

## FOR THE WORLD ANTI IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT.

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### EDITORIAL

The polarisation of class forces on a world scale decides more and more the destiny of any particular nation or region. Those who persist on stressing separate national paths to the overthrow of capitalism and the construction of socialism are destined for extinction like the mensheviks.

Everywhere there are powerful anti-capitalist struggles. Objectively the forces of production have long broken away from the confines of local and national markets, but are limited in their capacity by the fetter of private ownership. Everywhere mass struggles both impede the capacity of capitalism to act and demand leaderships which answer much more to the necessity of smashing capitalism and preparing parties for the construction of socialism.

The present government in Britain has been categorised as centre left, which is an idiotic formulation as it is neither centre or left, but a bourgeois government with the aim of making the country safe for capitalism. But that does not mean that it is stable or that it can achieve its objectives because this is not the world of the nineteenth century.

The stupidity of the Blair apparatus and the trade union bosses who seek to sustain it, is exhibited in the various utterances of Blair designed to suggest that there is an infinite expansion of a comfortable petit bourgeoisie who long for the days of that hypocrite Gladstone. It seems that everything went wrong because the class struggle was injected into this lost Eden by the formation of the LP on the basis of the trade unions. Thus the attempt to develop a pact with the liberal democrats. In all this pathetic "theorising" we see the fall of the LP apparatus. It is reduced to defending capitalism directly.

The weakness of capitalism is expressed particularly in Britain in that capitalism now depends on a party whose electoral base comes from the very class now being contained by the labour government - the proletariat and its allies. The Conservative Party, the traditional party of big business is in disarray with its petit bourgeois base fearful of the euro and the dictatorship of the big capitalist sharks.

The policy of Blair is openly despotic but it lacks the social basis to impose its will. There is now constant social upheaval and dissatisfaction. The demonstrations of the agricultural workers, the RMT proposed strike against the semi-privatisation of the underground in London, the exasperation of workers in the public sector unions and the recent uproar over the imposition

of genetically modified food are examples of the incapacity of capitalism to crush its class enemies and there is no prospect of it doing so. Nor is the racist issue going to go away because racism stems from the rotten social relations generated by the regime of private property.

Other elements of decomposition are constantly apparent. The struggle in Scotland between the apparatuses of the LP and the SNP will not solve anything because both parties - despite the pompous euphoria over a new parliament - accept the structure of capitalism and discussion is reduced to rows about north sea oil revenues or the rate of income tax. In Wales the election of Blairs stooge to head the new Welsh Assembly was only achieved by a very narrow margin, typically with the help of trade union functionaries always fearful of anyone not totally dedicated to the status quo and their role in it.

The Blair creeps are always on about one man one vote. They were careful to see that the principle was not applied in Wales where major union bosses did not discuss the issue with their members.

As for Ireland, the arguments on decommissioning of arms only make clearer than ever, that the fundamental issue, that is the unification of Ireland on a socialist basis is no nearer solution and that the intimidation of the catholic minority by fascist sectors in the north continues. The murder of the lawyer associated with the killing apparatus of the army, the RUC and their friends in the northern fascist groups is in perfect working order, to be summoned whenever necessary.

Capitalism would like a peaceful backyard in Ireland so that it can get on with the task of murdering humanity elsewhere. But it cannot arrive at this because it has no means of responding to the needs of the catholic minority, that is to develop a just and unified Ireland. Thus its policy is in hopeless contradiction. Sinn Fein has yet to use its socialist programme in a practical form to intervene on a class basis throughout Ireland, North and South.

#### THE LABOUR LEFT.

The efforts by Livingstone to be accepted as the Labour candidate for

the Mayor of London is an example of the weakness of the Labour left. Why does he make such a servile praise of Blair who is nothing but an assassin supporting the murder of Iraqi children? It is a grotesque fawning which can only be interpreted as the final expression of parliamentary cretinism on the part of this sector of the LP. His support for the bombing of the Serbs shows this layer of the LP to be good old fashioned imperialists, pretending to be otherwise.

But the behaviour of Livingstone shows the limitations imposed by reformism with no relation to the objective course of history. Such people have no interest in the application of marxism or they deform it like the old revisionist "marxists" so that it does not interfere with dreams of parliamentary glory.

Clearly the labour left is not only permeated with careerists. There are those who reject everything Blair and the trade union bureaucrats stand for, but there is little agreement as to perspectives.

The labour left to advance has to base itself on a close attention to the international situation which shows an immense power from all the forces resisting imperialism and capitalism and on the trade union militants who are going to advance rapidly in this situation as capitalism lurches from one brutal disaster to another. There is no mass party in Britain which corresponds to the necessity for the taking of power from capitalism or to the construction of socialism. At this juncture it is not clear how this will come about, but it is equally certain that the masses will not wait for ever until the leaderships respond. Depending on the time factor it is possible for world wide struggles for power without the necessary leaderships, but the construction of socialism requires a capable and flexible party.

There can be no prevarication on Iraq and Yugoslavia. Neither Saddam Hussein in Iraq nor Milosevic in Yugoslavia represent the force for progress of their respective peoples. The crimes of the Iraqi leadership are notorious, but imperialism

is not concerned with that and their motives are quite clear. They want to intimidate the masses, finish - if they can - with what remains of Yugoslavia and liquidate Iraq as a basis of opposition to its desire to control the Middle East. To think that it is just a question of oil, is to misunderstand what is at stake. Imperialism fears the aspirations of the Arab masses which vastly transcend the interests of the bourgeois Arab leaderships.

#### THE WORLD CAPITALIST ECONOMIC CRISIS

After the second world war as Stalinism sabotaged the possibilities for a much further extension of the revolution, world capitalism was given an opportunity to recover and redevelop economies under its control. In practice the world war from a narrowly economic viewpoint had been its saviour. It had never recovered from the slump of 1929 and the immense destruction of the productive forces during the war gave the possibility of a massive re-development and the possibility of further capitalist exploitation of the other less developed continents.

Now its possibilities are exhausted in yet another time around - the first world war had already shown the utter degeneration of capitalism and that nothing could be expected from it save demented barbarism. The economic crisis added to the social and political decomposition of the system renders world war closer, albeit as Posadas has argued, in the worst possible circumstances for imperialism.

#### UNEVEN AND COMBINED PROCESS.

More and more despite the lack of a communist international, the process in the world while not making uniform conditions in all countries - some economies are far more advanced than others - tends to demonstrate a universal fight against capitalism and those who wish to return to it in what was called the socialist block. Major strike actions occur throughout the former states in Eastern Europe and in the main capitalist countries in Europe - Greece and Germany being particular examples. Countries such as Indonesia are utterly

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unstable. The masses in the Middle East defy imperialism as do those in Latin America where Brazil is no longer a shining example of capitalist success.

In the United States itself, the centre of world imperialism, the attempted impeachment of Clinton and the prolonged farce of the proceedings, show the rancorous internal disputes within imperialism over the policies to save Yankee imperialism. The real disagreements are hidden because they are issues of strategy and tactics not just domestically but in relation to the world. In the aftermath of the failed Clinton impeachment, the oligarchies of United States imperialism will try to limit their differences, but they will continue on the preparations for the final encounter with all the forces of progress in the world and further vicious internal disputes are inevitable. The differences with European capitalism as shown in the "banana" dispute will also continue, but short of war because their common enemy remains the Russian-Chinese block with its communist presence and its tradition as workers states.

The Blair government seeks to bring Britain into the Euro and as the dedicated lackey of Yankee imperialism, proceeds to lecture the European socialist parties on the need to deregulate their economies and thus facilitate more and more Yankee economic dominion. A massive campaign is being launched by big business and its craven allies the right wing trade union bosses to accept the euro. But the most decisive sectors of the proletariat and their allies are against. Whatever the outcome - and capitalism has done everything to prevent discussion - the class struggle will reach new levels against the exploiters and their monstrous toadies.

Nothing can be expected from the capitalist regime but more downloading of lies and contempt. The budget gave some sops to the poor but no serious problem was dealt with nor could it. The whole system is corrupt and inert. Competition is the cult word, but in fact big business is constantly subsidised with tax breaks and concessions. All the political institutions are a gross fiasco. The line of "pluralism" is a load of garbage. The Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly merely conceals the impotence and lack of interest of capitalism in developing the economy. The financial oligarchy who

continued on page 4.

# THE LESSONS OF THE MILITARY COUP IN CHILE.

J.POSADAS 18.9 73

The conclusion on the cause of the defeat of the Popular Unity government is that the policy of the leadership was inadequate. But neither proletariat nor the revolutionary movement has been defeated. It has been the false and erroneous, timid policy of the Communist and Socialist parties which must be criticised and corrected. It does not mean that it was a policy of betrayal, but it was a false policy, one that was very limited which allowed the enemy to arm themselves. The incorrect policy is the illusion of "constitutionalism", in the respect for the democratic norms of the state, hoping that the enemy will accept them. But the bourgeoisie is not going to accept them. Hence the class struggle.

In the class struggle the bourgeoisie seeks every possible way to triumph. If for a period of the government of Allende, it respected the Constitution, it is because it did not have the strength at that moment to do what it wanted. When it had concentrated its forces, it organised the coup.

The conclusion is that yes, it is possible to organise in a parliamentary way and electorally within the structure of capitalism, but the class struggle decides how far this will go. The class struggle determines the behaviour and the conduct of the classes. The class struggle can never be abandoned in the hope that the army or the bourgeoisie will respect the constitution or an electoral result where the left triumphs. This is to substitute desires, sentiments or hopes for the reality of the class struggle.

It is possible to advance via the parliamentary plane quite far, but it is necessary to prepare at the same time with arms and prepare organs of power in the factories and the workers areas and in the trade unions. In one way or another, the masses do this and hence their resistance.

## THE PREPARATION OF THE COUP.

The military believe that all will be settled with some bombing, killing a few leaders and that is that. At the beginning they did not want to kill Allende. They wanted him to resign and present his resignation as a capitulation. This would have dismayed the ranks of the UP making it look like a betrayal. Allende resisted.

This experience of Chile is going to lead to a discussion throughout the world revolutionary movement on the necessary roads to construct socialism.

We render homage to Allende. He did not die, betraying but defending his position. The communists did not betray. They committed barbarities but errors which it is necessary to correct. We will help to correct them.

In order to advance it is necessary to break the institutions of the enemy and to make new ones. Otherwise the enemy will use them. The proof is that the army was given the right to seize arms, and search political meeting centres and workers houses. Thus they could prepare for the coup. What the government should have done was to give the right to the soldiers and the workers, the right to organise trade unions and to be able to live

We publish extracts from an article written by Posadas immediately following the coup of 1973. The civil war continued into 1974. The recent attempts to extradite Pinochet to Spain for crimes committed during the coup show that humanity is retaking important, if bitter experiences against capitalism. The latter after some triumphalism through the fall of the Soviet Union has lost all authority and advances from one crisis to another as in the present world economic disaster.

But the crimes of Pinochet are not personal to him. They are the expression of a parasitic and incompetent ruling class which defends private property by all possible means. Thus the lessons of the coup are fundamental for future reference. To advance against capitalism means the destruction of the organs of capitalist power and the construction of popular organs of power. There is no parliamentary road to socialism, nor separate national roads.

Germany in the period preceding Hitler, Spain in the Civil war, Indonesia in 1965, Chile in 1973 and France in 1968 are examples of lost opportunities through leaderships lost in myths of parliamentary accession to power on the basis of legality or having notions that a "national bourgeoisie" would open the gates to progress. Aidit in Indonesia believed this and was shot for his pains.

politically in the barracks. This was the way to control and break the political leadership of the military leaders who would then not have had the power of decision and any movement would have been communicated to the government which must decide. The army could not then give any order. It has to be the government which decides together with the trade unions of soldiers and sailors.

The reactionary forces saw that forms of soviets were advancing. Industrial committees (cordones), communal committees (comandas) and japs (Committees for prices and food supplies) were organs which were going towards a soviet functioning and with the sailors.

Hence the reactionaries made the coup. Imperialism with the Chilean bourgeoisie acted to cut short this experience. They have limited the experience, slowed the process, but they have not annulled it. The Chilean and Latin American working class have seen these experiences and is going to continue them.

The conclusions which have to be drawn are that the bourgeois institutions have to be changed, and the political power of the armed forces suppressed. It is possible to win part of them and place them in a situation where they can intervene in the economy and society as part of an organ which it is necessary to lead politically, something which capitalism seeks to impede.

It is necessary to make a policy to win part of the army directly, to appeal to the soldiers and officers not to shoot the population, and instead turn their arms against the military hierarchy.

It is necessary to call upon them to obey the popular will, to show them that it is a social problem - progress on the one side and class egoism on the other.

At the same time it is necessary to dismantle the army, to make the organs of the masses function such as the industrial and communal committees, where the masses can intervene and control everything, be it police or army. In the popular organs in the factories and the workers areas, the population must decide and intervene. Popular tribunals must be organised with armed militia.

## THE HEROISM OF THE CHILEAN MASSES.

The working class has demonstrated with its dignity, its security in ultimate triumph and rectification. Now they are persecuted and massacred militarily, but are not smashed politically or socially. They defend the factories where they feel secure and the workers areas, showing to the country "it is necessary to organise the resistance". They do not feel smashed by the failure of the government which did not know how to mobilise the masses to contain the military uprising.

The masses of the world see that in Chile, the Popular Union won the elections in 1972 and in a second election increased their voters by 8% which showed the progress of the government. Even with all its errors and limitations, the masses saw that there was a very great progress and they tried to stimulate it.

The masses of the world see that electorally they can go to government, but they have to defend it by force. This is the example of Chile and Argentina. Thus in 1955, the government of Peron which had 60% of the votes threw out the military united to imperialism and the oligarchy.

The class enemy moves through class reactions, not via excitation. It uses all the weaknesses, vacillations, doubts, timidity, or ingenuousness of the leaders, of the parties, representing the masses. On this basis it is necessary to convince the Peronist masses in Argentina that the military can make a coup as they did in Chile. It is necessary to take the experience of this stage and communicate it to the Peronist masses. It is not timidity, the slow acceptance of social measures which is going to deceive, infiltrate or pass unperceived by the enemy, the oligarchy and imperialism and thus triumph. No, the class enemy only accept class force, imposition and resolution which disintegrate and weakens their apparatus.

It is necessary that the Peronist movement prepares in an armed form, disorganises the army and deprives it of political power - now immediately.

The vanguard is learning to make critical judgements. The heroism of the Chilean masses is outstanding. They have nothing, but in the workers areas they continue fighting.

There is a very great elevation in the historic consciousness, the scientific and concrete understanding of the masses. They feel that they decide in history and are ready for any type of sacrifice and to learn what is necessary, including military training.

The bourgeoisie does not feel secure with this military coup. In Indonesia they killed a million communists and anti imperialist sectors and in a few years Vietnam came along. That is to say that the masses were not intimidated, but on the contrary received the experiences and drew the conclusions on which to progress. Indonesia has been an experience and Chile another. Vietnam is also an experience. It showed that imperialism has to be confronted with armed struggle. The Chilean masses are a prolongation of Vietnam, of the decision of the Vietnamese people not to yield. Its leadership committed mistakes, but it fought with decision to advance progress. But the road of the leadership was not the way.

The masses did not hold back in order to criticise the leadership or condemn it. They went with the leadership to go forward. Hence they continue struggling and unify in the will to stimulate the UP towards the construction of socialism.

## A TRANSITORY DEFEAT

We condemn the assassination of all the communist, socialist, Trotskyist, left radicals, members of the MIR, but at the same time, we feel the greatest emotion for the dignified, historic behaviour of the working class which showed that it is invincible. It has shown this behaviour from the Paris Commune through 1905, 1917, the defence of Stalingrad by the soviet masses, the Chinese revolution, Cuba and Vietnam. All these experiences centralise the will to struggle of the masses.

The conclusions are as optimistic as those which followed from the first Russian Revolution in 1905, when the revolution was not prepared sufficiently. This experience of Chile is very harsh, above all through the inadequate policy of the leadership. The enemy it is true is better armed than the anti capitalist forces but we can compensate for this with a better policy, one which prepares for the destruction of the bourgeois political organs. The confrontation should have occurred well before when the bourgeoisie was not organised and could not react. If at the beginning of the process in Chile, the bourgeois organs had been destroyed, the reaction would not have been able to organise.

With the defeat of the Spanish Civil War which allowed nazi imperialism to organise a war against the so-called democratic imperialism, capitalism hoped to smash the masses of the world. But in the full course of the second world war the masses made an insurrection and smashed fascism and capitalism in many countries and thus there developed many workers states in Eastern Europe.

The retreat in Chile is very partial and capitalism is not going to reanimate itself on this basis. The discussion on Chile is not one of despair but how did we lose? No one accepts that it is a defeat with no answer. Hence the term "trans-

itory defeat". This qualification which we make is not a consolation or a sedative, but an exact qualification because people do not feel smashed. Basically the discussion is that 'we lost because we did not know how to win'. They lost because they did not know how to go to the depth of the problem. But it was reformist methods which were defeated.

## THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY

The apparatus of the fascist reaction in Chile was able to move because it utilised the Christian Democracy. It served as a bridge, a cover, a diffraction to help mobilise the petit bourgeoisie and the lower layers of the bourgeoisie. Basing itself on the Christian Democracy, it mobilised women, and strikes which were all of the middle and large landowners. With the authority of the DC it armed the counter revolution. But fundamentally imperialism was able to operate through the DC - which did have support from some peasant and worker sectors - through the lack of a revolutionary policy of Allende, through the lack of organs of power of the masses. The government when threatened by the reaction instead of mobilising the masses, mobilised the army. If for example it had supported the uprising of the sailors of Talcahuano before the coup, accepting that they were right since they were defending the government, the reaction would not have triumphed. But the government allowed the sailors to be condemned and this led to the intervention of the army acting as a power superior to the government.....

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the perspective of rejecting the capitalist economy of the European Union with the alternative programme of a Europe of workers states, united in a SOVIET SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE on the basis of nationalisations, without compensation under workers control, nationalisation of the land, planned economies, the abolition of Nato, the end of the debts of the under developed economies. An extensive plan of public works must be imposed for the immediate solution to the structural unemployment in Europe. This must be linked to the termination of the arms industry and its conversion for socially useful works. Trade union rights must be extended into the armed services. The programme for the expropriation of the key industries and banks in no way means the abolition of the small farmers and small businesses. These would benefit from the easier bank credit of the collectivised economy. These are the broad perspectives of the anti capitalist programme, within which all the various demands for higher wages and better conditions of living are incorporated.

This is the only viable alternative to the programme of the bourgeois parties which is the programme to extend the power of the multi-nationals and prepare Europe as an auxiliary to the United States for the war which is to come.

The European Parliament is an instrument to try to diminish the struggle of the working class and the workers parties and to stimulate them to seek perspectives and transformations and progress which simply do not exist. In front of the brutal crisis of the system, capitalism cannot allow a European parliament which would plan the progress of Europe. In order to live capitalism, has to make war, it has to expel hundreds and thousands of workers from production so as to maintain and increase competition. It has to increase technology and this means sacking more people and polluting the environment. It is absurd to believe that the European parliament will be an instrument for better social relations in Europe. It is an instrument to foment, organise and systematize the control of inter capitalist struggles and competition. And in turn it is a way of trying to create a breeding ground for parliamentary careerism and reformist conceptions in the workers movement and in the socialist and communist movement.

It is necessary to intervene in the European parliament, denouncing these objectives of the bourgeoisie, but at the same time, maintaining the struggle for social transformations, regardless of the number of people, the weight it is possible to have in the European parliament. It is necessary to take the European Parliament as a forum to speak to the masses of the world, as Lenin did and as it is necessary to do in any parliament showing that progress has to mean social transformations. To accomplish such social transformations, it is not possible to wait until there is a certain number of MP,s or legislative means, but there has to be a certain balance of class forces. This means to co-ordinate the struggle to enter

the European parliament with the trade union and political struggle and the application of social transformations. It is necessary to pose the need for state ownership, planning and workers control. It is necessary to explain that the working class is the representative of the progress of society. It is a lie to suggest that there is an alternative form of progress. Even if today, it is only achieved in a diminished, simplified and partial way, the concentrated form of progress remains social transformations. It is not excluded that one government may be replaced by a better one, but it would only last about a week. This is because the capitalist system is totally corrupt in its every day life, corruption is part of its every day management, even if one capitalist may be more corrupt than another.

The capitalist system produces the neutron bomb and massacres as it carried out in Vietnam, Zimbabwe and Guyana. This means that the European parliament is no different from all this. It cannot produce an alternative to all of this, nor can it give a perspective for the development of social relations which would make for progress. Capitalism in a desperate gesture tries to concentrate the trade union and political bureaucracy, to attract them and thus gain historic time. At the same time capitalism tries to regulate intercapitalist competition, the currency etc. It is absurd to believe that they are going to create a monetary system which would benefit the poorer countries such as Portugal or Greece or Spain. People who believe this are ingenuous. Those who do the regulating are those who determine the way in which it is done, those who are in charge which means

the French and the Germans. The others are only points of support for the major powers. And as a whole they are all united to confront the Yanks in economic competition,

Contradictions and sharp disputes which come to light every day in the capitalist world will express themselves also in the European parliament. The class struggle will also show itself. The European parliament is not going to be a centre in which anything will be defined or resolved in favour of the progress of the economy or society. It can serve to solve the problems of the multi-nationals. And if the European Parliament was to be able to act as a point of support for the progress of revolutionary tendencies, the multi nationals would simply annul it. As part of this they create illusions and a whole layer of functionaries or organisms in which capitalism finds support to contain the objective and independent development of the socialist and communist parties. This is why it is necessary to consider that all the communist and socialist parties have to discuss this problem and therefore they have to see what the aim of the European parliament is. Is it a more elevated form of democracy which capitalism is evolving? No! Capitalism has had to come to this in order to seek to conciliate, to concentrate itself and to regulate its own disputes. This way it attracts the forces of its historic enemy, forces which are opposed to capitalism in order to neutralise them contain them and in order to seek to dominate them. This is what capitalism is looking for.

The multi-nationals are the most structured part of capitalism, Italy, Greece, Portugal and Spain have

nothing to gain from the European monetary system (now the euro). Capitalism tries to attract these small countries in order to regulate the class struggle and to sustain them in the class struggle and to assist them economically, politically and financially. They do this to try to contain the development of inter capitalist competition which would lead to a deterioration in one or other capitalist country and which would have an influence on the rest. Thus the multi-nationals seek to draw them closer in order to help them, using the big bourgeoisie or the financial bourgeoisie, or the big industrial and agrarian bourgeoisie in each of these countries.

The limitations in this process which do not allow the working class to express itself even legislatively, are shown in some fundamental aspects. In France there are two million foreign workers, the same in Germany and there are many hundreds of thousands in Belgium. As these immigrants form part of the working class, they are also part of the class relations in the country. Nevertheless they have neither social or political rights. They suffer the social misfortunes of labour, that is accidents at work, unemployment and sacking. But they cannot vote, participate in the political life of the country and as a result, the working class sees that its numerical and social force and capacity for social action is diminished. This must be denounced and appeals made so that the working class may intervene on this issue. The European Common Market is not a source of economic development nor progress, neither does it mean lower prices in itself nor any other benefit for the population. The existence of the Common

Market has meant that the economy is developed in the sole interest of big business. It has meant more unemployment, rises in the cost of living and reductions in the standard of living and it has meant repression, above all repression against the immigrant workers. So what is the Common Market? It is not a progressive development of Europe, but only a way out for big business, a way to impede, control and dominate the crisis of the system and thus dominate the smaller countries.

Membership of the European Common Market is no solution, but on the other hand the United Soviet Socialist States of Europe is a solution. Thus it is necessary to unify the trade union struggle with that for the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. This is going to eliminate the differences and the contradictions between one country and another, unifying them in a planned system of production of all the countries. This is neither a dream or a supposition. It is a logical necessity for the development of the economy and society.

It is necessary to orientate the proletariat, the trade unions, the Communist and Socialist parties and the leftist groups to intervene in this way. To intervene and at the same time to organise the extra parliamentary and anti capitalist struggle. And the trade unions have to organise a movement for progress, reducing hours of work without loss of pay, superior working conditions, plans for public works to eliminate unemployment. What is certain is that none of this can be resolved by the European Parliament.

## THE NEED FOR THE EUROPEAN PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The ending of the various currencies in Europe and their replacement by the euro is simply another step in the development of the European super state.

This capitalist dictatorship is fully supported by the so called centre left governments. As the capitalist media slant everything away from the bleak reality, it is necessary to show exactly what this "Union" means. It means the limitation of the national state in favour of a super state under the control of a closed clique of big business and military leaders. The European Commission has what they call "the monopoly of initiative". In other words only they have the right to propose laws. It can also enforce them. They are totally unelected and can act secretly. The European court of justice creates law not just interprets it. It also conducts its affairs in secret and there is no higher appeal. The famous central bank is staffed by another closed clique of uncontrolled bureaucrats who can intervene on and supervise all matters of economic and financial policy. The Maastricht treaty with its rigid controls over budgets is an example of its line.

The recent upsets about corruption and the attacks on the Commission are not going to benefit the masses. Capitalism will just use the situation to establish a new form of dictat-

orship but it does give opportunity to the workers parties to make an all-out attack on the EU structures.

But it is necessary to understand that the objectives of the EU are not simply economic nor just political in a narrow sense. The whole idea of the European Union developed immediately after the second world war in preparation for the inevitable conflict with the workers states led by the Soviet Union. Yankee imperialism supported the economic recovery of Europe as part of establishing a base against the Soviet Union of that time and its allies. Nothing has changed apart from the important fact that with the collapse of the former Soviet Union, imperialism can salivate at reducing more countries to satellites of the world financial oligarchy.

Imperialism realises that it does not have the strength to submit Russia and China and the masses of the world to its power. Hence like the nazis, it is seeking a world domination by war through nuclear weapons. This is the real basis of the EU. Economic rationalisation is inseparable from political and military objectives. This military aspect, the role of Nato is played down by capitalism because it wants to limit any discussion and by the workers parties because they are stuck in the life of the apparatus and cannot draw rev-

olutionary conclusions.

Before the second world war the nazis made no secret of their intention to go to war. They had some misplaced confidence in the outcome. Now world imperialism plays a different game. It can have no confidence in the outcome, but its nature demands the extinction of any opposition to its existence. Capitalism has nowhere to go without war and exploitation.

That is why the recent ceremony in America with Poland, Hungary and Czechoslovakia entering Nato was such a macabre farce. They pretend that the cold war is over and all is lovely! But the expansion of Nato is the expression of a new cold war in preparation for the new hot war, the third world war, when imperialism launches its final effort to continue to live. It is absurd and crass to think otherwise ie to have a Nato barging into eastern Europe and attempting to intimidate Russia, but its only objective is peace! The actions of Nato are quite clear. They have already bombed Yugoslavia and Iraq and for what reasons. Peace? No they want to dictate to and control these countries as a prelude to further invasions. The sacking of the Bosnian Serb President are typical nazi provocations and have nothing to do with "peace". All this is the basic expression of the EU and the euro. Naumann one of the military bosses of Nato is notorious for his liking for

## Renationalise the Privatised Utilities without compensation!

the SS and his belief in intimidating Serbia. It is this sector which determines Nato policy, the line of the biggest banks and monopolies. The weaker sectors of the bourgeoisie may object, but they will not determine policy. Capitalism is concealing its policies because the population and sectors of the bourgeoisie do not accept it. But it is quite clear what they intend.

For the communist parties there is thus a great responsibility. The socialist parties so-called have largely dumped socialism as a perspective and accept neo liberalism as inescapable. The latter of course is the doctrine of those who are preparing the third world war. The line of neo-liberalism for example is vigorously imposed in areas no longer part of Yugoslavia.

The communists are being obliged to consider their attitude to participating in governments in the situation in Europe where the main socialist parties accept Nato and privatisation. What is the justification for this? To accept the policies of capitalism because another bourgeois government may be worse? Such arguments are quite remote from the reality which demands a revolutionary perspective based on the reality of what capitalism is preparing. All this "centre left" lot are actively collaborating with capitalism and throw some crumbs to the masses to pretend

otherwise. To collaborate with this is an insult to the intelligence but does indicate the petrified mentality of the apparatchiks as in the case of Cossutta. It is similar to the outlook of the functionaries in the CPSU who went straight from "marxism leninism" to extolling the market economy. It stems from parties whose political life barely exists and refuse to confront issues such as the preparation of the war.

We appeal for discussions to be initiated before, during and after the European elections by the communist parties on the perspectives confronting the workers parties in Europe. It is necessary to maintain the fundamental perspective of the collectivised economy, rejecting the capitulation of all the social democratic leaderships to capitalism, but developing a united front with the base of these parties who do not accept the pro-capitalist programmes of these apparatuses. The communist parties have to maintain their independence and not be compromised with pro-capitalist policies. It is easy enough to support whatever progressive measure may be taken without limiting the independent position of the party.

The European elections must be used to propose a united front of socialists, greens, communists with

## PROBLEMS OF THE CONGO AND SOUTH AFRICA.

The present renewed fighting in Angola and the recent attempt to overthrow Kabila in the Congo show the continued efforts of world imperialism, North American, and French in particular to prevent the progress of Africa towards the establishment of workers states. Unlike the triumphal imperialism of the previous century, reaction has to work in the shadows like gangsters, offering bribes, or threatening economic pressures. They could not prevent the collapse of Mobutu. Yankee imperialism used the opportunity to replace French imperialism as part of its attempted world dictatorship. Kabila in spite of not having a programme to implement was not prepared to be a Yankee stooge. Imperialism though exerting pressure on weak and dependant countries such as Uganda and Rwanda and making denunciations of Kabila as a mass murderer of refugees in Eastern Congo, was met with resistance not only of the Congo masses but intervention from Zimbabwe and Angola. Having failed to make progress on this front, it is clear that Yankee imperialism is now reanimating the assassin Savimbi to maintain imperialist influence in the region. There is much mineral wealth in Congo and Angola and without doubt imperialism desires to control it as it controls Nigerian oil. Also in the M. East, imperialism is not just concerned with business interests, but at all costs to intimidate the masses by every possible means to prevent human progress. At the moment of writing, they are religiously murdering Iraqi and Angolese children.

In all this struggle, South Africa is also preoccupying imperialism. The defeat of Apartheid was a blow at capitalism, but not decisive because although removing an obnoxious civil repression, the brutal domination of capitalist private property remains. World capitalism seeks to encourage rapid privatisation on the basis of the privileged white settlers and those on the right of the ANC who dream of a black capitalism. The sending of Mandelson, a direct agent of the Yankee-British imperial-

ist block is an open attempt to increase the pressure of the transnationals against the trade unions and the communist party, who if prepared, can play an historic role not only in defeating capitalism in South Africa, but unifying the whole region towards the perspective of workers states.

To do this requires not only a rejection of privatisation, but a defence of the idea of a planned economy, that is an economy for the benefit of the population. At the Ninth Congress of the South African Communist Party, Mandela said "The ANC seeks to build the kind of democracy that is more than just a five year casting of the vote. We are striving to involve ordinary people in the running of their lives and implementing socio-economic transformation. In this effort, we need to work with organisations that like ourselves, operate among classes and strata that are the motive forces of such transformation. And we know that in the blast furnaces of labour and in the unmarked, dark alleys and corrugated shacks of the ghetto, we will find the party also pursuing the same goals".

In this general statement by Mandela, there is posed the need for a genuine democracy in South Africa which means the need for independent organs of the workers and peasants who can discuss and intervene in the organisation of the economy. The lack of these organs with a party firmly based on them illustrates the problems facing South Africa and the rest of Africa itself.

The popular resistance to the attempts to overthrow Kabila show that the African peoples are ready to confront imperialism and wish to intervene socially. But there are no parties or organs which represent the necessities of the situation. The governments vary in their response to the pressures of imperialism, but the latter seeks to exploit all type of regional or ethnic issue to intervene. Basically imperialism is very weak, but it utilises the absence of governments solidly organised on a mass basis to perpetrate its intrigues. In South Africa itself Mandela has been obliged to refer to "the third force"-the CIA and its allies in fact-which by

criminal activities seek to undermine the existing government. Imperialism has its own agenda that is accelerating privatisation and deregulating the economy. Suddenly an Islamic group appears in the Western Cape and a leader of the ANC receives death threats. Kwazulu-Natal has been the scene of assassinations of the ANC.

The SACP acquired great prestige in its struggle against Apartheid and carries weight in the trade unions. The way to influence the ANC is a firm policy to prepare the way for a workers state in South Africa founded on the struggles of the workers and poor farmers. It requires a programme of control of the commanding heights of the economy particularly the banks, which will allow cheap credit for the poor farmers. It also means that the SACP has to propose forms of integration with the other contiguous African states whose great potential wealth is undermined by the limitations of the nation state. The crisis over land reform in Zimbabwe cannot be isolated from the pressing need for agrarian reform in South Africa. The victory over Apartheid was only a beginning of the fight for social liberation from the dictatorship of capitalism. It needs a decisive programme and policy to defeat the machinations of imperialism which seek to destabilise South Africa and all of Africa in an effort to throw the clock back to total enslavement and stagnation. The attitude of capitalism is quite clear-if you will not submit to us we will seek by every means to ruin you.

The whole region is potentially very wealthy rich in agricultural products with the possibilities to solve the problems of peasant poverty. At the same time the issue of migrant labour into South Africa cannot be solved for the interests of all within the boundaries of the nation state. There has to be a regional planning and this can only occur with a federation of workers states under the leadership of the proletariat in united front with all the oppressed farmers and labourers of the area. This has to be the objective which cannot be realised immediately, but has to be discussed and prepared for in the communist party and in the trade unions.

### OUT WITH THE MONARCHY AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS!

## NATO ASSASSINS OUT OF YUGOSLAVIA!

## FOR THE RESTORATION OF YUGOSLAVIA AS A WORKERS STATE.!

### FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!

The bombardment of Yugoslavia by Nato, representing Yankee and European imperialism is without any doubt a step towards the third world war, that is the final encounter between the forces of socialism throughout the world with the Russo-Chinese block at their head with whatever backward leaderships may exist in Moscow or Beijing.

The campaign of lies organised by imperialism is worthy of the nazis, and indeed the nuclear war which imperialism is preparing is the fascism of this epoch. The argument that Nato intervention was necessary to prevent "more Serb atrocities" against the Albanians is utterly crass and mendacious. Imperialism allows massacres in all parts of the world, convenient to itself whether against the Palestinians or the Kurds or the people of Angola. The bombing of the Kosovo

region is precisely to provoke more refugee crises. Moreover the use of depleted uranium in the "Warthog" bombers over Kosovo is a form of nuclear war against the population.

The KLA which went on a murder spree against the Serbs has been organised by American and German imperialism. The objective of Nato is to destroy the memory of Yugoslavia when it was a workers state and it hopes then to have a solid base-now also that Albania is a puppet state - in Eastern Europe to prepare for the attack on Russia. Like the nazis, the Yankee imperialists want a world totally enslaved to the needs of capitalism.

In all this the so called "left centre" governments collude completely with Yankee imperialism and show that European capitalism is entirely submitted to the Yankee dictatorship. In this we see the utter and final

collapse of the social democracy.

The leaderships of Russia and China and the communist parties have rejected the imperialist attack but as these governments are apparatuses with a multitude of interests, the concrete response has been very limited. None the less, they inevitably act objectively in a united front against the Nato assassins. The war has weakened the elements in the partially disintegrated workers states who have conciliated with imperialism. All the armies and communist parties have been alerted by the vicious intervention of the imperialists. As one Russian spokesman put it "today it is Yugoslavia, to-morrow it is us".

The most important need is the development of the world anti imperialist and anti capitalist united front for a continuous fight against world imperialism and Nato. The policies of Milosevic are not the central issue.

Nato has used ethnic problems simply as justification to attempt to destroy Yugoslavia. Certainly if Milosevic was a revolutionary, he would not have a programme of privatisation and would have appealed to all the nationalities in Yugoslavia for an anti capitalist struggle to return to the Yugoslav workers state.

All the emphasis must be on the struggle to throw out Nato from Yugoslavia, and for an end to the bombing. In particular we appeal to the communist parties, especially the Russian, Chinese, Cuban and Vietnamese parties to act in this spirit to prepare the ground for the anti capitalist struggle all over the world to destroy the system and its military power.

from page 1

run Britain are quite content with this "devolution"-its a nice piece of pseudo democracy while the decisions that matter remain in the hands of private property and Nato. As can be seen in the last elections large sectors of the Labour vote abstained. At the same time it is notorious that parliament is more and more irrelevant to the ruling class. The masses in the US largely abstain because they see that elections decide very little. All this anticipates direct class confrontations in the future when all the institutions of capitalism will fall.

The struggle for the minimum wage and trade union rights and other social improvements is totally linked with the fight to terminate with the aggressive policies of Nato which reflect the parasitic nature of the capitalist system.

**OUT WITH THE MONARCHY !  
FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!**

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The resistance of the Yugoslav masses to the bombardment of the Nato assassins was a tremendous blow to imperialism and like that of the Iraqi masses an enormous stimulus to the world anti capitalist struggle. The intelligence and intransigence of the masses contrasts with the moronic criminals who have sought to destroy Yugoslavia. Nato thought it would be a walk over and it was a social and political disaster for them.

The so called "agreement" on Kosovo -weaker than the Rambouillet diktat- is not due to the power of imperialism, but to the feeble attitude of the existing leaderships in Russia and China who were hot on language but frail in action. The stage is set for more crises in the very near future. Imperialism hopes via economic blackmail to impose a puppet regime in Yugoslavia like the other puppet cliques in the rest of Eastern Europe. But the masses there are resisting all the time and the masses of Yugoslavia will never submit to the leaden skulls of the Nato half wits.

The Yugoslav people and army have not been defeated. The unity of the Yugoslav masses contrasts with the camp of imperialism. There when the British minister of war tried to justify to British troops their presence in Kosovo, he was received in total silence.

These troops have no belief that they are fighting "evil" and are more concerned that they do not have to fight the Yugoslavs.

The massacre of the Yugoslavs, is in line with the bombing of the German masses in the second world war, the destruction of Dresden, the fire bombing of Tokyo and the atom bombs on Nagasaki and Hiroshima. None of these murderous attacks had any justification. Their objective was solely to terrorise the masses and warn the then workers states what to expect in the future. The logic of the character of imperialism is the third world war which more and more people see as inevitable. It is the final encounter between the forces of capitalism and the forces of socialism and progress in which capitalism will be eliminated and socialism will be constructed.

The bombing of Yugoslavia had nothing to do with ethnic problems of Serbs and Albanians, but everything to do with extending imperialist power in the Balkans to prepare for the next stage of intervening against Russia-in the Caucasus for example- or indeed anywhere else in the world that the imperialists

think propitious.

The Nato doctrine is very simple- it can strike against any nation that violates "human rights". This is the equivalent for the nazi "lebensraum". The imperialists with their control of the media pour out vast quantities of atrocity stories- yet they never did anything to restrain for example the atrocities against the Palestinians or the Serbs driven out by the Croats. There are still thousands of Palestinian refugees. The silence of the capitalist media is complete on this subject. Those who compare Clinton and Blair with the nazis are quite right- the difference is that the nazis represented capitalism, when it was socially and politically much more powerful. It is clear that bourgeois layers although subjected to the Yankee military and financial oligarchy have been full of doubts militarily and politically over the war. They are filled with gloom and despair, but the world masses constantly repressed, fight back with resolution.

The war in Yugoslavia has provided an excellent guide to the mentality of the various parties and leaderships in Britain. The vast majority of the members of parliament accepted the bombardment of Yugoslavia as a good thing. Only a small group linked to Benn have opposed it completely.

Much of the parliamentary left have capitulated to imperialism- no great surprise because this left is very much without any clear perspectives and devoid of marxism.

The role of the trade union leaderships has also been atrocious and again not unusual. The vast majority connived with Thatcher and the logic is to connive with Blair. After all these trade union functionaries are always on about "partnership" with capitalism. As they are the face of capitalism in the workers movement, when the bombs fell on the people of Yugoslavia, these dutiful gentlemen nodded wisely- it is all for the best. Of course

it is most displeasing to them that the workers and people of Yugoslavia have had the impudence to defy capitalism. It is scandalous. They actually refuse to accept orders from capitalism!

One or two unions such as Unison late in the day demanded an end to the bombing. But it is certain that the labour vanguard must smash the trade union bureaucracy in the process of taking power. **THE ABSENCE OF A WORLD COMMUNIST LEADERSHIP.**

A most criminal aspect in the crisis over Yugoslavia has been the conduct of the fragile cliques in power in Moscow and Beijing. They did nothing to deter the imperialists.

This is also not new because these cliques are alarmed that if they adopt a harder approach to imperialism, they may lose control of their already vastly exasperated populations. As a bureaucratic stratum they suffer delusions like the idiot Stalin who believed that Hitler might be contained by diplomacy. The excrescence which is the bureaucracy has no historic function in society and just as capitalism will disappear in the war revolution, that is the final encounter, it also, will vanish, hence their fear of the war and inability to confront and prepare for it. But it is also clear from the reaction of the Russian army that the balance is moving away from the Yeltsin clique. There is not going to be a repetition of the surprise nazi attack on the USSR. The forces of the communist vanguard and the traditions of the workers state are reanimating.

The demonstrations throughout the world showed that imperialism has no popular support. Even in the centres of world imperialism such as the USA and Britain, the only demonstrations imperialism could mobilise for the Nato bombing were supporters of the KLA, the terrorist organisation financed by Yankee and German imperialism.

However the worst problem is that there is no centre for the world communist parties to provide a centralised response to the policy of imperialism. The meetings that have been held have been unsatisfactory. Thus the meetings of the CPs of Russia, Ukraine, Armenia, Byelorussia etc analyse the conflict in limited terms. They called for "specific assistance" to Yugoslavia but this was left undefined. They did not draw the necessary conclusions that world imperialism is preparing for world war and that it is necessary to prepare a revolutionary perspective on a world scale. It is necessary to call a spade a spade.

As there is no Communist International we have the monstrous exhibition of the PCF staying in the government of Jospin under the Presidency of Chirac. This government has totally capitulated to imperialist policies- bombing Yugoslavia, increasing privatisation and sustaining the Maastricht treaty. The PCF has gone along with all this, when France shows all the social weakness of capitalism. The PCF acts like a replacement social democracy when the latter has given up the ghost! They have the opportunity to develop a united front with the socialist masses to fight the Jospin leadership, but they just fade away. Such leaderships do not correspond to the power of the process. It is clear that the communist parties have sectors like the old teams that Lenin had to confront in April 1917. A considerable cleansing is necessary.

All these questions have to be discussed in the communist parties to reestablish marxist principles. If not the process will go on without them. They ought to remember that the October Revolution, was a war revolution.

Similarly the meeting in Athens of the world communist movement was important in that it condemned the Nato attack on Yugoslavia and placed it in the context of the policy of imperialism. But it drew no rev-

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## **The TUC "partnership" with Capitalism must be repudiated with the fullest discussion of the programme of Nationalisations under Workers Control in the Unions and the Factories.**

olutionary conclusions such as the need to develop a united world anti-capitalist and anti imperialist united front to prepare the world masses for the inevitable world war and the revolutionary overthrow of world capitalism. Calls for the dissolution of Nato are correct but in the perspective as we have analysed.

**ELECTIONS IN BRITAIN.**

The object of the Blair government very clearly operating as a base for Nato and in the interests of the financial oligarchy, is concerned at all costs to develop a national bourgeois consensus, a more concentrated bourgeois parliamentary dictatorship to contain the masses and prevent discussion. It is the continuation of Thatcher by other means. Hence attempted coalitions with the Liberal democrats and important posts for ex conservative ministers.

The various elections show also the weakening of the electoral game. Turnout in local elections has never been outstanding, but this time the participation was very low falling from 36% to 29%. In Scotland despite the massive electoral clatter, turnout fell from 71% in the last election to fifty eight in this. In Wales there was an even greater fiasco. The original turnout had been less than fifty per cent in favour of the Welsh Assembly and in this election compared with 1997 half the labour electorate would seem not to have voted and the nationalists won in former labour strongholds. In the European elections there was a massive labour abstention. All this is a rejection by the labour masses of the Blair policies.

Sectors of the vanguard are seeking a class leadership against the imbecilities of capitalism and they reject the line of the Blair-trade union collaboration with capitalism, shown in the absurd policy of "partnership" meaning "partnership" to accede to the bombing of Yugoslavia which is against the interests of the British masses. A revolutionary left has to be constructed to link the labour and trade union opposition on the basis of the programme of social transformations, to throw out capitalism by nationalising all the main industries and banks under workers control.

The TUC is proposing an end to militant unionism in the very period when globalisation has shown that world capitalism is waging the class war with total ferocity expressed in a concentrated form in Yugoslavia.

continued on page 4

# WE SALUTE THE 50th ANNIVERSARY OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!

We salute with all our revolutionary passion the fiftieth anniversary of the Chinese revolution. This victory put an end to the historic backwardness of China and assured its rapid ascent as a major power to confront imperialism. The establishment of the workers state continued the work of the October revolution.

The recent bombing of the Chinese embassy in Belgrade and the demonstrations in China focus attention on the contradictions of this immense state which confronts world imperialism in alliance with Russia. The bombing was not a "mistake" but a means by the hardest wing of Yankee imperialism to measure the response of the Chinese leadership and the attitude of the masses.

The recent Peoples Congress in Beijing showed the fears of the Chinese bureaucracy of "instability". This is hardly surprising in view of the accumulating problems in both town and country.

After years of turmoil and contained discussions in the Communist Party, the decisive lurch to the right of the Deng Xiaoping "reforms" in 1978, is reflected in the grave issues now confronting the Chinese masses. The Communes which had been a unique contribution of the Chinese revolution to help solve the immense problems of incorporating the peasantry in the construction of the workers state were abandoned.

The Chinese revolution is essentially very incomplete. What has occurred apart from the enormous process of economic development, is the emergence of an arbitrary bureaucracy which has dismantled many aspects of the workers state and openly encourages capitalist enterprise in town and country. The private sector is now enshrined in the constitution as an important part of this strange animal quite unknown to marxism the "socialist market economy with Chinese characteristics".

The Chinese bureaucracy has developed in this way because there has never existed a party rooted in discussion with the masses and in functioning soviets with political life.

This meant inevitably the emergence of sectors addicted to privilege. Thus China combines the vices of the bureaucracy with those of capi-

alism. The lack of planning on the basis of the intervention of the population has meant much of statified industry is in debt and stagnation. The permitted growth of capitalism in both town and country has led to a situation where the mixed economy of the town and village enterprises is said to produce two fifths of the manufacturing sector. The leadership is still obliged to invest in the largest state firms and maintains that the state sector is the fundamental pillar of the economy.

Corruption in the state administration is widespread and as a result of rationalisation in the state sector and on the land, unemployment and under employment is widespread. Recently to pacify peasant unrest the state declared its monopoly over grain purchase.

But it is clear that there are now some very wealthy peasants and a great number of poor and landless peasants. The party bureaucracy, national and local is corrupt

and has sticky fingers everywhere. It is forced in order to contain the masses to seek to maintain a high rate of growth, but as exports cannot guarantee this, because the capitalist world is uncertain and the domestic market is affected by elements of market anarchy and arbitrary bureaucracy, further crises are inevitable. Thus the state has been obliged to retreat on the starvation of credit to smaller and medium state enterprises and announce large investments in infrastructure.

The worker and peasant vanguard is undoubtedly assimilating the many experiences of the past fifty years. It has known and felt all the confusion brought into the workers state from ignoring proletarian democracy and allowing an arbitrary bureaucracy develop whose incompetence arising from its concern with its privileged existence, finally leads to important and unnecessary concessions to capitalism.

The confrontations of 1989 when the masses tried to effect forms of political revolution showed the counter revolutionary character of the leadership.

But the latter, like the soviet bureaucracy has no historic future. A solution in private property cannot destroy the progressive experiences of the

Chinese revolution such as the Communes and the transformation of a backward China into a participant in world history. The Chinese masses are not passive. Workers and peasants defend their interests in strikes etc. The resistance of the masses of Yugoslavia to the Nato imperialists is a tremendous stimulus to the process in China.

Neither the threats of world imperialism nor the Chinese bureaucracy will prevent the Chinese workers and peasants completing the revolution by throwing out the bureaucracy and their capitalist allies and participating in the world destruction of capitalism and the construction of socialism.

We republish some extracts from the writings of Posadas during the phase of the economic reforms of Deng Xiaoping. At that time the Soviet Union was aiding the world revolution whereas the Chinese leadership was allying with the most reactionary forces such as Pinochet and even attacked Vietnam.

The Chinese bureaucracy simply has no interest in the development of the revolution. It clashes with them. The bureaucratic apparatus needs the tranquillity of the vacuum. But such a state of affairs does not exist in history. They seek to create the conditions which will prevent the development of the revolution and will allow them to develop and blossom. It is a vain hope and has no historic future. But why has such a layer of people been created when with all the evidence, the whole world is going towards the end of capitalism? It is through the absence of marxist life, of marxist preparation. It is necessary to consider at the same time, the immense power of the structure of the workers state which in spite of the existence of such a leadership has allowed such a development in China. The praise for this does not lie at the door of the leadership however, because it is not the present leadership which led such a development. It was Mao Tse Tung who led it. But at the same

time as the economy of China developed, neither the party nor the trade unions developed and this left a free rein for the development of the bureaucracy. Thus a layer formed which believed that it was the protector of China and created the conditions for a bureaucratic functioning which corresponds to that of class.

But it cannot become a class because its interest does not coincide with capitalism. It cannot function as a class or transform itself into a class. But it tries to function as a class. It has its own interests as Trotsky analysed in "The Revolution Betrayed".....

This present leadership is a current of the Chinese revolution which takes advantage of the lack of programme, of policy, of development of the Communist party. But the tradition of the Chinese communist party is not this. It is a party with a communist origin, but whose social base is also a peasant one. In members, the proletariat is very few. Despite the social base of the party, the programme was a proletarian one, the proletarian programme of the Soviet Union. The Chinese took power thanks to this programme and not thanks to a peasant programme. The peasants followed the proletarian programme.

On the surface the Chinese leadership appears to be an inexplicable element in history. When the soviets are advancing in partial regeneration, when there is a development of the revolution in North Korea, in Vietnam, when all the countries bordering China advance in the revolution, China appears with a programme which is a retreat in history. It is retreating to bureaucratic forms which give the opportunity for thoughts, tendencies, culture and scientific conceptions of bureaucratic influence which approximate to capitalist interest to develop, so that such forces unite against the danger of the revolution. There is no place in history for this to develop.

This is the result of the lack of construction in time of a world communist International. Leaders of the Italian Communist party are against the Communist International, but if that organ had existed, China would not be as it is now.

Mao Tse Tung with all his errors was a communist. But if the Communist International had existed, capitalism would not be here and neither would the Chinese leadership. The latter is the result of the backwardness of the formation of the leadership of the world revolution. It is an expression of the development of local interests which then take power, but the Chinese masses are neither stupid nor submitted to this. They are the force which made the revolution and which defeated capitalism. The Chinese masses have a profound understanding of communist sentiment. The Chinese masses who are not in the party do nothing which might endanger the Chinese revolution, while they develop the Chinese economy. That economy has shown an immense development in science and technology and knowledge of the universe. The Chinese masses see and support this. There is no contradiction between the orientation, the communist, sci-

entific dedication of the Chinese masses and the existence of this leadership because before no leadership had existed which could unite the development of Chinese culture and the economy with the social development of the masses.

They see a delay, a contradiction and antagonism between the development of Communist China and this leadership, but they do not work capriciously to overthrow it. They do not make "little revolutions" either of the palace or cafe variety. They have a very elevated consciousness of what they have achieved in a few years. They also have the confidence that just as they got rid of mandarins and of Chinese capitalism, of the landowners and the feudal sectors and of imperialism, they are going to get rid of these people as well. They are not submerged in desperation, desolation and impotence. The Chinese masses think. Its a pack of lies when it is asserted that the Chinese run about in distraction. For the Chinese revolution to have reached such a level of economic, social and cultural development is an achievement of the masses. They have acquired an imm-

POSADAS ON BRITAIN AND THE CPs  
extracts. Published 1980.

These are small extract from a much larger text of Posadas on Britain showing how the communist parties have contained the labour and world revolutionary vanguard through con-

Trotsky was one of those who led and organised the social, economic, political and military programmes with Lenin of the Russian revolution. Thus all those who want to consider the "errors of Trotsky" have to discuss that it was this programme with the Bolshevik leadership of Bukharin, Kamenev, Zinoviev and many others who led the revolution, which organised life so that the revolution could be organised. But none of this is discussed.

To assess Stalin and the role of the Communist parties, the CP historians have made various analyses. But none of these refer as a criterion to the fact that Stalin assassinated the leadership of the Bolshevik party, everyone of them including Trotsky. To assassinate the leaders of the revolution is not an event that happens by mistake.

If it were true that these leaders were traitors as Stalin said, why do not they say that he killed traitors? Why do not they explain how it can be that a revolution throws up disappointment and traitors? How can it be that the same people who led the revolution suddenly become traitors? But all this is outside history! To make the revolution demands great ability with great scientific political intelligence. It requires an understanding of the process of history. Such people cannot become traitors through ten years of Stalin. Thus how do the Communists who have written on Stalin explain all this? They keep completely silent.

It is also necessary to discuss the first stage of the workers states in Europe, when in Czechoslovakia Poland, Hungary etc conciliation with capitalism was immense. This has to be linked with the intention of Stalin to invade Yugoslavia and

ense confidence but they do not have the leadership prepared in time.

The Chinese masses are not subjected to the situation, but live consciously developing China and afterwards they will settle accounts with the leadership. The soviet masses did the same thing. It is not the behaviour of submission but an elevated understanding by the vanguard of Communist China which understands that it must unite the struggle against the bureaucracy with the development of China and the struggle against imperialism....

The Chinese leadership do not take account of the population. They see only the apparatus. But Stalin showed that the most powerful apparatus in history is a small spiders web in front of the powerful wind and hurricane of history. The driving force of this wind and hurricane of history is not nature, but the creation of nature-the human beings who impel socialism. Thus we say down with the Chinese bureaucracy. These are the problems confronting the Chinese revolution.

J. Posadas 18.6.78

cealing the reality of what occurred in the workers states. There is still an enormous need for honest explanation to facilitate a superior revolutionary policy in the future.

when he tried to push Tito into the arms of capitalism. All these are experiences for the proletariat and it has received no explanation of such experiences. How is it possible that Stalin denied any relationship, any support to the Yugoslav workers state? Why did he prefer Yugoslavia should surrender to capitalism than disobey Stalin?

Such an event therefore as the invasion of Vietnam by China is not a new thing.

The development of Yugoslavia was beginning to affect Stalins reformist conciliatory policy towards capitalism.....the communist parties have also kept quiet about the fact that Stalin wanted to push Mao Tse Tung into an alliance with Chinese and North American capitalism and Mao Tse Tung rejected all that. All this is ignored in the history of the workers movement and neither do the CPs of the workers states say anything about it.

The Labour party apparatus is not a power. Whatever force the Labour leadership has, comes from the errors of the Communist parties and those of the workers states. ...between the bourgeois apparatus of the labour party and the world progress of the revolution, it will be the world revolution which will force Britain to advance. This apparatus will not be able to contain the process of advance in Britain.

Britain in common with the rest of the world has no perspective as a capitalist country. Britain at the moment lives enclosed. But to progress it will have to make social transformations.

The communist party has to grasp also that it has kept silent and not understood-and it has been an accomplice of all the monstrosities of Stalin and of the Chinese.

**Manifesto of the First of May of the Posadist  
IU International.  
FOR THE WORLD UNITED FRONT TO STOP THE IMPERIALIST  
WAR IN YUGOSLAVIA!  
To the Communist, Socialist, Trade Union and Revolutionary  
Leaderships!**

**To the Yugoslav and World masses!  
To the Communist vanguard of the former Socialist countries!**

Although this text was written specifically for the First of May the analysis of the world process remains entirely relevant.

On this First of May, the international class struggle is concentrated in the decision of imperialism to attack Yugoslavia with the intention of killing its peoples and liquidating its historic experience which is that of the workers state with the leadership of Tito and the communists. Nato in representing the capitalist system wants to give the final blow to the disintegration of the Yugoslav peoples who have lived for fifty years in amity thus making the greatest contribution to all their history.

The resistance of the Yugoslav masses is a demonstration of its anti capitalist will to struggle, of its will to return to the Yugoslavia of Tito. We appeal to world support to sustain the struggle of the peoples of Yugoslavia, to detain the criminal intentions of world capitalism and to help the peoples of Yugoslavia to develop new communist leaderships who propose to retake the experience of the workers state and of the federation of all the various peoples.

The present attack has the objective of continuing to dismantle Yugoslavia and to reach the heart of the former Soviet Union. It is a direct class war and has nothing to do with humanitarian objectives. Until very recently the bourgeois press was representing the Albanians as genetically criminals who merited the most brutal repression. Six months ago the Italian navy sunk a ship with three hundred Albanians who reached the Italian coasts. Then the propaganda changed completely. Now the Albanians are today the most oppressed in the world who must be saved.

**THE PROPAGANDA OF THE IMPERIALIST WAR**

The complete control by imperialism of information is an important military weapon. This has some effect in the western countries above all through the absence of revolutionary leaderships in the communist and socialist parties and in the trade unions. Those SPs and the TUs if not always applauding the war show an ambiguous attitude or do not understand what is actually at stake.

The issue of the refugees is artificially manipulated with the result that some figures amount to five times the total number of Albanians living in Yugoslavia. Even with all their advanced technology, the yankee assassins cannot give a precise number for the refugees. This shows that they lie and conceal. Even now with the slowing of the great concourse of refugees utilised to provoke emotional responses in the viewers, it is very simple to calculate the number. But they say that many are "lost in the woods" or that there are dozens of "collective graves with hundreds of Albanians". All this is occurring under a constant bombing by Nato of Kosovo and the attacks by the terrorists of the KLA, armed and financed by North American imperialism.

The fact that imperialism decided to bombard the television in Belgrade shows that this media campaign has failed. Within a few days, all their contradictions came to light and extensive layers of world opinion begin to question the official communiques of the Nato officials and their accomplices. The fear of

the Milosevic television shows the extreme exasperation caused by the unanimous conduct of the people of Yugoslavia.

It is certain that the leadership of Milosevic has played a damaging role in the process of disintegration, which under the impulse of world capitalism, separated Croatia and Slovenia, then divided Bosnia and now seeks to separate Kosovo. Capitalism can make these attacks among other reasons because of the absence of revolutionary and communist leaderships in the ex-workers state. But however the actions of the nationalist leadership have exacerbated the relations with the Albanian population of Kosovo, this is not the point. Imperialism would have invented something else in order to intervene. They did this over the Miskitos Indians in Nicaragua, the so called "surprise attack" over Pearl Harbour and the "incident" in the gulf of Tongking. Now it is becoming clearer to those subjected to the "humanitarian necessity" view, that the Yankees are not at all interested in the fate of the Albanians and that this massive displacement is the result of their dirty war and of their bombardments. Certainly Yugoslavia is the "weakest link" and part of the corridor of control, to close off the ex-Soviet Union. That is the true reason for the "humanitarian emergency". Thus it is totally unpardonable to put Milosevic and Nato on the same plane. The former represents a bureaucratic degeneration of what was the Yugoslav workers state, Nato represents the instrument of capitalist mass murder which is trying to obliterate any perspective of the existence or rebirth of the socialist and communist experiences throughout the world.

It is clear that not all the "pretexts" are credible. In Cuba for example imperialism has not succeeded in its provocations, since the Cuban leadership enjoys political and social support not only in Cuba but from the whole world. The fact remains that while the workers states had maintained the functioning as a centralised planned economy with the objective of serving the interests of the masses and the objective of socialist construction, imperialism could not impose itself and instigate its barbaric solutions. The opening by the bandit camarillas of the workers states to capitalism, has opened the way to the resurgence of nationalist and local interests. This is the basis of the Kosovo conflict. Thus imperialism finds a base for its provocations. It would like to have done the same in Cuba, but the structure of the workers state and the conditions in the political leadership did not allow it.

**ORIGINS OF THE PROBLEMS OF KOSOVO.**

Originally the problems of the Albanians went back to the development of private property and the bourgeois state was incapable of solving them. It was not only in the Balkans, where this was the case but it is evident in Ireland and

also in Belgium. Today experience teaches that only Tito and the communist Yugoslavs with the project of the federation and of the workers state have been the most elevated experience for the Balkan peoples. The guerillas of Tito paid a heavy price in the struggle against the nazis, especially through the policy of Stalin. Stalin sought to isolate Yugoslavia once the war was ended and the country had been almost completely destroyed. Despite these difficulties a state was constructed which developed in a way totally superior

to the previous epochs of private property. The various ethnic groups were socially united as never before as members of the Yugoslav state. The latter was also linked to the non-aligned states which, whatever limitations, grouped together an anti-imperialist block. The limits of the socialist experience were determined by the application of the backward notion of "self management", which led to the development of national bureaucratic castes which advanced to privatisation, thus serving the plans of capitalism to finally dismember Socialist Yugoslavia.

The unification of Yugoslavia under Tito as with the first seven years of the soviet workers state meant that language, religion and customs could be elevated to superior means of communication and joint cultural, economic and social relations. This can only develop with the objective of constructing a socialist society.

**CAPITALISM NEEDS WAR.**

This "self determination" and this "Humanitarian aid" is only a pretext for war, nothing else!

Capitalism needs the war because it cannot resolve in any other way the serial explosions of all its economic and social contradictions. The concentration of world capitalist power and the process of globalisation has increased its confrontation with the proletariat and the masses of the world. The plans of the IMF and the world bank to meet the crises of South East Asia and Brazil were already advanced forms of war. In Yugoslavia industry and the economy are being destroyed by Nato bombs. The industries and economies of Mexico, South Korea and Russia have undergone a process of destruction without missiles but under the same political leadership which in Europe has unleashed the aerial bombardment.

This war confirms the reasons given by J. Posadas in his time on the atomic war and its inevitability. "Capitalism is going to launch the war! Not because we want it, but because capitalism before being smashed is going to resort to war because it has the means to do it. If it did not do it we would be prepared to wait for thirty years of class struggle but even after that capitalism would still launch the war. It has no other alternative, in history, because that is the regime of private property. It is the same way as the working of competition. First they compete commercially and financially and afterwards... its war! (Posadas 6.4.78);

The Soviet Union has retreated, the workers states do not have the weight as in the period of the seventies and eighties. But even with this retreat of the world force of the proletariat and of the masses in the struggle for communism, capitalism has continued with and increased its military escalation, its expenditures and provocations. It is not a beast which can be easily appeased. Thirsty for blood, it persists in gorging itself. The socialist leaderships, left catholics and even part of the communists have believed that with the retreat of the workers states, a long period of tranquility had begun in which a period of co-existence with capitalism was possible whereby to develop the economy, democratic bourgeois conditions with a better distribution of the wealth produced. But the beast will not be appeased and demands to be fed with new victims.

Only the revolutionary struggle can prevent humanity retreating to the most barbaric conditions. Thus this "modern" Blair takes us back to the times of the Inquisition with such phrases as the "good against evil". Capitalism is already maintaining a multitude of disputes in the world to which it has no solution. Thus we have the military conflicts and provocations in Turkey with the suppression of the Kurds, the fight of the Israelis against the Palestinians, Indonesia in East Timor and other conflicts in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Within Europe itself there are struggles in Ireland, the Basques and the Corsicans. World capitalism does not have the authority to resolve these conflicts on the basis of economic, social and cultural development, hence it constantly enters into clashes and confrontations. **THE FAILURE OF THE CAPITALIST RECONSTRUCTION IN THE FORMER SOCIALIST STATES.**

With the former workers states, after 1989, capitalism had in its hands all the conditions to show its economic, social and cultural "superiority". The leaderships like Yeltsin submitted to capitalism and borrowed whatever the IMF or the world bank, and the imperialist centre decided and the result is visible to all. The "investments" were simply converted into total plundering of the wealth created by the workers state. All this has impoverished the population on an enormous scale. The ruling clique which developed was the mafia and it is impossible to develop a bourgeois class. As we anticipated world capitalism has neither the interest nor the historic conditions (it is in its final crisis) to return the USSR to capitalism.

Today Russia is going back from the stage of the Yeltsin years. Yeltsin may breathe, but he is politically dead. He keeps going with belated anti-imperialist appeals. A process of liquidation of the mafiosi camarilla which

enriched itself over the last eight years is taking place. With Yeltsin all this power is crumbling away and a process of important struggles is developing. The government of Primakov in alliance with the communists seeks to regulate the economy, dismantling the power of those who have appropriated public property and giving the latter a greater role. This process leads to the necessity for the intervention of the masses, although the communists are not prepared to develop this intervention through committees, trade unions and soviets so as to retake the experiences of the workers state in a superior form.

**THE WEAK RESPONSE OF RUSSIA TO THE WAR.**

The attack on Yugoslavia is also against this process in Russia. This process in the former workers states, and former USSR is inevitable and cannot be contained by loans from the IMF. Imperialism hopes to contain Russia with this money but the war accelerates the rhythm of these changes as can be seen in the initiatives which come from the armed forces. Hence the visit of Chubais to Milosevic to try to convince him to yield "otherwise we all fall" (the bandits in Russia and Yugoslavia). The resistance of Milosevic is not due to any personal quality, but he resists, representing in a limited way the will to struggle of the Yugoslav and Russian masses who draw from this war, the conclusion that it is necessary to reconstruct the workers state.

For the camarilla which governs Russia an agreement would be preferable, because to intervene militarily disturbs the bureaucratic equilibrium. They use Yugoslavia for the next elections in Russia, but this passivity is criminal as meanwhile Yugoslavia is systematically destroyed by the Nato mass murderers. With a few measures such as aiming the missiles, the united front of the bourgeoisie could have been broken - the hesitations and doubts of the allies" are clear enough. But the fear of the bureaucratic caste that the masses reclaim socialist gains means that the massacre has been allowed to continue. On the strength of this alone the bureaucracy has no future. It is paralysed. But it is necessary to be based historically on the enormous pressure of the masses in almost all the countries of the former socialist block to demand an energetic response of the army and of the governments in face of this savage provocation by Nato which is against not just Yugoslavia but the whole of humanity.

**THE SUBMISSION OF THE EUROPEAN BOURGEOISIE**

For the European bourgeoisie, the Pope, and the European Socialist parties, this war has been imposed by North American and British imperialism. They lack the strength to oppose it. They have concentrated their efforts on the European Union and the Euro to increase their ability to compete on a world scale with the United States and Japan, with the idea also of a perspective for the petit bourgeoisie and the internal market. With this attack the Yanks deflate the pretensions of the European bourgeoisie and the so called "centre left" governments. The excuses of some

continued on page 4

sectors that "Europe moved very slowly and thus it was necessary to follow the American initiative" or that "economic unity has been made but not political unity" is not valid. Such a union based on the hegemony of the banks and on privatisations can only lead to this policy, that is to submit to North American imperialism and the objective of the war. There is no other place to go with this economic project.

Hence this crisis penetrates all the parties of the left actually in government or those with aspirations to calm periods of trade union disputes that are contained by the bourgeoisie. The masses try to weigh on the "weak links" of the alliance as with the Italian bourgeoisie and the PDS of D'Alema. Clinton speaks then of a "long and complicated war" instead of the amble foreseen by Albright. For the European bourgeoisie real issues have begun. Thus the Italian bourgeoisie have business links with the Yugoslavs, maintain their ambassador and are foremost for a "peaceful" solution. Moreover the Italian masses have lived important experiences with the masses of Yugoslavia which cannot be terminated despite the vomit spewed out on the television screens.

"Europe cannot tolerate.... proclaims pretentiously the bourgeoisie and the European right. But today if there is any functioning democracy, it is due to the peoples like those of Yugoslavia. Capitalism in Europe produced nazism and fascism. It was the masses and the workers states who liquidated them. It was the Yugoslav masses who after the Soviet Union gave the most powerful contribution to the defeat of the nazis. The attack of the Yankee capitalist assassins and Nato is a class vengeance against a people who constructed a state from nothing, in the midst of great privations. The European bourgeoisie associates with this because it shares these reactionary objectives. For the left parties in these governments, it is a form of suicide because this war is against the peoples of Europe. The railways destroyed by Nato bombs were partly constructed by the young people from all parts of the world including the United States. This is a class vengeance from the world capitalist system.

World capitalism offers no alternative to the war. The costs of the campaign were sufficient to develop economically Yugoslavia, but it is all used for war.

The capitalist system has no cultural, social or economic progress to offer but only war, war and more war.

Imperialism was not expecting such a resistance nor such intelligence on the part of the Yugoslav masses. It believed that Milosevic decided and that he would pack up after a few bombs. It becomes more and more clear that the issue is one of class. It is a war against the masses of Yugoslavia. These have not been intimidated and impose on Milosevic. The effect is limited because there is no leadership, but the resistance in effect is in the name of socialism not of nationalism. The masses of the world must sustain the masses of Yugoslavia with all means of solidarity, send political and trade union delegations and confront imperialism throughout the world.

**TRANSFORM THE CONDITIONS OF WAR INTO NEW REVOLUTIONARY CONDITIONS.**

North American imperialism which leads the war camp is in great diff-

iculties in the United States and the world. The internal fights were to be foreseen in the united front which the government of the United States seeks to consolidate from Blair to the Taliban. Important struggles will come in Europe where the masses will cause clashes in the parties of the left submitted to Yankee imperialism. These have entered government with different objectives. The crisis in the German SPD with the abandonment of Lafontaine and the submission of the Greens is a first symptom and is the expression of the total failure of the social democratic leaderships, of their capitulation to the ruling class and imperialism. It is necessary to pose a break with these leaderships and for the bases to rebel, to act independently of such leaders and to call strikes, demonstrations and independent organisation against all the military escalation. It is necessary to sustain the struggles of the sectors who in these parties disassociate from and reject the official line. This struggle must be developed in the communist parties, the pacifists and the trade unions.

It is necessary to transform these conditions of war into new revolutionary conditions. The working class and the masses of Europe must seek all the means to be independent from the attack of the governments on Yugoslavia, to send delegations and promote trade union and political meetings with the participation of workers, delegates and leaders representing all the nationalities of Yugoslavia. The student movements must do the same and there should be links from the cities and regions of Europe with Yugoslavia. The working class and the masses of Europe, the communist parties and the trade unions must propose a solution alternative to the war. It is necessary to stop the war of capitalism!

**THE WORLD ADVANCE OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.**

This war is also going to have effects throughout the world because it shows the real objective of Yankee imperialism and the results of "globalisation". This is a First of May in which it is possible to make a balance. What have Latin America, Asia and Africa gained from this "model" of "untamed" capitalism.

In Latin America, the anti imperialist struggle has grown. The right, the military and imperialism have not been able to impede the arrival in government of the nationalist sector of Chavez which has stimulated a massive popular participation. Ecuador is inundated with strikes and demonstrations of millions. The struggle in Colombia is reaching new heights. In Mexico millions have mobilised throughout the country in defence of the state owned petroleum industry. Brasil resists the arrogance of the IMF and the government of Cardoso, creates a united front between various states who refuse to pay the debt to the world bank, together with nationalist soldiers and mass movements, particularly with the MST.

The movements for human rights grow in Argentina, Chile and Guatemala. In the latter country the military have been condemned with their accomplices, the North American government and the CIA, such that Clinton was obliged to recognise the "errors".

In Africa the wars and catastrophes provoked and sustained by imperialism weigh a great deal, but very

important movements have developed with the triumph of South Africa and then the Congo which have changed the relation of forces in this part of Africa. Thousands and thousands of workers organise, fight and struggle in all these countries, in Zimbabwe, Namibia, Nigeria, Kenya; in Algeria the masses with immense difficulties succeed in preventing the triumph of the so called Islamic terrorism and also the dictatorship of the new bourgeoisie, by intervening actively in the political struggle. The struggle of the people of the Sahara has resumed.

In Asia, enormous rebellions have occurred in Indonesia, Malaysia, South Korea. The masses have not accepted passively to pay the price of the crisis. They have mobilised in an infinity of forms in uncontrollable conflicts which pose the necessity for organisation. The struggle for the liberation of East Timor continues. In China the masses constantly resist the efforts at privatisation and the corruption of the leadership.

In Europe there is no peaceful road for privatisation and the liquidation of social conquests. Nor does the climate of war detain the struggles for social rights and against unemployment. In the United States itself, the year 1998 saw the victory of the workers of the UPS and of General Motors. All this world struggle to defend the interests of the proletariat and the masses provide the bases for the reconstruction of the instruments of the unification of the class struggles. To proceed from the class struggle to the struggle for the programme of social transformations is the urgent necessity for humanity.

This First of May of struggle against the imperialist war in Yugoslavia returns to put on the agenda with urgency and clarity, the necessity for the anti-imperialist United Front, the concentration of forces, movements and organisations, in the perspective of the Mass Communist International with the programme and the objectives of the construction of socialism on the world level. It is necessary to make a public discussion in all the mass organisation on the crisis of the workers states, on the experiences of socialism and how to retake them, correcting all the distortions and errors in the framework of the evident total failure of the capitalist system in all its forms in the globalised economy.

It is necessary to help, uniting struggles at a local, regional and global level, the masses of the ex-socialist block who feel more than ever furious at the loss of their acquisitions in the workers state and are ready to struggle and retake them. They do not recognise or give any authority to the new authorities or the new bourgeois layers who seek to establish themselves in Hungary, the Czech republic, Bulgaria, Albania, Roumania, Poland etc. Constantly there are strikes and resistances in these countries. Hence imperialism is anxious to precipitate a war situation. It is urgent to communicate to these peoples who will be the first victims of the bellicose advance of imperialism! We appeal to the masses of Albania not to be pressed into the imperialist aggression against Yugoslavia. The KLA does not represent any progress for the Albanians of Kosovo. The Albanian masses after great suffering and struggles succeeded in overthrowing the government of Berisha sustained by Yankee imperialism and the European bourgeoisie. The corrupt

leadership of the so called socialists conciliated with capitalism, sought to disarm the popular committees, created in the struggle against Berisha and afterwards gave immunity to the dictator even when he tried to organise a coup provoking new crimes.

Today the socialists have lost influence, the Albanian masses lack democratic organs through which they can express them selves. Berisha is again reinforced with the support of Nato, and the whole country is subjected to the attack against Yugoslavia. It is necessary to make appeals to the masses of Albania to make solidarity with the masses of Yugoslavia and together impose the withdrawal of the Nato occupation forces. The progress of the whole region passes through the unification of all these countries as has been shown in the experience of the workers state of Tito. We appeal for the discussion of the necessity of the Socialist Federation of all the Balkan countries including the Albanians.

This First of May must be a time of world discussion on the experience of Yugoslavia and of the workers state. Cuba and China must promote this discussion throughout the world, together with the Russ-

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

**FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE YUGOSLAV WORKERS STATE!**

from page 1

The abstentionism of the labour vanguard is not apathy but repudiation of capitalist policies and a pressure for a superior and thus anti capitalist programme and policy.

**THE WORLD PROCESS.**

The war in Yugoslavia sets a new stage for the world process against capitalism. Despite the treachery of the Yeltsin clique, the struggle of the masses of Yugoslavia is going to play a decisive role in concentrating the anti capitalist forces in the former countries of the USSR, and the former socialist block in general. In Vietnam for example there is now a major campaign against corruption and many had wanted to fight in Yugoslavia. North Korea has reaffirmed its basis in the statified and planned economy. China and North Korea are strengthening their alliance.

It will remind the communist vanguard of the period when the former Soviet Union sought to impel the world process against capitalism - the process which Posadas defined as the process of partial regeneration. But it is also necessary to discuss with greater amplitude the reasons for the fall of the former

ian communists, and those of Yugoslavia, of all Europe and the nationalist and revolutionary movements such as that of Ghadafi, the socialist movements and the trade unions. They must discuss the war which imperialism is inevitably preparing. It has to be denounced openly as the Chinese have partly done speaking of "the third world war". Delegations and International Brigades of Solidarity and support for the struggle of the Yugoslav people! The costs of the war will be unloaded on the masses of Europe who have already faced unemployment and reductions in social services for the sake of economic union. The European Union under the dominion of big business is not going to avoid or impede this war. Only the Socialist Federation of Europe can create the bases for full social and economic development and the possibility for social progress in all these countries.

**THE INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.**

18 April 1999.

Soviet Union and the emergence of bureaucracy in China. In the epoch of concentrated imperialism, there is no room for reactionary concepts such as advancing to socialism on the isolated national roads.

The recent elections in South Africa and Indonesia show the uninterrupted advance of forces hostile to imperialism. The latter can complicate but not control these forces. Mbeki in South Africa has reaffirmed that all of Africa is the concern of the masses of South Africa. Ghadafi can play an important role in this. These are progressive forces to balance against the appalling retreat shown in the vicious war between Ethiopia and Eritrea where rival cliques battle for power and the imperialist forces of Savimbi in Angola recommence civil war.

Imperialism has embarked on a crusade against human progress. It will try to benefit from the dispute between the regimes of India and Pakistan. It is seeking to concentrate its military and financial forces, as in Europe with more plans for military unification. It has cemented new military arrangements with Japan and the Philippines, but the masses of the world are maturing rapidly and seek a revitalised revolutionary world communist leadership.



**RENATIONALISE THE PUBLIC UTILITIES  
WITHOUT COMPENSATION AND UNDER  
WORKERS CONTROL!**

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After the destruction of the Yugoslavian economy and the systematic murder of human beings, including hundreds of children-a new high after the most outstanding achievement in destroying Iraq- the Holy Blair with cabinet of war criminals has no need to explain further the third way. It is the same as the first and second ways of world capitalism-"either you submit to our dictatorship or we smash you to bits (but with compassion)." It will be a great relief to the masses of the world to know that when capitalism launches the third world war with nuclear arms it will be accompanied with compassion.

#### THE LIGHT ECONOMY

Despite the talk of rising employment-meaning more low paid jobs-large sectors of manufacturing have been destroyed. Whole areas of the country whether in England, Wales or Scotland have no future. Millions live in poverty and the economists smugly proclaim that the economy is in "quite good shape"-tell that to the pensioners, the young without a future, and whole swathes of the population, including better paid layers who live under stress and with uncertain prospects for the future. Young doctors and teachers are overworked or bureaucratised while the capitalists boast of their immense profits. Yes the economy is good for the hoodlums who go along with the destruction of Yugoslavia and the rest of the world. It must also be satisfactory for the economists who claim we are now in a light economy where manufacturing need not matter anymore. The truth is that capitalism has neither ability nor interest in developing the world economy and is concerned only with arms production, currency speculation, concentrating capital into fewer hands and above all war. The only light economy worth having is one without the unnecessary weight of capitalists.

In Britain the relentless application of neo liberalism continues with the measures of privatisation proposed for air traffic control and the post office plus the most recent attacks on public sector workers.

The anti capitalist sentiment against a government which produces a miserable minimum wage, an insult to the working population and oppresses the disabled and single parents, was seen in the demonstration against the banks in London.

## THE LABOUR ABSTENTION IS A REJECTION OF THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT OF WAR CRIMINALS AND SEEKS THE SOCIAL REVOLUTION TO SMASH CAPITALISM.

The popular rejection of GMOs has also confronted the policy of the government which has defended the monopolies.

Hence this trashy financial dictatorship has now extended the right of the coercive state to use rubber bullets throughout Britain-hitherto their usage was confined to smashing up the oppressed in Northern Ireland.

**TUC AND LABOUR CONFERENCES** These conferences confirm that the Labour party is now the preferred party of the financial oligarchy controlling the fate of capitalism.

The TUC supported the bombing of Yugoslavia and no mention was made of the destruction of Iraq. It is a rabid supporter of private property and a convinced enemy of socialism and human progress.

It claims that the class struggle no longer applies to British politics and major union leaders openly support the Euro, the instrument of European capitalist dictatorship. Its odd they do not adopt the nazi slogan "arbeit macht frei". The TGWU again demanded repeal of anti union laws but its just routine. They do nothing to organise opposition. Its the same when criticising the government conniving at long working hours or demanding more welfare expenditure.

It is true that in the TGWU and UNISON there are demands for public ownership. The TGWU proposes renationalisation of the public utilities. This was linked with demands for workers control, but these will never come with the agreement of the capitalist class.

How is nationalisation going to come about? Capitalism after the second world war may have tolerated it, but not now as capitalism goes towards more violent attacks on the world masses and world war.

The Labour party conference was even more bizarre with Blair spouting his usual garbage about the end of the class struggle and the minister of education promising severity for parents of children who are truant from school! Nothing was said on the barbaric bombing of Iraq

and Yugoslavia or the dirty game over East Timor in allowing the Indonesian military massacre as they pleased. Nor was anything raised on the Israeli bombing of Lebanon. Such conferences are now mere show meetings of the various apparatchiks, with no relation to the reality of bombed cities and ruined peoples. Parliaments are similar farces-the power lies with the world corporations and the military in Nato.

**THE NEED FOR A REVOLUTIONARY MARXIST VANGUARD.**

It is necessary to reiterate that the LP has always responded not to the demands of the masses but to the convenience of capitalism. Thus when capitalism needed the Keynesian model the LP went along with it and when capitalism in different mode required the neo liberal policy the LP adopted to that. The "left" was always an accessory because it was eclectic and quite uncommitted to the class struggle. It was a permanent joke that whatever the LP conference decided, the leadership would ignore. There was a period in the phase of the partial regeneration in the Soviet Union when a leap could have been made, but the collapse of the Soviet Union brought out all the failings of this so-called left. Thus it has been very easy for the Blair clique to make the LP the preferred instrument of big business.

This is not only the end of social democracy, it is a situation where such parties act as main agents of capitalism. From the point of view of the world financial oligarchy and Nato, the Blair government is more useful than the traditional conservative party to represent its decisions. The conservatives have interests which resist unification with Europe - which is the line of Nato and the US.

With the merciless attack on Yugoslavia and the growing abstention of the labour masses, it is no good thinking that all is the same ie the old reformists will finally triumph on the basis of the trade unions. The bulk of the trade union leadership support world capitalism and the LP is

now the principal instrument of capitalism in Britain sustained by millionaires. The vast majority of labour MPs supported the Nato bombardment of Yugoslavia.

The basis for resistance to the criminals in the LP apparatus is the development of an organised marxist current in the TUs and the factories, based on the principles of nationalisation and workers control, that is the class struggle and the perspective of the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism. The world communist parties must return to Lenin, Trotsky and the traditions of Bolshevism. Assuredly if they fail to respond to the processes of international civil and world war, they will be replaced or transformed by popular and communist guerilla movements.

It is important to see that the Labour masses remain centralised. They do not wander off to the groups. Those who abstain maintain themselves centralised but against the Labour policies. The abstention is not only a blow against capitalism, it is a blow directed against all those who place their faith in parliamentary reformism.

Those who continue to vote Labour despite the pro capitalist policies of Blair will be the weakest sectors. Naturally the destruction of British and world imperialism depends on the stages and level of the world revolutionary process. But all that contributes to this process in Britain itself facilitates the construction of the leadership of what will be the genuine mass party to construct socialism.

**NO SOLUTION FOR IRELAND  
OUTSIDE THE ENDING OF CAPITALISM.**

The continuous attacks by the unionist politicians on Sinn Fein over the issue of arms surrender shows the tenuous nature of this agreement for an Irish Assembly. The Unionist position is totally dishonest. They have oppressed the Catholic minority for years and the fascist elements continue to do so. It is a class struggle which

is taking place. Sinn Fein organised demonstrations against the bombing of Yugoslavia, the Unionists supported the war. There we have it quite simply. The "sectarian divide" is a particular expression of the class struggle. There can only be truces in this fight. There will be no lasting peace until capitalism is smashed in Ireland, North and South. Southern Ireland is already referred to as the fifty first state of the USA.

**THE WORLD CRISIS OF HUMANITY IS THE CRISIS OF LEADERSHIP.**

The attack on Yugoslavia marks a new stage in the struggle against world capitalism. It has shown in the most dramatic form the total absence of the necessary leaderships to organise and confront the capitalist system. But it has also polarised the forces entering into struggle. A massive inter continental combat is in process. Our confidence is based on the great capacity of the masses to learn from experience and to struggle even in the most unfavourable circumstances. East Timor has been a tragedy because it was obliged to struggle alone and at the mercy of the imperialist powers hiding behind UNO. It is no use the "left" thinking that UNO serves any useful purpose-its simply a means - like the League of Nations- for the "International Community" (US imperialism and its stooges) to take holy communion, while they strive to crush the anti imperialist and anti capitalist mass struggles. Imperialism has played a despicable game over East Timor-they knew that after the election, the Indonesian army would massacre. Imperialism is quite pleased with the outcome, because potentially awkward people have been killed or demoralised. The UN has also allowed the KLA in Kosovo to be turned into a militia which will continue its terrorism of the Serb people backed by Nato.

In the ominous twilight of imperialism, there can be no peace, only a titanic conflict between the forces who struggle for progress and those who try to engulf humanity in a barbaric degeneration, that is the maintenance of capitalism. The regimes which still cannot ignore the weight of anti imperialist and anti capitalist sentiment such as Russia and China are obliged to organise their defences against Nato. The latter

continued on page 4.

# THE ATTACK ON YUGOSLAVIA IS PART OF THE ACCELERATED PREPARATION OF THE WAR BY THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM TO DESTROY CHINA, RUSSIA AND WHAT REMAINS OF THE WORKERS STATES, TO SMASH REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS AND SECURE ITS WORLD DOMINATION PART 1.

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP  
POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

The war of world imperialism against Yugoslavia forms part of the preparations for world war which imperialism is making against all the states which maintain organised forces and structures that can lead to the retaking of the advance towards socialism. But it is not only Russia, China, Cuba, Vietnam, and North Korea which are to be smashed.

International capitalism wishes to impose a new world colonisation via technological and financial control.

At the same time the furious fight between the various monopoly centres acquires warlike levels in financial speculations, with massive catastrophes of entire countries and regions at the cost of millions and millions of human beings. These directly or indirectly pay the price for capitalist social relations-Mexico, Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand, South Korea and Brasil are only the most notorious examples of the recent debacle of the capitalist economy.

The IMF, the World Bank, the WTO everywhere seek to impose their dominion. Even Japan finds itself in permanent difficulties and is obliged to yield ground in the spheres of international finance, world and domestic markets. "Europe" in struggle between the capitalist states of Britain, Germany and France is obliged to make a "holy alliance" against Yugoslavia, submitted to the United States and its instrument of world military domination, Nato.

The anarchy and the struggle to the death between the capitalist monopolies led capitalism into two world wars. As Posadas analysed, the postponement of the third world war by imperialism was due to the existence of the world system of workers states and revolutionary states, which placed on the agenda the generalised extension of the revolution. This led to a situation of dual power in the world whereby imperialism could not launch the war "when, how or where it wished". The primary objective of this war was the final settlement of accounts with the socialist system and with the social revolution in general. The secondary objective was the affirmation of the supremacy of Yankee imperialism over the other capitalist centres.

The partial collapse of the block led by the Soviet Union changed these conditions and led to the acceleration of all this process. The massive propaganda of imperialism that "communism had failed" sustained by some sectors of the world "left", has obscured the reality that there exist profound forces for socialism in the partially disintegrated workers states which imperialism fears and wishes to extirpate. Russia, China, Cuba, North Korea and Vietnam contain enormous social forces who know very well the difference between socialism and what Nato capitalism has to offer-war, exploitation, degradation and poverty. China is a world power whose masses cannot be subdued by the bureaucracy and its concessions to capitalist enterprise. Despite the profoundly contradictory character of this transitory workers

state, its enormous economic and scientific progress, such that it is now a major nuclear power, weighs against the attempted Yankee imperialist dictatorship and demands a socialist solution.

Cuba may not have much social or economic weight, but it has maintained itself as a bulwark of the experience of the workers state on the international plane and is a permanent attraction for the process of the Latin American revolution.

Also North Korea with immense difficulties, compounded by a backward leadership has the confidence to defy Yankee imperialism with its own nuclear arms and affirms its belief in nationalised property and planning. Similarly Vietnam has reaffirmed its socialist objectives. In all the states of Eastern Europe and parts of the former Soviet Union where privatisation has developed, there is no stable regime and the masses are in various stages of rebellion.

## THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKERS STATE.

In Yugoslavia the civil and military resistance against the imperialist aggression cannot be explained in terms of Serb nationalism or the obstinacy of the "dictator" Milosevic. The profound resilience and solidarity of the population in front of the incessant bombings, the defiance expressed as human shields, the sharing of food in the conditions of emergency, the sense of mutual aid, the collective aid of refugees, although the country is full of refugees, is not just the result of nationalist exaltation, it is due to the social formation from the experience of the workers state. All this despite the dismantling of the Yugoslavian workers state to which the team of Milosevic contributed.

The Yugoslav masses have used the war to find their own voice, not in the form of street demonstrations, but in the objective conduct to begin immediately reconstruction and not to fall for the provocations of imperialism. This can be seen in the rejection of the highly organised "opposition", openly sustained by US money. The population sees that this opposition is only a prolongation by other means of the military bombardment by Nato and has the same objective-to install a regime subject to the domination of imperialism.

Certainly the masses of Yugoslavia have many reasons for dissatisfaction with the Milosevic government. If they had the adequate instruments-a revolutionary marxist leadership-they could have exercised a revolutionary criticism and blocked the process of privatisations and corrected all the previous policy which gave rise to the onset of separatism, beginning with proposing a socialist reunification of all Yugoslavia and the United Socialist States of all the countries of the Balkans, posing self determination in this way. This would have deprived the ultra Albanian nationalists and the Serb nationalists of their platform, which is

a cover for plundering the workers state and privatising the wealth produced by the workers state. Such a leadership does not exist and the highest priority is to construct it. But [the duty of those who believe in socialism and communism is to take the best elements from such a complex situation to be able to construct a leadership. A revolutionary leadership in Yugoslavia and the areas of the ex Yugoslavia must be based on the conduct of the masses in this war experience which has still not ended.

## SOLIDARITY WITH YUGOSLAVIA!

Those who reduce everything to ridiculing Milosevic, his wife and his party, understand nothing. Certainly these will be judged finally on the harmful results arising from self management and regionalism, accompanied by collaboration with capitalism, accepting loans and investments which finally disintegrated the economy. These policies had begun under Tito, but with the fall of the Soviet Union, advanced with the weakness of the leadership of the Communist League, the lack of centralisation and of a democratic soviet functioning in society. In the final analysis this was the same process that led to the fall of the S. Union; the existence of counter revolutionary layers of the bureaucracy who preferred alliance with imperialism. The wave of privatisations and the "normalisation" of the economy, that is accepting capitalist criteria, led to the destruction of the social gains and of Yugoslavia as a multi ethnic state. It is not possible to speak of Milosevic without speaking of all this process! None of the existing governments such as Bosnia, Croatia or Slovenia are outside this criminal destruction of the socialist experience. If Milosevic has his share in this disaster, he did place some limits in a reduced Yugoslavia to the orgy of privatisations. Hence the war to enforce the policy of the IMF-unbridled capitalism. It shows that war is going to be used to impose the capitalist economy and that the leadership of Yugoslavia had at least the dignity to reject the imperialist ultimatum. It is well established that imperialism in its "surgical" destruction of the stultified economy of Yugoslavia carefully avoided damaging capitalist and foreign enterprises.

What the imperialists seek is to erase the slightest memory of the alternative to private property the remnants of the workers state.

In Yugoslavia we are not in the presence of a revolutionary team with texts which makes a dialogue with the workers and corrects its positions, but nonetheless there has been a transitory centralisation in this team which confronted imperialism and the provocations in Kosovo and incorporated the army. They resisted the assassins and seek their own solutions for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia. This means some compromise with the masses

and a consensus on the part of the leadership.

The masses of Yugoslavia look at the semi fascist Croatia and Slovenia, virtually colonies of Germany, at Bosnia, a mafia centre of corruption and knock down privatisation and at Albania dominated by the mafia and a subsidiary of the CIA. They can see already what is meant by joining the "club" of the countries newly colonised by imperialism. Thus they see through the opposition groups openly financed by Yankee imperialism and the governing clique in Montenegro with its lying promises about the fruits of mafia democracy.

It is necessary to insist on the appeals for the return to socialism, to retake the control of the privatised utilities and expropriate everything which imperialism has not destroyed or bombed. Although it is possible to accept foreign investments for reconstruction, it is necessary to impose state participation and workers control, as in the Zastava car factory with Fiat capital. It is necessary to make a united front for reconstruction with all the local and world forces which were opposed to the Nato aggression and to seek the support of China and Russia despite all the criticism which has to be made of these bureaucratic leaderships for the slowness and weakness of their reactions in front of the Nato attack. It must be considered that many military and communist sectors are drawing the conclusions that the real objective of this war is the liquidation of what remains of the workers states in the world. It is not a question of Slav solidarity, but of the survival and legitimate defence of the most important conquests of the world workers movement in this century. Hence it is necessary to sustain the reconstruction, to prevent Yugoslavia reaching the situation of Iraq which imperialism hopes slowly to destroy through poverty and exhaustion.

The Posadist IV International appeals to the world communist, socialist and revolutionary movement, the trade unions, the popular organisations and movements to sustain with their solidarity the people of Yugoslavia, to impede its isolation and to intervene in the reconstruction, to discuss the experience of the dismantling of Yugoslavia and its results and to contribute to the discussion on the unification, the retaking of the experience of the shared life between peoples and ethnic groups without discrimination and separations. In the world of global economy there is no justification for the atomisation of peoples who have lived and progressed together for almost forty years. Self determination has nothing to do with the present nationalisms which are separatisms fabricated and stimulated by imperialism and only ruin the peoples they wish to dominate as is attempted in the former USSR and as is happening in Africa and the rest of the world.

If imperialism is seeking to find solutions to problems such as Northern Ireland, Corsica or the Basques, it is because economically it has no more interest there and all its attention is placed on the concentration at a world level in competition and war. The only "self determination" possible under the control of present imperialism is the complete subordination of peoples to the capitalist model in its most barbarous forms. This is the recipe which they are trying to apply to Yugoslavia.

This same imperialism has assumed the defence of the Kosovo Albanians, and systematically, with the use of enormous resources has stimulated confrontation, hatred and massacre. It has done this with the support of the most reactionary emigrants with their lobbies in the USA and Germany, employs mercenaries and finally launches a savage war which has nothing to do with "self determination" of anyone. The fact of supporting the KLA mafia reminds us of the support of Yankee imperialism to the Italian mafia in the second world war and shows the real nature of the intervention.

If there is still a sector of the "left" which wonders over the "humanitarian" aid, it is enough to consider the media of this "western civilisation" in relation to the two hundred thousand Serb and Romany refugees who had to flee Kosovo. They have been subject to every type of atrocity at the hands of the KLA with the full connivance of Nato who have gone nothing to disarm them (they armed them originally). However we hear nothing here about "humanitarian aid" nor are there pages full of the horrors of the KLA assassins. No, Nato has completed its dirty work with one of the most colossal media manipulations in history. The systematic lying over vast atrocities fades away, but the real crimes of the Nato assassins come to light with the destruction of the environment and the wealth created by a whole people. Moreover there is the incident which Clarke tried to provoke with the Russian troops in Pristina. His enthusiasm to provoke the third world war was hardly restrained, but reveals the murderous intentions and the real objective of Nato and the United States in particular.

## IMPERIALISM NEEDS WAR TO OBLITERATE THE EXPERIENCE OF THE WORKERS STATE.

When Yankee imperialism decrees that the cost of reconstruction must be paid by Europe, this means that there will be no reconstruction, just as there was no Marshall plan for Russia after Gorbachev. The real objective of imperialism is to maintain Yugoslavia including Kosovo in utter poverty and an excuse for interference at any time. Only look at Albania seven years after "the fall of communism".

All this shows that the real objective of world imperialism is to eliminate from the world scene whatever socialist experience there is, even bureaucratic or distorted experienced on page 4

## These are extracts from a much larger text.

It is necessary to reaffirm the importance of the first seven years of the Russian revolution and to pose among other concerns the great historic quality of Lenin. The vital centre of his historic function was to have understood the necessity of constructing the party, monolithic and centralised, as a function of the conscious objectives of the struggle for power, the construction of the workers state and socialism.

He knew how to create a world team of revolutionaries who lived with these objectives.

The historic function of the great geniuses of history such as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky is measured through their objectives in history. Lenin constructed the party through texts and books developing the communist morale before actually attaining communism, making the party live the communist sentiments as the essential base in the circulation, of the development and the capacity of communist ideas.

Lenin constructed the party, united in the indestructible iron will for the struggle for power and in its internal relations, maintaining the internal confidence and the fraternal life. Thus the circulation of ideas could be a permanent development of collective relations and sentiments. This then leads to better ideas, better qualities and a greater capacity, thus giving a greater assurance to the party which is then transmitted to the class.

All the texts of Lenin for programme, policy and tactic were secondary, although fundamental for their epoch. They were secondary as compared with the historic work which was represented by the construction of the party, the communist programme and will, the communist morale and fraternity and the internal communist relation. This gave assurance to the masses of one of the most backward nations, that it was possible to take power. A small group of workers in Russia stimulated millions and millions of the peasantry and led them to take power.

Thus it was not only the right ideas or the tactic or capacity, but also the weight of the conduct and of communist fraternity which provided security in the human relations and the assurance in to-morrow.

The programme and the policy constituted the structure of the party, the functioning which allowed the communist conviction to develop, the ideas and the tactic. This is how we think of Lenin as did Trotsky. He understood the historic greatness of Lenin and it is necessary to read the writing of Trotsky on Lenin. He learnt from Lenin the conception of the party and that is what it was necessary to show. It is not possible to say that Lenin was a genius of history because he wrote such and such a text or that he conducted such and such a policy. That was not the genius of Lenin. It consisted in understanding the instruments which were necessary to construct history, just as Marx understood the necessity of the Communist Manifesto and the First International were necessary. In this way the historic assurance was given that communism was possible and could be achieved. Marx wrote Capital as a necessary

instrument, now it is no longer necessary. In the period of Lenin, it was the party which was necessary and Lenin constructed it.

He developed the qualities and the capacity of the militants and the leaders. He tried to utilise every human being so that he or she might be useful for the communist objective as a public benefit. His polemics were not so as to show that he was right, to exalt himself or feel an individual satisfaction, to win in an intellectual or cultural polemic. He wrote, discussed, polemicised so that the truth and reason was advanced and life was organised for action. Thought and action were indivisible for Lenin. In this synthesis he developed the capacity of thought for a more elevated action.

That is the historic example of Lenin. That is why his works have an unrivalled dynamism. Neither time, nor the progress of history, nor socialism annul the ability of Lenin.

The Bolshevik party was enabled to incorporate into history the most backward sectors of humanity such as peasants and the workers who had no contact with culture, to lead society through the soviets, through the instrument which is the party. That was the achievement of Lenin and the party.

It is for that reason that the leaderships of the workers states and the majority of the leaderships of the communist parties forget Lenin and see only fragments of his work. They see the articles, their acuity and ability. But as Trotsky observed "Lenin is all of a piece", because he had the objective of constructing communism and the communist before the actual advent of communism. He tried to use humanity so that it might be useful to this historic objective which is communism. Lenin had no individual objectives and tried to concentrate the limited qualities of each individual in the essential centre which was to construct the party, to develop the struggle for power, the qualities of the masses even of the most backward so that they could direct history.

Trotsky was the revolutionary who wrote most completely and profoundly on Lenin, his childhood and biography. All the others who have written on Lenin have falsified the historic objectivity of Lenin, his historic function and see him as a marionette, an "intellectual" or "genius" in the abstract and not as the constructor of the human will.

## FUNCTION OF THE SOVIETS.

It is not possible to think of Lenin apart from soviets. Those who speak of Lenin do not refer much to soviets. But Lenin was very much soviets, which means the socialist democracy on which is based the dictatorship of the proletariat, the will of the masses to take power and the strength of the workers state. This is because the soviets means the will of the masses, the development of their capacity to reason, to discuss, to exchange ideas and to influence each other. In the soviet, the masses see the possibility of developing as leaders and to develop ideas and to be put in contact with all the problems of history. Then

what appeared difficult seems simple and accessible. Certain problems seem difficult because the capitalist system teaches as a function of commercial interest. Thus it has administrators, managers as bandits. The workers state has no need of managers and administrators in this sense, but a need for the control by the masses and that is sufficient. The manager and the administrator serve to defend the interests of private property, the interest of those who command. But the workers state needs only control to order and co-ordinate production, its orientation and implementation. It is a question of workers control, of factory and peasant committees.

The lack of technical knowledge can be quickly overcome in historic terms. Thus the soviet masses who originally were amongst the most backward in the world, constructed in fifty years an unprecedented industrial base because of the confidence in socialism. Thus they created the capacity to develop atomic arms to confront imperialism. China has developed in twenty years what capitalism was incapable of developing in a thousand, with a backward functioning, without soviets, but with communes. The latter is a function of economic necessity, but the soviet has as political function.

The soviet was invented by the masses in the course of the 1905 revolution but Lenin through the Bolshevik party understood the historic significance of this creation of the masses. Thus all those who separate Lenin from the soviets make a caricature of him. They think the soviet was alright for its time, but it has been superseded. By what of course they do not say. Trotsky wrote on the subject showing how the soviet organised the different and oppressed layers of the population, with layers in production having some technical knowledge. The soviet unified them in the will to make society advance. The soviet was the most complete, the least expensive and the most efficient instrument in all human history.

The soviets existed during the first seven years of the Russian Revolution. We repeat to understand Lenin is to affirm the soviets. The soviet bureaucracy and the leaderships of the communist parties forget the soviets. They recall Lenin and render homage to him, which has its importance, because they are placed in contact with history and the masses of the world. Before, they acclaimed Churchill and Roosevelt, but the latter have no importance now. But they acclaim Lenin at the same time as they deprive him of his essential historic quality which is the communist ability to concentrate in the will to take power, to construct the party prepared in constant practice, in the democratic internal life and revolutionary fraternity to develop the will for the taking of power. It is for that reason that the crises in Bolshevik party were only caused by positions and ideas.

Posadas. September 1968.

The crisis of the world communist parties is very acute. Despite the favourable objective circumstances which exist to develop programme and policy for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, there is no common agreement and even over the brutal attack by imperialism on Yugoslavia, there were no appeals to the world masses to intervene. The reasons for this incapacity lie ultimately with the destruction of the Comintern by Stalinism and the non marxist conception that every party has its national road to socialism. The final result of this accumulated perversion of marxism has been in many cases an adaptation of the party either to the parliamentary ambience of the main capitalist countries or to the needs of the local bureaucracies in Russia, China etc.

The case of the PCF is especially devastating in this process. It is now a junior partner in the Jospin government which participated in the alliance to flatten Yugoslavia. It should be remembered that the Jospin government contributed the largest number of European fighter planes to the war against Yugoslavia and these were placed under Yankee command without any problem.

Under the Presidential structure in France the so called "socialist" Jospin shares power with the representative of French imperialism Chirac. French capitalism despite criticisms is quite happy with Jospin and with some reason. Jospin specialises in the area of taking up positions which mask a steady adaptation to capitalism. Thus this particular artful dodger declined to sign the "Third way" Manifesto of Blair and Schroder, but in practice he goes with the capitalist "flow". He quickly abandoned any tax on international capital movements. As for the thirty five hour week - which was supposed to mean fewer hours for the same pay - it has given a good excuse to the employers to speed up technical changes and bring in more part time as opposed to full time workers. In 1998 four fifths of jobs created in the private sector were on short term contracts. This should have been foreseen by the communists. Workers control is necessary to implement the thirty five hour week if it is really going to benefit the workers. Otherwise the employers will use it for their own advantage as has happened.

Jospin expresses dismay at large scale dismissals at Michelin and at the next moment says "it is not by laws and regulations that you run an economy". The communists protest but Hue then says that they do not believe in "old fashioned statism" which means what exactly? The Jospin government came in on a programme to stop privatisation, but it has excelled in that area. It has put up for sale state owned enterprises more than its five predecessors put together and indeed has sold stakes in areas hitherto considered strategic such as fighter aircraft and telephone lines. The communist minister for transport Gaysot was present with the "socialist" Strauss Kahn to announce the partial privatisation of Air France which had always resisted this process! How is that for all round capitulation then? This sector of the PCF destroys any confidence in the vanguard that it has socialist objectives. The old Stalinists say the PCF has turned into a social democratic party but they have led the way. For years they led the party into an impasse

with their rejection of the process in 1968 and their incapacity to understand the fall in the social weight of the party for over forty years. This party originally one of the most powerful communist parties in Europe has produced no important texts on its own decline or the fall of the Soviet Union. Thus although France is a mass of anti capitalist dissatisfaction from racial persecution to job insecurity to the fury of French farmers, the CP has not benefited and stagnates at about six point eight percent as in the European election.

There is no sign that the leadership has any marxist principles at all. It abandoned what it called democratic centralism, although there is no evidence that it was ever practiced. Its structure was bureaucratic and it now goes for "pluralism" and "mutation" ie nothing to do with marxism. This leadership is so frail that although originally opposed to the Maastricht treaty it has left that position in favour of "democratic reforms". This is all very remote from the declaration of the Communist Manifesto "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and opinions. They openly declare that their aims can be attained only by the forcible overthrow of all existing social conditions". Marx did not stand on a programme of reformism. The PCF does. There is certainly much opposition to the Hue line, but the political life is limited and the years of administrative inertia weigh profoundly so that it is difficult to expect a rapid change from the catastrophic line which is being pursued. The opposition must weigh critically to stimulate a return to Bolshevik norms on the basis of full discussion and not blind empirical adaptations to parliamentarianism.

## POPULAR RESISTANCE TO GMOs

The interventions of the ecological groups against the attempted imposition of genetically modified crops is very important. The government of big business "New Labour" intended to impose the dictates of the Yankee monopolies. But it suddenly found that the population was not at all impressed by the promise of genetic engineering from such as Monsanto. The effect of this popular pressure has meant that supermarkets fearful of losing consumers were obliged to take a position against the GMOs. The degree of popular resistance cannot be underestimated. It shows the depth of anti capitalist contempt in the population which does not find representation in the existing leaderships in this country. One can expect nothing from the Labour leadership but the trade unions are equally ambiguous on the discussion or at least organise nothing.

The issue raises many questions and in the depth they are not scientific but social. The counter revolutionary spokesmen of capitalism try to present the widespread opposition to GMOs as due to popular "ignorance" or "fear" of "progress". In this they try to use pro capitalist so-called scientists with arrogant condescension to dismiss scientists who doubt the value of GMOs.

The object of the corporations devoting research to GMOs is quite simple and the masses can see this. It is to effect an ever more powerful control over agricultural production. In the USA this already extends to soya beans, cotton and maize. It is even more evident in the cynical expropriation of genetic building blocks in plants and animals,

throughout the world.

They gain patents on such sequences which means control of use and price. It is an incredible plunder for the benefit of the world financial oligarchy especially in the USA.

The seed production requires the appropriate fertiliser also controlled by the great monopolies. The result is that these hope to dominate agriculture not only in the main capitalist states, but in the poorest states of the world, in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The monopolies who could not care how many people die from the wars of private property, assert that these feats of genetic engineering will solve world starvation. And how will the poor of the world afford the products of the monopolies? The only way to solve the problems of the poor in the world is the policy of agrarian reform in the structure of the workers state with planning and soviet control. Neither the capitalists nor the bureaucracies can solve anything because they fear the direct intervention of the masses.

The scandals associated with the BSE crisis and now the Belgian experience with dioxin in poultry pork and beef, have developed in the population a real fear of the consequences of capitalist "entrepreneurship" (swindling) in food and further undermines capitalist authority. Nonetheless the depraved capitalist thugs in government and the corporations will hope to win because there is no control over big business. They will smirk happily as GMOs are released into the environment without control in waste from various

laboratories and factories, involved with research in GMOs. They can pronounce that GMOs are perfectly safe but who says so? The scientists, but which scientists?

In the ferocious concentration of capital, the capitalist state is simply a willing tool in the hands of big business. In Britain private capital has become a major source of research funding.

Some scientists enter the arena of capitalism in joyous embrace. The policy of reducing state expenditure has opened the way for the direct capitalist control of scientific research. Which scientists are genuinely "independent"? One scientist who had the gall to suggest GMOs could be dangerous was immediately condemned by the scientific establishment.

The population sees all this and no longer has illusions in the detached scientist free of commercial pressures. Some scientists are in favour of human progress, but social change will come from the masses not from scientists bound hand and foot by business sharks.

But the most important conclusion of the experiences against the GMOs is that there is enormous anti capitalist sentiment in the country. The recent massive abstentions in the elections are part of the same phenomenon. A new type of revolutionary leadership is necessary to establish the workers state. Then science and nature will develop free of the boa constrictor of private property which distorts research and ruins the earth and humanity.

**ABOLISH THE MONARCHY AND THE HOUSE OF LORDS!**

**FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!**

from page 2

ience as in the present regime in Yugoslavia. "It is necessary to destroy what remains of socialism". This is the slogan of world capitalism. It is simply in different circumstances the slogan of Hitler "Bolshevism must be erased from the earth". It is true other interests have their particular concerns, the profits from reconstruction, arms sales to the countries of eastern Europe. But that is all secondary compared to the final objective of the war against Yugoslavia. Tomorrow it will be Russia and the world.

It is necessary to discuss with the Albanian population of Kosovo that they have been deceived by their leaders, all in lesser or greater degree, agents of imperialism, independently that some groups may have a left past or may have represented legitimate aspirations of the Albanian speaking population. The fact

is that these "leaders" have not acted in the name of progress, but to subordinate their own people to the interests of imperialism, of clans and of the mafia. It is necessary to help the Albanian people to free themselves from the influence of these cliques. Even some of these refugees have said to the press that "life was better in the time of Tito". It is necessary to show them that there is no progress, if there is no retaking of the socialist experience of Yugoslavia but more advanced and elevated than before! For Albanians, Macedonians, Serbs, Yugoslavs of all nationalities, language and culture, to be united for socialist reconstruction for the common benefit! Down with Nato! Out with the occupation troops! Mobilisation of all the workers in Macedonia, Albania, Yugoslavia, Kosovo, against all discrimination, based on ethnic and cultural origin!

27 8 99

**NATO ASSASSINS OUT OF KOSOVO AND YUGOSLAVIA!**

**FOR THE SOCIALIST SOVIET FEDERATION OF THE BALKANS.!**

from page 3

The case of the PCF finds its echo in other communist parties in Europe with variants. The PDS in Germany has done well in elections but what is its future orientation? Schroder of the SDP is in deep trouble, but he persists in the line of pro capitalist demands. The United Front must be one from below with the SDP masses and a vigorous support for the class struggle to dispose of German imperialism. The struggle for power in Germany must combine demands for immediate gains with the perspective of expropriating the key industries and banks under workers control. It is a marvellous opportunity for the PDS. Parliamentary elections are not the final objective. Taking power is. It is necessary that all the CPs learn from the experiences of the past and reject accommodation to the electoral game and accommodation to the so called social democratic parties in Europe. These supported the war against Yugoslavia which makes them willing supporters of Yankee imperialism and its plans for war and world domination.

from page 1

is now co-ordinating a new Balkan military alliance which includes Italy and Turkey.

Naturally we place no minimum confidence in the present leaderships in Moscow or Beijing. The ferocious turmoil in the mafia leadership in Moscow has led to the vicious war in Chechnya. It typifies the Yeltsin clique that they can bomb Chechnya but did nothing to help Yugoslavia.

We call upon the communist parties to return to a Bolshevik functioning as part of the preparation for the war which is to come, the struggle to take power on a world scale and for the construction of socialism. They must make appeals to the world workers and peasants explaining what is afoot, providing the programme of expropriations and appealing for every effort to ruin the military plans of the North American plutocracy in particular.