

WE SALUTE CHINESE AID TO YUGOSLAVIA!

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The imperialist attack on Yugoslavia has been a decisive step towards the final settlement of accounts between the forces of world capitalism and imperialism and the world forces of the socialist revolution. It has made clear who supports what. It has sorted the wheat from the chaff. The so called social democratic parties came out as pro imperialist as have many so called "left" sectors. It has objectively destroyed the left reformists who have based their hopes on electoral results able to "moderate" and reform the capitalist tiger. But the latter is not for reforming. On the contrary its appetite has increased. It has gobbled the social democracy with immense satisfaction and seeks everywhere possible, to impose its programme of expropriating the wealth produced by millions of workers and peasants into fewer and fewer hands.

The labour vanguard repudiated the war on Yugoslavia with massive and decisive demonstrations. And what has happened since the war? It has become clear that the story of vast Serb massacres of the Albanians was completely mendacious and that Yankee and world imperialism desire to overthrow the government in Belgrade because it interferes with their war plans to turn the Balkans into a capitalist colony and a base to attack Russia. The war has been a disaster for all the masses of Yugoslavia and the surrounding peoples and the Albanian KLA is simply a terrorist fascist adjunct to Nato with the object of murdering and oppressing the Serb population. What have Tribune and the trade union leaderships and Livingstone to say to that? Nothing and the reason is that they are not socialists, but "liberal" imperialists. The fact that a so called "left" union Unison is apparently supporting this creep Livingstone for mayor of London, although the said union repudiated the war against Yugoslavia shows the gross collaborationist mentality of the trade union functionaries and the need for a far more principled discussion in the workers movement on the world and national process.

As Unison came out against the war it should have fielded its own candidate and the issue against privatisation of the London underground should have been linked to the demand for renationalisation of the railways under workers control and without compensation.

The attacks on the grovelling Livingstone by Blair is simply to show big business that the LP is now its instrument and it need have no

fears of even minor disobedience. The results of the war in Yugoslavia are also being ignored by the media who have turned their attention to recording the fall of the DDR, overlooking the disastrous effect which the imposition of capitalist methods has had on the populations of Eastern Europe. The media slobes have also turned their attention to expressing "grief" over the war in Chechnya. Articles have been written saying Stalin was worse than Hitler and elaborating the terrible crimes attributed to "communism". The fact that two world wars came out of the heart of capitalist private property is curiously disregarded. Maoism is similarly regularly charged with massacres. The regime of the Kuomintang and its massacres over years is all forgotten. As for comparing capitalism with "communism", capitalism has been around for centuries—all filled with war, followed by war, followed by war. The logic of capitalism is war. Its massacres dwarf the crimes of stalinism which in any case has nothing to do with marxism and expressed the usurpation of the October Revolution by a bureaucratic caste.

THE BLAIR GOVERNMENT OF BIG BUSINESS HAS NOTHING TO OFFER EXCEPT LIES AND INCOMPETENCE.

The recent railway disaster at Paddington and the figures showing the financial crisis in the national health service are prime examples of what this famous "new labour" really means. Concern for people is of no importance.

The only interest for capitalism is whether they can wipe out their competitors and if this means unemployment or deteriorating social conditions so what? After centuries of technological and scientific progress whole areas of Britain are reduced to desolation. Housing is a permanent problem for millions and all the form filling in the world cannot guarantee good education or secure jobs because the future of the capitalist economy is one not of a continuous expansion but of global uncertainty, crisis and speculation. When Gordon Brown droans on about "prudence" and everything is lovely because big business is happy with his government, it is really a confession of total cap-

italist incompetence. There are constant factory closures and no answers to anything. They cannot even solve or begin to solve the interminable traffic problems. The social policies of "welfare to work" are simply the organisation of poverty. Blair goes on the most absurd trip to the north of England to explain that in fact there is no North-South divide because poverty is everywhere.

All that this government has provided is more gasbags in the Scottish Parliament and the Welsh Assembly. The more capitalist society advances towards its fall, the more its chatter descends into infantilism.

The disputes over the French refusal to accept British beef exports, leading to recriminations and much xenophobic garbage from sectors of the Conservative party exhibit the hopeless imbecility of the capitalist system whether on the British or European scale. The populations of Europe have no trust in agricultural controls or the objectivity of so called scientists and everything is subjected to inter capitalist dispute. It is like the conflict over the Euro where all the interests expressed are capitalist ie those who wish to integrate with the European monopolies or those who defend capitalist interests outside the euro. Either way the proletariat is not directly represented.

ROLE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTIES.

Whereas the socialist parties capitulated over the war in Yugoslavia, the communist parties whatever their very grave weaknesses, repudiated the war completely and analysed the Nato attack not as an aberration or as concerned with Serb-Albanian disputes, but as part of the plans of imperialism for world domination. Unfortunately after this, it is difficult to see any important conclusions that they have drawn. Each party seems to bumble along with little internal discussion or discussion with other CPs or if this is done it is without any public expression. To intervene in these parties is quite complicated. On the one

hand they claim to be following Marxism but in fact Marx and Lenin are often reduced to the level of icons and their methods ignored in practice.

There are no commonly agreed texts on the fall of the Soviet Union or the origins of Stalinism, no attempt to appraise the role of Trotsky so that we end up with notions that the fall of the Soviet Union was really the result of Gorbachev, ignoring all the basic issues. The last struggle of Lenin in alliance with Trotsky against the bureaucratisation of the party which had been going on since the civil war is ignored. There is no consideration of the link between the triumph of the Stalinist bureaucracy and the doctrine of "socialism in one country" leading finally to the destruction of the Comintern.

The baggage of Stalinism has been disastrous. It has led to a dogmatic routinism wherein accommodation to parliamentary reformism is the norm and the word revolutionary is regarded as somewhat indecent and mention of the words "world revolution" as "abstract". The inevitability of the third world war is rejected without an ounce of marxist reasoning. The word "tendency" towards war is substituted. How pray is private property to be restrained from using nuclear arms in face of revolution? A superior balance of forces against capitalism? We believe the Russian and Chinese military have more idea of the reality of inevitable war than many communist parties. What was the bombing of Yugoslavia about but a preparation for smashing Russia? No texts exist as far as we know to explain for example why the French and former Italian communist parties which were enormous mass parties have ended up as they are.

The PCF is a shadow of what it was, presenting an image of reformism whilst the PCI is no more and the PDS part of the former PCI, has sprouted leaders like D'Alema who are happy in utter submission to Nato. Why has the Belgian CP practically disappeared and the British CPB never grown from under the pernicious shadow of the Labour party? There are marxist explanations, but they mean abandoning parliamentary objectives and returning to the marxism of Marx and Lenin and Trotsky. That of

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course is the real trouble. The process of adaptation to the world of purely electoral bourgeois politics has been made over a long period of time. Thus the word "soviet" disappears from the communist vocabulary. The beard of Marx is trimmed so that nasty words such as civil war, the inevitable use of violence by capitalism to defend its property are replaced by the tones of class conciliation so that the phoney nature of bourgeois parliamentary democracy is buried under the word "democratic" used with approval. The party as conceived by Bolshevism meant a party concerned with the revolutionary taking of power. Participation in elections was important but only as a means to stimulate the proletariat against the exploiters. Parliament was not and could not be a vehicle of workers power. This conception has been abandoned by the communist parties. The result has been years of accommodation to the political regime of capitalism. No communist International has existed to correct the resulting decay of political life so that new layers to the party have no real idea what a communist party is about. We can only appeal for a profounder discussion of these themes in the CPs because humanity is facing a struggle to the death with a merciless system whose barbarity is endless.

Parties must be constructed not primarily concerned with elections but with the task of overthrowing capitalism and constructing a socialist society based on soviets and other forms of genuine popular power not the bourgeois parliaments. All the organs of bourgeois class domination have to be smashed.

The whole world process shows the preparation of future aggression by imperialism. The rejection by the American Senate of agreements on nuclear tests, despite the pleas of Blair, Schroeder and Jospin shows that the Yankee plutocracy is saying to its allies "we decide everything and you snivellers will jump to it". The chief European members of Nato are organising their "rapid response forces". This certainly can mean a desire for some independence from the Yanks, but it is also a preparation for world and civil war.

The recent declaration of the Russian and Chinese leaderships against imperialist interference over Chechnya will encourage all the world anti

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THE PROCESS IN RUSSIA AND THE NEED FOR THE WORLD ANTI IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT!

INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP
THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL. EXTRACTS.

Russia- and a great part of the regions and territories which composed the Soviet Union continue to present a great danger for imperialism. Not because they represent possible economic competitors. It has been demonstrated that a Russian capitalism does not have the possibility to turn itself into an imperialist economic power competing with the present centres of imperialism. This is not because it lacks the material means, population or territory.

On this alone it would be possible. But there are two main obstacles. In the first place world capitalism would not allow it. Incorporation into the group of Seven, loans from the IMF means no acceptance of autonomy or providing the means for it. There is no Marshal Plan for Russia. World capitalism is already in a form of war with the new emerging capitalisms of Brazil, Indonesia, Korea or India and has already shown it can break them as competitors. Even Japan is not immune from this ferocity. The world was too small for imperialism in the period of the second world war and now this process advances to the stage of explosion, with the transitory weakness of the camp of revolution and the former socialist block. There is no room for an imperialist Russia.

The other reason is that the soviet bureaucracy has not been able to defeat completely the revolution. As Trotsky posed in his great work "The Revolution Betrayed" "It is not enough to betray the revolution, it is necessary to demolish it". Trotsky did not ignore the possibility of a demolition and gave examples of how it could come about- with the types of disintegration now seen in the period of Yeltsin, factory "shares" privatisation etc as the ruling caste tried to proceed from being directors of trusts to being their owners. But Trotsky with Lenin a founder of the Soviet Workers State, leader of the Red Army and founder of the IV International, left in all his work a complete confidence in the future of socialism on a world scale, even in front of the possibility of the disappearance of the USSR in front of the world advance of fascism in those years.

We can say to day eight years after the formal dissolution of the USSR and all the events which since 1989 have profoundly transformed the communist and revolutionary movement in the world, the historic process has left structures, economy, culture, social movements and behaviour, which continue marching on the road of the class struggle, which fight capitalism and its appalling consequences and seek to resolve the problems of the partially disintegrated workers states and the anti capitalist revolutionary transformation throughout the world. The disaster has left its monstrous effects, but not all has fallen. Indeed the human will and consciousness to struggle and reconstruct has not diminished.

HAS CAPITALISM BEEN RESTORED IN RUSSIA.?

It is certain that the majority of state property has been privatised and industrial complexes have passed through the means of the farce of "popular shares" into the hands of the former directors and managers. Formally the

right to private property in the means of production was reestablished. Commerce and distribution were similarly treated. Private banks and financial institutions were established as also other enterprises many with foreign capital. Land de-nationalisation has proved more difficult. The monopoly of foreign trade has almost vanished save for state intervention over combustibles, military and nuclear technology. Nonetheless many structures still function as before in the hands of the state and there is moreover an incessant internal struggle on the results of all this, compared with the previous regime which with whatever profound limitations, secured employment and many social gains for the population in education, medicine, transport etc.

THE TERRITORIAL DISMEMBERMENT OF THE USSR.

The Soviet Union was "officially" dismembered as a result of a perfunctory meeting of three regional presidents and the CIS proclaimed. Yet in 1988 in the time of Gorbachev as the result of a plebiscite, seventy per cent voted to maintain the S. Union. The Yeltsin clique continued on its course, bombarded parliament in 1993, manipulated elections and entered on the war in Chechnya. But is the new "order" anything more than the systematic use of brute force? The new order is only sustained by an oligarchy and the former administrators are insecure in their shareholdings.

The persistent conflicts with Georgia, the Armenian-Azerbaijan struggle the conflicts with the Baltic states, problems with the Ukraine, Moldavia, guerillas in Uzbekistan, conflicts in Belarus hardly convey the stability of this clique. The various bureaucratic struggles as a result of the collapse of the former USSR have been estimated to have cost ten million lives (G. Chiesa in a discussion at the University of Urbino). This in itself shows that no counter revolution can be peaceful. As Trotsky posed the counter revolution has to utterly smash its enemies. Betrayal is not enough. Thus the counter revolution has not definitively triumphed. This is determining in any characterisation of the "return to capitalism".

The regionalisation and dismemberment of the USSR and even the fight between regional powers in Russia itself shows a process which is incomplete and unstable. And why so? Because the social and economic base is not stable and poses the question who is going to triumph?.

Imperialism and the bureaucracy have stimulated regional and national conflict in the former USSR, a return to the old tsarist methods in order to break the unity between the masses of the former USSR.

The Union of these peoples has been the basis of an enormous progress, despite the distortions, oppression and arbitrary conduct of Stalinism. Thus it is necessary to recall that the Soviet peoples voted for the maintenance of the Soviet Union.

The violation of this will and all its harmful consequences make the gangsters and thieves who have pillaged the Soviet Union with the full support of imperialism, very insecure and hence all the time the question of some form of reunif-

This is the second part of the text relating the attack on Yugoslavia to the preparation for war to destroy the states such as Russia and China which still maintain structures linked to the original workers state and outside the control of the financial oligarchy of world imperialism. The text is concerned to discuss the degree to which the "privatisations" determines or not the present character of the regime which has replaced the old Soviet Union. There are difficulties in a statistically perfect discussion because many facts are impossible to find in present conditions. It is not clear how many so called privatised institutions actually operate in "free market conditions". Moreover conditions vary in all the states formerly part of the Soviet Union. Thus despite "legal" steps towards de-collectivising agriculture in the Ukraine for example, private farming hardly functions. What is quite clear is that many old structures operate despite the appalling fall in production and standard of living. Federal and regional authorities subsidise state controlled industries.

It is also clear that the massive robbery of state property which the Yeltsin clique has tried to supervise has not endowed the would be new exploiter class with any confidence. Thus it has been estimated that about £Thirty two billion were exported before 1997 and some estimate many more since. As late as April of this year two billion dollars a month were being exported. Moreover in the case of Russia alone some economists think that seventy percent of the Russian economy is in the realm of an invisible ie barter economy-not a good basis for the guaranteed, legalised accumulation and reproduction of capital. Property rights are not clearly established which means insecurity for the would be owners. Russian "capitalism" is not viable as the world process develops and the forces of the workers state reanimate.

ication between the peoples of the ex Soviet Union resurfaces.

It could be argued that imperialism has an interest in maintaining chaos in the rest of the world, as in Africa at this time with the dismantling of the national states, frontiers, economic and commercial relations and finally liquidating the population itself. According to this argument "the return to capitalism" in the ex USSR is already complete, "in the present possible form" or in the archipelago of regions in permanent conflict with each other. It is true that the bureaucracy of the ex USSR works in this spirit with Yeltsin dismissing ministers according to whim or the level of vodka consumed. Or more scientifically according to the level of conflicts in the leading camarilla under the permanent interference of the IMF and imperialism in general. Certainly a sector of the mafia leadership plays with chaos as it fears for its life and hopes to save itself from the justice of the masses in the future.

Nonetheless there are forces which are trying to contain the interference of imperialism, limit the plunderers and speculators, combat the corruption, advance the payment of wages and reorganise production and consumption. The short government of Primakov in alliance with the communists after the fall of the rouble showed that a sector of the bureaucracy with some links to the new "bourgeoisie" sought to maintain a centre to block the process of disintegration and total pillage. It points to an alliance of sectors fearful of fights with the masses, sectors linked to the army and loath to submit their aspirations to imperialism.

The alliance of the party of Luzhkov with Primakov and the other governors as with the mayor of Petersburg, responds to the need to maintain a semblance of order and prevent insurrection. The existence even of these bourgeois norms of

parliamentary institutions shows that games with "chaos" are too dangerous a game for these players.

THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND OTHER LEFT FORCES IN THE CIS.

A continuously important force which weighs in this situation is that of the Communist party and communist groups. Even without having the most detailed information on these forces, they are numerous in all parts of the ex Soviet Union, intervene with publications and in all types of institutions including the army. They have the allegiance of many millions and in the last elections to the Duma, Zuganov gained as many as thirty six percent of the vote, whatever scepticism may be felt on the electoral results. Certainly the programme of the Russian communist party has nothing in common with the programme of the Bolshevik party. All the alliance with the nationalists, the patriotic and Pan Slavic rhetoric, the touch of anti semitism and the ambiguities within the Duma (agreements at one moment with Yeltsin and at another moment with Zhirinovskiy) is in contrast with the perspective of a return to a socialist society which in any case cannot be a repetition of the former USSR. But even so it supports a Union of states close to the old USSR, free education and health services and the return to many of the previous social gains. It has also posed a revision of all the "illegal" privatisations- even if also it admits private property a mixed economy and no return to the level of stultification of the soviet period which it considers erroneous.

This eclecticism of the CP leadership is not the representation of a renewed communist sector, but a survival of the past which suffered a defeat in the period 91-92 and was close to the military, political apparatus. It was thus distant from the technical administrative sectors, from those most involved in the pillage of the economy. This sector of the old bureaucracy had and has

some level of compromise with the masses. It defended the workers state in a bureaucratic and deformed way, but it defended it.

It is important not to minimise also the infinity of small communist groups with all their various fights and experiences including various so called Trotskyist groupings, although many groups are "neo Stalinist". Together with the struggles of the organised workers, the independent trade unions, the rebellions in the armed forces, these are the bases for the reconstruction of the Russian and soviet communist movement.

It is an uncontestable fact that a party calling itself communist is dominant in Russia and is the major political force and the only organised and structured party throughout Russia. The political power of this fact, vastly outweighs the intentions and manoeuvres of the present leaders of this party. The task of the revolutionary Russian and world vanguard is to help this process so that the masses and the Russian Communist vanguard, maintaining their organisation succeed in retaking the experience of the workers state, make use of all the contradictions and crises of the present counter revolutionary clique in power and finally pose the progress towards socialism. This is a world task not a local one. It passes through theoretical understanding on the need for the complete retaking of revolutionary marxism as the method of interpretation. But the mere existence of all these organised communist forces indicate the way for the complete recovery of the workers state.

DO THE PRIVATISATIONS MEAN THE TRIUMPH OF CAPITALISM?

It is possible for elements of privatisation to exist in a workers state as in the period of NEP or as in Cuba under conditions of great emergency. All the so called socialist countries have private sectors although they are not determining. But "privatisation" understood as "the return to capitalism" cannot be decided by juridical decree nor by a new constitution as Yeltsin did. The complete establishment of a class which has the overwhelming social weight to control and dispose of the means of production, distribution and exchange is determined socially and then legally and not the other way about. "Law cannot place itself above determined social relations founded on a specific economic base" (Marx) It is clear that this "law" is hardly considered in Russia. In practice taxes are not paid on profits, wages are either not paid or well overdue as with rents. The passing of property from some to others is done by violence or fraud. Constantly the legitimacy of one or other "privatisation" is called into question. Problems are settled by mafia visits. In peripheral capitalist states some thing of this goes on but the organised functioning of capitalism to develop with perspectives in time, requires complete security of legal entitlement sustained by laws, police and state apparatus where property relations are clear and without any obfuscation.

Certainly it can be argued that the Baltic states have gone further

than other parts of the ex soviet Union in the process of "legitimacy". Firms sustained by foreign capital rely on the legal force of world capitalist institutions. That would mean rather less in Russia, than in Azerbaijan!

On the financial plane, it is certain "law" plays even less role. The pyramidal speculations, the notorious money laundering and "diversion" of foreign loans, the sale of raw materials and technologies without controls which finds support at the highest levels of the state, is not the stable financial dictatorship as in western capitalism. It is more a fight of rival gangs still quarrelling over the division of spoils and plundering. It is not the regulated mechanism of accumulation, investment, accumulation etc. In practice there is little investment in the Russian economy because the money is spirited away into off shore havens, currency speculation etc. This is hardly a stable economic order and shows these mafiosi have no great faith in the future of their "enterprise". The speculators of the Albanian financial pyramid finally provoked a popular insurrection. There was no political leadership to lead to a progressive conclusion, but the ex USSR has other roots and experiences and structures much more powerful than those of Albania.

There will be those who argue that all this proves nothing. They will point to the "irregular" capitalism of Marcos in the Philippines, Suharto in Indonesia or argue that there is no pure capitalist model, particularly as the most recent capitalist frenzy of de-regulation goes towards models of generalised "African" capitalism, now that world imperialism has no interest in classical colonisation. The existing hyper concentration of capital leads to the wholesale abandonment and dismantling of societies and economies. Why therefore expect "complete" reconstruction of capitalism in Russia?

This is to argue that Russia has already obtained everything which pertains to the "new world division of labour" and that there is no reason to expect a complete capitalist restoration. In other words the "restoration" has been made under the auspices of world capitalism which controls the capital and markets with the military might to maintain it. Thus it is not possible to expect of Russia an autonomous economic development in the usual form, but only in this form allowed by the functionaries of the IMF.

But is it really credible that this country (and all the other components of the ex USSR) are going to continue in this amorphous state for a whole period without decisive crises?

After all the capitalist system which plundered and murdered on its way up, did not only smash whole civilisations and organise slavery, it also developed an unprecedented expansion of the productive forces. It had to show that it was not only capable of violence and destruction, but with the industrial revolution and some development of its colonies to justify its right to exist.

But here we are speaking of an apparent void in the land where the October revolution made an immense historic leap unrivalled in history. From the dissolution

of the USSR in December 1991 there were many attempts to destroy any memory of the USSR from smashing statues to burning books. But despite the rebuilding of St Basil and respects to the supposed bones of the Romanovs, it is certain that a fundamental process is evolving which cannot be so superficially dismissed.

Many bourgeois analysts take the view that the complete return to capitalism is only a question of time. In "The Revolution Betrayed" Trotsky said "time is by no means a secondary factor when it is question of an historical process. It is infinitely more dangerous to confuse the present with the future in politics than in grammar". Time is not an indifferent element in the discussion of a transitional phase. Similarly Trotsky refused to call the USSR a socialist state, due to the survival of bourgeois and even pre bourgeois relations, and in the same way we say that present day Russia is far from being a "capitalist state". In both cases for strict definition enormous leaps in quality are necessary. The structure of the workers state has suffered terrible blows, but the work of demolition has met unexpected obstacles. The Communists and the Russian and world revolutionary world vanguard believe that it possible to impede and reverse this process. For that it is necessary to identify the base which remains and above all to understand the historic causes of the collapse and how to overcome them. This can only be done with the present marxist analysis for which the texts of Trotsky and Posadas are indispensable.

In "The Revolution Betrayed", Trotsky's most important work, he wrote that socialism had shown its right to victory not in the "pages of capital, but in an economic arena which constituted a sixth part of the globe". "Even if through the responsibility of its leaders, it (USSR) succumbed to external blows... the indestructible fact would remain as a pledge for the future that the proletarian revolution was the only way which permitted a backward country to secure at least in twenty years results unprecedented in history."

In this text is contained not only a magisterial X-ray of the real nature of what was soviet society the workers state, its external and internal contradictions, the demystification of the falsifications of the bureaucratic caste, but the methodological insight which maintained the historical patrimony of marxism. This poses the basis for the correction and the reconstruction of the workers state in the only possible perspective, that of the extension of the world revolution and the construction of a world socialist society. This leads to the understanding of the course and nexus of all the revolutionary experience and of the struggle for socialism and communism in this century which is ending, and to prepare with security in marxist ideas and the programme for the socialist reconstruction of the whole world.

Trotsky believed in the development of the revolution, in the possibility of a correction of the workers state by means of a political revolution and of an extension of the world revolution, but under-

stood perfectly the mechanisms and nature of what he called justly the workers state, a phase of transition inferior to the stage envisaged by Marx and Engels who had based their perspective on the triumph of the revolution in an economically advanced capitalist country. But the revolution triumphed in backward Russia and as the revolution did not succeed in extending itself immediately to the most advanced capitalist countries, the basis for a retreat was established.

Nonetheless from these years until now, humanity has made a thousand other revolutionary experiences and socialism as an idea has been extended throughout the world as a material reality and social experience. The fact that capitalism was not removed at a world level, has led to violent conflicts and retreats. But the evident obligation of the present world vanguard is to gather all this patrimony and to base itself on the question posed by Trotsky "socialism or barbarism". Imperialism is preparing world war, military intervention in whatever part of the world it thinks necessary where humanity wishes to free itself from the yoke of the exploiters. The threat of further intervention in Colombia is only a most recent example of this policy.

The only possible response is the reunification of the world communist, socialist, ecological, trade union, progressive catholic, anti imperialist nationalist forces in a world anti imperialist united front for the reconstruction of a new World Mass Communist International and retaking the programme, objectives and conquests of the workers states to extend towards socialism throughout the world. This is not going to impede the war, but it can create enormous contradictions in the forces of capitalism and above all redouble the security of humanity that it can overcome all the barbarities consequent on capitalism. It must be remembered that millions and millions of human beings starving, sick, unemployed, exploited and massacred are in this condition through the existence of capitalism and its vaunted "globalisation" in effect the "globalisation" of poverty.

As part of this the recent coming together of China and Russia, however rotten the counter revolutionary leaderships, has enormous significance because it is a question of material forces in conditions of confronting and defeating imperialism. Agreements have been made of great importance with military and commercial collaboration, which did not exist in the period of the ex Soviet Union.

This is also the result of the war in Yugoslavia. Even the counter revolutionary cliques know that imperialism is preparing new escalations towards total war. The Chinese leadership although not interested in any political revolution is in a permanent crisis. Under an intolerable repression, the Chinese masses are maturing in experience and the internal disputes in the CCP are only a pale reflection of the ebullience of the Chinese masses. It is necessary to appeal to all the communist forces in China and throughout Russia, to unite and prepare for the inevitable war

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The war in Chechnya has to be interpreted within two contexts, the one national and the other international. The fact that it is a major conflict has naturally stimulated the capitalist powers to the usual protestations of "horror" and "outrage" in which they specialise. But these people supported the ruin of Yugoslavia and Iraq and sustain the Israeli bombing of Lebanon.

There is no doubt that the Yeltsin clique whose support rests on the mafia financial oligarchy has been a main sponsor of this war, claiming that the recent explosions in Moscow were perpetrated by the Chechnya gangs. But these explosions were too convenient for the Yeltsin clique for them to be innocent of their origin.

The Russian legislative elections have resulted as was anticipated in gains for the Putin group who control the media and have pushed nationalist positions to the maximum. Apart from the war nothing important was discussed in the elections and the regime of grand larceny hopes to survive the Presidential elections on the basis of a successful war.

However there is also another factor in this war and that is the attitude of the army. The brutal bombardment of Yugoslavia removed all doubts from the military any idea that Yankee imperialism might modify its plans for world domination.

Imperialism has developed its plans in association with Turkey and Azerbaijan to pipe oil not through the Caucasus but through Turkey. An association which incorporates Turkey, Uzbekistan, Ukraine etc seeks links with the EU area and can occasion every excuse for imperialism to intervene militarily. But oil is not the main project of imperialism. They wish to destroy Russia because of the dangers of the traditions and weight of the workers state which can influence the world. China also is a menace on the same basis. Thus this war in Chechnya does not have the same basis as the earlier war which took on the character of a czarist repression. In essence the army is taking preventive action in view of imperialist ambitions in the Caucasus region as a whole. The mafia in Chechnya have been out of control. In August their leaders Basayev and Khatab actually invaded Dagestan and proclaimed an Islamic republic. They are well armed with the most modern Stinger rockets (and who supplied those?). These people openly say that they intend to establish a muslim state and throw the Russians out of the Caucasus. The recent assassinations in Armenia must be seen in the context of possible Nato intervention.

The Chechnya mafiosi have had ample time to perfect their arsenal and defences. But that is all the result of the fall of the USSR and ensuing disasters.

An attempt has been made by the army to provide exits for refugees, but the costs of the war can scarcely be avoided. Only a revolutionary marxist strategy with prior appeals to the population and the development of a class war strategy organised over time, could have undermined the mafia in Chechnya and limited the effects of the conflict. War is terrible but many refugees are returning to Chechnya where the Russians are in control and nothing is said by the capitalist media about the barbarism of the Chechnya mafia.

As we have explained elsewhere, the CP and the army are closest to the former structure of the workers state and in defence against the plans of world imperialism. Their social weight increases whatever the ploys of the oligarchs behind Yeltsin. The latter clique may hope to stabilise their regime for a period, but it exists in a critical world situation and internally the mafia thieves have no answers to the mounting problems in Russia.

The "nationalist" response of the Russian people is not simply patriotic in the abstract. They are not just confronting Chechnya, but the preparation of Nato for war heralded by the bombardment of Yugoslavia. The Russian masses had to put up with Stalin, now it is with the Yeltsin mob. Finally they will settle accounts with the lot from the Nato hoodlums to their own variety.

ABOLISH THE MONARCHY !

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!

THE CONFRONTATIONS IN SEATTLE.

The meeting of the World Trade Organisation in Seattle showed, if only as a distant echo, profound opposition to the world financial oligarchy and the multinationals. None of these battles over "free trade" can be separated from the operations of the capitalist system as a whole. Certainly Yankee agro business wishes to open up world agriculture and take over the European and other world markets. World capitalism wishes to break down protected markets in poorer nations as its superior productivity and technology give it immense advantages.

The meeting broke up because there are inevitable conflicts between the dictatorship of the US monopolies, the European Union and the oppressed poorer countries who were kept waiting on the decisions of the wealthy capitalist states.

The fact that poorer countries may sell their cheaper products in the wealthy capitalist states does not guarantee their economic progress

Economic competition is also ferocious among the backward nations and coupled with the fact that the third world is in debt to the richer nations and they are at the mercy of massive and capricious flows of foreign capital, to speak of free trade as the answer to all problems is conspicuously cynical.

World capitalism is in a desperate state of vicious competition in which productivity of the advanced capitalist states is constantly augmenting, but the market which ideally should correspond to this expansion is not.

Moreover capitalism does not have the interests or capacity to develop new markets which it had in previous epochs. More and more financial speculation replaces investment in production. They actually boast of this and proclaim an "information" economy. But all that this says is that the speed and quantity of financial transactions is the paramount concern of capitalism. Thus it has been estimated that the total worth of financial derivatives traded in 1997 was worth twelve times the entire world economy. The parasitic financial sector determines all and as was shown in the recent crisis of East Asia wreaks havoc in its wake. The ruined workers and peasants pay the price but not the multinationals. As for poor economies seeking aid, they are subjected to the dictatorship of the IMF with its insistence on the free market economy and ruthless reduction in welfare expenditures. All this

is the reality of the world, not an abstract discussion of "free trade".

The groups who mobilised at Seattle were various and show the existence of a world wide united front against the barbarism of capitalism. The demonstrations were a heavy blow against the machinations of the rapacious exploiters because they have helped to publicise the putrefaction of the whole degenerate system.

But the limitation in the Seattle meeting was that there was no direct weight of the communist parties.

The Seattle confrontations between the allies and enemies of world capitalism showed the weakness on the subjective side of the anti capitalist forces. There is no agreed programme. This is not a criticism of the anti capitalist participants in themselves. It is certain that they wish to get rid of the policies of international capitalism. In the depth they are saying "world capitalism must be overthrown". Marx had predicted that the massive expansion of capitalism generated forces which laid the basis for its revolutionary destruction. Seattle is an example of the gathering of these forces, but what is necessary is the organised programme and policy for this. The struggle to overthrow world capitalism requires planning and preparation especially as the multinationals and the financial oligarchy concentrated in the USA have nuclear missiles to defend its decrepit regime.

The communist parties do not have a common response to this situation, apart from saying that the world trade organisation is an instrument of globalisation. In other words they act passively as though that is quite enough, or give general support to the various anti WTO organisations. The reason for this is that as the communists have no international to centralise decisions, every party decides for itself. The result has

been a submission of the international communist perspective to national and regional interests which means making a cult of the nation state. This limits perspective as though socialism can only be secured in a "national" form. This has no marxist basis and conflicts with the Communist Manifesto and the source and objectives of the October revolution. It is no accident that the Chinese have entered the WTO despite, immense opposition inside and outside the CCP.

No doubt various weaker nations protest against the big capitalist sharks, but such states have very mixed leaderships and the famous "national" bourgeoisie have long capitulated to world capitalism. Whole continents have been thrown to the wolves like Africa. It is absurd for Mbeki in South Africa to speak of building a "black bourgeoisie" and seeking to accelerate privatisation of key utilities. That is not going to solve the problems of South Africa.

What Seattle showed again was the social debility of capitalism and as Posadas said the world is ready for communism.

A huge number of popular forces demonstrated against capitalism and no demonstrations supported it! This is the reality of the world. The only forces which sustain capitalism are a few millions of wealthy people in a few privileged countries, hiding behind nuclear missiles and Nato troops.

Within the integument of capitalism, there is no possibility of overcoming the horrendous poverty of the poorer nations. Only the complete planning of the world economy under federations of workers states will allow wealthier countries to assist poorer nations to advance to socialism. Seattle has shown the validity of the analysis of Marx that capitalism is a war between the massive growth of the forces of production and the chains of the backward system of private property.

DOWN WITH THE EU OF THE MONOPOLIES!

FOR THE UNITED SOVIET SOCIALIST STATES OF EUROPE.

from page 1
imperialist forces. We place our confidence not in the counter revolutionary leaderships in Moscow or Beijing, but in the communist masses of those countries. They did not wipe out the nazi and the Kuomintang murderers to receive instructions from the Anglo Saxon capitalist detritus in Washington or London.

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which imperialism is going to launch. And for that, it is necessary to return to the programme of the construction of socialism.

27 8 99

POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

NATO ASSASSINS OUT OF KOSOVO

AND YUGOSLAVIA!

**FULL SUPPORT FOR LAND EXPROPRIATION
IN ZIMBABWE WITHOUT COMPENSATION!
FOR A FULL DEMOCRATIC DISCUSSION WITH
THE AGRICULTURAL WORKERS TO PLAN
PRODUCTION!**

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EDITORIAL

The results of the local elections and those for the London Assembly and the Mayor - in the latter there was only a 34% turn out - showed the tendency of the labour vote to abstain. The low turn out in local elections is not new, but in view of the electoral noise particularly over the election for Mayor of London, it is significant that the labour vote did not mobilise either for Livingstone, the groups or the main pro capitalist parties. Livingstone made various demagogic noises and then acted as a respectable bourgeois politician (capitalism admires his "political" ability - ie much mouth). Livingstone appropriately declares that he wants to return to the LP - the apparatchiks know their true home.

The campaign was typical of the state of parliamentary democracy - no ideas, only personality "politics" well within the boundaries of private property. The communists (CPB) supported Livingstone, a true measure of their "marxism" supporting someone who approved the bombardment of Yugoslavia. Livingstone then appears before the city magnates and makes a speech which shows his appreciation of the "city" and "delights" his audience. So much for "left" Livingstone and the moronic nature of parliamentary "democracy". The evolution of this "left" MP is a product of the complete superficiality of the labour left tradition - totally pragmatic, contempt for marxism finally ending in conciliation with capitalism and nothing to do with socialism. Ultimately it is the result of the pernicious effects of the stalinist abandonment of marxism and the repudiation of the function of the Communist International.

For the LP apparatus the results of the elections will certainly not lead to a change of policy. Blair has said he will continue with his policy of "modernisation" meaning war against the population, the project to enter the euro and support for an aggressive Nato.

The crisis over the car industry in Britain - there is a world crisis of over production - is a continuation of the de-industrialisation which became clear under Thatcher. The internal dispute within capitalism over the "injustice" of a high pound overlooks the fact that there have been enormous exports of capital from Britain because decisive sectors of the system were not interested in investment in this

country. At any particular time one capitalist country will have more competitive power compared with another.

The trade union leaders unite with the employers to moan about exchange rates - they will not propose a socialist alternative - that would be in their language "impractical" and far too close to the class struggle. It is the incompetence of the capitalist system as a whole which leads to unemployment at Fords or Longbridge. The workers pay for the stupidity of the system - but not the capitalist sharks nor the trade union bosses.

**THE STRUGGLE AGAINST
WORLD IMPERIALISM.**

It is necessary to reiterate that the world financial oligarchy suffered a defeat over Yugoslavia. Like Hitler, they tend to suffer from delusions brought about by megalomania. They assumed that all they had to do was blast Yugoslavia a few times and all would collapse. They left out of account the Yugoslav people and army. Now in fact they are in some difficulty which does not diminish their sinister intentions to try to overthrow the Yugoslav government. They openly say that there will be no peace in the Balkans until the Milosevic government is overthrown. By that they mean that they want to establish privatisation throughout the region. With Nato and support for the terrorists in the Central Asia, they prepare for war against Russia.

The resistance of the Yugoslav people has been exemplary. In face of a blockade imposed by money bags, they have refused to submit to the terrorism of the Albanian fascists and have defied the Nato assassins.

This has communicated itself to the Yugoslav government and also to the masses of Russia who similarly are not disposed to submit to the plutocratic rubbish in the USA or Europe.

The Putin regime in Russia is under a variety of pressures. On the one hand it would like to affirm a "national bourgeoisie" in Russia, but on the other it is faced with

the resistance of the army to imperialist pretensions, and fundamentally the masses who are not prepared to tolerate them either.

Thus Putin on the anniversary of the defeat of the nazis was obliged to see this historic victory as a basis for future greatness. It is ironic that the defeat of the nazis proved the superiority of the workers state to the most powerful counter revolutionary force in history. Putin to affirm his power has to exalt this victory and whatever his "nationalist" gloss, the workers state cannot be wished away. It stays partly in existing structures and is deep in the consciousness of the former peoples of the Soviet Union. They voted to keep the Soviet Union and now that Yeltsin has gone, the legacy of the Soviet Union will weigh with greater force.

The struggle against the United States and Nato will inevitably grow because the object of imperialism and the financial oligarchy has to be world domination - that is the iron law of capitalist competition, and the result is war.

The recent visit of Clinton to Moscow was pure formality. Nothing important was or could be decided. There was no agreement over the Yankee plan for a new "defence" system which will simply accentuate the arms race. The Republicans and the Pentagon are making it clear that whatever Clinton does, they intend a new arms hike. The preparations for war are different from the nazi epoch in the sense that the Yanks are socially in no position to boast of their intentions as Hitler did, but war is their inevitable agenda however much they pretend otherwise. The Russian military know that very well.

A leading Russian general pointed to the recent military manoeuvres of Nato and said the latter is preparing to attack Russia. The latter and China are entitled to take whatever preventive measures are necessary against imperialism and appeal for world support. The justifiers of capitalism try to

separate war from economic competition - it cannot be done. The Yankee plutocracy need war to control the world which is too small for them anyway. Putin will seek to link with the frightened European bourgeoisie against the Yanks as did the old soviet bureaucracy.

A sign of the recuperation in the anti imperialist forces is the recent decision of the Yugoslav government to indict Clinton, Solana former boss of Nato and the leaders of Britain, France and Germany for war crimes, in organising the attack on Yugoslavia. This must be sustained throughout the world as part of the anti imperialist united front showing also the degenerate nature of parliamentary "democracy" which is a cover for war crimes and international state terrorism.

The entry of China into the WTO after much debate within the Yankee ruling class is an example of the inexorable appetite of US imperialism for markets. They have taken inevitably full advantage of the complete bankruptcy of a sector of the Chinese leadership - although there is immense resistance in sectors of the leadership to this agreement. Sectors of the Yankee plutocracy hope that the treaty will provoke an implosion in China as with the Gorbachev era in Russia.

They have of course no other serious alternative. But it is also totally empirical because neither the present Chinese leadership nor that of Yankee imperialism are in a position to determine anything. In however a deformed way the celebration of the Chinese revolution last year showed the existence of forces impossible to control by the plutocrats in Washington or the hapless bureaucrats in Beijing.

In Britain we are seeing the run up to the future general election and what a mendacious performance it will be. The main parties are all in a united front against the progress of Britain and the world. They were all party to the criminal onslaught on Yugoslavia, the

ruin of thousands of lives and the murderous brutality of the Albanian fascists. The latter have continued this campaign with the complicity of the Yanks. Parliament has recently justified the attack. So this government of the odious Blair represents "democracy"? - yes the democracy of capitalist liars, swindlers, hypocrites and thugs. That is what parliamentary democracy means in practice, bombing and murdering the Iraqis as a norm. But this putrefying "democracy" has no authority as in the days of capitalist dominion.

Imperialism is trying to prepare its offensive in everyway. In Sierra Leone it hopes to maintain a base against any anti imperialist disturbances in the future. It prepares more intervention in Colombia and resumes some military collaboration with the regime in Indonesia, no longer so stable as in the past. But the whole world process is extremely volatile and the economic course of the world capitalist economy is no source of stability either with the inflated Yankee stock-market or the uncertainties of market expansion.

A most important example of the resistance in Europe to the iniquity of world capitalism is the activity of the French peasant movement led by Bové. It puts all its weight on a constant process of organising against the multi nationals externally and internally, attacks the legal system as a mere instrument of the powers that be and applauds action against the genetically modified crop experiments as legitimate.

This type of extra parliamentary action is fundamental in the fight against the capitalist exploiters. Indeed throughout the world the world peasantry from the MST in Brasil to the millions of unorganised peasants in India, Africa Asia etc are an indispensable force in the united front against the world financial oligarchy. Again it is a most devastating criticism of the world communist movement that it is so far removed from leading the world peasant masses in the fight to obliterate capitalism.

The latest phase in the electoral campaign by Labour shows the total degeneration of the social democracy. Brown the Chancellor makes a great noise about "elitism" in

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The Revolutionary Workers Party
British Section of the Fourth International (Posadist)

444 JULY-SEPTEMBER 2000

continued on page 2

THE CONTRIBUTION OF MARX.

Although written before the collapse of the Soviet Union and the subsequent confusion of the Communist parties, this analysis by Posadas brings out the historic role of Marx and his dedication to the triumph of communism.

The article originated from a visit to the Marx Museum in Trier.

EXTRACTS

Capitalism is in the final stages of its existence and it is Marx who is going to finish it off. Through the communist parties, the proletariat is accomplishing the historic function of the proletariat which Marx had foreseen and understood. He gave the ideas to organise this objective function which had no programme, policy or leadership. Marx provided them.

In visiting the Marx Museum it is necessary to establish the main historic antecedents and ambience. The fundamental observation is that capitalism whose principal centre of support in Europe is Germany arising from its great dependence on Yankee imperialism cannot hinder, in order to survive, the maintenance of the Marx Museum. These are the contradictions of the capitalist system. The forces of progress continue uninterrupted in the struggle for socialism and the workers states.

Capitalism has an interest in suppressing the workers states and everything which means historic antagonism and competition with itself. However it must endure and accept the fact that it faces an historic competition and antagonism.

This struggle is beyond discussion and the existence of Marx is the demonstration that it is ideas which triumph when they represent a necessity of history. Engels said that marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history.

Attempts have been made to reject Marx but history has restored him. The proletariat has retaken him as the workers states. Without their existence Marx would have been buried. But as the workers states represent the practical and material expression of Marx, it is impossible to annul him.

The greatness of Marx is not to have represented the proletariat and defended its interests, but to have represented the future of humanity by basing himself on the instrument provided by history which was the proletariat. All the process of the economy and society lead to the necessity of social transformations and the latter have to be led by someone. By whom? A class which cannot become a proprietor but which

must eliminate all classes. It was necessary to interpret that. It was something new and unique in history; to eliminate the class which oppresses in order to eliminate all classes. This was a function of humanity and not a function of the working class. The working class was the instrument to accomplish this objective. Marx made the point - the working class is revolutionary or it is nothing. To accomplish this function, it must be revolutionary or otherwise it is simply another exploited class like others in human history.

It is necessary to consider that if German capitalism is obliged to maintain the Marx Museum which means a memory, a living presence of the ideas of marxism, it is because the social democracy which is one of the representatives of capitalism has need of it. It has to act in this way because it must now admit clearly and publically that there is an antagonistic and historic competition between capitalism and socialism. The latter has already shown that it has the capacity to replace and eliminate the capitalist system. This Marx Museum is not utilised to render homage to Marx and his ideas, but to contain and win the socialist left. It is a political measure.

The Marx Museum was reconstructed after the war because the German workers state existed side by side with capitalist Germany. German capitalism took the initiative so as not to leave it to others. It did this to limit and distort the level of the homage to Marx. That is what is meant by preserving the Marx birthplace. In doing this capitalism showed that the social democracy could not suffocate, or assassinate marxism. After having reconstructed the house, the social democracy expelled marxism from the SDP. It thought to annul marxism but it kept the Museum of Marx.

It did that to contain the left of the party and to have the support of the proletariat and to some extent to compete with the German workers state.

Almost everything is missing in this house. For a Museum of the birthplace of Marx it is necessary to make a living chronology of his life. It was the most complete and dedicated life possible. It was a life

completely dedicated to the organisation and application of ideas. There is nothing of that in this museum. Aspects are shown but the essential part of the organisation of his thought is incomplete, in relation to Marx's conclusions after Feuerbach. Above all his concerns with problems such as those of the Paris Commune.

Marx criticised the Communards but he supported them. He did not criticise them as if they were mistaken, but because they intervened impetuously. But he gave them all his support through the International. Marx drew the practical political conclusion as a conscious leadership seeing the mistake of this eminently valid movement. Its objectives were right, but it was erroneous at the level of tactic and timing.

He did not make a criticism to condemn, but a persuasive criticism showing that this movement arose quite suddenly and was not well timed. This is not shown in the Museum of Marx, but was one of the finest stages of the International.

This museum lacks the dynamism of Marx. It is a passive reflection of him and he is not to be represented passively, just through his writings. Even if the museum can only represent fixed objects, from the nature of a commemoration, it could express the movement of the life of Marx through analysis. There is nothing of that. There is nothing of the life with Jenny, with whom he led an intense political life. He said that she gave important opinions which he took or modified. The museum should show the polemic which preceded the creation of the International. There was an enormous discussion on this subject. Marx and Engels constituted the International. But it is also necessary to see the richness and the maturity of the process in the fact that the Communist Manifesto was published as with other texts of Marx and Engels in almost all languages. Marx wanted this diffusion, fully conscious that they had a great significance, perhaps not in his epoch but in future epochs. He was fully conscious of the process of history. This is why the Museum should show the chronology of the images, meetings, local and world problems from which the texts resulted. This requires a

vivid chronology not the passive and dead presentation of documents in this museum.

Capitalism acts like this because it has neither interest nor concern to act otherwise. But the workers state can do otherwise and must do so. It should show in the museum the profound homage which Marx made to the Paris Commune. But it is not necessary to expect that the museums of capitalism will organise this or expect that they will do so under the effect of criticism. It is necessary to show above all the impotence, and the inability of capitalism and its lack of interest to make a real Museum of Marx.

As there does not exist a Museum constructed by the workers states or the communist parties, capitalism profits by it to canalise and collect all the documentation and confine it to this museum so that it can die, so that it cannot serve as a witness of the life of Marx and its continuity. The museum shows none of the practical conclusions of marxism - the Soviet and other workers states, and the experiences of the Paris Commune which continued in 1905 and 1917. It does not show that marxism today advances throughout the world.

The important aspect of a Museum of Marx is to show that he was the organiser of the greatest ideas, the most complete and the most objective in history. This is not shown in the museum. The life of Marx is not shown dedicated to ideas which is one of the most elevated forms in history, superior to any other example in history. In place of dedicating himself to making money for the sake of his family, Marx chose to continue his historic function, to realise his work of organising the First International.

He wrote "Capital", organised the International and consecrated himself to the progress of humanity. He did not do this in the name of the ideas of communism, but for the progress of humanity represented under the form of the ideas of communism. It was not a consecration to abstract or sectarian ideas. He did not live the idea for itself nor for a group or a current, but he created the ideas, an organisation of thought, programme method, an interpretation of history - marxism - destined to transform

society. It is a necessary and irresistible process. Marx showed that the accumulation of the progress of science, of technology, of the economy and the development of intelligence led necessarily to social transformation and that the proletariat was the conscious factor in its function to achieve social transformations.

The proletariat means an instrument, a programme, an experience which requires a leadership for the historic function which it must accomplish. It had to learn to organise for this function. That is the meaning of marxism: the conscious instrument of the transformation and organisation of society.

Capitalism cannot show that. Thus no capitalist country is capable of making an appropriate museum of Marx.

The workers states must do it and we address ourselves to them so that they may accomplish this task. They can show an infinity of experiences, of examples and thus contribute to organise the security in marxist thought, in the conscious social transformation of humanity. Marxism is the consciousness of the unconscious process of history in the situation where there is no harmony between the ruling class, the economy, science and technology. The ruling class has its interests of exploitation. It must develop science and technology which completely transcends it. It cannot utilise them and on the contrary suffocates them in order to survive.

Marx had no doubts about organising on the basis of ideas, an instrument like the First International. He was among the most dynamic leaders who have ever lived, having based himself on the scientific and organising capacity of ideas, on the confidence in ideas.

J. POSADAS. August 1977.

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

**FOR THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF ENGLAND,
SCOTLAND, WALES AND IRELAND!**

**FOR THE SOCIALIST
REPUBLIC!**

from page 1

education and society and the need to end "conservatism" but it is utter garbage. The support of the government for big business is inevitably conservative and "elitist", that is capitalist society by definition.

The row between the Blair and the Hague camp is the row of kettle calling the pot black. There is simply an inter capitalist dispute over the euro and neither side has the slightest interest in social progress or is capable of it.

The real character of this government is shown by the growth of

poverty, its subsidy for privatised railways despite their proven lack of interest in passenger safety, its crude, oppressive bureaucratic regime over teachers, its racism against immigrants, its imperialist interventions against Zimbabwe and Sierra Leone and its submission to Yankee imperialism and support of Nato. The campaign against the government of Mugabe has been particularly vicious. Like the Serbs, the Zimbabwe government has been demonised by the hacks serving

capitalism. It is alright for the "democratic" IMF to impose privatisation, but for the blacks to take back the land taken from them by violence is "terrorism".

Even in relation to Ireland which the US and British imperialism desire to pacify so as to concentrate on war elsewhere, nothing important can be expected because capitalism has no capacity or interest to develop Ireland. The displacement of the Orange dictatorship causes problems to which they have no answer. Even if the Irish Assembly

were to bumble on, it is wedded to parliamentarianism when the latter is breaking down. Only a Socialist and United Ireland will dispose of repression and poverty. The fate of Ireland is linked irrevocably to the fate of Europe and the world.

The Labour sectors who are abating are the most decided sectors in the population. They are anti capitalist and see that the electoralism of the main parties is irrelevant to the proletariat and its allies. It is necessary to develop discussion in the workers areas,

the factories, the union bases and whatever elements in the labour party may see beyond electoralism to defend the programme of the workers state, for the expropriation of the key industries and banks under workers control, the popular control of education and the media, the development of soviets, the planned economy in collaboration with the a socialist Europe, the world anti imperialist united front and the destruction of Nato.

THE FRAUD OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

The offensive of capitalism in Europe is clear. The social democratic parties have completely capitulated to capitalism. They have accepted all the arguments of capitalism about the importance of entrepreneurs, the necessity and value of capitalist globalisation, the end of any socialist perspective. They have obeyed the dictates of the Yankee financial oligarchy in the war over Yugoslavia.

This is everywhere apparent from the Labour party to the French and Spanish SPs. But the CPs do not represent the interests of the population either.

In many ways they have been particularly pernicious because they speak of themselves as being "marxist" when their line of argument has little to do with marxism.

The social democratic parties have become direct apologists for the capitalist system and the part normally reserved for the social democracy has been taken over by the CPs. This has been most graphically shown in France where the PCF continues in a government which entered on the war to overthrow Yugoslavia and has given its support to privatisation. The CP line in relation to the European Union is totally reformist. In reality such parties are followers of Kautsky who as Lenin pointed out massaged marxism so that it was turned into a mainstay of parliamentary democracy, the instrument of capitalism.

This of course is not a sudden process but the result of years of submission to electoralism which has been in the case of the CPs the final and most lethal legacy of Stalinism. In all the CPs as far as we can judge, there has been no serious effort to account for the Stalinist phenomenon, but much dishonesty in ignoring the analysis of Trotsky. Thus as happens with the formerly stalinist CPs, the result is a steady move towards accommodation with capitalism.

This was all foreshadowed after the end of the second world war when the CPs collaborated with capitalism and refused to enter on the struggle to take power.

In the phase of the "partial regeneration" of the workers states analysed by Posadas ie soviet intervention in support of the colonial revolution,

the support to Cuba, the invasion of Afghanistan etc was an opportunity to stimulate left sectors in the SPs and CPs towards a re-encounter with marxism. But the collapse of the Soviet Union put an end to this possibility.

The result was that all the previous anti revolutionary complacency of the CPs has become more and more evident. They cannot explain anything, indeed they make no effort to explain why Stalinism developed, why communist parties justified frame ups and whole sale murder of the vanguard, why for example the British CPB was firmly rejected by the British working class why the PCF is a shadow of its former self, why the former PCI split and why as far as we know the Greek CP has never acknowledged that it was prevented from taking power at the end of the second world war.

They pretend allegiance to Lenin but are wholly concerned with elections. This does not mean that many of their militants do not have communist objectives but the party apparatuses are rotten with conciliation and have long abandoned Bolshevik objectives.

As these parties live in the shade of parliamentary "democracy" it is well to make clear that this "democracy" is totally fraudulent. It is not democracy in any serious way. It is so meaningless that in the United States which has its own variant of "democracy" sixty percent of the population do not vote because it is an empty farce where moneybags openly decides all. Basically the US government has no legitimacy even on its own "democratic" criteria.

It decides as a minority government but that does not stop the financial oligarchy deciding everything. So much for "democracy".

What control is exercised by the population over the business corporations? What control over the media? None. What control over the state apparatus, the army, the police? None. There is good reason for this because the state is here to defend the right of capitalism to exploit the population. Thus democracy is purely formal and when as in Chile, the population transcends bourgeois "democracy", capitalism uses the armed state to smash the masses. "Law and Order" is the law and order of

private property. The so called communists shy away from this as though the way ahead was- ah the next elections! This leads to all manner of electoral games, seeking opportunist electoral pacts with the social democracy and in Britain supporting the LP when that organisation was supporting the bombing of Yugoslavia.

Capitalism is now concentrating more and more power in fewer hands. Thus parliamentary democracy is even more of a farce than usual. Thus across Europe we have a massive system of clientelism

This reflects the social equivalent of the old aristocracy of labour which was the basis of reformism and revisionism in the late nineteenth century. It eschewed revolution in favour of the slow reforming of capitalism.

The negation of any permanent criticism of parliamentary "democracy" in effect means sustaining the dictatorship of private property.

Elections simply confirm this fact, the poor and the oppressed are ignored. What conclusions can be drawn. One most certainly is that nothing can be expected from the electoral charade apart from crises in the various apparatuses as remote reflections of the crisis of the whole of capitalist society. Conditions of life will steadily deteriorate and the most exploited sectors will confront the system as quite alien to them. The speed of response to this process in terms of revolutionary upheaval depends on a multitude of interacting international political and economic realities. The masses have shown in the past that when the existing political system offers no way out, they seek other ways as with the Paris Commune and Soviets to smash the established order.

This has happened of course as a result of war leading to insurrection. The worst scenario is when the masses as in the USA have shown their rejection of the system in massive abstentions, but no alternative party has been constructed to lead the process. It remains fundamental therefore to develop discussion in the trade unions and so called workers organisations to prepare the way for new teams that will be the nuclei of genuine parties to construct socialism

EXTRACTS FROM LENIN'S EXTENDED POLEMIC WITH KAUTSKY ON THE LATTER'S CAPITULATION TO PARLIAMENTARY BOURGEOIS DEMOCRACY AS OPPOSED TO SOVIETS.

If we are not to mock at common sense and history, it is obvious that we cannot speak of "pure democracy" so long as different classes exist; we can only speak of class democracy (be it said in parenthesis that "pure democracy" is not only an ignorant phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice hollow phrase, since in communist society, democracy will gradually change and become a habit, and finally wither away but will never be "pure democracy")

"Pure democracy" is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy.

The latter although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, nevertheless remains and under capitalism cannot help but remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited and the poor. Lenin then quotes Engels "As therefore the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, in the revolution, in order to hold down ones adversaries by force, it is pure nonsense to talk of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still uses the state, it does not use it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom, the state as such ceases to exist"....in reality the state is nothing but a machine for the suppression of one class by another and indeed in the democratic republic, no less than in the monarchy."

Lenin goes on-"take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take the right of assembly, freedom of the press or "equality of all citizens before the law" and you will see at every step evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and self conscious worker is conscious.

There is not a single state, however democratic which does not contain loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law and so forth in case of a "violation of public order" ie in case the exploited class "violates" its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non slavish manner.in no bourgeois state not even in the most democratic are foreign politics conducted openly. In all

democratic states-France, Switzerland, America or England-the masses are deceived on an incomparably wider scale and in a more subtle manner than in other countries....

under bourgeois democracy, the capitalists by a thousand and one tricks-which are the more artful and effective the more "pure democracy" is developed, debar the masses from a share in the work of administration, from freedom of the press, the right of assembly etc. For the masses, participation in bourgeois parliaments (which never decide important questions under bourgeois democracy; they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) is hindered by a thousand and one obstacles and the workers know and feel, see and realise perfectly well, that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, instruments for the oppression of the proletariat by the bourgeois, institutions of a hostile class, of an exploiting minority.

The Soviets are the direct organisation of the exploited masses themselves which helps them to organise and administer the state themselves in every possible way. And in this it is the vanguard of the oppressed and the exploited, the urban proletariat that enjoys the advantage, in that it is best organised for the large enterprises; it is much easier for it to elect and watch elections. The soviet organisation automatically helps to unite all the exploited around the vanguard, the proletariat. The old bourgeois apparatus-the bureaucracy, the privileges of wealth, of bourgeois education, of social connections (which are the more varied, the more highly bourgeois democracy is developed)- all this disappears under the soviet forms of organisation. Freedom of the press ceases to be a hypocrisy because the printing presses, paper etc are taken away from the bourgeoisie. The same applies to the best buildings, palaces etc. The soviet government took thousands and thousands of the best buildings from the exploiters at one stroke and in this way made the right of assembly-without which democracy is a fraud a million times more "democratic".

... if we argue in a marxist way we must say the exploiters inevitably transform the state (we are speaking of democracy ie one of the forms of the state) into an instrument for the rule of their class, of the exploiters over the exploited. Hence so long as there are exploiters who rule the majority, the exploited, the democratic state must inevitably be a democracy for the exploiters.

FOR THE WORLD ANTI IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT TO SMASH NATO

**NATO ASSASSINS AND THEIR FASCIST ALBANIAN STOOGES OUT OF KOSOVO!
FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE YUGOSLAV WORKERS STATE!**

**FOR THE DEMOCRATIC FUNCTIONING OF THE TRADE UNIONS
INDEPENDENT OF THE LABOUR PARTY.**

RENATIONALISE THE PRIVATISED UTILITIES

UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

WITHOUT COMPENSATION.!

To the masses of the world, to the communist and socialist masses and trade unions, to the nationalist and revolutionary soldiers, to the supporters of the peasant movements, and the indigenous forces of national liberation.

THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL EXTRACTS

The necessity to unify the anti capitalist struggles and energies on a world scale and to change society towards socialism is being felt more and more in a decisive form. The confrontation which occurred in Seattle, without leadership, without an International with an orientation, is an example of this. The spirit of Seattle extends itself to the whole world, wherever the representatives of big business meet, Davos, Lisbon or Washington. Even the Socialist International was obliged to question the effects of this globalisation of the economy - that is the brutal dictatorship of capital - and the need for a world order against the furious chaos developed by the capitalist multinationals. The return to the functioning of the non aligned countries with the many nations which participated in Cuba, and the meeting of the oil producers against the interests of the US and the other capitalist states, shows how globalisation is meeting profound resistance on a world scale.

The experience of the workers states continues to be felt throughout the world. Small Cuba, even with all its problems, concentrates and extends it. Capitalism has failed in the attempt to utilise the situation of the child Elian to mount a new offensive against Cuba. The masses of the world are not deceived by the "concern" of Yankee imperialism over Elian. They know that one in five children in the US - richest country in the world - are poor and that in the US infant mortality is more than double that in Cuba.

The great illusions of international capitalism and of the social democracy over the "end of communism" and the "immense possibilities for the development of society through the free market" have evaporated. They still live some cracked euphoria with the speculative fever of the Yankee economy which lives off the rest of the world, but that will not fortify world capitalism on the social plane. The capitalist system has provoked only new wars, destruction of production and human beings, of the environment and nature itself. It could not co-exist with the "socialist camp" constituted by the USSR and the other workers states and cannot co-exist with what remains of them now, in spite of the partial disintegration and retreat evident in those states.

The war in Chechnya has reproduced this situation and the struggle against the mafia bands has been a blow at world imperialism. The new Putin government cannot repeat the policy of Yeltsin because the Russian military increase their confrontation against imperialist arrogance and because the masses support this policy. More than thirty million people voted for the Communist party. World capitalism led by the US has not been able to destroy completely the old USSR. It is the most direct allies of imperialism such as Yeltsin who have lost power and it is the Russian army, maintaining the memory of the Red Army, which has intervened in Chechnya impeding a new ambush of imperialism to separate another region from the Russian Federation. What remains of the workers state

is being maintained with the military agreement between Russia and China and the activity of the CIS. The various CPs advance in the different republics.

The war of Nato in Yugoslavia has been a test of the world forces. Nato in reality had to finish the war without being able to smash Yugoslavia, without its troops smashing its way into Kosovo. Moreover it has sunk into a morass in Kosovo where Yankee and European capitalism has done nothing for the progress of Kosovo. The organs of investigation themselves of the UN, denounce the repressive actions against the Serbs, the Romany, and the Albanians who defend a multi ethnic Kosovo, to confirm that all the justifications of the war were false, and that the massacres ascribed to the Serbs were pure invention.

It is the third time an Italian official of the UNO has been removed and the most recent is a high commander who has denounced the lack of a European policy and it seems that they are only there to obey the policy of the North Americans. This has come

about through the resistance of the people of Yugoslavia, the rejection of the Nato line by the peoples of Europe and of the world and of the ex USSR in particular.

World capitalism has unleashed a furious struggle to impose its market economy and privatisation wherever it can. It welcomes China into the WTO, but even that proposed agreement is fraught with an uncertain future.

Nonetheless throughout the world there is discussion, rejection of capitalism and the search for a new socialist world order. This search has rich and varied forms according to the various continents, and the diverse sectors of the exploited population, because there is no world leadership to co-ordinate and orientate towards a conscious socialist objective. On the other hand, there is an international consciousness which circulates in the world and not because of the internet, but because there is a common view that capitalism is superfluous to requirements, that it is possible to live in a reasonable and peaceful way with an equitable distribution of the wealth and culture of humanity without incessant war and interminable poverty.

In Seattle the North American trade unions together with peasants and the indigenous peoples of Latin America and Asia were a fundamental part of the world repudiation of world capitalism. In Latin America there is a reanimation of the nationalist military sectors as in Venezuela, in Brazil, in Ecuador to stimulate the struggle for social changes in favour of the population. The resistance of the masses to privatisation extends from Bolivia to South Africa where the trade union centre COSATU and a part of the communists are the centre of a policy which contests the line which the IMF and Mbeki government seek to impose. In Zimbabwe the limits of the revolution of 1980 today are fundamental obstacles. It is not possible to advance without agrarian reform, the expropriation of the richest land, the seventy percent now in the

hands of the whites whose government is really in Britain. The necessary progress of the land occupations requires a profound process of democratic discussion among the masses

and an ascent of the revolution to impel the unification of the Africa countries.

In Europe the response to capitalism shows itself in the millions of abstentions in all the recent elections, in the constant presence of groups and strikes which resolutely pass beyond the passivity of the communist and socialist parties and trade unions. The various governments called centre left have had to meet the opposition and rejection by the proletariat and the masses in general, because they have simply adapted themselves to capitalism and accepted the war against Yugoslavia. These abstentions by the masses are not the result of "lack of political interest" but an active rejection of the policy of these governments. In Britain the Blair government acts as a conscious instrument of big business and continues the line of Thatcher with different means. The masses are not frightened with the "spectre" of the extreme right, agitated by the socialist and communist leaders as a permanent blackmail. The very governments who made war on Yugoslavia are the first to raise the "alarm" over the danger of Haider in Austria. The masses in their abstention reject the abject leaders of organisations such as the SPs and the CPs who collaborate with capitalism. The recent administrative elections in Italy show this tendency - the so called left lost two million votes. The right voted completely and compactly. The centre party continued its disintegration.

The communist parties in Europe are submitted to the electoral game and parliamentary agreements. This is the basis of the crisis to which they are subjected in a period in which the most resolute sectors of the masses decide to abstain when the parliamentary democracy simply follows the will of the multinationals, the world bank and Nato. The communists as in France ignore for example the programme of social transformations seeking only positions in central and local government. The masses find themselves without a leadership, but this does not deter their activity nor is capitalism in a position of security. It can only rely on the lack of unification of the oppressed classes.

To all the masses at the base of the socialist and communist parties, the masses who vote and those who repudiate the electoral farce, to all the trade union base, the various popular forces against the multinationals, we propose the united front in defence of all the social conquests, the repudiation of the policies of privatisation, the need for the planned economy nationally and internationally and the need to oppose with maximum force the escalation of the war policies of Nato, of world and Yankee imperialism.

Extracts

In the same way as it is important to know Lenin, so it is important to know Ancient Greece. In listening to the "Ruins of Athens" by Beethoven we are in harmony with the past, whilst living fully in the present, and organising the socialist future.

The Choir is included in several of Beethoven's works and is intended to unify music and voice, thus unifying music and the human being. Song is the most communicative form of harmonious expression, after the spoken word and these are followed by the gaze of the eyes. This is why in any well rendered song, the eyes of the singer express intelligence and love.

In Beethoven, it is possible to sense a gaze that ponders history and seeks to answer to the necessity of history, in which sentiments, consciousness and human relations are raised to new levels.

The scattered stones of the Acropolis form part of the "Ruins of Athens" which present day and quite ruined Greek capitalism has abandoned. This shows the lack of concern and interest of the bourgeoisie which pays no heed to the process of history. The bourgeoisie has given up leading and does not know what the morrow will bring. It has no future and in not having any, it has no interest in the present, except living for itself and exploiting other people. The bourgeoisie is unable to provide either ideas or contributions for the unification of the present with the future. It cannot unify the past the present or the future for the development of ideas in culture, scientific or economic ideas. It is true that there was an economic progress in the first stages of capitalist development, but this did not lead to cultural, artistic or scientific progress. Hence it quickly ceased to be any progress at all. Any economic progress has to be an expression of social development in the cultural and scientific spheres and above all in the realm of ideas and political struggle. When this happens, the political struggle centralises everything that is presently called "science", "culture" and "art". In turn a flourishing political life becomes the instrument to apply science, culture and art.

Beethoven was not consciously contributing to all this, as this was not his specific aim. Nonetheless, he contributed to the ideas necessary for the progress of humanity and conscious ideas at that. This is the most elevated form of humanism. Humanism in the epoch of Marx reached a very elevated level indeed. But through marxism, humanism was superseded because it was more limited. Marxism means a process of social transformation. The individual social being becomes able to determine all future actions, ideas and relations with others through the fundamental return

of humanity to itself as expressed in the early manuscripts of Marx (1844). This return is the point of departure for the investigation of human origin and the future perspective.

Beethoven's Choral Fantasia "The Ruins of Athens" gives a complete sense of the grandeur, the mark of the profound appreciation which Beethoven felt for his theme. There is a part of the work which suggests the Caryatids. They seem to walk and it suggests pure joy. Beethoven is infinite joy. It is the joy of being able to communicate. He communicates with the future like any true artist and this is the source of boundless joy. The forms of musical expression, which vary between artists indicate how far an artist has penetrated into the past. That does not mean being lost in the past, but being animated by the need to communicate with the future. This music stimulates thought and ideas. It suggests a dialogue between say Socrates and a deity like Athena. The catholic religion sought to crush all this. "The Ruins of Athens" is not a very well known work. This is because the music publishers think it is unprofitable. "The Ruins of Athens" is the type of work that aims at the organisation of thought and this is a positive deterrent to commercial interest. It is however a dance to humanity and there is no doubt that humanity will make a dance to it sometime in the future. It is a creation of joy by one who knows how to avoid being overwhelmed by the tragedy of the moment, who knows how to trust that "we will resolve everything".

Such a work evokes a person dancing without being detained by or submitted to the immediate problems. This is the vision of the artist. There are some critics who take Beethoven at the most simple and superficial level. They deal with the music as if it was trivial because they do not know how to inspire the public with love for Beethoven. In the DDR (the former East German Workers State) on the other hand, they regularly commemorate the anniversary of the workers state by playing the Ninth symphony of Beethoven. They have been able to organise a public for Beethoven.

It is necessary to organise dance, based on Beethoven's "Ruins of Athens", and dance it together with the theme of the song in the final choral passage. The choral passage of the "Ruins of Athens" as in the Ninth Symphony shows how musical instruments were insufficient to express all that a human being such as Beethoven could feel. This is why he incorporated the human voice and now we need to add the voices that sing the problems that humanity lives. Posadas Sept 1979

FOR THE RESTORATION OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORLD SUPPRESSION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM.

TOWARDS A NEW MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL