale and character of this offensive. Already there have been meetings of Israeli soldiers against the war and when a leading career officer refuses to continue this is an indication of what is going to occur in later phases of the Israeli attack on the Arab revolution but, at the same time, also shows a spirit of defeatism which stands for all the imperialist armies. The PLO fights with the sense that it is representing superior interests of history. Its security and the fighting passion of its soldiers come from the feeling that behind them stands the Soviet Union and, whatever the blind brutality of the Yanks and fascist terrorists like Begin, victory is inevitable.

At the same time, the result of the Lebanon episode has been to deepen the rift between Yankee imperialism and the other imperialist powers in Europe who see themselves being dragged along to destruction by a gang of relentless Yankee imbeciles who want to see not only the end of the Soviet Union but anyone else who is a competitor of Yankee imperialism. Thus, in the middle of the Lebanon fiasco, a leading German soldier, General Krause former strategic planner for the Bundeswehr, from the heart of the German military apparatus repudiates the Yankee inventions about a Soviet military build-up and the need for ever greater expenditures. There have been other protests from NATO sectors previously, such as Sanguinetti in France, but it is inevitable that these sectors and others are going to think more and more about where all this is going. Do we have to burn for the benefit of the Yanks? Such differences of opinion mean that in the event of war everything will collapse. Defeatism and disagreement is profound in all the armies of imperialism, and the experience of the Israeli army gives only a limited view of what is going to happen.

As Posadas has said of the present experience of the Soviet Union, it is like a film going in reverse and hurrying back to 1917. One of the most fundamental experiences of the October Revolution was the capacity to appeal to the disintegrating army of Czarism. As part of the appeals to the Arab masses in the Middle East, it is important to appeal for an Israeli Socialist State as part of the United Federation of Socialist States in the Middle East and, with this, the appeal to the Israeli troops to reject imperialist military discipline, to desert and abandon the function of terrorism. A limitation of the Soviet comrades in the last war was the insufficient revolutionary slogans to the German troops - in the process that is coming conditions will impose superior appeals.

POLAND Vol. 2

J. POSADAS

THE ADVANCE OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY AND OF SOCIALIST INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD £1.35

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DEMONSTRATIONS AND MOBILISATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AGAINST THE ISRAELI AGGRESSORS!

THE ASLEF DISPUTE AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE TRADE UNIONS.

The return to work of the ASLEF workers through lack of support from other trade unions cannot be considered as a defeat for the working class. The combative workers have been contained, nothing more. Even if there is some concession over the 'rostering', that particular issue has not been settled and the fight has raised other more fundamental issues, focused attention on them in a way that will prove damaging to the capitalist system and will strengthen immensely the drive to the Left in Britain. It was not the capitalist system or government which imposed this containing, only the unrepresentative trade union leadership. Capitalism had to shelter behind this leadership.

Quite clearly the conditions of the strike if there had been a prepared leadership could have very rapidly led to a general strike and the liquidation of the government. The attitude of the ASLEF workers was, and is, extremely secure (as is the attitude of the hospital workers). They sought to impel a general intervention of the working class against this putrefying and demented government which held no fears for them. Objectively, world and national conditions favoured them — and still do so. The struggle has brought into focus very much the passive and backward character of the trade union leaderships. There is an insufficiently developed and organised leadership of the Left in the trade unions to confront the Conservative pro-capitalist leaderships. The latter react with fear and trembling at the possibility of strikes and demonstrations of the masses against the government, because now more than ever with the weakness of world capitalism and the growing force of the Workers States successful actions of the working class threaten the whole anti-democratic structure of the trade unions. The 'Right' in the trade unions — the Duffys, the Cannons, the Basnetts etc — have a mentality which accepts capitalist norms. They were quick to dabble in the process of Poland, but when it came to the Malvinas episode little was said or mobilised against the criminal assassinations by the Thatcher regime, and no interest was taken in the interventions of the Argentinian working class. The right of the trade unions are, as Lenin defined them, the traditional 'labour lieutenants' of the capitalist class. But they lack the social power that they had in Lenin's time and survive not because of their own strength but because of the antiquated structure of the trade unions and the lack of a trade union democracy. The Left in the trade unions is not sufficiently organised to go beyond them.

The process of containing the ASLEF has brought into the sharpest possible relief what was meant in practice by 'trade unionism'. Arguments were used that if the ASLEF strike were supported or continued hundreds would lose their jobs. This experience has brought out the total falsity of the narrow 'trade union issues only' argument.

The trade union leaders who have used this argument are those who have gone along passively with the vast numbers thrown out of work by the Thatcher government. What has 'trade unionism' and the 'defence of our members' had to say about all this? Why has 'trade unionism' for three years done nothing to defend the rights of three million unemployed, or indeed the lowering of the standard of life of the employed sectors of the population. In other words, the conception of trade unions refusing to look beyond immediate issues of wage levels is totally kaput, has no perspective, and new conditions are preparing for a much more elevated trade unionism. The very fact that the TUC has been obliged to accept the position of unilateral disarmament shows that the weight of the Right and Centre in no way represents the course and direction of the process in Britain. The return to work of ASLEF does not represent the strength developing in the working class. Reality is destroying even the semblance of the argument that trade unions have to be concerned solely with immediate tangible demands — employment, wage levels, better conditions of work. None of these can be obtained now in the terms of acceptance of the capitalist system. The defenders of that system, Howe the Chancellor and the head of the CBI talk quite openly of a need to lower the standard of living and, in the case of the CBI, say quite openly 'forever'! That is the hallmark of a system that has no future and is utterly stupid. Reformist trade unionism is completely undermined and has nothing to say to all this.

CAPITALISM DEPENDS ON THE LIMITATIONS OF THE TRADE UNION LEADERSHIP.

The trade Unions, that is, under the impulse of the Left and with changes of structure must campaign for much more elevated demands. They have to emphasise an economy that works not in terms of export competition with other capitalist countries but begins with the need to satisfy the needs of the population in terms of housing, education, transport, the replanning of the cities, and workers democracy in the factories, the offices and the planning of the economy. None of these can be achieved with the capitalist system. This has to be attacked, day in and day out, as a system not as something which can be made to work better with 'reflation' or more 'investment' or on the basis of 'protection'. The trade unions have to intervene on all the important social and political issues, calling demonstrations against the war in Lebanon and making appeals to the other trade unions in Europe and America for this. There has to be a process of transformation of the functioning of the trade unions. The Right is being ejected from the Labour Party. This has to be done in the trade unions, and the Labour Left has to facilitate all this by publishing on the trade unions, explaining what real workers democracy means; that

is, regular discussion and control of trade union delegates so that they do not speak for millions at trade union conferences when 'millions' have never been consulted. Trade union officials have to be open to continuous election and re-selection.

FOR A PROGRAMME BASED ON THE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKING CLASS.

The intervention of the Labour Left is fundamental in the trade unions. The support given to ASLEF by Benn, Foot and others is very important because it is a political struggle and social struggle which is being waged, not simply a struggle over conditions of work and wages. But it is necessary to elevate the character of the interventions towards strikes. It is a question not only of general support by the Labour Party to strikes but bringing out the nature of the crisis which is the total crisis of capitalism as a system. It is not 'inflation' or 'unemployment' as separate issues but the whole of capitalist functioning is in question and demands social transformations. The ASLEF strike is extremely rich in conclusions. It has brought out the total dependence of the capitalist system on the reactionary or inadequate leadership of the trade unions. Containing the strike has in reality done immense damage to the trade union oligarchies. Everyone sees their role. The massive vote for Scargill, however, in the Miners Union elections and the beginning of the liquidation of the Right in the Miners Union is an anticipation of much bigger changes to come in the reconstruction of the trade unions and their elevation as instruments of social transformations in Britain.

There has to be discussion on demands that wages rise automatically with the cost of living, that the gains of automation go to the workers, the unemployed have to be integrated in demonstrations against the system, workers control has to be raised as a permanent slogan, and the unification of strike actions has to be proposed to finish with separating and isolating strikes as has been done with ASLEF.

Correction RF323 Article on War p2 topcl2 J. POSADAS

The text should read: 'The Soviet leadership had no plan of the future, did not understand the process of history. Now this situation of history has changed completely'.

THE FUNCTION OF THE BOLSHEVIKS IN HISTORY AND THE STRUGGLE OF COMMUNISM TODAY.

J. Posadas

The Bolsheviks began a generation of human beings preoccupied consciously in living, knowing and constructing Communism. The Bolsheviks are going to return. Now there is the base for the return of the Bolsheviks, but not now as in the epoch of Lenin, because Lenin's first task was to develop the forces and give consciousness to the class that was capable. It was necessary to give confidence, but today everybody sees that the working class can achieve this. It has no doubt that it can achieve this. Before, it was necessary to demonstrate that the proletariat was capable of undertaking such a historic task.

It is of interest to us to estimate the level of specific, concrete evolution of the process, but in its roots which show a disposition much superior to the concrete conclusion. In increasing our knowledge and interpenetration with the process, we are generating the security that it is possible to know everything which is necessary, and we are going to know everything, resolve everything, change everything and do everything. Everything that we want to do is necessary and the knowledge that we can achieve it. Hence, we have examples as that of the little old Portuguese woman who raised the militant salute as a result of the state of condition and structure, which allows this and much more. The leader and the organiser must be based on these conditions. His calculations, then, in policy, in conclusions and in tactics, are based on what still have not come to light but are going to appear. Hence we wrote the article on the little old woman — but, for us, it has a very great significance and it is going to have a very great importance, and also for the Communists. It is the way of knowing the human being, of inter-penetrating with the human being.

This is the capacity to foresee and to foresee in consequence it is necessary to feel with the sentiments, the consciousness, with the integration of ourselves, of the Party and this process. If one does not feel it, one cannot see it. If one does not observe or does it distantly or superficially, it is possible to see one or the other characteristics but not the whole which is expressed in the characteristics. Then one sees the partial aspect but not the whole picture.

The Communist Party still does not have security in the Communist conceptions. It seeks to eliminate capitalism, but it does not have the Communist conceptions. Otherwise it would interpret why a little old woman can appear like this, with sons who have been fifteen years in prison, and raises the militant salute. She did not run to embrace her son, to take hold of him and to submit to the sentiment of the mother. She did not seek this. When she raises the militant salute she is saying, 'Let them continue fighting'. This is very beautiful.

These are the motives of the joy of humanity. Before, it was the joy of the person who earns money, who is married, has a son, has his own house. Now, the joy is this: to see humanity act with dignity in accordance with the needs of humanity, not in a spirit of individual interest. We do not see the little old woman as a function of the mother or of the grandmother, but acting as a revolutionary leader, although she many not have the qualities of the revolutionary leader. But she works as is necessary for history.

The cultural conditions and the social decisions are elevating for the identification of the human being: man and woman as human beings, whoever they are. This resolves also the problems of love. This is one of the aspects which is elevating the loving relations of human beings, because it places the human relationships not as male or female, or as a family which has children and in which male and female reproduce. This means to elevate beyond the animal qualities and to develop consciously as human beings. The logical superiority of the human being over the animal is that he thinks, organises thought, and foresees. He has the means to do what it is necessary to do.

Our analysis of the little old woman of Portugal is going to have much influence. Above all on the Communist militants, because the Communist militant wants to and feels in this way.

J. POSADAS 9th October 1974.

Out of Nato! Close all the nuclear bases!

Editorial from page 1

unified way, to develop a general strike of indefinite duration if necessary, to destroy this criminal and lunatic government, so as to replace it with a Labour government on a programme of social transformations and unilateral nuclear disarmament.

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Demonstrators on the 'Day of Action'.

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EDITORIAL

THE TRIUMPH OF THE 'DAY OF ACTION', AND THE NEED TO DRAW THE POLITICAL CONCLUSIONS IN THE L.P. AND THE T. UNIONS

The massacre of Palestinians in Lebanon - at least 3,200 plus 60,000 in previous bombings - characterises the capitalist system precisely. It is a murderous act born out of impotence and directed not simply at the Palestinians but at the whole of humanity. The Israeli invasion in Lebanon was organised by Yankee imperialism - as its every other actions - and the gangs of assassins who perpetrated these particular massacres ('Shatila and Sabra') are organised by the same source. It is reminiscent of the last days of Hitler, but now it is not one sector of the capitalist system that is in its last days but the whole world structure of capitalism. This massacre is an act of impotence on the part of Yankee imperialism because it cannot find the conditions to launch the nuclear war at this stage; it is more and more aware that the launching of the war is the end of itself. Humanity is not cowed by the terrorism of imperialism. The result of this massacre is to deepen further the crisis inside Yankee imperialism itself and between Yankee imperialism and world capitalism. Every major capitalist country has repudiated this massacre because they know these actions are organised by Yankee imperialism and they feel that their survival depends on conciliation with the USSR, with the Workers States and with their own masses.

At the same time, ever-growing stratas of capitalism are affected by the fact that imperialism not only prepares the war against the Workers States and massacres the masses, but uses the same means to regulate its own internal affairs. This is why the widow of Aldo Moro (Italy) says that her husband was the victim of 'an international conspiracy to prevent a political alliance between the Communists and the Christian Democratic Party'. In other words,

as comrade Posadas analysed previously, Moro was assassinated by imperialism because he favoured a policy of conciliation towards the Italian Communist Party. This massacre has resulted in a brutal blow to the whole of the capitalist system and a further erosion of the remnants of its social authority. It stimulates sectors of the capitalist class itself to lose faith in the capitalist system and to seek for a better system. These sectors draw their conclusions from the fact that it is imperialism that massacres the Palestinians, whilst the Soviet Union and the Workers States arm and defend them. This conclusion is translated on a world scale in this stage of the confrontation between the two social systems.

THE CONFIDENCE OF HUMANITY

Imperialism feels impotent because it fails to terrorise the masses. The masses are not terrorised by massacres, threat of nuclear war, and it will not be terrorised by nuclear war itself. The masses in Israel, Palestinians and Jewish, have reacted to this massacre in Lebanon not with fear but with revulsion and confidence. The regime of Begin is shaken to its foundations. This confidence is well expressed in the constant denunciation of Begin by the Communist Deputies in the Israeli Parliament who face constant repression. These comrades express also the confidence of the Soviet Union which confronts imperialism and - through the recent speech of Brezhnev - points a finger directly at Yankee imperialism as the enemy of humanity. It is the existence of the Soviet Union and its present policy of 'neither forgiving nor forgetting' which is the source of the confidence of humanity.

The confidence of humanity on a world scale and the collapse of

the social authority of imperialism are expressed in the workers' demonstrations in this country in defence of the Health Service and against the Conservative government. The fact that the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra played to the demonstrating workers in London and went to the Ford workers at Dagenham means that these musicians are attracted to the proletariat and the masses because they see in them the force for the progress of humanity. Culture is to serve human progress and is seen to be alien to the system of private property. Despite the limitations of the leadership and despite all the blows aimed by the Thatcher government, the masses in this demonstration intervened with confidence and joy. This 'day of action' demonstrated the confidence of the proletariat and masses, because they defied the law and their very elevated sentiment was shown in that they took this action not for a narrow sectional interest but in defence of others. The massive response to that 'day of action' was a means by which the workers, and the masses generally, indicated to the Trade Union leaderships that they were prepared for a struggle at a much higher level. It was also a way of telling the Labour leadership that any support for Labour from the masses will be on the basis of a perspective of social transformations and not on a policy of conciliation with capitalism. The Labour leadership responded to this, and Foot appeared at the head of the demonstration. At the same time and for much the same reasons, he re-affirmed publicly support for Labour's programme of unilateral nuclear disarmament in opposition to Yankee bases. The fact that people like Callaghan and Hattersley were forced to support the workers' action is an indication of the way in which the masses are impelling the leadership in the Labour Party.

THE MOBILISATION OF THE MASSES DEMANDS A POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

The constant Leftwards movement in the Labour Party is a product of the intervention of the masses within the world context in which the balance of forces is favourable to the advance towards Socialism. The victory of the Swedish Socialists and Communists in the recent elections, the Governmental crisis in West Germany which can only result in the advance of the Left in the SDP, and the fact that the Spanish Socialists are proposing a referendum on Spain's membership of NATO and questioning the existence of the Yankee bases in Spain are all part of this favourable world balance of forces. In these circumstances, the attacks on the Left by the Labour Party apparatus has no perspective. Indeed, the Labour leadership has already retreated on this issue. Capitalism is immensely weak and the immediate crisis provoked in the government by this mobilisation on September 22 (with Fowler saying that it is not possible to return all the Health Service to the private sector) shows it once again. The intervention of the masses is deepening all the contradictions in the Conservative Party, between those who would like to pulverise the masses via 'privatisation' and those who see in this electoral, political and social disaster. The plans for the continuation of the strikes, which ought to be centralised in a general strike, shows that irrespective of the weakness of the existing workers leaderships, the population is determined to confront and impel the downfall of this utterly barbarous government. All this destroys the confidence of capitalism - and Thatcher's trips to Japan and China to develop trade provide no solution, because there is no means by which capitalism can re-structure itself with new markets and new sources of capital - the necessary means do not exist.

The advance of the Labour Left is determined by the world balance of forces and by the intervention

of the masses. However, the intervention of the masses and the actions of September 22 show that it demands a deeper political leadership. The motives of the Labour apparatus's attacks on the Left is, in part, in order to pre-occupy the Left with a struggle purely inside the Labour Party structure.

For a balance of the day of action

There is no doubt that the mobilisation on the 22nd will result, in a very short time, in an elevation of sectors of the Trade Union leadership. The developments in the NUM (Miners) are indicative of this. This process demands a profounder political leadership, and it needs the Labour Left to turn its attention towards providing it. The proletariat and the masses generally are aware that the process is not decided in Parliament. The Labour Left has won a quite elevated Socialist programme in the Labour Party. Now it requires that programme and that perspective to be linked with the mobilisation of the masses. It is not a question simply of an electoral victory for Labour, or committing the Labour Party to a Socialist programme, but of developing a better political life in the Party and between the Party and the masses. For example, it would be good to discuss a balance of the intervention of the masses on September 22 and also of the meaning of the massacre in the Lebanon. This would accelerate the construction of closer relations between Party, Unions and masses and the development of a new type of Party. But the pre-condition for this is a more consistent life in the existing forces of the Left in the Labour Party.

VIVA THE NATIONALISATION OF THE PRIVATE BANKS IN MEXICO.

25.11.1982

The conclusion of the invasion of Beirut is a defeat of Israel and of Yankee imperialism, with very profound social and political consequences. The Palestinian army came out of Beirut with its forces practically intact. The objective of liquidating militarily and politically the PLO and of expelling the Syrians from Lebanon failed completely. Transitorily the military strength of the Palestinians was reduced but politically their influence and authority in the region and in the world increased. To have succeeded in stopping the Israeli army - which is a direct representation of the Yanks - has been a triumph which is going to have an immense effect on the Arab countries and is now having one in Israel.

It is not true that the dispersal of the Palestinians in different countries is going to annul them politically or militarily. The struggle of the Palestinians does not represent the Palestinians only, but is a necessity for the development of the life of the Arab masses which is the expulsion of imperialism and its allies from the region. The failure of Israel and of imperialism in the Lebanon is going to impel in all the Arab countries the anti-imperialist struggle, and in every country the Palestinians are going to be a political centre for this objective. The struggle for Socialist progress in the Middle East requires a military confrontation with imperialism, but it is not only a problem of arms and the army. Political leadership is necessary, with the decision to organise socially for this objective, because it is not a question of confronting Israel only but Yankee imperialism. To defeat imperialism requires the political organisation which leads the military organisation. This objective in the Middle East is going to advance, particularly through the political elevation of the Palestinian movement, but above all through the intervention of the Soviet Union whose influence increases in the region, quite the opposite of all the lies declared by the capitalist press.

Israel and Yankee imperialism for the invasion of Lebanon count upon, and will count upon, the connivance of the Arab bourgeoisie who have taken no concrete initiative against Israel. These have had to change their attitude to the extent that Israel has not achieved victory with the rapidity which they expected, because the population of these countries supports the Palestinians. Hence they are not going to be able to negate politically the Palestinians in every country as in the stupid calculation of capitalism.

Another aspect is that not all the Palestinians have withdrawn from Lebanon. In the South itself, occupied by Israel, the Palestinian guerrillas are everywhere and, whatever the nazi repression which Israel carries out, the population supports and protects them.

The situation in the Middle East forms part of the anti-imperialist world process in which every movement, like that of the Palestinians or that of El Salvador or Nicaragua or Angola, support themselves on the relation of world forces based on the existence of the Workers States, and in particular of the Soviet Union. For this reason in Beirut all factors of the world struggle of system against system are concentrated and thus, although Israel may have the military force, it could not decide the

THE DEFEAT OF ISRAEL AND OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM IN BEIRUT AND THE RELATION OF WORLD FORCES. 25.8.82.

RESOLUTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

conclusion. This is the base of its defeat which is political and social and, secondly, a military defeat. The struggle of the Palestinians is not resolved only with the creation of an army and of a Palestinian state, but in the ambit of a political movement which unifies the Arab and Jewish masses against Yankee imperialism and capitalism.

This defeat of Israel in Beirut is going to favour the discussion in the Palestinian movement on the objectives, the programme and the policy of the PLO. The shots which the Palestinian guerrillas fired in the air saluting the comrades who were leaving were not only shots of commemoration but the communication of their decision to fight which has suffered no reduction, but has been elevated by the experience of Beirut. This sentiment is going to be expressed politically.

The Arab bourgeoisie, through a certain support to the PLO, sought to maintain the programme of the Palestinians limited to the objective of acquiring a national home and of reducing the social levels of this struggle. In February 1977 Cde Posadas proposed the discussion of a superior programme for the Palestinians, proposing 'there is no place for the historic development of a Palestinian state. It is necessary to pose the problem in a much more elevated and extensive form...The birth of these countries in the dying stages of the collapse of the capitalist system is not now posed as before, but united to this historic condition that the war is coming closer: the war is coming and there is the condition so that they can be unified and developed as Workers States. Thus the organisation as an independent state must serve this end, not to make a new nation and to create a current which has the capacity to organise for this objective, not to make a new nation. It has no historic sense or objective or conditions to develop, economically, socially or linguistically. I believe that this is very important, above all taking into account that capitalism is moving in preparation of the war'. (J. Posadas, *The Constitution of Palestine and the World Revolutionary Process*, 19.2.78).

These discussions are going to develop as part of the necessity of the PLO to elevate its function as a political instrument to develop and impel the formation of leaderships very close to the understanding of the struggle against capitalism and for the Socialist Federation of the Arab countries. For this objective the alliance with the Soviet Union is a logical necessity.

The experience of Lebanon confirms the historic and concrete incapacity of the capitalist system led by Yankee imperialism to smash the revolutionary processes because any movement of national liberation and social liberation, whether in Africa, Asia, Latin America or the Middle East, supports itself on a relation of world forces in which it is the Workers States who determine. In the Lebanon, from the beginning of the Israeli invasion, the USSR affirmed that it would not permit the liquidation of the PLO and it was the decisive obstacle

which prevented Israel going further. Those who criticised Soviet conduct do not have a notion that the presence of the Soviet Fleet on the Lebanese coast was not a simple demonstration of force, but that the Soviets were ready to intervene to impede the destruction of the PLO or the invasion of Syria even at the cost of confronting Yankee imperialism. This is because the Soviet Union cannot allow any important retreat of the revolution in any part of the world and, in this case, the retreat would be the destruction of the PLO and of its leaders and the invasion of Syria which would alter the relation of

political forces. There are insufficiencies in the political intervention of the USSR in the Middle East, but it is above all the result of the previous policy of alliance with the Arab bourgeoisie without developing more profound movements. Hence, outside the PLO and, in part but less, Syria, secure and consistent leaderships do not exist in anti-imperialist policy in the region; now this process is going to develop more profoundly. Thus the Soviet Union does not have instruments to support itself, and this limits its possibility of direct intervention. But, even so, the Soviets are present and do intervene. To measure the conduct of the Arab bourgeoisie, it is enough to see the attitude of the Lebanese government which has preferred the massacre of the population to asking military help from the Soviets or any one else. This is an experience which affirms the necessity of developing political movements which do not depend on the decision of the Arab bourgeois governments which, in the last instance, prefer to ally with Israel and Yankee imperialism rather than confront them to the point of finding support in the intervention of the masses.

The weakness of imperialism

The action of Israel is part of the desperate ambushes of the capitalist system in front of the world process which completely escapes their control. Yankee imperialism no longer leads history and does not succeed in forcing the world bourgeoisie to follow it; on the contrary, in this stage they have to confront an unequalled increase in the inter-capitalist contradictions expressed in the case of the Soviet-European gas pipeline. That is to say, the lack of homogeneity in the capitalist system in a stage in which the revolutionary struggle advances everywhere, develops a desperate political conduct because capitalism cannot understand the historic process. Hence the criminal line of Begin and of the nazi camarilla of Israel who, even knowing they were not going to triumph, continued massacring and destroying. They bombarded the population because the Palestinian combatants were protected and the Israelis knew this, and this was in part the reason for which the Israeli colonel who resigned saying that in the targets of the Israeli artillery they saw only women, children and

old people, and that he could not endure this.

The weakness of Yankee imperialism is also expressed in having to support openly the camarilla of Begin. It shows that now very little remains to imperialism because, in order to survive, it has to depend more and more on the Begin, the Pinochets and the assassins of South Africa. In the Middle East the whole policy which Carter had sought through the alliance with the strongest sector of the Arab bourgeoisie, the bourgeoisie of Egypt, had failed. The assassination of Sadat was the expression that such a policy could not be continued because any country which is allied to imperialism is crushed socially and politically, and remains submitted to a small clique, while the country is paralysed. This experience Egypt has lived through and cannot retreat upon. But the countries of the region which have thrown out imperialism and have allied with the USSR, such as Libya, Algeria, Yemen, have developed socially, economically, culturally and militarily. The Arab masses see this comparison which is world-wide. Any country, in order to progress, has to struggle against capitalism and imperialism, whether in Africa, Asia, Latin America or Europe, and humanity already has the experience of processes like those of Afghanistan where Soviet intervention has developed the country.

The influence of the Soviet Union does not develop only through military aid but, above all, through social and political influence. Hence feudal leaderships, like those of Saudi Arabia, now try not to depend on the policy of the Yanks and to make a certain independent policy. After these events in Lebanon the conditions for the manoeuvres of the capitalist system have narrowed enormously, because their only support is Israel; and this cannot remain indefinitely in the Lebanon. They can impose Gemayal as president, but they are not going to be able to make of Lebanon an unconditional instrument of Yankee imperialism. This cannot be done by imperialism, and it is enough to see that one of the consequences of the invasion of the Lebanon was the increase in the internal crisis in the Yankee bourgeoisie and in the camarilla of Israel. The disintegration of the Israeli military apparatus has already begun, and the movement against Begin and for peace with the Palestinians which has now developed in Israel is not going to be delayed, and the depth is the questioning of the function of Israel as the instrument of Yankee imperialism.

The invasion of Lebanon has brought the masses of Israel closer to the Arab masses and puts on the agenda the unification of their struggles as already in the contacts of the peace movement in Israel with the Palestinians. The crisis established in the Israeli army when it affects a high officer with responsibility of command in the course of the offensive, shows the enormous weight of the world

relation of forces which makes the Israeli soldiers feel isolated and develops in them a principle of social reasoning. The influence of the world is developing in the Jewish masses the understanding that they can live with the Arab masses. It is the camarilla of Begin which needs to develop a sentiment of hatred of the Jewish people against everyone else to justify the crimes which they commit throughout the world, because Israel is a centre of counter-revolutionary terror of the capitalist system: from there come the assassins which imperialism utilises everywhere. But when the crisis reaches the Israeli army, it is because it has no perspective to develop in the population such sentiments which clash with the maturity of the masses of the world. This does not exclude that in Israel there is a religious-military layer with a nazi mentality which sustains Begin and his camarilla.

The masses are secure

The social heroism of the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, who have sustained the assassin bombardment of Israel without being intimidated, is an expression of the human security to confront the war which capitalism is preparing. The assassin camarilla of Israel believed that the bombardments were going to provoke desperation and terror in the population, that it would be every one for himself; but there was nothing of this. Capitalism cannot understand human conduct which now is not determined by the egoist sentiments of private property but by social experience,

which shows that human relations are the real source of intelligent life not the economy or property. Cde Posadas, who analysed this process of maturing in humanity years ago, said that 'humanity seeks to put itself in agreement with itself'. This is an expression which has an infinite level, but the essential base is that humanity perceives that it is not the enemy of itself, because there is no reason for this'. (J. Posadas, *The Revolution in Libya and the Process of Social Transformation* 20.4.81).

The Lebanese masses remained in Beirut with the Palestinians during the bombardments because they were integrated in the struggle. They were ready to die with the Palestinians, but with the security that they would triumph. This has disconcerted imperialism and the Israeli army. All the population intervenes, from the children to the old people, and the fact that they have had to repress and assassinate women, old people and children is going to have consequences even more profound in the Israeli military apparatus. The revolution incorporated all of society in the intervention, as in Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique and El Salvador, and the children, not only as combatants but as leaders - as Cde Posadas analysed over Nicaragua. The existence of the Workers States develops the experience that they can resolve all the problems with the organisation of the economy in the service of the population, and not as the capitalist regime which does the opposite, and thus it develops reasoning and confidence in society as society. For example, it has an immense importance for humanity that right in the middle of

the invasion of the Lebanon, by Israel, with all the logical tensions which this situation has created in the world, the Soviet Workers State continues the space flights to develop the scientific capacity of the human being. It does so with the serenity which comes from the security that the USSR has to represent the future of humanity, while Yankee imperialism has initiatives only to make arms and death. This attitude of the Soviet Union is the base of the security of humanity in front of the war, because it feels that now the instrument exists which develops the social experience, overcoming all the relations which come from the capitalist system. Hence the Soviet Union is an instrument of humanity and for humanity, and so it has to work.

The security of the Palestinians is determined by this world process; they feel supported by the world. Hence the source of their heroic decision that, if it is necessary to die, they die - but without sadness and with the certainty and serenity that they are going to win. Even with all the massacre made in Lebanon by Israel and Yankee imperialism, there is no sadness nor prostration in the Palestinian and Lebanese masses, because they have the security that what they have done was necessary and that they are going to triumph and that Israel is the one who is losing. The mothers, fathers and sons who lose their parents and children are resolved to continue the struggle because it is necessary.

This is the stage of history, this is the relation which exists in the world which now develops the security in human conduct that the struggle against imperialism and against every form of oppression is a necessity. Imperialism and Israel have the arms, but in the mind of the masses there is now the resolution that they are going to triumph. Hence there is no desperation nor sadness in Beirut. The Palestinians came out with the joy and the serenity that in what is happening they are going to triumph. The desperadoes are the imperialists and Israel, who feel the impotence of arms in front of this world relation of forces.

We salute with all Communist sentiment the Palestinian masses and the Lebanese masses, the PLO and its leaders who with their conduct have contributed to elevate the human security in their capacity to resolve all the problems of which the most important is to terminate the capitalist system which is preparing the atomic war as the ultimate arm in order to survive.

This solution in the Lebanon is transitory. Imperialism has no other solution than to prepare the war. It tries to intervene at all costs, but cannot impose any arrangement stable and favourable to capitalism. Hence they have maintained the constant farce of the negotiations of Habib, but the world relation

of forces forced Yankee imperialism to make Israel accept the agreement because, in front of the firm attitude of the USSR and the ultimatum which it gave to Reagan, world capitalism did not have the homogeneity and the European bourgeoisie pressed for a solution. The attitude of France is important because it shows that Mitterand cannot follow the Yanks. French capitalism has to confront Yankee imperialism in world competition and tries to win time, hence its opposition to the initiatives which develop situations of war against the USSR. The attitude of the French and Italian soldiers who went to Beirut is an expression of this world situation, and hence they made homage to the Palestinians presenting arms in the case of the French and saluting and wishing good luck to the Palestinian people in the case of the Italians.

These events in the Lebanon have a very great historic significance. It is necessary to discuss throughout the world Communist and revolutionary movement. World capitalism, led by imperialism, is preparing the war against the Workers States, but in the middle of a very great internal crisis. This crisis exacerbates the assassin nature of the capitalist system which more and more uses terrorism as a means of action. It is necessary to discuss and develop a world campaign against imperialism for the immediate withdrawal of Israel from all the territories occupied in Lebanon and throughout the region like Transjordan and the Golan Heights.

The Communist world movement must discuss publicly this experience, showing how to measure the regimes in history. Israel, supported and sustained by Yankee imperialism, invaded the Lebanon to destroy and assassinate the population; in Nicaragua Yankee imperialism sustains the counter-revolutionaries who wanted to invade the country to return capitalist power which impeded any progress in the country; in El Salvador the government assassinates and is maintained exclusively through the military support of Yankee imperialism; in South Africa the assassin racist regime bases its strength on the world relation of forces, and the military, political and social support of the world capitalist system. Meanwhile the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan and in Czechoslovakia, and both have developed from every point of view socially, politically, scientifically and culturally; Vietnam intervened in Cambodia, and today the population of Cambodia has now the minimum necessary to organise and develop life constructing a Workers State. Thus humanity measures history through the experience, and this experience makes the Arab masses resolute as part of the world struggle against the capitalist system and through the advance towards the Workers State of the countries of the Middle East.

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THE XII CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AND THE NEED FOR POLITICAL LIFE.

The 12th Congress of the Chinese Communist Party registers in various ways the failure of Deng Xiao Ping and his camarilla to determine the policies of the Chinese Workers State. Great swings of the political pendulum have been characteristic of the CCP for most of its history, violent lurches from Right to Left and back again. These lurches have been determined fundamentally by an empiricist and pragmatic response to events and, as there is little Party life or tradition of Party life in China, political positions are taken in relation to the interests of cliques or attempts to respond to various internal or external pressures in an impressionist way. More and more, however, this domestic swinging is contained by the existing structure of the world - the confrontation between the Workers States, on the one hand, and imperialism, on the other. This now conditions severely the activities of the Deng Xiao Ping clique because try as it might, the bureaucratic layers, technocrat functionaries etc. cannot escape the essential stratified structure of the Workers State, and are obliged to modify the links established with Western imperialism.

It is perfectly clear that all the efforts to reduce the various forces of the Left have failed, the trial of the 'gang of four' was a fiasco, and the resistances to the Deng Xiao Ping clique are accumulating and accumulating and, to this extent, the Congress was still quite far both from the realities and necessities of the process in China. The most decisive element however, which shows the underlying process and how unfavourable it is to the interests of the Chinese bureaucracy, is that the Soviet Union was no longer the centre of abuse: rather, American imperialism was being rejected. This in itself is a complete change from when the Soviet Union was being attacked for being the worst of the 'super powers'. In no way, of course, was this foreseen by the Chinese leadership. It has been imposed by events, by the fact that China cannot stand apart from the confrontation between the Workers States and imperialism. Imperialism is an implacable enemy of the Workers States and its refusal of imperialism to negotiate over Taiwan and continuing to send arms there is an irrefutable concrete evidence of this:

Such is the mixed character of this Congress that, on the one hand, they speak of purges aimed clearly at the Left; but, on the other hand, there were re-assertions - including by Hu Yaobang the maintenance of proletarian dictatorship and the need to combat the

elements of corruption and cultural disorder which come from foreign influences. This shows that it has been impossible for the Deng Xiao Ping group to develop the massive Stalinist-type purge which they wanted. Beginning with the criminal liquidation of Lin Biao, the Rightist tendencies began to get bolder, nurtured on the errors of Mao, amongst others, who in not being able to develop the Party left the way open to all the careerists and privilege seekers of the bureaucracy. But, in spite of all this, the Congress shows as a result fundamentally of events outside China, such as the growing weight of the Soviet Union, Poland, the failure of the military dictatorships in Latin America, the revolutions in Nicaragua and El Salvador etc., that the balance is more and more tipping against Deng. That clique has no points of international support. The fact that Hua Kuo Feng has been demoted from the Political Bureau means little because Hu Yaobang has better positions than Hua in relation to the Soviet Union.

At the same time, most important of all, Hu Yaobang spoke of the need for patience and discussion over differences between parties in the international Communist movement and account taken of successes and failures. There is in this a more conciliatory note than in the past, and it is not dominated by great insults against the CPSU. Reality is imposing itself; nor was there any reference to revisionism or social imperialism. If they continue to attack the Soviet Union over Afghanistan or Cambodia at the same time on the most definitive events - the attack of the Israelis against the Lebanon - the Chinese are with the Soviets on that issue. 'Hu Yaobang' also referred to the former good relations between the Soviet Union and China. All this corresponds to recent cultural and sport exchanges.

Also the alarm felt by imperialism over Hong Kong, the visit of Thatcher is a further example of the fear of the process of 'Permanent Revolution' recurring in China. Whatever is patched up, imperialism has no security over the future status of this city, which is an important link between the Rightist sectors of the Chinese leadership and world imperialism.

The results of the Congress have all the marks of a series of unstable relations. Much has been made of the need for 'rejuvenation' but, although the Central Committee

has been partly renewed, the leadership has been obliged to retain older sectors linked to the Maoist past and there is no certainty, furthermore, that the anti-Deng tendencies will not arise even from the 'younger' ones. The most important aspect in all this is the attitude of the army. Deng has been obliged to keep himself in the position of army commander precisely because there is inevitably a growing pressure in the army against his policies. A layer doubtless likes the idea of a 'professional', 'modern' army free of 'political interference' but the traditions and the position of the Chinese Red Army means that fundamentally it is opposed to the criminal positions of Deng. The Chinese Red Army is a Party/army and the base of the Left Lin Biao sector, will see the experience of Poland.

The Congress reflects the jockeying of various groups in the apparatus, none of which represent the immense force for progress of China. But the invisible forces are going to lead to further crises which cannot be contained at the level of this Congress. Although the apparatus announced that 'political class struggle' is at an end, they cannot alter the fact that a form of class struggle continues with the bureaucracy, and is becoming increasingly pronounced, particularly with the efforts to eliminate 'inefficient' factories, encourage private farming etc., all of which accelerates differentiation in town and country and augments criticisms of the bureaucracy.

The problems for the rectification of all the world Communist parties lies in the construction of cadres based on Marxism, and this requires a domination of Marxist theory and a better political life. The problem caused by the absence of this can be seen in the continued crisis of growth in Poland. There the absence of cadres or, in fact, the profound mis-education of cadres, cannot be rectified overnight. China has all these problems - elaborated on a great deal by Cde Posadas - and it is this absence that slows down the resolution of the crisis of leadership in China. At the same time, the intervention of the Soviet Union is of the highest importance and this, in itself, depends on a political elevation of the Soviet leadership, tactically and theoretically. It is necessary to expect upheavals and radical changes in China, particularly linked to the approach of the final encounter.

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Historical and Cultural Perception

19 1 1980

J. POSADAS

and a visit to Rome

Cde Posadas wrote extensively on cultural matters and, as in the past, we propose to publish examples of his application of Marxist method in this sphere. His concern with revolutionary culture was to facilitate a deeper comprehension of the course of human civilisation and its advance towards Communism and, as a practical means, also to develop Marxist cadres with the historic security both in the IV International and in the world Communist movement.

The interest in seeing Rome arises from the fact that it marks two aspects of human civilisation. Rome was the centre of the culture of the world; but more than culture it was the centre of power. As there was a great Greek influence, Rome demonstrates a level of development in the understanding of relations with nature, with people and with the universe. Part of what is referred to as the refinement of the governing Roman caste was also affected by the influence of beauty and culture, although more by beauty than culture.

The fountains that were made in Rome during the Renaissance form part and are an extension of Greek culture of the early Roman epoch, afterwards expressed in the Renaissance. Almost all come from the Renaissance or a little later and they are not simply fountains but artistic monuments.

The greatest sculptors made public works which in the beginning were possibly made for the area of the ruling classes. They made the fountains and dominated the population. But this showed an artistic taste which no other bourgeoisie possessed in Europe.

The Trevi fountain like that of the Tritons has been imitated throughout Italy and if the copies are inferior, this nonetheless indicated a development of the influence of culture and art. That is an influence in which life is seen in a more harmonious form with nature and people. This did not stop the rulers killing and assassinating, but indicated a superior state of knowledge.

Thus it was in Italy that the Renaissance developed and not elsewhere, because it is a continuation of Greece. Thus when one sees this, one sees the difference compared with the culture of the courts. For example Versailles is a stupid luxury completely stupid and against beauty. Its just rectangular which reflects the rectangular mentality of Louis XIV in complete opposition to the Campidoglio where Michaelangelo created non symmetrical figures on a central space of the square. No segment is the same as the other and in looking at it the mind finds unity. The units gives rise to the harmony which exists in this work. This was the social thought of Michaelangelo, not simply architectonic ability or just a quality of draughtmanship or mosaic.

Thus in seeing Rome and its works of art, it is necessary to think how culture, knowledge and art developed and how always science, culture and art expresses the development of humanity. In this stage art and culture have expressions that are much more profound, advanced and elevated than before. Science, culture and art have to be united directly to the development of humanity and of the masses, otherwise science, art and culture diminish their level and influence, and are not a means of communication for the development of the knowledge and structure of human sentiment.

Science, culture and art must serve the structure of human sentiment which means to see objectively the human being as a necessity of life, not as an object but a subject which makes an object and in turn the object makes the subject. These works of art in Rome form part of a stage of humanity which developed in the Renaissance and afterwards retreated. In French culture progress was expressed but through class struggle, although then the proletariat hardly existed. In French culture the proletariat was expressed through the French revolution. But in Rome there was no proletariat and culture was the direct influence of art.

Every art to be important has scientific bases otherwise it is not art but a reproduction of something, and art has scientific bases because it expresses knowledge of human life, of the concerns expressed in the work of art. Every important scientific work has artistic depth because it is created with the desire to embellish life. This is the power of art. Those who write on these subjects do not say this, because they still do not have the concern to see the objectivity of the process of human civilisation. The base of objectivity is the development essentially of knowledge and of human sentiment. Hence communist sentiments arise in capitalist layers through knowledge which is intelligence, as with Marx and before Marx there were others.

It is not desperation which leads to communism, but consciousness and intelligence. Marx was not desperate. At twenty-three he became a doctor on the basis of a thesis on Democritus. It was not necessity which led him to be a communist, but an analysis of life and in intelligence, lies

the analysis of life. In the thesis on Democritus and Epicurus, Marx wrote very well on Prometheus.

He satirised very effectively the church in which he defended Prometheus. He criticised the catholic religion and Marx said that he chose the path of Prometheus who had replied to the Gods when they had said if he served them they would set him free "you can be sure I would never change my miserable fate to serve you since I prefer to be chained to this rock than be a mediocre servant of Zeus" So Marx united Greece to communism.

The 'register', and the crisis of the Labour apparatus:

for the unity of the Left against the register!

The very large gathering in Wembley of Labour delegates against the proposed 'register' in the Labour Party once again expresses the balance of forces favourable to a national and principled tendency of the Left as part of the world balance of forces favourable to Socialism. The delegates present and the speeches tended to go beyond a narrow group interest and expressed an understanding that the 'register' has no force, that the apparatus has no perspective, and that capitalism on which it supports itself is in crisis. The fact that such a meeting could be held - where books of Lenin, Marx and Trotsky were massively sold - represents in itself a defeat for the Right wing and for capitalism, and a boomerang in as much as the forces of the Left nationally have begun a process of discussion and interchange, starting from what policy to adopt in front of a specific attack. One must deepen the discussion to realise clearly the total nature of the crisis of capitalism, the advance of revolution in the world, thanks to the existence and advance of the USSR and the Workers states, and the inevitable triumph of Socialism out of the war capitalism is preparing. The Left must discuss these problems to measure the strength it has and the scope for transformations in this country.

THE RETREAT OF THE APPARATUS WAS IMMEDIATE.

The fact that the Labour NEC immediately declared that there would be no mass expulsions a few hours after this meeting, comes from the realisation that the removal of something like 10% of the Labour membership in this stage is impossible. The world advance of the revolution, the desperation of imperialism in Lebanon, its defeat in Poland or Afghanistan, are educating the vanguard, creating conditions whereby the Left has to respond to problems of principle to which only Marxism gives the key. At the same time the Workers aristocracy and its apparatus has been weakened in the Labour Party and Trade Unions. Sectors like Hattersley, Callaghan have come to realise that the world monetary system of capitalism is bankrupt and that the workers are entitled to break the law, since the law is unacceptable. These sectors themselves are rendered ineffectual

in their role of protecting capitalism in the Party. The conditions for the advance of the Left, regardless of whether the 'register' is voted or not at Conference are immense. The very fact that this large meeting took place and had confidence and optimism stems from the balance of forces created by the world in this country. In turn it results from the fact that people are not intimidated nor made to believe they are weakening the Party and lessening its electoral prospects. The confidence of the Left is based on the understanding that changes are needed, Labour must lead social transformations, and that it is the Right wing which does not want Labour to win; in the same way that Callaghan and Wilson never really made campaigns for Labour to win. This confidence impels the workers vanguard in Britain and the whole of Europe, and contributes a lot to the revolutionary process on a world scale.

THE BOURGEOIS CLASS IS ANTAGONISTIC TO PROGRESS.

In front of the advance of the world revolution, imperialism organises mass slaughters but loses the remnants of its authority. People realise the nature of the capitalist system - over events such as Lebanon - and the formation of the Left takes place within a process that demands from it that it not only advocate reforms but social transformations, and looks in the proletarian and Trade Union base for the necessary support. The so-called 'register' is a weak attempt on the part of a declining apparatus in the Unions and the Labour Party against the advance of Socialism, such as the election of the French, Swedish and Greek Socialist parties in government, and soon in Spain. The capitalist system uses every means at hand to blackmail the Labour leadership. Capitalism wants to pressurise Foot and the team around him to make him move to the Right. However, he chose that very moment of the proposed 'register' to say that there would be no mass expulsions and that he supports the 'day of action' called by the TUC. This is also a failure for capitalism and the Right wing in Labour and the Unions. There is no prospect for capitalism to win any major battle because it is exhausted. The masses who, in the past, have abstained from voting Labour did so because they repu-

diated the policies of the Labour leaderships that managed the capitalist system and its crisis.

A NATIONAL AND CONSISTENT LEFT.

Capitalism has no more social, political or economic capacity, let alone its cultural one. Its total and mortal agony leads it every day closer to war inexorably. In attacking the Left continuously, it only provokes it into better organisation. There is no prospect or conditions for a policy of accommodation with the dying apparatus of Labour and the Trade Unions based on support in the capitalist system, because capitalism is exhausted. All those who will seek an agreement with it at the expense of the developing Left will be cast aside and by-passed by this dynamic development. The proletariat, like the miners, have struck another blow in the apparatus when they decided that their leadership should not use its power for self-advancement. This is part of a more important process in which all forms of power for self-seeking aims are repudiated. As part of this also, the Left can no longer be contained by the concept of total respect and submission to 'parliamentary democracy' which meant submission to the monarchy, imperialism, and their forms of organisation in the Labour movement. Today the Left feels that there are other forms of democracy beyond the bound of capitalist democracy, infinitely superior socially and culturally to capitalism.

However, a better link with the Trade Union and proletarian base is obviously needed in order to defeat the Right wing in the Labour Party and capitalism. This better link, moreover, will increase the proletarian weight in the Labour Party and will allow the formation of organisms that will enable the Left to play a role of political and programmatic leadership, basing itself on the force of the Workers States and of the workers' movement. All this is the more crucial today at a time when what is left of the moribund capitalist regime is going to be ended in conditions where the Left will have to intervene in a very sweeping and profound process of social transformations very soon.

British imperialism out of Hong Kong!

There are also fountains in Spain and one is in the Siberia Square and its horrible. Its ostentatious luxury and the water game is simply to entertain. It is not a scientific harmonious utilisation which possess artistic quality like the Roman fountain. Fountains like those in the Siberia Square are horrible, a mass of water with a play of lights to distract the vision and prevent thought.

The Facades of Versailles do not communicate culture or history, whereas seeing anything of Ancient Rome is a communication with history. Hence the tourists and young people go to the Trevi fountain and it also attracts the Italian proletariat.

In Spain in Segovia there are very beautiful and harmonious palaces. Almost all this zone contains outstanding Arab achievements and the Spaniards adopted them. They did not reject them, because of economic interest, but they were won by the Arabs. Spanish culture developed greatly under Arab influence and in some areas like Granada the whole area shows Arabic influence.

19 1 80 J. Posadas.

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EDITORIAL

UNITE ALL THE MASS MOBILISATIONS FOR A GENERAL STRIKE!

All the events which occurred since the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon have affirmed the complete incapacity of world imperialism to take viable historic initiatives. The crisis in the Middle East is going to continue, Yankee imperialism is intent on the line of intimidation and confrontation, but already the Lebanon experience has weakened its social support. The forces of Zionism have divided and world capitalism has seen that Yankee imperialism has no capacity for ideas or creative stimulus. All it can do is assassinate and plan assassination. The struggles between Yankee and European imperialism have grown worse, with much recrimination over the steel competition, all of which is simply an expression of American imperialism bullying and subjugating European capitalism with the objective of saying 'we are going to finish with the Soviet and you, too, unless you accept our leadership'.

It is entirely different in the camp of the world masses and the Workers States. The beginning of discussions between the Soviet and Chinese Workers States, however protracted or limited in their levels at the moment, have an objective historic significance fatal to world capitalism, but an immense impulse to the world masses. On the two most important issues of imperialist aggression — the Malvinas and the Lebanon — the Soviet Union and China were on the same side. It is inevitable that with all the pressures towards the final confrontation between imperialism, on the one hand, and the Workers States, on the other, the efforts of bureaucratic camarillas to develop a life independent of the necessities of the Workers States is reduced and attenuated. History goes towards a massive centralisation of the forces of progress, and that means the unification of the Workers States in policy and programme. These are the perspectives that are opening with these discussions, even if interrupted or contained for the moment at lesser levels. Within this process the outstanding victory of the KKE in Greece and the advance of the SPD and the Green in the Hesse and Bavarian elections are examples of the elevation of the forces of the Left in the world. In the former country the Communist Party gains in such a way as to strengthen the Left in the PASOK, and in Germany the capitalist manoeuvre to liquidate Schmidt has led, in fact, to an expression of the maturing of the German masses in their centralisation around the SPD and impelling the German Left. It can be predicted also that the Yankee blackmailing and capitalist speculations in France will act as an impulse to the forces of the Left and not, as imperialism hopes, the destruction of the Left triumph in France. The abject failure of imperialism to make gains from the liquidation of the Solidarity camarillas in Poland and the failures of their anti-Communist propaganda are also indications of the impotence and collapse of imperialist pretensions to embarrass and weaken the Workers States. There is much to reorganise in Poland, but imperialism has failed totally to throw back the successes of the Workers States.

THATCHER CANNOT ISOLATE BRITAIN FROM THE WORLD.

This world experience, with the growing weight of the Workers States and the hopeless social and political impotence of American imperialism, shows objectively how ludicrous and lunatic are the pretensions of the Thatcher regime. They hope against hope that they can insulate the masses of Britain from the effects of the world outside. They hope that the national pre-occupations of Labour and Trade Union leaders will limit their confidence and give respite to capitalism, but it is a doomed perspective. Despite the massive unemployment and the difficulties of life under a regime preoccupied primarily with bigger and better missiles, the masses have grown in confidence and the recent Day of Action showed the force of their decision and security. The strike of the steel workers, the demands of the miners to stop pit closures, the desire of health workers for an all-out strike, and the proposed strike of transport workers in November, show the immense capacity for struggle of the working population against the dictatorship of big business. The workers have the problem of leaderships in the Unions and the Labour Party, that are not prepared for this stage of confrontation with the capitalist system as a whole and who therefore alarmed at the scope of the process, attempt, as in the case of the health workers' strike, to localise it and prevent a massive concentration in a decisive General Strike. But capitalism cannot hope that all will end in passivity, because there is a steady maturing in the class which is fully aware that the problem is no longer just one of wages but of a new type of leadership. Hence the great importance of the liquidation of Weighall in the NUR. This is quite an event and anticipates other

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ON THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE MIDDLE EAST

J. POSADAS 3 5 81

There is a wing of North American capitalism which wants to continue the policy of Carter, but going further. Kennedy leads this wing. They are the ones who want to invest in Angola. The attitude of Angola forms part of the general policy of the Soviets. Capitalism wants to show Angola as making itself 'independent' of the Soviet Union, and it is not like this. Yankee capitalism makes manoeuvres to intimidate, to surprise, to impel and to deceive the European bourgeoisie with its plans and preparations in different forms; for example, 'the Soviets are coming... the Soviets are going.'

But what it is necessary to propose is, for example, that between the policy and the murderous repression of the nazis and that of the state of Israel there is no difference. Hitler was the person who had a hundred times more power than the Israelis, but today they place flowers for the revolutionary dead of Germany, not for Hitler. The murderers who govern Israel, who are not the Israeli people, are murderous assassins who want to

make a rebirth of the old Jewish formation of hatred against the rest of humanity. This is what they are doing. There is no reason in history for the behaviour of the leadership of Israel, and a part of the population because they are the bourgeoisie. Israel is not a formed country but a country invented by importation for an historic objective to be what Lawrence of Arabia was in his epoch, without Arabia and without the possibility of Lawrence of Arabia of that time.

Besides, the direct resistance of the Arab population there are the complications and contradictions of the capitalist system which are not those of the epoch of Lawrence of Arabia. In all which they have written on Lawrence of Arabia, eulogising him as a person of a very great quality, the commentators ignore that it was the epoch in which he existed that allowed him to do what he did. It was the epoch in which the countries of the Middle East — and Latin America and also Europe — were developing. Thus there was the possibility of a Lawrence. Today, no. Today, any

country like Kuwait, if it wants to be secure, allies with the Soviet Union. It goes and eulogises the USSR, saying 'From the social point of view we have differences, but don't go!'

The Yanks sent in the Lawrence of Arabia of now, that is, Kissinger who goes with three nude women, 44 pornographic reviews, and a hundred thousand bottles of special whisky. The puffy face that he has is, above all, the result of his drinking and promiscuous sexual life. Kissinger has to carry compromises, promises of arms, give money, all this. But the contradictions of the capitalist system are expressed now in the Middle East and, above all, in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait which are secure for capitalism. These countries see that to be with the Yanks spells death. The Yanks are inevitably entering Saudi Arabia to use it against the Soviets, against Afghanistan and against Iran. They have an interest in Saudi Arabia for them to dominate the oil and not to be dependent on other sectors. The Arabs see it, and it is the beginning of a certain political reasoning of the people who govern these countries; even these assassins have to reason. Thus the contradictions of the capitalist system have no solution. It was in the last century when solutions were determined by the immense extent of the possibilities of development. Today there is no development, there is nowhere to invest. It has to be the Soviets who say through Angola to a sector of the Yanks, 'I'll send you a little petroleum...'

Recently in the United States there was a demonstration of twenty five thousand people against the Reagan government. There was every type of person, but the constant element in this demonstration was the fifteen thousand young people — including many homosexuals who said, 'We are homosexuals, but we are against the intervention in El Salvador, the

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FORCES OF THE PLO LEAVING BEIRUT IN TRIUMPH

The text by Cde Posadas on the attempted assassination of Reagan retains all its validity in the events which have occurred since then. There is no secure team in the leadership of American imperialism and, indeed, it is full of teams within teams so that no coherent and consistent plan is possible. The massacre in the Lebanon has shown the complete reversal of human sentiment within imperialism, and now in the United States products are being deliberately filled with deadly poison. Only a structure completely putrefying could lead to crimes such as this. Reagan has no ideas but neither has American capitalism as a whole, and policy is replaced by forms of madness and self-destruction analogous in different conditions to the megalomania and collapse of Hitler.

The attempted assassination of Reagan shows how imperialism resolves its internal problems, and it is not in the Senate nor the House of Representatives. Problems are resolved as in the cowboy films. They did not kill Reagan but only by chance; the shot was intended to kill him. Even with a gun of low calibre it is clear from where Reagan was shot that the intention was to kill him.

How could the assassin have got so close? He shot from a controlled place and all those who were there were authorised journalists, people under police control. Yet how did someone get within six yards of Reagan, someone who was armed and without authorisation?

There is a struggle of sectors of the bourgeoisie in the United States. They have diverse interests in time and place, but this is because they cannot have a fixed and a consistent policy. This is the policy of the big trusts who fight among themselves, and also the struggle against the USSR. They cannot have a fixed programme because they do not have the capacity, nor does the world relation of forces permit them to decide and, as a consequence, they have to oscillate constantly.

In the analyses of the world press there is no social explanation of the political origin of the attack on Reagan. They show it as if it happened because many people have arms. The base is social, the origin is political. Why? Whatever might be the immediate circumstance through which the attempt was made and whatever might be the intention - and we believe it was very serious and, anyway, was a very serious warning - when such methods are used a very great decomposition is indicated, showing the state of exhaustion of the capitalist system. The organ is exhausted and reacts in this way. This is the minimum image which can be given of the attack on Reagan. Capitalism is an exhausted regime and thus it resorts, through exhaustion, to the instinctive defence of its life - which is the regime itself.

Another aspect is why an attack on Reagan, who is a new president and expresses according to them the thought of the United States? And why the son of an oil man? The oil bosses are the greatest competitors with all the governments because they want a policy for themselves which clashes with the industrial and financial policy. But, at the same time, part of the oil sector is linked to industry and finance, which means formed camarillas.

The great Yankee Banks, the Chase Manhattan and the 'First City National Bank' are the centres which represent an enormous list of dominating multi-nationals. The

oil sector for years could not lead alone, and they are associated with the other sectors. That is, it is not a question of an oil man or the son of an oil man who tried to kill Reagan, but an association of the big Banks, the financiers and industrialists which includes oil. The oil combines cannot go it alone now, they have to associate with all the others.

The oil sector is closely linked to the big Banks, but to a particular sector. The big Banks are dominated by a few main Yankee industrial groups. One is that of big business in cybernetics and automation which in order to live has to export, otherwise it dies. They experience great competition in the world and the war is an essential factor for this sector but, at the same time, the development of industry. Another sector is the old industrial team which dominates traditional heavy industry and which now does not have the same weight as before. Then there is an essentially financial sector, but linked to heavy industry and which dominates everything. This is the sector which moves throughout the world, which makes the dollar rise and fall, but up to a particular level. In the present conditions now, they cannot do what they want and how they want. They still have some strength but, above all, within the United States. The attack on Reagan is a struggle between these sectors.

But the determination of the struggle between these sectors does not arise from the contradictions among them but in seeing that the threats against the Soviets have no effect anywhere in the world. Then the representatives of the Yankee bourgeoisie see the stupidity of this policy which cuts the connections which allow them to conduct business; for example, the sale of wheat and other cereals which represent thousands of millions of dollars. In not making these business deals, it is the state which afterwards has to compensate for part of this and takes from these sectors. Hence they see this as a stupid policy.

The policy of Reagan is not pushed forward with the consent of all the sectors of capitalism. All this is very disconcerting for capitalism, because they are united definitively against the development of Communism, but they are separated in front of immediate interest now and through the conception which each sector has of the rhythm of the confrontation with the Workers States. The crisis is increasing now because Reagan has not been able to impose what the Yankees want, which was in feeling strong against the Soviets; the support of French and German big

business. They expected this, and failed. This is the basis of the policy of Reagan which is aimed at this objective. It is stupid, but that is what they seek.

The press says that the person who shot Reagan 'is a madman'. It is not mad to want to kill a president, nor can a madman have the security and sagacity to get among the guards and have the confidence to shoot. If he got where he did others knew, because a madman could not have the capacity to hide his true structure. The movements of a madman are perceptible because he has a fixed objective and all his movements are determined by this and are visible. He has what the psychologists call an obsession and this distinguishes him.

THE CASTE WITHIN A CLASS

This attack on Reagan could have been prepared from within the government, but it can also have been prepared separately. The ruling circles prepare it on their own account through the control apparatus within the government, as in Italy where those who assassinate know all the movements of those whom they assassinate, as in the case of Moro and others. For example, people meet at ten and a judge who is present speaks of his discoveries in the investigation of some swindle by the political leaders of the bourgeoisie, and on the following day he is killed. That is to say, one of those who was in the meeting made a report, but what they do not investigate are the six people in the meeting. Such a meetings are created independently of the presidents. They are parallel organisations which exist to kill the opposition or the revolutionaries and arise because of the internal struggles of capitalism.

In the United States it's clear that part of the political struggle develops in a criminal form, not through discussion of ideas or of thought.

The United States originated like this in the middle of a brutal war against the Indians, against the French, the Spanish and the British, and which continued against the Indians. Later they came to an agreement with the Spanish and the French, whilst they killed most of the Indians. That's how the USA was born, in the process of the formation of the capitalist system it is not only the United States which has such antecedents. France and Germany have committed masses of crimes, but in North America it led to the assassination of presidents, whilst in the rest of the world it was not like this. France had the Dreyfus trial which was an escapade compared with what happens in the United States. The Dreyfus affair was part of the struggle also of sectors of the bourgeoisie, but in the United States there was a constant succession of killings which expresses itself in the assassination of blacks and of Mexicans, and now of children (referring to the 23 black children assassinated in Atlanta) which show the decomposed basis of society.

The basis of the decomposition in the United States is the develop-

ment of anti-human sentiments which develop because the egoistic sentiments of the ruling class increase. This is the way of directing the anger produced by the reduction of their power as the ruling caste. Hence they made the Guyana assassination, and now the black children of Atlanta.

Nothing has come out yet on the assassination of the black children but it is not excluded that they are making experiments of a genetic character. The assassin could be a madman, but a madman does not have the capacity to assassinate 23 people in a short space of time and place if this is not organised by someone; that is to say, if there is no objective. Madness does not have perseverance of this nature. If madness is the basis of this action, then now it is not madness which leads to these assassinations but criminal orientation which leads to madness, and as madness maintains the principle which gave rise to it, then it continues killing.

Such a situation of decomposition forms part of the preparation of the leading caste of the United States which works as a caste within the class which disappears from the scene of history. It does not work as a class simply but as a caste within a class. It does not have the elaborate apparatus or the power of the castes because the Soviets exist, but it has the ambition and the behaviour of the castes 'it's me or the world'.

The problems of madness in the leading caste of capitalism is now surpassed through the inversion of human sentiment. The average lunatic, on the other hand, does not lose all human sentiment; on the contrary, there are madmen who have shown a very great paternal or maternal sentiment. North American society, its population, is healthy alive and developed: what is rotten is the leadership. A proof is that in all the crimes which the imperialists have made not once have the North American

people demonstrated in their favour. The actions are those of the criminals who steal at night, secretly without noise, without light. They want people to hear nothing, and the United States has the most monstrous prison apparatus in history, which is not only Sing Sing but the AFL-CIO and the Yankee trade union leaderships which are the biggest prisons and which keep prisoner the North American masses.

THE STRUGGLE OF TENDENCIES WITHIN IMPERIALISM.

The attack on Reagan also shows the depth of the crisis, because when they reach the stage of killing among themselves it is because they cannot reach agreement. This crisis has not been terminated by the assassination. It is a programme in which they have to postpone the decision of the war. They maintain it, but as they cannot launch it then the crisis comes. Instead of being the Workers States struggling among themselves - as capitalism wanted in 1948 with Stalin - it's the capitalist countries who fight among themselves and within the countries different sectors, because they

cannot do what is convenient for them to do as the capitalist system.

The contradictions of capitalism lead it to antagonism with the progress of life and of history. But the contradictions of the Polish Workers State do not lead it to any contradiction or antagonism with progress, on the contrary, they throw out the bureaucratic leaders and progress. Humanity sees this. It would be to believe that humanity is stupid not to see that it makes such a comparison. The intellectuals of the United States also see this process: the United States resolves its problems by killing people, assassinating; while the Workers States resolve their problems, throwing out rotten elements and putting workers in the leadership. Humanity measures the behaviour of both, and is guided by the experience. In Poland they throw out the brigands who utilised their function in their state for their own ends, and there is progress. The United States has to impede any movement of progress, however little that this may be, even an aspirin which cures a headache is poisoned on production to obtain more profit.

This stage is the end of the capitalist system and capitalism cannot organise its own resistance; it has to let the stages pass. And the Workers State, instead of developing a deepening conciliation with capitalism, on the contrary increases its antagonism. The declarations of the Soviet leaders do not have as much importance as its social behaviour, which is of support to all the revolutions which exist. The Soviets have gone so far as to say to Reagan: Do not be stupid, the liberation movements are not created by us, and besides you did the same to gain independence. This indicates the security and the historic force of the Workers State.

World capitalism threatens but ends by having to contain the support to the assassin junta in El Salvador; and in the leading circle of imperialism there is such a dispute that it goes as far as the attack on Reagan; not because there are better people than Reagan but that sectors of capitalism see that the policy of Reagan leads to defeat and thus they try to defend themselves. In the relation with the Soviets, capitalism proceeds in the same form as in inter-capitalist competition. That is to say, they lose the weakest. But, at the same time, it is not convenient to them that the weakest are destroyed because this weakens capitalism on a world scale. But neither can it launch the war. Nor can it invade El Salvador when with five hundred soldiers and two planes it could finish with everything. They can't do the same as they did in Vietnam.

In Vietnam imperialism sent troops and planes. It invaded and assassinated; but in El Salvador it threatens but cannot send a plane or bombard, and the reactionary government of El Salvador - which is sustained by the Yanks - is not animated to ask them to intervene as is legitimate for a government to do. These are the contradictions of the capitalist system.

Capitalism not only does not have a right to exist but there is

VIVA THE TRIUMPH OF THE K.K.E.

levels and what measures, because different interests clash.

nothing which justifies that it still exists. Humanity sees this and is learning to reason in this way. Millions and millions die and humanity does not feel paralysed by fear. An example of this is the attitude of the Italian population in front of the earthquake in the South. The population is not submitted or intimidated, but continues fighting. It is the confidence in the world relation of historic forces which are not now social, political or military exclusively, but the historic relation between the Workers States which is the society of progress and the capitalist world.

Humanity sees this and even criticising or not understanding, or not being in agreement with all that the Soviet Union does, sees that it represents progress. The lower layers of capitalism also see this and it is from these sectors that a great number come of people who are anti-capitalist, like the ecologists. They are the layers who when we analysed for the first time this process we called 'the poor layers of the bourgeoisie'. They are poor in front of world big business, which shows that capitalism now does not have the homogeneous completeness in which Carter and Reagan give orders without discussion. When Reagan now shouts, the others ask 'Why is he shouting?' - before he shouted and they all ran to agree.

Capitalism has no idea of the stage of history which is being lived through. It is not that they are conscious or confront in the same way, but they have no notion and just keep going. The historic depth of the present conduct of capitalism is just to keep going.

In such conditions the internal differences increase in the capitalist system. World capitalism unifies in front of the threat of Soviet power, but as they cannot determine they divide constantly over what to do, how to do it, what

Capitalism has nowhere on which to support itself. It sought to support itself in Yugoslavia, but its effort failed not because Tito was dead but because Yugoslavia has no strength, and the development of the revolutionary process has shown all its limitations. They sought also to base themselves on China. It was arranged so that Deng Xiao Ping played the cowboy when he was in the United States, but they got nothing more. Imperialism has no points of support.

Imperialism in itself cannot decide anything, and the world bourgeoisie knows it. It's no longer a question of imperialism shouting and frightening the Soviets so that they negotiate. This was, in part, in the epoch of Khrushchev. Now the Soviets hear the shout, and say, 'Don't be idiots, this does not frighten even the flies'. They repeat constantly that 'they support and will support all the movements of national and social liberation'. But the Yanks cannot do anything in Cuba. They have the troops in Guantanamo, but they cannot make them intervene.

The attack on Reagan which appears as a threat but was a real attempt at assassination increases the decomposition of imperialism, and the authority of the Soviets is going to increase.

A sector of imperialism in the United States is going to seek to imitate the German and French bourgeoisie which says, 'Death to Communism, but it is necessary to keep going.'

This is the depth of their historic conception, philosophical and social, because they cannot decide history. In not being able to decide they have to follow behind history as it is.

THE DALLA CHIESA KILLING AND THE FAILURE OF CAPITALIST TERRORISM

The murder of General Dalla Chiesa by the Mafia in Sicily has to be seen as part of the desperation of imperialism in its last stages. It is a case which has particular reference to Italy but, in reality, shows the state of capitalism worldwide. What is most important in this case is the denunciation by the son of della Chiesa of the forces which led to this killing. He denounced the Right of the Christian Democracy whose connections are with the top sectors of Italian capitalism and who protect and use the Mafia.

Italian capitalism is at death's door. Just recently the Calvi case linked to the highest banking circles in Italy, brought out the gangsterism of capitalism in decay. Capitalism throughout its bloody and vicious existence has always been linked with crime and assassination but, at one time at least, it expanded the productive force. Now in Italy especially, the only 'initiative' goes into financial

speculation and fraud - an expression of the weakness and lack of capacity especially of Italian capitalism, weaker than other capitalisms. The other side of this prodigious capacity for financial corruption extending well into the recesses of the Vatican banking system, is the systematisation of political murder to intimidate the forces opposed to capitalism in Italy; that is, the Communist Party and Left masses; and to try to impel the forces of repression on the pretext of maintaining order.

The investigation of the Mafia which occasioned the della Chiesa killing was an investigation of the Right wing of the Christian Democracy - its 'clientele' - and reflects the struggles within the forces of the Christian Democracy, which means bourgeois forces who want to resist the policies of the Right wing of the Christian Democracy and its direct links with Yankee imperialism. The killing represents a new stage in

the struggle of different wings of the Italian bourgeoisie and the decomposition of that class as a whole. Just previously there was the killing of the Communist Mayor of Palermo; now again there is the killing of a member of the bourgeoisie itself. This is the succession to the killing of Moro, which was arranged by the Americans through the agency of the Red Brigades, now in a state of dissolution, to prevent the entry of the Communists into government which Moro favoured.

Assassinations such as these - analagous with those in Spain where the failure of the military coup is part of capitalist weakness - are the feeble substitute that capitalism possesses at this stage for fascism. All the fascist organisations have failed, all the attempts at coups have failed in Italy, and the only way left is assassination and what is now called 'destabilisation'. The CIA and NATO are the centre of these

THE REMOVAL OF SCHMIDT AND THE ADVANCE OF THE LEFT

The removal of Schmidt resulting from the decision of sectors of the FDP to withdraw from the coalition with the SDP has to be seen as part of the process towards the final settlement of accounts. But the most important experience in this process has been the success of the SDP in the elections in Hesse, which has placed a mine underneath the new CDU-FDP government by a concentration of forces around the SDP.

The Greens also advanced from 2 to 6.89 of the electorate.

Similarly in the Bavarian land elections the FDP sunk from 6.2% to 3.5% of the votes. The SPD gained slightly and the Greens went from 1.8% to 4.6% and Bavaria is a centre for the CSU!

This shows the understanding of the masses that it is possible to augment the crisis of capitalism and that, in spite of the preparations of Schmidt, there is a process to the Left in the Social Democracy which reinforces it as the fundamental point of centralisation for the German workers and petit bourgeois masses.

At the very time the FDP was leaving Schmidt, sectors of the FDP bitterly attacked their own leadership, and Strauss ferociously attacked the FDP, such are the various divisions in the German capitalist class.

This crisis of capitalist Germany is profound, but now it is in deepening conflict with Yankee imperialism. The Left is gaining in the SDP and the advance of the Greens represents in part a crisis among the bourgeois sectors that are, as Posadas defined them, weak in front of the top layers of multinational capitalism. The actual removal of Schmidt has brought conflicts and disorder in the ranks of the capitalist groupings.

Yankee imperialism in its preparations to confront the Soviets would prefer a Strauss government, but the manner of the removal of Schmidt and the elections in Hesse are, in fact, blows at imperialism and capitalism and the Hesse election will have a boomerang effect - a government in the short run more conservative, but a much more powerful development of the Left in the SDP in a very mature stage of the world revolutionary process.

Capitalism has tried to conceal the advance of the German Left, but it has been a very considerable one. In the last Congress of the SDP a resolution was passed to seek a 'security

partnership' with the Eastern bloc, a view hostile to NATO. Bahr is favourable to the idea of a 'neutral zone' in central Europe and Wehner advocates a 'Socialist commonwealth' in central Europe. The balance of forces tends to the replacement of Schmidt

The last Trade Union Congress came out against the installation of the Yankee missiles in Germany.

German capitalism does not have a unified capitalist party and the tensions through the dualistic attitude to the Soviet Union will augment. Strauss is anti-Communist but his immediate preoccupation to develop the Danube Rhine canal shows that links with the Workers States are an essential concern of German big business. World imperialism has emerged weaker from this crisis, and the conflicts with Yankee imperialism will continue even with the CDU-CSU government, for German capitalism is endangered by the Yanks militarily and economically.

We salute the success of Sinn Fein in N.Ireland elections

from page 1 ON THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALISM AND THE MIDDLE EAST.

people should do what they want, and what they are doing is good'. It is not a question of the influence of the small countries on the big ones, but the process of cultural maturation which the Workers States are giving to countries as backward socially as the United States.

When Brezhnev makes this declaration (we want to discuss and negotiate, but in front of any threat or danger for the Soviet Union we will liquidate our enemies) is not bluster or threat, but is aimed at all this layer of the United States - even sectors of capitalism who realise that what is going to happen is the same as happens to the Germans: whoever wins the war, they are going to be suppressed. Brezhnev's statement is aimed also at the European bourgeoisie to win time and to develop the revolution throughout the world, because to gain time does not mean what Stalin did to maintain the 'status quo'. Stalin himself did not maintain himself only with the 'status quo'.

He had to develop the Soviet Union otherwise the nazis would have won. Stalin had to apply the programme of the Left opposition and the Communist workers, the Communist technicians, the Communist soldiers who were the immense majority and acted instead of Stalin. It was

also the stupidity of Hitler and of the capitalist system which believed that all this did not exist. The calculation of the capitalists was that, with the entry of Hitler into the Soviet Union, the latter would collapse. This was not only in their calculations but in the books which they wrote. The capitalists believed in this. Hence capitalism cannot understand that Communism is a necessity of life; they pose it as a manoeuvre of a particular country. They cannot have the historic understanding of this process otherwise they die.

If they reach some understanding they are inert as Reagan is partly inert. He only opens his mouth to say, 'We will take off so much from the budget, not a cent to you or you, the cash is only for arms'. That is to say, he is a supplier of lies and death.

J. POSADAS 3 May 1981.

* Refers to the invitation of Angola to Western countries to invest in oil production and, to the annoyance of Reagan, some American oil companies showed interest.

The significance of the crisis in the N.U.R. leadership

The crisis in the NUR leadership with the resignation of the General Secretary Weighell, is part of the crisis in the trade union leaderships, and the workers movement generally, in the capitalist countries. It is the result of the fact that capitalism is in its final crisis, has no room to give concessions and, therefore, all the old policies of conciliation no longer have any validity. Capitalism is in its final crisis because there is the system of the Socialist countries (Workers States) which give a pattern for the new society which will replace capitalism. The Thatcher government has taken capitalist thinking to its logical conclusion: it concentrates everything on war preparations, primarily to confront the Workers State - and also the masses - and runs the economy and the services to the population down. In so doing, it gives the trade union leaderships little room for manoeuvre. This is why the TUC has had to co-ordinate opposition in a limited form to the destruction of the health service. Whatever its limitations, the TUC's 'Day of Action' and subsequent partial mobilisations are an important advance in the anti-capitalist direction for the trade union leadership.

At the same time, the Thatcher policy which has seriously weakened the trade union bureaucracy has led to a crisis in the Conservative Party and in the government itself. In the past, a backward conciliatory trade union leadership has been an important element for the capitalist system in its own defence, and there is now a Tory sector, represented by Heath, which fears the loss of this conciliatory trade union leadership.

The General Secretary of the NUR has gone, precisely because his policy of conciliation with, and defence of, the capitalist system is acceptable no longer. Rule by General Secretary is a negation of any kind of trade union democracy, is also no longer possible. It is not an isolated incident, but part of a process in which the trade unions and the workers' movement are beginning to shed those leaderships which do not serve this stage of history. Tom Jackson of the Postal Workers Union, for example, resigned

recently at a comparatively early age. This clearance in the trade union leadership is not the only result of the existence of Left and anti-capitalist forces in the trade union structure, but of the bankruptcy of policies which have cost the working class dearly in jobs, wages and conditions of work. On top of this, the process itself gives the Left forces a great deal more confidence than previously.

The issue on which the General Secretary of the NUR resigned has its own particular significance. In the first place, this incident at the Labour Party Conference shows the way in which the bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions have blocked the influence of the working class on the Labour Party. In the second place, it shows how much the Labour Party has moved to the Left when the trade union leadership can no longer act exactly how it likes. The result of the Labour Party Conference demonstrated that the old apparatus - including the trade union bureaucracy - can still manoeuvre, but on the more important programmatic level it was unable to prevent a move to the Left. This is particularly true in case of the overwhelming vote in favour of unilateral nuclear disarmament and the removal of Yankee missile bases. In the advance of the Labour Left there is the beginning of the development of a political leadership more in line with the present stage of history. This is what people like Weighell object to, and this is what he was trying to confront by voting against the instructions of the Union Conference. Of course, the trade union leaders have been doing this sort of thing for years, but now they can't get away with it.

The going of Weighell who, finally, was thrown out is the prelude to other changes in the trade unions, with some of the most backward leaders going and the Left trade union sectors gaining more confidence. At the same time, his removal has an importance, because he was a king-pin in the most backward and conciliatory sector of the trade union leadership. However the election of Arthur Scargill of the NUM (National Union of Mineworkers) by a huge majority and the changes proposed by the NUM

to bring the leadership closer to the base preceded this crisis in the NUR.

These events have brought to the fore the whole question of trade union democracy. Trade union democracy does not just mean the right to vote on certain occasions, or to delegate the right to make decisions to a handful of representatives. Democracy is the right to discuss and formulate ideas for the progress of the workers and the population. This means that there has to be a form of organisation in the trade unions which allows everyone to speak and express an opinion. It means the right of instant recall of all representatives and the form of organisation, workers' committees at the base, which allows this. Above all, democracy means the right to formulate policies and programme which respond to the problems created by capitalism in its last days.

In part, the Labour Left has advanced such a programme in the Labour Party. Certainly, within the context of a favourable world balance of forces, the Labour Left has weighed in the trade unions and very specifically in the NUR. It now requires the Labour Left to turn itself towards stimulating, at the base of the trade unions, in the factories and work places, a discussion of a Socialist policy and programme. The mobilisations of the 'Day of Action' demonstrated that the working class and a large sector of the general population are prepared to confront this Thatcher government. There is the necessity for an immediate discussion on the question of workers' and popular control in the already nationalised industries and services. The Labour Left feels - quite rightly - impeded by the trade union 'block vote' at Labour Party Conferences, but Labour Party conferences do not undermine the process. This means that the Labour Party Left has to direct itself at the trade union base with a Socialist policy and programme. In this way, not only would the struggle against the government be advanced but it would be insured that a Labour government which replaced it would be committed to such a programme and that the basis for workers and popular control would have already been laid.

Editorial from page 1

changes of a similar nature. In full conflict with capitalism, the workers are casting aside redundant leaderships in the search for those who represent the programme of social transformations. It is not possible to expect lightning changes because of the nature of the antiquated apparatuses, but the process is clear and historic. It is closely allied to the advance of the Labour Left - because it was these forces which fundamentally ejected Weighell - and again shows how now is the phase of the Party weighing in the Trade Unions and no longer the Trade Unions deciding the character of the Party. All this is a major blow at the functioning of British imperialism - it is the beginning of the end of the 'second empire' of British imperialism: their colony in the workers' movement. For this to happen in Britain means that the road to social revolution is opening.

ALL THE APPARATUSES OF CAPITALISM ARE DISINTEGRATING.

The apparatuses of British capitalism are in total disorder. The Conservative Party Conference discussed nothing except the 'corrective' programme of Thatcher, which is the programme of a Hitler manque. More unemployment and more poverty for the population. This has nothing to do with electoral considerations and shows that capitalism is now enclosed in its own cocoon of megalomania and the destruction of progress. For many sectors of capitalism and its electoral base the perspective is disaster. Such is the brutality of this regime and its grandiose lunacy that the military parade to celebrate the 'triumph' of the Malvinas was not attended by the monarchy and was an attempt to glorify the militarism of imperialism in the crudest way. The monarchy feels deprived of its role. It cannot mitigate or appease the conflicts within capitalism. It is beginning to fall. But there is no historic space for a Hitler manque. It is all brutal fantasy and cannot attract new social support. On the contrary sectors of the Church of England - which is after all a branch of the Civil Service and a part of the state apparatus - now rejects capitalist perspectives and poses the need for unilateral nuclear disarmament. This is an anti-capitalist demand and in line with Labour Party Conference decisions. The weaker sectors of capitalism have no faith in the Thatcher line and, at heart, are already in the camp of social change to Socialism, even if it is not articulated in this way. Both in the Liberal Party and the SDP such sectors exist and show the disintegration of the social bases of capitalism.

The forces exist internationally and nationally for a great progress in the forces of the Left in Britain, particularly in the Labour Party and Trade Unions. The line of the Thatcher regime is deprived of logic. It is a mark of social stupidity to boast about the fall of inflation when this simply expresses the ruination of the economy. One might as well argue that the patient looked very rested, when he was unfortunately dead. But such a point is not intended to convince others. It is the top layers of capitalism listening to themselves, isolated and discredited.

Capitalism cannot discuss logically or attract by ideas. Now it can only manufacture a barrage of lies about everything. It is attempting all the time to diminish the Labour Party and Trade Unions by campaigns of lies and distortions. It is frightened that in spite of all the limitations of the workers' leadership Labour will return to office. It has no policy to combat this. It relies purely on the limitations of the leaderships - as over the attacks on Left sectors in the Labour Party - and limitations in their initiatives.

It is of fundamental importance that the Left in the Labour Party advance in confidence and audacity and see, above all, that it is the world - especially the Workers States - which is giving the impulse to progress in Britain. It is necessary that the Left of the Labour Party appears with its programme and policy in the strike actions of the class, unifying all the social forces that seek expression and developing a permanent dialogue with the population, not just occasionally but regularly. It is necessary to confront British imperialism over its policies in Ireland and see the major importance of the victory of the Sinn Fein candidates. These are votes for social progress and should be welcomed as part of the joint struggle of the British and Irish masses to get rid of British imperialism and its bloody oppression, social and military. But to unify the common struggle means consistent dialogue and discussion with Sinn Fein. The end of British imperialism in Ireland requires the perspective of a Socialist Federation of both countries. A good relationship between the Labour Left and Sinn Fein would be a crushing blow at British imperialism.

The 'register' proposed in the Labour Party to control Left groupings is a transitory phenomenon dictated by the games in the Labour Party apparatus. The prospects for Marxism in the Labour Party are excellent, but for this the forces of the Left have to take initiatives, intervening in the struggles of the masses, discussing and communicating their experiences, and developing a consistent Marxist current with clear perspectives which take account of the Marxist classics and the works of Posadas, the Marxism of today.

22 10 82

from page 3 The Dalla Chiesa Killing.

forces and penetrated organisations

like ETA and wings of the IRA are also utilised in this way.

This policy of capitalism is general throughout the world. The recent attacks against Jews in Paris is part of the same mentality. But, at the same time, a greater and greater realisation of the role of these forces is evident. This was recently expressed in France by the police federation leader who said, 'People at the highest level encourage the police to ignore the law'. All these assassinations are the result of a profound historic impotence. The capitalist press concentrates on the 'horror' of the events, but dare not approach an analysis of them. Assassination is

now the normal policy of capitalism - the Israelis being the recent prime example. Capitalism is perpetrating a mass of assassinations all over the world, and beyond this it is preparing the most immense assassination with the preparations for nuclear war. All this is the sign of its hopeless incapacity to confront the course of human history advancing towards new Workers States and Communism. To that extent all its policies now are like those of Hitler in the last stages: more and more repression, more slaughter, as before the final complete destruction of the Hitler regime. The repressions organised by the nazis after the defeat of Stalingrad were the expressions of

total impotence. Those organised by the Yanks and their allies are of the same order - forms of destruction and self-destruction before their inevitable disappearance from the scene of history.

Calvi - Assassinated in London after disappearing as a result of a private bank scandal

VIVA THE SUCCESS OF THE WORKERS' PARTY IN BRAZIL!

EDITORIAL

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST ELEVATE ITS POLITICAL LIFE

The statements of Andropov emphasising that it was not possible to beg peace from imperialism and that the strength of the Soviet Union lay in its armed forces both continues the line of Brezhnev and shows how far the process towards the final confrontation with imperialism has gone. Without rejecting negotiations with imperialism the Soviet leadership is making it clear to the masses of the world, that imperialism only respects strength and that nothing can be expected from imperialism save reaction and war. The Soviet leadership shows a degree of confidence which comes from the power and growth of the system of the Workers States and the ambience of support from the masses of the world. The Soviet Union is the centre of the creative forces of humanity and feels totally superior to the capitalist system. At the death of Brezhnev all the eyes of humanity were on the Soviet Union and world imperialism felt very small. The continuation of Sino-Soviet negotiations is a major blow at imperialism and demonstrates the elevated level of the struggle and of world Socialism. Turn to page 3

Our salutes to comrade Brezhnev



We share with the masses of the Soviet Union and the world Communist and workers' vanguard the emotion felt on the death of Cde Brezhnev and give our warmest salutes to the new Soviet leadership in its historic task of confronting the barbarism of the world imperialist system and unifying the Workers States, particularly the efforts to develop the alliance with the Chinese Workers State.

The funeral itself showed the great unity of the Soviet masses behind its leadership whatever the limitations that exist in the organisation of Soviet democracy. All the leaderships of world imperialism held their breath wondering at the character of the Soviet leadership, hoping for some possible disorder therein. They were disappointed, and the opening statement of Andropov was clear in its affirmation that peace is not to be won on the basis of conciliation with imperialism, 'it is not to be begged for' from imperialism. Peace depends on the strength of the armed forces of the Soviet Union, all of which followed on from the previous statements

of Cde Brezhnev, Under the leadership of Leonid Brezhnev the Soviet Union made immense strides in liquidating the policies of conciliation associated with Stalinism and extending the intervention of the Soviet Union in direct and indirect aid for the world revolution. Internally under Cde Brezhnev a whole series of cleansings of the various apparatuses was begun, all of which process, external and internal, has been analysed by Cde Posadas as the process of 'partial regeneration'. In his autobiography Brezhnev never attacked the Trotskyists, although he had lived through the period of the purges and received a political education under Stalin.

It is necessary to expect in the next stages a greater elevation of the Soviet leadership and a greater audacity as it prepares for the final settlement of accounts with imperialism, particularly as this demands a greater direct participation of the Soviet masses in the leadership of the Workers States and a superior relationship with the

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RESOLUTION OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL. 18 10 82

The passing of the new trade union law combines progresses, limitations, containing, and a profound internal struggle in the leadership of the Polish Workers State. The law, like the implementation and application expressed the continuation of bureaucratic methods on the part of the leadership, together with the intention not to retreat on the agreements reached with the workers' movement after the strikes of August 1980. The resistance and criticisms expressed do not have all the same sense and objective. On the part of the workers' movement there have been meetings, assemblies and different critical expressions, which have been registered through the government press itself, whether in the newspapers of the army or that of the Young Communists, and they have been criticisms, authentic ones, which have not come from the workers' movement in general but from the Communist trade union and political vanguard itself, which has sought to express discontent over the method which law is expressed in, the sanctioning of this law.

The recent events in Poland with the passing of the new trade union law constitute a new stage in the process of changes and progresses of the Workers State and mark, at the same time, the difficulties and limitations in the course of which the Polish working class is learning to lead the Workers State - opening a stage between the past of bureaucratic domination and the present campaign of imperialism and world capitalism against Poland and the whole of the capitalist system....

masses of the whole world.

VIVA THE CONTINUATION OF THE WORK OF CDE BREZHNEV!

VIVA MARX, ENGELS, LENIN, TROTSKY, POSADAS!

The limitations of this Polish leadership have to be taken into account in the course of the process of purging and cleansing of the apparatus from which August 1980 continues developing, even with intermissions. Such limitations are expressed in the bureaucratic methods with which this leadership - through lack of security in the masses - tries to sustain this law. Otherwise it would have discussed the law in the Party and with the working class. If it did not do this it is not through error, but it has been the consequence of a structure of thought from which it cannot free itself at one blow. This structure has impeded it, among other things, from seeing the distance which has been produced in less than one year between the working class and the clandestine leadership of 'Solidarity'. The proof of this is the failure of the mobilisations called for the 31 August and now, and where 'Solidarity' appeal for a stoppage on 10 November and a sector of the working class protested now. This distancing does not mean a complete approbation of the present government but an activity that sustains but is still critical of the government. The latter makes a law favourable in its objectives to the working class, at the same time it still does not have the organs constructed to discuss it. There is the deficiency of the Party which, throughout this last stage, has not intervened to win authority and to develop in the working class the necessary functioning....

The leadership of 'Solidarity' was isolated completely. The proof was the distance between the protest of people and the programme decided for them. The identification between this leadership and the working class was transitory, and with the objective of purging the bureaucratic apparatus, besides making possible a means so that the workers' vanguard would impel changes in the Party. The isolation occurred because currents advanced

in the trade union leadership interested in creating difficulties in the Workers State and not interested in the construction of Socialism. If they were interested in this they would have been expressed in political positions over fundamental problems. What was the position of 'Solidarity' in front of the boycott of imperialism and world capitalism? What position in front of imperialist aggression through Israel against the Palestinians in Lebanon? Nothing! The exasperation of these groups is not because 'democracy' is enslaved or 'freedom for Poland' but because they have seen that the Party, in any case, appears with some initiative of progress in relation with the workers' movement which deprives the Solidarity group of a field of manoeuvre.....

The mature attitude of the working class has not been only through its consciousness of what is meant by the structure of the Workers State attained in Poland, but because anyway it has seen that this law is the product of a struggle in the Party where a sector seeks an alliance with the workers' movement to advance in the economy and in the democratic-Socialist relations in the country; with their critical attitude, the working class seeks to animate a sector so that it has confidence in the masses and supports itself much more on their participation, their opinion and their capacity to work and lead.

The law has been imposed without discussion, with bureaucratic methods, but it has points which mean an immense progress of the Workers State, a re-affirmation and legalisation of the agreements reached in Dantzig after the struggles of 1980. The causes of the bureaucratic forms have to be sought, as we indicated previously, in the formation of the Polish Workers

Turn to page 3

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A PALESTINIAN STATE AND THE WORLD REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS (EXTRACTS). 19 2 78

J. POSADAS

The proposal to make a Palestinian state - even if very small - would be no problem if it was only just on the issue of making a small state to advance afterwards. The problem is that they are proposing to form a little state so that it does not advance. The big bourgeoisie will dominate, organise and negate it.

What is happening is that they are posing the Palestinian problem in a new form. Now it is not just the problem as before which still goes on, that Jews and Palestinians should have equal rights. Now it is posed in the global context of the class struggle. The Palestinians have to confront at the same time the Arabs and the Jews unified in a reactionary form to prevent the progress of history. It's not the same as before. The attitude of the Syrians is unstable. Assad was as reactionary as Begin, and it is not excluded that he repeats his previous policy. They are all stimulated to the tendency to unite before the objective danger of being by-passed by the revolutionary struggle, less in the case of Assad, much more with an appalling capitalist like Sadat. But they all have something in common as they had something in common before. Hence these countries break diplomatic relations at eight o'clock at night and resume them at seven in the morning. They withdraw a new ambassador before the old one has left. It's straight out of the Marx Brothers. In a week they can withdraw the ambassador and resume relations six times.

The problem then is not posed as before. They count on the nationalist bourgeois tendencies and quite Left sectors in Saudi Arabia and Kuwait. It is true we count on this also, we agree. But the Palestinian state is not the way to resolve the problem. A Palestinian state has to have as a minimum the right to self-determination, democratic liberties and to speak to the Jewish masses. Then the present stage is to unite the Palestinian and Jewish masses with the Arab masses. This must be called for and there must be the patience to wait, otherwise they will be crushed.

The Middle East has become what the Balkans were previously, with the historic difference that the Balkans belonged to the epoch of royalty. It was a type of struggle which capitalism manipulated so that no one dominated, no one could make a great country to dominate the others. But now the Workers States are there. What a change! Any progress, say of Ethiopia, would have been dealt with some time ago, but now they cannot. They would have dealt with Iraq some time ago, and the Shah of Iran would have murdered most of Iran, now he cannot.

INSTABILITY OF THE PALESTINIAN STATE

We are in agreement with a Palestinian state but, at the same time, we should appeal to the masses of Israel and to the masses of the rest of the Arab world showing that a Palestinian state is totally unstable. It is necessary to pose the problem now in a much more elevated and more extended form. Now the Palestinians have to face the Arab reactionary forces and the unification of the Arab reaction with the Zionist reactionaries of

Israel. The small movement of Arafat could be smashed and there won't be a field of activity. It's deceiving the Palestinian masses to believe there can be a solution in a special state. Thus it's necessary to discuss with the Palestinians.

This is united to the struggle for the liberation from Zionism, imperialism and the Arab bourgeoisie. It is not possible to be submitted to just waiting for changes, but what are the conditions in which the Palestinian state is going to live? It can be a centre, we are in agreement. In this case then this centre has to be united to Algeria, above all Algeria. Also it can be united to other Arab countries, including Syria, but countries that allow the development of the struggles for progress, otherwise it is dead. A new state for a Palestinian nation that does not have as an objective to eliminate capitalism in the Middle East has no objectives nor transcendence nor possibility of surviving.

It is necessary to discuss these conclusions. Polisario; what is the objective of Polisario? To make a great country? To do this it would have to develop economically and compete with the other countries, and economically they have no perspective. The birth of these countries in the final stage of the downfall of the capitalist system is not as before, but is united to the historic condition that the war is quite near. The war is coming and provides the condition so that they can unite and develop as Workers States. Thus the organisation of an independent state must serve this objective. Then it's necessary to create a current that can have the political capacity to organise for this end, not 'making a new fatherland'. This has no historic sense, no objective, no conditions to develop either economically or socially or linguistically. I believe that this is very important, above all taking into account that capitalism is moving to prepare the War.

In various pronouncements of the Palestinians, the patriotic, local, territorial motive dominates, not the historic consideration that surpasses all the territorial or linguistic or religious conditions or interests whether Jewish or Arab. This is because what we propose are the problems of this stage of history which are not as they were posed before. Then it is necessary to discuss with the comrades, to elevate them in the conviction that the political leaderships abbreviate, limit and avoid this discussion and prepare the fatherland, the destiny and the country. In what conditions are they going to make a country? For what? It is convenient from one point of view because it can make it difficult for the capitalist system to intervene. But, on the other hand, all the Arab bourgeoisie seek to strengthen and create a bourgeois layer which crushes all the others. But there is no possibility for any development, either of Palestine or Jordan or Libia or Syria, as independent countries and units, no need or possibility. Now is not the stage of the historic function of

the nation. The nation had a function in history, but what function has this? Thus it's necessary to make a discussion on this theme. There can be a stage of a Palestinian country, but there has to be a leadership to unify the process on an economic basis to allow the development of the country - otherwise they are going to live in poverty, and in these conditions a small bourgeois nucleus dominates everything completely. It is necessary to discuss the elevation of the culture of the masses and their direct intervention, not the culture and afterwards to intervene, but culture and intervention! It's necessary to see that the masses have the time to intervene and to develop currents and tendencies preoccupied with the problem.

The Palestinian nation is for what? To satisfy seventy two Palestinians or a thousand or to elevate the life of the Palestinians? If the life of the Palestinians is not elevated, it's no use. That is to say, more or less the problem of the Quecha or Aymara languages. It is not the same but more or less the same.

There is no place for a Quecha or Aymara nationality. Then we take into account and develop the language as a means for a later stage. That is to say, as the Bolsheviks did in the first stage. By unifying thirtytwo languages, they made one - the Soviet Union. Anyone could speak a language, but what communicated and transmitted the necessity of progress was the Soviet Language.

These are new problems which it is necessary to discuss and to deepen, but this is the line. There can be differences over tactics but this is the line. Kuwait, for example, has fortyeight people and the bosses amount to four. They import water into Kuwait, whereas with their wealth they could transform the ocean into drinking water. Instead they have cars where you press a button and it serves coffee, meals, everything; but people lack water. This should be discussed, not on the basis of envy but because it is illogical. It is necessary to develop a current for this.

We are not against the Palestinian state, but it's necessary to explain what use it is. To make a 'great fatherland' now has no sense, particularly from the desert where they will have the worst conditions there are. But it can be utilised even so as a means to develop a centre of unity of the Arab masses to seek the unification with the Israeli masses against the capitalist system. But this cannot be done by just making the Palestinian state. It has to take into account the other Arab countries. Then this has to be clear. There will be resistance because Habash and Hawatme speak with a patriotic sentiment completely without sense, as if it were 'the nation' which was going to resolve all the problems. The nation has nothing, they will give them nothing, it's an 'Arizona'. If they go ahead they have to instal a country, live and depend on Arab contributions. The result will be an Arab government, a leadership,

LIFE OF THE INTERNATIONAL

The resounding victory of the Left in Greece opens a new phase in the elevation of the workers' movement in Greece and the affirmation of a programme to take Greece out of its backward condition towards a Workers State. The Greek Communist Party (KKE) made great advances in the principal cities and proletarian centres: for example, Salonica, Patros and Athens. At the same time, in the sectors round PASOK advanced greatly in the number of its mayors elected. The forces of the Right and Centre made no progress, considering that there is a preoccupation in the Greek masses that Papandreou is not advancing with the necessary speed towards the liquidation of Greek capitalism and the rejection of the Yankee bases. The Greek section intervened in the elections on a common slate with the Greek Communist Party and were elected in two municipalities. This United Front with the Greek Communist Party has historic significance, as the United Front was fully supported by the leadership of the Greek Communist Party and is part of the incorporation of Posadist ideas into the world Communist movement and the Workers States. One of the Posadist candidates had been elected in a previous election and on being re-elected came first in number of votes. Belgium.

In the recent local elections in Belgium the Belgian section was in United Front with the Belgian

Communist Party. The forces of the Socialists and the ecologist parties increased in votes to 30% Socialist, 10% ecologists, and 5% Communists. The conservative CDU lost to the Liberals and the ecologists. All this reflected the rejection by the masses of the policies of impoverishing the country, e.g. the Martens-Gol government - unemployment, price rises, and the attacks on immigrant workers. Two Posadist candidates were on the slate with the Communist Party, essentially of the Left sector. Generally, because of the ineffective policies of the Belgian CP and its eurocommunist positions, the Communists lost badly - as much as twenty percent in some cases and in Brussels as much as 50%. In the region of this united front the vote of the Communists in alliance with the Posadists was 4% higher than the national average because this united front was fought not on a reformist basis but on the basis of a programme to answer the needs of the masses and support for the Workers States, a programme to take Charlerois out of its decay on the basis of social transformations. The campaign led to a diffusion of the ideas of Posadas. At the same time, the principle centres of the class struggle remain in the Socialist Party and the trade unions. The struggle for trade union democracy in the factories and the immense interventions prior to the elections of the Belgian working class show

a movement, a police - but not theirs - to serve as an intermediary for the Arab countries not for the Palestinians.

The war in Ethiopia shows that the bourgeoisie is going to use everything its got to impede any structure, any process which develops in revolutionary conditions or in social struggles for transformations. Then it's not possible to make an issue any more of independence, of countries, of fatherland, of population without posing this, whether it's Mauritania or Morocco.

There is no place for any small country to go through a stage of bourgeois development. It is necessary to propose the form of federation, of integration; and after, of confederations, taking into account also the roots of these countries. For example, Polisario speaks in Spanish and in Arabic. The others in Arabic and French. That is, there is a common experience of the masses in seeing that Vietnam emerged from backwardness into nationalisation to develop the economy.

J. POSADAS 19.2.1978

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The British Labour Party has to link a programme of social transformations with the unequivocal policy of withdrawing British troops from Northern Ireland. A real break with imperialist positions on Ireland would be an indispensable basis to overcome the limitations of leadership in Ireland who see only Ireland and not the world, and ignore the advance of the British masses shown in the advance of the Labour Left.

that changes will come in the workers' organisations in spite of federalism and the bureaucratic leaderships of the trade unions and Socialist Party.

Italy.

The participation of the masses in the festival of UNITA was particularly striking this year. It was estimated that about half a million people participated!

The Italian sector concentrated on the diffusion of publications during the whole fourteen days. 3,500 publications were sold and a further five hundred to the various delegations of the Communist parties. There was great interest and agreement with the positions of the International and the authority of Cde Posadas was pronounced. The sale reflected the greater elevation of political debate compared with earlier times and corresponds to the struggles taking place in the Italian Communist Party, not only about the role of the Soviet Union but also on the need for a programme of social transformations in Italy.

kers State and the Communist Party; the difficulties created by the submission which Stalin imposed on Poland – as over the whole of the world Communist movement. Now Poland is coming out of this stage, but cannot do it in an immediate or homogeneous way, and there is still a very great resistance of the bureaucratic apparatus.....

The bourgeois press, and even that of the big Communist parties like the Italian Communist Party, has ignored the levels and the content of the trade union law as they have also minimised the campaign of imperialism against Poland. The law contains the principles which were agreed in the discussions which the Polish government and the previous trade union leadership (Walesa) had discussed for six months: those of autonomy and the independence of the trade union movement from the state and economic apparatus. It means a trade union movement integrated with wage earners and not integrating all the agrarian proprietors as they were before, with the aim of containing every attempt at questioning the remaining private property that still exists today in Poland. The law also admits, even with certain limitations, the right to strike. With all the criticisms which the leadership of the Italian Communist Party is making in Poland, they have not been able to stop recognising in their press that this law is one of the most advanced within the Socialist countries.

The stages and the implementation of the law, like the form in which it was passed, are bureaucratic but it is necessary to evaluate the principles which have been expounded in it, as a very profound effort of a sector of the leadership to seek links with the workers' movement, to gain authority for the Party in the workers' movement and the masses. If the present

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The process in Britain is totally determined by this role of the Soviet Union and the advance of the world process. British imperialism tries to conduct a campaign to shut everyone within the walls of 'Britain', as though all is decided by the state of bank rate or the latest dispute in the Conservative or Labour Party. But reality is not determined by these issues, but by the determination of the masses of the whole world to destroy capitalism. What is most characteristic of this Thatcher misgovernment is its total incapacity to intimidate the population. It has imposed a draconian regime, a brutal imposition of unemployment, reduction of living standards, that in a previous epoch – the epoch of Hitler and Stalin – provoked demoralisation and defeatism. But none of this has occurred. Capitalism has been unable to utilise the incapacity of the workers' leaderships to provoke disorder and despair in the mass of the population. Thus the trade union leadership completely failed to use the opportunities opened by the very joyous 'day of action', and broke the centralisation of the masses by instituting 'local actions', and then, in face of the workers' rejection of these policies said: 'Ah, the workers are disappointed at the response of the government'

But the government, despite the bad trade union leadership, has not been able to settle the nurses' dispute with the alacrity that they wish and in practice what is happening is not a phase of social disappointment on the part of the population, but a phase of critical appraisal of the existing leaderships and a seeking for better tactics and better leaders. The liquidation of Weighell is significant of this. Similarly, the decision of the Miners not to support an action of the Miners Union at this stage by itself against the government is not a defeat of the Left but shows the workers are seeking better tactics, better co-ordination, a leadership more prepared to face the problems of transforming society. It is not a process exactly like that in Poland because there it is a question of a new leadership is a Workers State, but it is not so far away in the sense that the process is one where the masses are seeking a leadership more responsive to the stage in which they are actually living, the need to terminate capitalism and construct a society based on the self-emancipation of the working class. All this is a very healthy process in which the Left forces in the Labour Party and the trade unions can intervene much more, but only on the basis of greater preoccupation with ideas and with the world situation. Clearly the structure of the Labour Party and the trade unions

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Polish government were a bureaucratic dictatorship it would not pass this law. The method with which it has done it is the product of its insecurity, of its difficulties and of the internal fight which exists, and even with this fight the intention is evident not to retreat on the agreement of Dantzig, even if with fear and vacillation.....

The Italian Communists see nothing, do not refer to this campaign of imperialism, like that of the Church via the Pope against the Polish Workers State; but the reiterated criticisms of the Church – above all on the part of the USSR, but also of a part of the sector of the Polish Communist Party – indicate that soon the problem of the structure of private property in Poland is going to be placed in the forefront of discussion and decision. Private property in Poland is not only a support of the reactionary Catholic sectors but is also an obstacle to the planned development of the Polish economy. The absence still of concrete measures and steps against private property in agriculture shows that the struggle within the apparatus of the Party, these recent critical demonstrations of the workers' movement are going to become more acute. This law is a weak attempt of a sector of the Communist Party and the army to seek support in the workers' movement to confront the bureaucratic sector linked to private property and to the reactionary sectors which still function with impunity in Poland.....

In Poland it is necessary to expect a deepening of the struggles and of the leadership in the Party as also it is necessary to await initiatives of the movement to intervene and correct aspects of the law in its application. These initiatives have nothing to do with the attacks and provocations that have occurred nor with the strikes planned by 'Solidarity'. The protest which has taken place and which the workers' movement is certainly going to see reach the Communist Party are

expressed already in the fact that the official press has had to recognise the action of resistance and criticisms of the passing of the new law which have occurred in the factories. These sectors of the Party and the army want to impel changes and are going to be animated more in the relation with the workers' movement; this relation, which still has to be established, is going to pose immediately measures of deepening in the structure of the Workers State; it is going to purge the apparatus of the state much more and the Party, and advance in a gradual process of agrarian co-operativisation and collectivisation. The workers' movement can and must be called to intervene much more actively in the political and productive life. This leadership which is learning must support itself much more on the maturity of the Polish working class. One measure is the attitude of the young person who died in Cracow and who is a trade union militant of the Party, who declared 'we will make a simple funeral, we do not want demonstrations; it is necessary to be abnormal to want to change the political system of Poland.... it is necessary to expect superior stages in the life of the Polish Workers State and the world Communist movement must contribute to this process, to discuss fully the Polish experience and how to help with initiatives and ideas, developing the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist fight in the world, and in the USSR to elevate the Soviet democratic life to help the learning process which the working class is making in the other Workers States and throughout the world. All the factories of the Soviet Union must discuss the Polish trade union law and send declarations as they have done over the counter-revolutionary deviations of the leadership of 'Solidarity' in its Congress, and in this way to communicate confidence and recognise with respect the just protest of the Polish working class in relation to the methods of its leadership.

Poland has just announced that it has resolved the principle problems of the economy, has re-taken the ascendent curve of the principal sections of production, above all in industry and minerals. This is due to the break imposed on the relation and dependency on world capitalism, but the increase in the economic integration of COMECON and, fundamentally, through the unconditional support which the working class has made to the progress of Poland. Difficulties persist in the food supply which, without being important, are the product of the resistance in the sectors of rural proprietors and of private commercialisation. These are the most well off sectors of the rural proprietors who dominate also the area of commercialisation in the market of the bureaucracy, of those who oppose the Workers State and the progress to centralisation and planning and the possibility that the masses weigh more in the social life of the country. It is a small group sustained by world capitalism which wants to contain Poland. The thought of the Polish masses is quite other, and Glomp expresses it in his recent homily 'the Polish masses do not want in any way to return to capitalism', only they want 'more democracy'. He has to reflect the thought of the Polish masses and that of a good part of the Church who are Catholics, but Catholic Communists.....

THE LABOUR LEFT NEEDS TO GIVE A LEADERSHIP TO THE WORKING CLASS STRUGGLES

The postponement by the Labour Party NEC of its decision to expel the Editorial Board of 'Militant' is a retreat. The 'legal reasons' given for this move are only face-savers. It is a further proof that the balance of forces lies with the Labour Left. The same is true of this year's Annual Conference of the Labour Party in which the Right-wing made certain gains within the Labour apparatus but the policies adopted were of the Left. In particular, the Conference voted overwhelmingly for Unilateral Nuclear Disarmament, which is profoundly anti-capitalist in this stage of history when all the capitalist system has left its arms and war preparations to sustain it. The Labour Right may well have been able to use the trade union bureaucracy and the apparatus of the Party to gain positions on the NEC, but, in historic terms, this means nothing compared to a programme for virtually disarming British imperialism. The Labour Party continues to move to the Left in political and programmatic terms, and this is a process determined by a favourable world balance of forces.

The intention of the Labour Right and apparatus was to attack the Left generally rather than 'Militant' in particular, but even they would see that it is impossible to throw the Labour Left out of the Party or even expel Socialists in the numbers that were previously expelled. What they hoped was to disrupt the advance of the Left. The same is true of the latest proposals, by the NEC, against the Left, which Foot opposed. They show how much Labour's Right wing would rather Labour loses the next election than have a majority Labour government prepared to take anti-capitalist measures.

The balance of forces inside the Labour Party obliges the Right to retreat, but this is only a pale reflection of the world. On the crucial issue of Disarmament – in reality the disarming of British imperialism – the Labour Left is strengthened by the existence of the Soviet Union and the statements of the Soviet leadership – Brezhnev, before his death, and Andropov immediately

after – saying clearly that war is inherent in the capitalist system.

The general Labour Left does not take its leadership from the Soviet Union directly, but the Soviet Union and its present policies determine the world balance of forces and this affects the Labour Left. Indeed Foot has said, in so many words, that the Soviet Union represents peace and imperialism means war. He has also fought to maintain a relationship with the Soviet Union and the Socialist countries. At the same time, there is the advance

It is necessary to see in these events in Poland the elements of learning that the masses of the world, the trade unions, the Communist parties, the Socialist parties, the revolutionary movements are making in the construction of Socialism.

18 October 1982

THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

being made in the Socialist movement itself. There are Socialist/ Communist governments in France and Greece, a Socialist government in Spain and one in Sweden. A sector of the Labour Left is taking account of this process in the socialist movement, even if it is still only in the context of the discussion on Labour's policy towards the EEC.

If the Labour Right has had any success at all, it is in confining the struggle inside the Labour apparatus and on the level of fighting for one post or another. This tends to give the Right an impression of strength which it does not have. In fact, the Right cannot even maintain itself on the level of manoeuvres inside the apparatus. After all, Weighell (ex General Secretary of the NUR) was thrown out because he acted in the way the trade union bureaucracy has always acted in the past; he voted for what he wanted and against the decisions of the Union. This was in the Labour Party Conference! It is all a bit distant from the actual class struggle, but the pressure of the working class in the Unions, combined with the advance of the Left in the Labour Party, removed this king-pin of the Labour apparatus.

Of course, the Labour Left has to fight the attacks being made on it, and it is correct to turn towards the Trade Unions for support. However, it has to be recognised that the 'witch-hunt' is only part of the class struggle expressed in the Labour Party. Then it is not simply a question of gaining Trade Union votes at Labour Party Conferences, but a question of a struggle at a political and programmatic level. If the working class is to support the Labour Left, it has to see the Left as a leadership to the Health workers, for instance, if it had made a call for a unified struggle against the government, it would have had more effect than appeals to support the Left against a 'witch-hunt'.

The working class is demonstrably prepared to struggle, and is aware that this means confronting the government. The trade union bureaucracy, the TUC, have fragmented all the recent struggles – like that of the Civil Servants and the Health Workers, because it fears a centralised working class which would quickly by-pass it. Certain sectors of the Labour Party, including the leadership, have expressed solidarity with the workers' actions – and this is true of the ASLEF strike – but rarely criticise the limitations of the trade union leaderships or voice any opinion on the actions. The Labour Left has to rectify this by raising, in the first place, the level of discussion in the work-places and the workers' areas, and by turning itself outwards towards the actual class struggle. To this end, Committees of Labour/trade union United Front should be organised in every area. At the same time, the Labour Left has to free itself from the limitation imposed by the Labour apparatus, by organising itself as a consistent, national tendency based not on a struggle inside the Labour apparatus but on the working class, a Socialist programme and the favourable world balance of forces.

THE LABOUR LEFT HAS TO INTERVENE IN A MORE PRINCIPLED AND CONSISTENT WAY ON THE PROCESS IN IRELAND.

The new elections in Southern Ireland and the continued regime of shootings through the British imperialist presence in Northern Ireland demand much more than the perfunctory attention they receive from the leaderships in the Labour Party and the trade unions. In the North the Prior Assembly is another imperialist fiasco which presents no solution in the slightest degree for any of the social, political and economic problems which weigh so heavily on the masses of Northern Ireland. At the same time, all these problems - North and South - apart from the brutality of the military occupation are the same as in the rest of the British Isles, only worse: unemployment, the dereliction of industry, poverty and the decline in social services. The Labour Party and the Left in the Labour Party are still in one form or other linked to the conceptions of imperialism in their attitude to the Ireland issue. The presence of British troops in Northern Ireland raises an issue of principle: that the troops of one country are oppressing the people of another, and this renders the oppressor nation itself unfree.

The policy of British imperialism - and this was continued under the Labour government of Wilson and Callaghan - is determined by its political objectives as a whole. In the last period these have been modified to the extent that, with the approach of the final encounter with the Workers States, it has developed an interest not in uniting Ireland - in which it has no interest - but in associating much more with the bourgeoisie of the South, those connected with the multi-nationals, in order to facilitate greater association with NATO and a joint policy of repression throughout Ireland. In other words, it is a policy to cement the common class interests against the masses of both countries in a situation where everything is determined by the coming conflict with the Workers States. But, at the same time, British imperialism does not intend to leave the North, only to establish links and connections with the South that give the Southern bourgeoisie the justification for 'conversations' and 'closer contacts'.

THE WEAKENING OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

But British imperialism, however brutal its policies, is no longer in a position to determine everything as it largely was in the past. The struggle of Bobby Sands and the other H. Block hunger strikers was, as Cde Posadas analysed, the sign of an immensely powerful process for social transformations, which did not find the policy and programme that is necessary. A concrete example of the new process at work was the important intervention of Sinn Fein, in the elections in the North, which were a blow at the policies of imperialism, even if on the level of programme the essential policies and programme have yet to be expressed. The fact that immediately after these elections a series of sectarian murders occurred shows the hand of imperialism, which seeks at every turn to justify its presence on the basis of these murders and

seeks to smash opposition by violence.

The Labour Left has a great responsibility in relation to Ireland. In the first place, the division of the country is totally artificial and imposed, not by the people of Ireland but by the interests of British imperialism. Secondly, this has left a legacy of great political fragmentation which is particularly difficult for the workers' movement - religious splitting in the North and the domination of bourgeois parties in the South. It is difficult for the Irish masses to concentrate its forces because there is no political centre. But a mass party exists in Britain, the Labour Party, and such a Party can influence and assist the process in both parts of Ireland.

Historically, the solution of the problems of both Britain and Ireland require a common perspective. Just as it is absurd to think of Britain isolated from the rest of Europe in some private trading block, so it is absurd for Ireland to have a solution of its problems in isolation. Whole areas of Britain and Ireland are being abandoned economically, and only a planning in common on the basis of social transformations can give a solution to these problems. The unification of Ireland can only occur on the basis, not of an isolated nationalism but a process of social revolution in which all the masses of Britain and Ireland find a common front against the imperialist oppressors in Britain and the local and servile bourgeoisie of the Republic.

The crisis of Ireland is uninterrupted North and South. In the North one constitutional fiasco follows the other, and in the South the instability of governments shows that the old equilibrium is broken with the emergence of political forces outside the old bourgeois parties, such as the workers' party which feed the internal crisis of Fianna Fail and confront the desperate efforts of Fianna Gael to rush into the arms of British imperialism. The crisis of the Labour Party in the South is profound and again demonstrates the possibility of new orientation

but this requires an intervention that is decisive from the Labour Left. Ireland is not going to solve its problems without unification with the struggles of the British masses.

THE LEFT OF THE LP MUST INTERVENE MUCH MORE ON IRELAND.

Some time ago the Labour Party proposed in the NEC the perspective of a United Ireland, but without discussion on how to achieve this. British trade unions, who in fact operate in Northern Ireland, must propose a much more programmatic orientation. In the absence of a mass Labour Party, the trade unions can play in part the role of a party, but it means taking principled positions on the need for an Ireland without British troops and against a common North-South agreement whose object lies beyond simply action against the IRA but seeks to incorporate Southern Ireland within NATO. It is possible to propose programmes of public works, stati-

fications, as in the programme of the British Labour Party, and linked with the call for the withdrawal of British troops and the abandonment of all the brutal apparatus of legal and illegal coercion.

The argument that the withdrawal of troops would lead to 'war' is totally unprincipled. The army is involved in terrorism and secrors of the murder gangs are undoubtedly financed by imperialism. War is a fact, and inevitable through the presence of British imperialism. Equivocations on this point are dishonest and simply reflect submission to the line of imperialism. But, for the Left, it is necessary to develop a policy which includes this demand as part of a whole orientation for social transformations. To effect the withdrawal of troops demands an immense pressure which means a combination of political and economic demands. British imperialism, in its chaotic downfall, is quite prepared to use troops in Britain: the fights in Brixton were in practice no different from the fights in Ireland. The coercive apparatus of the capitalist state confronts people in Britain and Ireland, and the latest powers given to the police simply to arrest whom they like without warrant shows the uniformity of treatment which imperialism tries to impose, whether in Britain or Ireland.

British imperialism, like NATO and like the lunatics in the Pentagon, is more and more desperate in Northern Ireland. The more criminal it becomes, the less social force and capacity it possesses. The CIA is active in Northern Ireland in a variety of guises, in and outside sectors of the IRA and the 'Protestant' murder gangs. As elsewhere in the world, they seek by the policy of assassinations to justify more repression and accelerate a deal with the capitalist leaders of the Republic, Fine Gael and the Right of Fianna Fail. Haughey, who has put forward a reactionary policy on abortion and a rotten economic policy has been obliged, because of the base of Fianna Fail, to denounce those capitalist politicians of Fine Gael who openly wish for a security deal with British imperialism - and integration with NATO. Haughey is impaled on the basic contradiction of his party, a bourgeois party which has to answer to an extensive anti-imperialist base, and hence has been obliged in the election to criticise the pro-imperialist line of Fitzgerald - very inconvenient for capitalism which prefers to work in the dark with the maximum of concealment. In the South it is necessary to develop a united front of the forces of the workers' party, the IRA, unions, the Communist Party, the Left of the Labour Party and Fianna Fail on a programme of social transformations, and to enter into discussions with the British trade unions and the Left of the Labour Party on a common policy for both countries. In the North, the unions and Sinn Fein are focal points for a policy of social transformations, and the Labour Left must intervene in a consistent way against the murderous policies of imperialism.

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is archaic and does not correspond to this necessity, but it is no longer these structures which can govern the process as in the past. It is this that the forces of the Left must grasp, because it is the favourable world situation which is the basis for greater audacity of the Labour and trade union Left.

UNILATERAL NUCLEAR DISARMAMENT IS A PROFOUND ANTI-CAPITALIST MEASURE.

Imperialism is mortally afraid of the Labour Party coming to power. This is particularly because of the demand of the Labour Party for unilateral disarmament. It is this which promotes hysteria in the camp of capitalism. The confrontation between Foot and Thatcher on this issue brings out how dangerous this issue is for imperialism. Unilateral disarmament is a profound anti-capitalist demand, it demands that capitalism surrenders its military might, its weapons of intimidation, its most vicious means to protect the basis of its existence, which is private property. Thus capitalism conducts a relentless campaign, particularly against the leadership of Foot. All the time they seek to stimulate the Right of the Party to action against Foot and there is no question that a sector of the Right regards with horror a Labour victory which means imposing unilateral disarmament. But all these attacks stem from a great weakness, because when a Labour Party Conference has passed by a two thirds majority a Resolution on unilateral disarmament, this is because a world structure is at the basis of this demand.

At the same time, the programme of the Labour Party for economic improvement is another jolt for capitalism, because, whatever its limitations, it tends to develop the scandalous idea that the economy must be of use to the population and not be determined by the needs of the export market. The plan for a massive borrowing has the objective of organising what is, in effect, a very large programme of public works. Immediately all the apologists of capitalism have chorused 'what about inflation?' Now it is true that inflation will result from an extensive system of the re-animation of the economy when the structure of capitalism is still intact and that reflation brings the problems of inflation. But this programme of the Labour Party has to be placed in the recent context of the ruination of the economy by capitalism, in which the need to keep down inflation is in reality an excuse to smash the population. In this context the 'neo-Keynesianism' of the Labour Party programme is not good for the central sectors of capitalism, those who are only interested in super-profits and arms manufacturers who have no interest in the development of the internal consumer market (a similar situation to that in France). Thus this programme of the Labour Party tends to propose forms of intervention and perspectives - whatever the limitations and problems in the application of this programme - which give a social orientation to the economy rather than one related only to the needs of the most central sectors of capitalism. It is also a programme which tends to augment the divisions within capitalism itself. The last Conference of the CBI showed massive disorder and abstention in votes, and lack of confidence in the CBI leaders, because now extensive sectors of 'poor capitalism' see no way out with the present government and the dictatorship of the Thatcher tendency. Clearly the application of a programme profoundly beneficial to the masses will demand measures of workers control against capitalism, but the proposals of the Labour Party open up a whole series of discussions most inconvenient to the capitalist system, particularly in its present stage of decomposition.

FOR A CONSISTENT LEFT CURRENT IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The opportunities for the Left in the Labour Party are augmenting and augmenting. This is inevitable but at the same time there is more and more need for much greater discussion in the Labour Party over a wide compass of issues, all of which are inter-connected. For example, 'democratic rights'. What sort of a democracy is it when in the Northern Ireland elections Sinn Fein were systematically arrested and harassed, and when the women anti-nuclear protestors were arrested for no other reason than protesting at Greenham Common? Democracy in Britain is democracy for some, that is the supporters of repression in Ireland and nuclear arms. In Afghanistan the Soviet Union has introduced land reform and campaigns against illiteracy; in Northern Ireland British imperialism brings bloodshed and poverty. It is necessary to discuss the process in Poland, to understand that the process there is one where the Party and the masses are learning to rule, whereas in the capitalist states there is a whole structure of state and economy which prevents the active daily participation of the masses in the act of ruling. The Left in the Labour Party and the trade unions is now quite extensive in number. It is a real force which quite inevitably is going to grow; but what is more and more necessary is much more political discussion to clarify issues so as to develop a regular life. The Left is strong but it is heterogeneous and this requires a constant process of political clarification. Publications are necessary that deal with questions consistently - how to relate the world situation to the situation in Britain; what has to be done about the issue of Ireland; the need to develop a consistent Left tendency in the trade unions; the meaning of trade union democracy. If the Left had a more consistent character it could have intervened throughout the last period of strikes as a political force instead of making an intervention towards ASLEF, and then silence. But the perspectives for such a thinking Left are very good and there is no perspective for capitalism except extinction.

27.11.81