

THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT MUST BE THROWN OUT ON THE PROGRAMME OF

- NO NUCLEAR BASES
- AN ECONOMY FOR THE
BENEFIT OF THE POPULATION

The refusal of the Soviet government to participate in a New Year's message with Reagan shows that the Soviet government is in process of measuring the results of the Reykjavik meeting and the need to deepen the policy of confronting Yankee and world imperialism. There is no possibility of imperialism changing its course towards war. At the same time, even with insufficiencies in the leadership of the Workers State, the masses of Europe find encouragement in the Soviet Union, in the changes in the Soviet Union, in the role of the Soviet Union as the alternative to the pathological policies of imperialism.

THE DEBILITY OF FRENCH CAPITALISM.

The force of the workers' movement following on the student rebellion in France can be seen in the independent proletarian intervention of the French railway workers which have shown clearly the social weakness of the Chirac government. The latter is in process of trying to realise the policies of Thatcher in France, and now has to resort to the policy of unleashing the CRS against the workers. The workers' parties in France have been totally unprepared for the proletarian intervention, but nothing has diminished the readiness of the proletariat to intervene wherever there is an opportunity to do so. This experience will undoubtedly have effects throughout Europe and displays once again that it is incapable of maintaining its power over the population. The indecisive behaviour of Chirac shows the great insecurity of capitalism. Winning elections decides nothing in this stage.

At this moment in Britain, capitalism is making a great campaign about the possibility of Thatcher returning to office for a third term, as though this was some fantastic feat of capacity. Nothing of the sort! The government of Thatcherosaurus is a monument to the cretinism of the capitalist system. It is a government whose only capacity is to increase military expenditure submit to the Yanks, and impose draconian legislation against the workers' movement to prevent discussion and ruin whole layers of the population. Moreover, its return at the last election, when it increased its parliamentary majority, was on the basis of losing half a million votes. Such is the phenomenal ability of this puppet government of the Yanks, which hastens at every turn to assure Yankee imperialism of its undying gratitude for having occupied Great Britain. As with the other governments in Europe the reality is that only with the connivance of the workers' parties and trade unions has it been

possible for this government to continue.

It is quite clear that as in Germany the Labour Party apparatus is terrified of gaining power on the basis of a powerful campaign against capitalism which would make them prisoner of the masses. Above all, they want to enter government very quietly and 'responsibly'. It is particularly dangerous for the apparatus to wage a struggle over the abandonment of Yankee bases and the termination with nuclear missiles, because that demand goes to the heart of the capitalist system. Hence the prevarication even over a massive struggle within parliament. It would be possible even on a parliamentary basis to fight the government much more convincingly, but the apparatus does not want this because the more the discussion is developed the more the population would be stimulated to intervene, and also augment the pressure on the leadership.

The Labour left, in order to accentuate greatly the strength of its intervention, has to base itself on the situation as it is in the world. One of the objectives of capitalism, and one of the forms in which the workers' organisations were structured in Britain, was to maintain the insularity of Britain, its 'exceptional nature', and that the world had little value for Britain. Hence capitalism tries to centre discussion as though the election is taking place apart from the rest of the world. It is not! All the world of imperialism is in a process of profound decomposition. The people who vote for Reagan or Thatcher or Chirac or Kohl are a minute part of the world population. All the rest of the world is against them, and it is this rest of the world that should give security to the Labour left to reject submission to the blind apparatus of the Labour Party, which is tied to the interest of capitalism. The Workers States and all the revolutionary states, all the exploited masses of the world are in a united front objectively against

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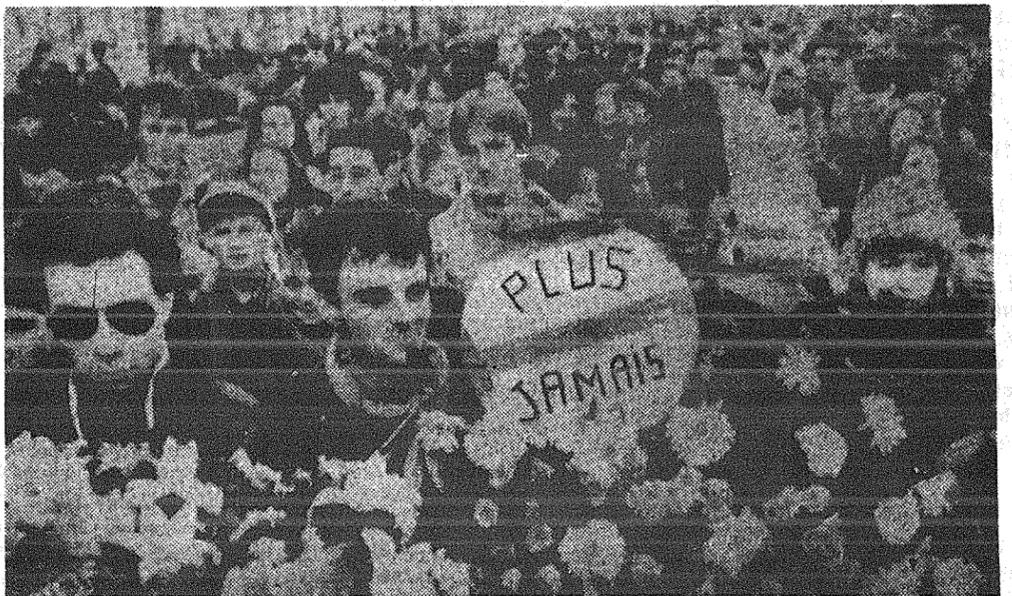
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French students against Chirac

THE AFTERMATH OF THE ELECTIONS SHOWS THAT THERE IS NO CAPITALIST SOLUTION FOR BRASIL.

The recent elections in Brasil in which the bourgeois leadership of Sarney won in the majority of states brought out once again the incapacity of capitalism to solve anything. No sooner in office than the new austerity programme shows the attempt of capitalism to solve its problems at the expense of the masses. Before the elections, as part of its democratic face, the Sarney government instituted a price freeze and, at the same time, a wage freeze for a year.

The new programme of Sarney involves higher taxes on durable goods, higher fuel prices, and higher public tariffs. The object is the need to finance the huge public debt, i.e. to pay off the bankers - at the same time, the fall in exports and a flight of capital shows yet again the fragility of the Brazilian economy in the world competitive market. The new Sarney programme seeks to avoid problems with the IMF over the question of the vast foreign debt. The massive popular rejection of these proposals, almost insurrectionary in character, indicated that the bourgeois electoral 'success' is a superficial phenomenon.

The leader of the Workers Party, Lula, has denounced this package and in the new political structure in Brasil this party and the Social Democratic Party of Brizola allow a more centralised resistance to capitalism than in the past. The intervention of the Trotskyist-Posadists in Brasil, laying the emphasis on the programme of social transformations, is a contribution to the discussion which develops in Brasil. Above all, it is necessary to pose the need to repudiate the foreign debt, thus rallying wide support for the anti-imperialist united front.

The process in Britain, Stalinism and the organisation of the left in the Labour party.

J. Posadas

26.4.79

The vanguard of the British Labour Party does not see an objective discussion; it sees subjective interests. The vanguard of the British Labour Party does not see an objective discussion. The vanguard of the British proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie, the revolutionary vanguard of petit bourgeois origins all these who do not have a tradition of objective discussion or the method of scientific purity in discussion see a whole alteration and adulteration of the historic truth.

They see that Trotsky does not appear in anything; they see that they write about the Russian Revolution in the papers of the Soviet, Chinese, French or Italian Communist parties, that these papers write about the stage of Stalin but nothing is said about his crimes. One of these crimes, however, was to have assassinated the whole Bolshevik leadership. But why? The British vanguard asks why they were assassinated. But they receive only an empirical form of answer: the teaching of subjective interests - and not of the objective, didactic and dialectical interest to interpret history. So the vanguard is left without point of support. It sees the present developments in China; it sees that China invaded Vietnam; and that the Communist parties had nothing to say about it over and above being opposed to China. The vanguard says, however, 'But why the invasion? Why is it that one Socialist country invades another?'

All this influences the vanguard because it induces in the vanguard the notion that there will also be war in Socialism. The proletariat wonders: 'Why is this then?' However, the proletariat showed that it was in no doubt when Vietnam invaded Cambodia because it saw that when China invaded Vietnam in that instance it was a set-back for Vietnam, because the Chinese were invading for destructive purposes. Indeed, the proletariat saw that in China they throw the revolutionaries out and promote bourgeois people instead. All this is ignored in the literature of the Communist movement. They simply omit this discussion. They do not present Stalin as the murderer of all the Bolshevik leadership. But the workers' vanguard united the two things: the invasion of Vietnam by China, and the murder of the Bolshevik leadership.

The Labour vanguard reasons and says: 'What! Stalin who was so destructive in history, such an aberration in history, the murderer of the Bolshevik leadership and the assassin of Trotsky... This is like the invasion of Vietnam by China...' The vanguard then wonders: 'How is this then? Is it that in Socialism individual interests are still being generated? Does this mean that in Socialism society is still determined by individual

interests in its orientation and not by human interests? This would mean that in Socialism, even though economic conditions may have improved from before, the conditions of the individual have not?' We are the only ones to have analysed the causes which made for the development of such counter-revolutionary cliques (such as Stalin and the Chinese and the Pol Pot leaderships. Edit.)

The British proletariat has lived all this process and the bureaucracy bases itself on all these limitations in the proletariat. This shows that there is no such thing as the 'specific abilities of the British bureaucracy'. It is not so much that the Labour and trade union bureaucratic leaderships have a capacity of their own, but that they can support themselves on this process of history. If the Socialist and Communist parties, if the trade union centres and the leadership of the Workers States started to divulge, to explain that Stalin assassinated the Bolshevik leadership, that he murdered Trotsky and that Trotsky was not a traitor at all: all this would be different.

Trotsky was one of those who led and organised the social, economic, political and military programme of the Russian Revolution. Therefore, all those who want to consider the 'errors of Trotsky' have to discuss that it was the Bolshevik leadership - Bukharin, Zinoviev, Khamenev and many others - who led the revolution, who organised life so that this activity could be made. This is not discussed.

It is necessary to discuss the first stage of the Workers States in Europe when, in Czechoslovakia, in Hungary, in Poland and in all these Workers States, conciliation with capitalism was immense. One has to discuss even another previous circumstance still - the intention of Stalin to invade Yugoslavia, and when he tried to push Tito into the arms of capitalism. One cannot discuss in the abstract. All these things are experiences for the proletariat and the proletariat has received no explanation of these experiences. How is it possible that Stalin denied any relationship with, and support to, the Yugoslav Workers State? Why did he prefer Yugoslavia to surrender to capitalism rather than disobey him? And the vanguard questions further: 'Why is it then that Stalin acted like this?' Such a thing, therefore, as the invasion of Vietnam by China is not a new thing. Stalin did it in Yugoslavia, which he tried to push into the arms of capitalism. So Stalin would have preferred to see Yugoslavia go back to capitalism rather than become a source of disobedience or of indiscipline and confrontation with the Stalinist bureaucratic interests...

All this illustrates the process of development of a wor-

kers State (Yugoslavia) whose interests start clashing with Stalin's interests of monopolising Yugoslavia so as to impede its revolutionary development. The development of Yugoslavia was starting to affect Stalin's reformist conciliatory policy towards capitalism: the proletarian vanguard knows all this because all that which is happening today is not new. It is neither a surprise nor an inexplicable situation.

The strength of the trade union bureaucracy is not its own because the historic nature of the bureaucracy does not allow it to have any capacity of its own. The capacity for manoeuvre which characterises the bureaucracy finds its support in two fundamental conditions which are: a large economic development and a small proletarian weight. These conditions do not exist today. Nowhere in the world is capitalism in development. On the contrary, it is retreating and disintegrating. It is the proletariat which is in development and in advance on a world scale.

In Britain, as in the rest of the world, inevitably the proletariat is progressing and advancing through the class struggle.

The Workers States have repressed the fact that the Bolshevik leaders were murdered and that Stalin pushed Yugoslavia towards capitalism in an attempt to stop Yugoslavia influencing the Workers States and developing revolutionary tendencies in them. They have kept quiet about the fact that Stalin wanted to push Mao Tse Tung into an alliance with Chinese and North American capitalism. And they have also kept quiet about the fact that Mao Tse Tung refused. All this is ignored in the history of the workers movement; and neither do the Communist parties or the Workers States say anything about it. However, in spite of the fact that they don't discuss this or mention it, there is a very great progress in all the Workers States and in all the Communist parties.

Even if these things have not been discussed and conclusions drawn from them, even if they have not understood this previous process, there is nevertheless a very great anti-capitalist progress in the Workers States and in the Communist parties. When we look at the Workers States and at the Communist parties it is not to consider what they have not done before but what they are doing now. We do this because the

Communist parties and the Workers States are the instruments of history, for the necessity to progress economically, socially and politically. The Communist parties and the Workers States are progressing and correcting themselves on the way of progress. This is not because they have reached the necessary theoretical and political understanding, but because they are forced into this understanding by the very necessity of progress. And they have to progress because any alliance or duplicity - in the sense of attempting to mix the economy of the Workers State with capitalism - cannot be tolerated by the economy of the Workers State. This alliance, however, is precisely what Stalin sought in 1945, and this policy included the repression of revolutionary tendencies; but this policy can no longer be followed. At the same time capitalism, in those days, had a certain force; it could develop and grow to some extent. But now it is no longer the case. Today, capitalism has no means to tolerate the Workers State - it simply cannot tolerate it!

At that time capitalism was not in the throes of the agony and crisis which it is now in. This crisis is economic, social and political. It leaves capitalism with no base of social, political, cultural, artistic or scientific support. It is all a vacuum as far as capitalism is concerned. The capitalist system has both money and arms, but it has no social support and no social force or perspective. And the process of historic development is not economic: it is social. Even if the economy has been fundamental for a whole stage of history, now the economy is structured and humanity is learning to live with the economy. And, at the same time, capitalism sees that it has no social, political, scientific or cultural perspective. It sees that it has no perspective of any kind.

This is why the bureaucracy cannot conciliate with capitalism in spite of all its efforts to do so. It cannot do so because conciliation is neither economic nor military: it is social. The progress of the Workers States and the need for the Workers States to exist necessitate expansion on the part of the Workers States. And expansion of the Workers States, in turn, can be neither military nor bureaucratic - it has to be economic and social. The historic antagonism of the Workers States with capitalism becomes progressively more intense, and this is why the atomic war is inevitable.

The war is inevitable not because one or other capitalist wants it but because the capitalist system - as a system - wants it. It seeks it and has need for it as a system. It is possible that German or Bolivian capitalism does not express this. But Yankee imperialism does. And the conscious expression of world capitalism is Yankee imperialism.

Yankee imperialism has all the means to launch the war, and if the other capitalists do not have them, the Yankees do. And, in such conditions, therefore, the Workers States confront capitalism. The Workers States prepare the conditions for the elimination of capitalism because they have to do so in order to live! The Workers State cannot live with capitalism in any kind of durable way. To live, the Workers State has to extend itself, and it has to eliminate capitalism in order to extend itself. It is true that the leadership of the Workers State wants to conciliate to impede the war but, at the same time, there are better sectors in the Workers States - political and scientific strata - which do not want to. In the military leadership there are strata who realise that the war is inevitable. They prepare themselves accordingly, and they prepare the masses of the world for the war and for the elimination of the capitalist system. But they do this without correcting previous errors and without explaining.

The Workers States do not, as yet, have an influence in Britain; but they do have an influence in countries which used to be dependent upon British imperialism. This is a process which still lacks clarification, lacks in being explained, and lacks in the development of knowledge of what is happening. For instance, why did the masses of Germany (GDR) rise in 1952? Why were there two uprisings in Poland? Why was there another uprising in Hungary? Such things expressed the resistance of the masses (to bureaucracy). But this is not new. Why was it that about 50,000 members of the Communist Party - who were a bourgeois layer - were excluded from the Yugoslav Communist Party? Why was there a 'cultural revolution' in China? What is the 'Cultural Revolution'? Is the cultural revolution necessary in any Workers State? Why? This has not been explained - and neither has it been explained why all this took place as much in China as in the Soviet Union after the murder of those who led the Revolution.

The elimination of the 'gang of four' corresponds to the assassination of Zinoviev, Khamenev, Trotsky. The vanguard and the British proletariat have received no explanation of this, and this is precisely one of the strengths of the trade union and Labour bureaucracy. The bureaucracy, however, supports itself on all this. It exerts a pressure against the workers' vanguard, against the workers' cadres who struggle for progress in Britain and who want to eliminate capitalism; but they are told: 'See where Socialism and the Workers States lead to!' These cadres are also told that in order to go forward 'you have to wait for other conditions when there will be no more bureaucracies, no more bad people and criminals'.

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All this forms part of the strength of the bureaucratic apparatus which one has to struggle against. These leaders have no perspective because things are not going back to the epoch of Stalin. They are going forward instead to the elimination of the capitalist system. And, together with this, the process advances towards the elimination of all inequalities, all forms of arrogance, and all forms of adulteration of history. The process advances beyond a position of conciliation with capitalism, because it is not possible to progress without advancing against capitalism. This is why the purest and most complete revolutions have taken place in Mozambique, Cuba, Angola and Vietnam. There they cannot support themselves on remnants of previous bureaucratic layers in the leadership of the Workers States, because already these remnants - as Vietnam shows - don't manage to influence any more.

It is necessary to take account of the fact that the development of this process is having a greater

effect, greater than before, even on the Labour and Communist leaderships. There are changes in the Communist parties even with their policy of adaptation and even if it is not expressed yet in a political form - which goes in the direction of making them want to replace the capitalist system. Not to change capitalism by force, not to overthrow it; but, yes, to replace capitalism. There is already an immense progress in the Communist parties. Not in all of them but in those around which the masses are centralised. Here, there is an immense progress. France, Italy and Portugal have mass Communist parties, and in these parties there is an immense progress. On the other hand, in the small Communist parties like those of Britain and Germany - which have little proletarian weight - a bureaucratic layer still exists. They are bureaucratic parties which are not preoccupied with living the process of history. The Communist parties of Britain, Germany and Belgium continue still to have a mystical view of history. They believe that they are the vanguard and representa-

tives of the proletariat. For instance, take the recent elections in Germany where the Social Democrats won. In Hamburg they increased their vote by 3.5%. In the meantime the Communists lost 52% of their votes. From 20,000 the Communist Party dropped to 9,000. This is an immense loss of votes, and for the third time. And all this in three elections and only a few years, whilst they used to increase their votes in the past! This loss of votes for the Communist Party in Germany has a direct relationship to the process of the left in the Social Democracy, and it has a direct relationship also with the progress of the leadership of the Social Democracy which is adopting the policy of taking their distance from the Yanks. The Social Democrats do not do this in the name of Socialism - but rather in the name of capitalism. This is so because German capitalism clashes with the Yanks. They clash in the market, in the world process of competition, where the Yanks confront German capitalism.

The Labour Party apparatus

is not a power. Whatever the force the Labour leadership has comes from the errors of the Communist parties and of those of the Workers States. The invasion of Vietnam by China gives a blow to the security of the British proletariat. This wouldn't be so if the Labour and Communist leaderships had explained this process to the masses and given them orientations. However, in this instance, it is a blow because it sustains the authority of the Labour leadership in continuing a policy of conciliation with capitalism. It is not that the masses have been taken in or that they feel crushed and are giving up; it is only because such events are not any help to advance the political and organisational understanding of the masses. This is what gives the bureaucracy the strength to continue with the previous policies. The bureaucracy goes on as before; just a bit better, with more demagoguery and some talk of nationalisations - but nothing more. And it does not make much of an effort to nationalise.

on the bureaucratic leadership, of the Communist parties and of the Workers States.

We have been the only ones to give an explanation of the invasion of Vietnam by China and of the differences there are between such an invasion and the military participation of Vietnam in Cambodia. No Workers State of Communist Party has explained this in order to give the vanguard a notion of how to distinguish between the two things, and how to make a separation between one action and another. Among other things, it is wholly justifiable for a Workers State to intervene in another Workers State when this is necessary. Whether it is necessary or not has to be judged by whether or not the intervention leads to progress. You judge whether the ones who intervene militarily are leading to the progress of the Workers States. None of this is explained - for instance all those who criticised the intervention of Vietnam in Cambodia (several Communist parties did) have kept their mouths well shut when Tanzania invaded someone else (Uganda). And Tanzania intervened in Uganda openly. All these people have silenced all this. And they also said nothing when Cuba intervened in Ethiopia, in Angola and in Mozambique.

But, we repeat, even in these circumstances the British proletariat demonstrates that it is in the Labour Party to construct Socialism. It is not there to gain improvements, and certainly not to support the Labour bureaucracy. This is why left wings constantly form in the Labour Party. Constantly, and with a certain programme - important at times - for the nationalisation of some important factories and banks. But it is not a programme for the nationalisation of the whole of the British imperialist structure. But, yes, for important parts of it, such as in the instance of the demand for the nationalisation of the banks. This does not recur often because they lack in security, they lack in theoretical and political knowledge and because, at the same time, they support themselves in the Labour Party on the errors of the leadership of the Communist parties, so as to contain the pressure of the working class. So they support themselves on the bureaucratic policy,

All the problems of this stage of history cannot be put on the same plane; for they are not all equal. They are all determined by the need for social progress and this is expressed in the revolutionary struggles. So the stance to adopt regarding interventions must be that which measures things according to whether the intervention corresponds or not to progress; and it must not be measured solely by the fact that someone intervenes in someone else's country. In the political parties of this stage there is no preparation to grasp this. This is what gives support to bureaucracy, and this gives the existing apparatuses the possibility of differentiating themselves from the necessity to advance to the Workers State.

Continued Next Issue.

The situation in Sweden.

The extended epoch of peaceful coexistence between an expanding Swedish capitalism and the Swedish Social Democracy is finished. There is no longer any economic basis to justify such a policy of conciliation: there are no more concessions to be gained; and this is going to exacerbate the crisis within the SDP leadership which also has to respond to the pressure from the Party's working-class base.

Swedish capitalism has become more and more overtly predatory and decrepit, exploding the myth of its 'social responsibility' by the recent slaughter of the shipbuilding industries in Malmo, Uddevalla and Gothenburg, the laying waste of steel and mining towns of Lapland due to closures, and the selling off of almost the whole fleet of Swedish-owned merchant shipping. At the same time, the dominant concentrations of export companies such as Volvo, SAAB, SKF, ASEA and Electrolux, have all utilised their record profits to expand abroad where there is cheaper labour and reduce their financial expenditure at home. Moreover, the lack of interest in industrial investment in Sweden has been complemented by an increasingly parasitic growth in speculation among the 'sharks' of the stockmarket, which in the past two years has produced capital gains of over 260 billion kroner. The disastrous course of the process has resulted in a colossal state debt and Sweden is now in hock to foreign creditors on a massive scale.

As Comrade Posadas analysed, the process in Sweden moves through the world revolution and is nurtured by it. Thus, even on a world scale, there remains no firm point of support for any social democratic 'middle way' between capitalism and the Workers State. Imperialism twitches spasmodically into some semblance of life only in its preparations for war, while the so-called non-aligned movement, which Sweden sup-

ports, is inevitably polarised by the necessity to resolve the underlying contradictions of economic backwardness. In their struggle to progress and break away from the domination of imperialism, countries like Nicaragua and Ethiopia gravitate quite naturally towards the system of Workers States, at the centre of which is the Soviet Union. This advance exerts a further influence on the SDP government in Sweden which has always attempted to pursue a policy of 'neutrality' while maintaining its support for progressive movements throughout the world. The dilemma has been brought to a head over South Africa. The other Nordic countries (including Norway, a member of NATO) seek an immediate and total economic boycott, but the SDP government here continues to procrastinate so as to protect the extensive interests of Swedish companies in South Africa.

The assassination of Olaf Palme has without doubt provoked a move to the right within the SDP leadership. In front of capitalism's cynical vandalism of basic sectors of industry, the new government of Ingvar Carlsson has remained notably passive at the same time as it repeatedly confronts the masses with cuts in services, housing, schools, hospitals and wages. Up to now, the trade union bureaucracy has been in open compliance with these policies so as 'not to rock the boat', but this has not prevented over 100,000 employees in the public sector - nurses, office and transport workers - from coming out on strike recently against the government's wage restraints. The conclusion from all this is, clearly, that if capitalism is incapable of satisfying the fundamental needs of the population, then the perspective must be extended beyond the framework of the system.

In the Riksdag, the SDP government is also totally dependent on the votes of the Communists for it to reach a

majority. This situation has, however, led to a further parliamentary accommodation on the part of the CP who have severed all ties with the Soviet Union and are now pressurising the SDP to loosen its own links with the trade unions. The CP proposes that there should only exist a purely voluntary, individual basis for Party membership in the hope that they themselves will gain electorally from this. Such a demand is thoroughly reactionary and reveals a complete lack of understanding of the decisive importance and role of the traditionally collective centralisation of the Swedish working class around its Party.

The other campaign launched by the CP at the moment, exploiting the anti-Soviet hysteria in the press over the 'fall out' from Chernobyl, is to close the twelve nuclear power stations which now function here. The Lapps have, for example, been forced to kill thousands of reindeer because of contamination, but afterwards it has been shown that high levels of radiation have been found in the meat ever since the 1960s due to the testing of atomic bombs.

The Communist Party base all their policies on the vague aspiration that they will eventually be seen as a 'democratically acceptable' Party in parliament, but in consequence they tend solely to trail behind the SDP instead of objectively impelling it more to the left by showing, through the experience of the Workers States, that it is possible to break with the putrefaction of capitalism. Furthermore, in a period of ever-shortening stages towards the final settlement of accounts, this means that a political orientation towards the Soviet Union is essential, not only to gain any clarity over where Sweden and the rest of the world are going but also about what needs to be done in the process.

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War, Peace J POSADAS and the function of the Socialist Countries

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THE POLITICAL DISCUSSION IN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE NEED FOR THE LEADERSHIP OF THE CPSU-

Political life in the Soviet Union is inevitably intensifying despite the limitations in the activity of the CPSU and in the life of the Party with the population. The onset of the new team with Gorbachev has seen a considerable boost to the process of political revolution with the magnitude of the purging which has taken place in the unions, the Party, and the various Republics. The latest purge in Kazakstan which provoked disorder from the offended bureaucrats is an example of the uninterrupted process of partial regeneration analysed by Comrade Posadas. At the same time, this process is not linear and the term 'partial' is important to bear in mind.

The problem of the leadership of the Workers State is that it is superior to the leadership of Stalinism because it is not interested in making a counter-revolutionary deal with imperialism and cannot subscribe to a new Yalta, and has to respond to the needs of the Workers State in improving the objectivity of production, the need to develop the quality of production and, above all, the need to eliminate the totally parasitic layers of the bureaucracy who live off the proceeds of the Workers State and impede its development economically, and thus socially and politically.

At the same time, this powerful process of regeneration of the Workers State does not have at hand a prepared and conscious leadership. It does not possess a vigorous Party life with a rich life of tendencies, and has lost the Bolshevik tradition of discussion. This means that the present life which flows through bureaucratic channels is fluid but without clear expression. From various comments in Soviet publications it is possible to see various and frequently contradictory propositions. The violent vituperation against Trotskyism published in the theoretical journal 'Socialism, Theory and Practice', attacking and distorting the Posadist attitude towards war, is not a sign of the vigour of the superannuated Stalinists but rather that there is a very acute process of discussion in the Soviet Union, and some sectors of the bureaucracy are frightened of tendencies in the Soviet Union itself who seek a revolutionary settlement of accounts with imperialism. The recent criticisms of Breznev in this respect are not totally objective: it was under him that the present process began and the intervention in Afghanistan showed an audacity, as analysed by Cde Posadas, to confront the nuclear war.

The top layer of the bureaucracy is in a process unforeseen by itself. It is not a revolutionary leadership but because of the nature of the process it is propelled in a wholly novel situation and has to answer to the needs of the Workers State, which objectively must link up with the world revolutionary process and terminate with capitalism - which is an obstacle to the establishment of world Socialism. The latter

demands the liquidation of imperialism as a pre-requisite.

The present leadership of the Soviet Union has acquired a greater confidence in confronting capitalism and, as at Reykjavik, rejected the proposition of imperialism quite firmly, although making quite unnecessary concessions to the assassins of imperialism, i.e. not taking account of the French and British deterrents etc. But they lack confidence in making conclusions even from their own analysis of the international situation.

Moreover, being a bureaucracy - even if under a relentless pressure of the Workers State - they desire to survive. Thus their tendency has two faces. They have to confront imperialism, they cannot concede over essentials, but they try to survive by attempts at conciliating. Thus they propose changes in Afghanistan but, in reality, the clock cannot be put back. It means delays in constructing the Party in Afghanistan and preparing to form a Workers State there. In the Yankee attack on Libya the Soviet fleet withdrew. No doubt they will argue that nonetheless the Yanks suffered a defeat. But this is no preparatory education for the process that is coming.

Moreover, as yet they have not put themselves profoundly into the situation in South Africa, which is a bloodbath organised by world imperialism. In the main this team of Gorbachev seeks to gain time by developing the economy of the Soviet Union to compete better with capitalism and thus influence even more sectors of the European bourgeoisie, in particular. Hence the recent steps to increase Soviet export trade by allowing Soviet factories the power to negotiate directly with Western enterprises.

The recent programme of the CPSU and subsequent comments bring out two tendencies which, broadly speaking, are now at work in the Soviet Union. Thus there is much emphasis on the old slogan which reflects bureaucratic privilege: 'From each according to his ability, to each according to his work', which is the bureaucratic way of saying that some are going to get much more than others and the other tendency which speaks of overcoming social differentiation and making Soviet society more homogenous. These discussions will become much sharper because privileges are at stake, but the process objectively allows the possibility of Communist equality. When they legalise small individual enterprises this is not an objective necessity but corresponds to the lack of confidence in the Soviet team to answer to the new possibilities of extending collective endeavour. It is not, and cannot be, a new NEP because the conditions of the Soviet economy have surpassed all the needs of concessions to small enterprises. The new law is not a step backwards in relation to the reality of the existing situation, but it shows the timidity of the Soviet leadership over solving shortages etc. in the economy and, as with the still unsolved issue of agriculture

The so-called "Anglo-Irish" agreement and its application in Northern Ireland.

This agreement was organised under the pressure of the Yanks so as to justify elements in the Southern bourgeoisie saying that with the 'concessions' British imperialism would make in the North the Republic should jettison neutrality and join NATO.

To do this imperialism put on its most hypocritical face and suddenly became concerned about the need to overcome sectarian positions in Northern Ireland. As we analysed at the time, this meant a conflict with the Unionist apparatus but no gains for the oppressed Catholic masses. In fact, this is exactly what has happened. The Thatcherites know that the Unionist apparatus - left to itself - is impotent. They have only survived with full force on the basis of connivance with British imperialism, and their only way to defend them-

selves as an apparatus is to launch attacks on the Catholics who are objectively the most oppressed sectors in the community. Thus, Thatcher's policy can appear to be helping the Catholics - in reality, the SDLP apparatus with its middle class adherents - whilst doing nothing to stop the policy of impotent Protestant fascists. The masses continue to be oppressed, whilst the 'conciliation' with the Republic continues.

The Labour left has to denounce this 'agreement' as a mendacious and vicious farce. Even when now capitalism is talking of 'reviewing' discrimination against Catholics (all ignored in the past), this means little in the circumstances of Northern Ireland where un-

employment and growing impoverishment is the lot of the population, and there is no perspective within capitalism for changing this. There can be no Socialist solution which keeps Britain and Ireland separate. Both countries are experiencing the full weight of the disorder of the capitalist system. It is not only a question of a united Socialist Ireland, but one in federation with a Socialist Britain. The Labour Party apparatus is going along with the Thatcher scheme. But the Thatcher plan has no future. Entrance of the Republic into NATO also means the growing isolation of capitalism in both countries because, more and more, a small sector of capitalism seeks to control the whole of the bourgeoisie, who reject this and thus deprive capitalism of its extended class basis, breaking links with petit bourgeois layers normally accommodated within the system.

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what remains of the impotent and totally crippled capitalist system.

It is necessary to be audacious and proclaim the need for social transformations, to support the

anti-nuclear campaign - which not only calls for the reduction of the Yankee bases but also for the termination with NATO and the diversion of reduced military expenditure to other needs. It is of no use to submit to the pipe dreams of the apparatus who wish to actually increase conventional weapons and so save face with capitalism. The disaffected sectors of the petit bourgeois would respond to a massive campaign of the Labour left. Thousands of Liberals ignored by their leaders reject nuclear arms.

The dispute over education has shown that there are enormous forces that exist which can be developed in a left direction. The tenacity of the fight has shown its profoundly anti-capitalist depth even if without a representative policy and programme.

Today, a situation is developing in Britain, as analysed by articles which we reproduce today, in which a revolutionary current can develop. All the old policy of consensus and acceptance of a benevolent capitalism is falling because now capitalism is quite openly committed to maintaining the wealthy few without any means of concessions to the population. War contracts and financial speculation are the last preoccupation of capitalism. Capitalism is trying

to construct a strong state apparatus to intimidate and oppress and withdraw or limit democratic liberties, but this is a sign of its debility. In spite of unemployment and heavy blows at the working population, capitalism in Britain is on the way down, because it is on the way down all over the planet. A determined Labour left can act as a point of concentration for the population on the programme of an economy for the benefit of the masses, workers' control, and the elimination of nuclear bases in Great Britain which are not to defend Britain but to attack the Soviet Union.

4.1.87.

French troops out of Chad!

leaves margin for privilege and individualism.

The fundamental problem in all these discussions that are now taking place in the Soviet Union is the lack of a sustained political life with the population, a lack of consistent political analysis. This often shows itself in the absence of conclusions following on quite important analyses. This in a recent article on 'Militarism and the Working Class', Ponomaryov writes: 'Objectively the forces and opportunities of the working class to struggle against the danger of war exists, and they

are considerable. The task now in the world and the outgoing is to realise their potential'. In practice the Soviets have put the weight on diplomacy. It is certain that the mobilisation of the working class is a fundamental problem and the Soviets find it difficult to know how to intervene in this, for all the reasons developed by Cde Posadas.

Yet another article on revolutions in 'Socialism, Theory and Practice' says quite clearly: 'But so long as irreconcilable class and other antagonisms exist

social forces retard this natural process, this ascent and succession of social-economic formations will proceed in a revolutionary way'. This taken by itself is in contradiction with the idea that somehow it is possible to circumnavigate around the problem of inevitable war. The Workers State is advancing prodigiously, and whatever delays and attempts even to retreat as certain aspects joined with advances in other aspects, this is a new stage in the Soviet Workers State and will promote the re-encounter with Marxism.

Editorial

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST ACT INDEPENDENTLY OF THE LABOUR PARTY APPARATUS

The discussion in the Soviet Union on changes and democracy is part of the crisis of growth in the leading workers state. The current Gorbachev leadership responds to the pressure exerted by the advance of the workers state with some understanding that the full intervention of the masses is essential. But the process in the Soviet Union whilst being determinate in world history is still partial regeneration advancing under a leadership which still carries and weight and conception of all the previous bureaucratic apparatus. Thus with good intentions they adopt bourgeois and bureaucratic forms. Secret ballots which are now being proposed for elections inside the Communist party (CPSU) are essentially a bourgeois device.

In the same way, it is right and necessary for the Soviet workers to control the management of their enterprise but not by simply electing the directors in secret ballots. Bourgeois democratic forms are alien to the workers state. The experience of the democratic forms compatible with the workers states - Soviet democracy - is all in place in the history of the first seven years of the Soviet workers state. The soviet, the organ in which the mass discuss, decide and apply the decisions is the form of democracy which allows the full participation of the masses and is the form necessary for the advance of the worker state on the road to Socialism. The discussion of "Lenin's testament" which is being reported in various journal is important because it deals with the origins of Soviet society and the bureaucratic degeneration it suffered. This heralds the beginning of a much more profound theoretical discussion in the Soviet Union.

The proposals made by the current Soviet leadership are also designed to conciliate with world capitalism and yankee imperialism. The same is true of the release of various "dissidents" in the last weeks, and also the proposals to withdraw soviet troops from Afghanistan. Of the latter, there is some sense in the cease-fire tactic, as a tactic. It has already had some success with many reactionary armed bands surrendering to the government and in driving a wedge between what are purely local tribal anti-Socialist elements - and it is these that have surrendered - and the hardcore of terrorists linked directly to yankee imperialism.

However there is no justification for the withdrawal of soviet troops. Yankee imperialism is intent in having a base against the Soviet Union in Afghanistan and the withdrawal of soviet troops will only serve to encourage it in its intention.

IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR WAR

The soviet leadership still lives in hope that war can be avoided by conciliating with yankee imperialism. This is a vain hope. War is the nature of imperialism and it will therefore not be deterred. Indeed it feverishly prepares for war. The "Irangate" crisis is a struggle inside the leadership of world capitalism over launching the war. It is a fight over timing essentially; to go for war as quick as possible or to gain a little historic time. Constantly elements of the yankee leadership push towards the war with provocations such as we are now seeing in Lebanon. The disappearance of Waite is one such provocation with the yanks threatening to use it as an excuse for military action in Lebanon which could lead directly to nuclear war. To what degree Waite is a conscious agent in all this is hard to say but objectively it is a provocation. Yankee imperialism has so far not done in Lebanon what it did in Libya and this is because historically it decides nothing but the intention is there. Imperialism prepares for war and no amount of conciliation will stop it.

The Soviet leadership still tends to deal with imperialism, to conciliate with it as if the capitalist system still had some strength. In fact it is in its total and final crisis. It is riven with scandal, moral decay,

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The German elections - a major defeat for European capitalism.

The return of the CDU/CSU government in Germany is, in its form, a heavy defeat for capitalism. Despite the refusal of the SDP to fight a serious campaign against Kohl, the principle capitalist parties have sustained a marked fall in votes. Considering the terminated spinelessness of Rau leadership, the conservative forces did very badly.

Not all the figures are available, but apparently the conservative turn out is the worst since 1949, with a loss of five per cent of the vote. The Socialist vote at 38.1% of the vote was stable but the Green vote was up decisively winning about 8.3%. The FDP (the liberal bourgeois party) received 8.9% of the vote. The CDU/CSU lost about two million votes, especially in the rural areas and from abstentions.

The Kohl-Strauss gang have for some time - like Thatcher creature - been concerned to adopt more rightist positions and augment all manner of anti-Soviet noises.

Not so long past an anti-nazi demonstrator was killed in Frankfurt when a nazi group was allowed to meet. Kohl has made noises about not getting the unity of Germany and that Gorbachev was like Goebbels. All this, allied to the racism widely prevalent in West Germany, has been developed on the basis that capitalism could mould a hard anti-Communist position as part of the war preparations against the Workers States. But, in fact, all this has failed. They cannot organise powerful and mass anti-Communist, pro-fascist forces. Their electoral fall shows the immense social weakness of German capitalism, occupied as it is by the Yanks. The SDP is seeing the development of a powerful polarisation between left and conservative wings. Rau's Greens will increase their pressure for social change. The economic crisis which the CDU/CSU have tried to claim is being contained, will be aggravated in the next stage and the fall in the prestige of the bourgeois parties will open up the new possibilities for a Marxist

Thus he rejected any co-operation with the Greens who, in reality, expressed a desire to sustain the SDP against the Kohl-Strauss regime. Even so, a programme of the SDP is now against the Yankee missiles - a reversal of the policy of Schmidt - and stands for a programme of concessions to the masses which no longer corresponds to the directives of German imperialism.

But, to win over sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, it is not enough to improve the programme. What is necessary is a policy of active campaigning in united front with the Greens. An insipid electoral activity will hardly substitute for this. As a result of these elections the left in the SDP and the Greens will increase their pressure for social change. The economic crisis which the CDU/CSU have tried to claim is being contained, will be aggravated in the next stage and the fall in the prestige of the bourgeois parties will open up the new possibilities for a Marxist

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THE SPLIT IN THE CPGB AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A MARXIST TENDENCY IN THE LABOUR PARTY.

The downward spiral of the for-themselves separate parties. One of the British Communist Party section of the Party is grouped around the National Executive which has followed the path predicted for it by Comrade J. Posadas in his text 'The process in Britain, Stalinism and the organisation of the left in the Labour Party' (26.4.79) which is currently being published in 'Red Flag'. The CPGB has seen its membership drop from tens of thousands to a few thousand, its influence diminish, and internal strife growing, which has resulted in the expulsion of many leading members. It is now virtually two separate organisations, even if they do not formally call themselves separate parties. One of the ones: a "eurocommunist sector and one that holds on to the traditional line of the Communist parties. Of the Party apparatus and its 'euro-communist clique, there is little to be said except that they have no value to the struggle for human progress. They have followed the line of 'The British Road to Socialism', it is of 'The Communist Party', clear that there are now virtually two distinct Communist parties in Britain. lism to its final conclusion, and have become bourgeois radicals - and not very radical at that! They are, in effect, SDP mark 2 and nothing more. Their journal 'Marxism Today' could well be called 'Social Democracy

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The expulsion of Nixon and the bellicose plans of Yankee imperialism. J. Posadas.

The liquidation of Nixon is an accelerated step towards war which does not mean that the war is accelerated immediately. It means that imperialism is preparing to decide. Precisely for this reason the three candidates for the vice presidency are all candidates for war: the petroleum, steel and armaments interests. They need and are seeking to have their hands free in relation to the policy of 'detente', which will be less and less detente, and at the same time to be ready for war. However, they are not able to decide the stages. It is for this reason that we have the liquidation of Nixon, with all necessary honours so that he takes the money and goes with the accusation of something rather sordid, so he goes but not as an enemy.

The fall, the liquidation of Nixon, his successor and the trio of vice presidents, shows that the CIA is the one that governs the USA and decides the conditions at any moment or to impose their intervention on the Soviets.

The internal resistance in the United States will be very great because the other sector of the bourgeoisie will see that this sector wants the war, while they want to continue the experience with the Soviet Union, with the Workers States. There will be an enormous struggle between them, and this will provoke a concentration of power in a few hands to be able to decide the conditions for the war, and at once. Ten days before, at the same time as the report of the Breznev-Marchais meeting, there was an editorial of Pravda which said: 'The war is possible.' A direct calculation from these facts foreseeing the liquidation of Nixon.

Yankee imperialism is at the head of world capitalism, the example and the guide. When there is the fall of a president and the nomination of another who is not elected but chosen by themselves this means the most complete reduction. When all these other capitalist countries accept this situation it means, independently of whoever may be the new president, that they accept and applaud the function for which the new president has been chosen. They do not recognise that Nixon has been removed through the Watergate affair; no one refers to this, and no one refers concretely to what Watergate is about. All the capitalist countries of the world approve and stimulate Yankee imperialism, so that it may take the necessary measures to curb the revolution, to curb the Workers States. Otherwise the fall of Nixon makes no sense.

What had Nixon done to be thrown out? Watergate. Where is the trial over this fact? Was not Vietnam worse? The massacre made in Vietnam is certainly much worse than Watergate. Certainly the strong pressure derives from the danger of a military coup or of a dictatorship. They did it in this way because there was the possibility of a military coup.

When they expelled Nixon world capitalism sang like a chorus, they are accomplices of all this which they present as a necessity because 'he was a person who told lies' - even if yesterday he was applauded by all - and the capitalist states are behind the new leader who prepares the atomic war. They see clearly that in Germany, in France, in Italy, in Britain, and in Belgium, they have no other way out; they cannot come out of this situation in the normal way. The bomb of the fascists in the

Italian train is the bomb with which they liquidated Nixon. It is the same thing! The expulsion of Nixon resolves what the bombs in Italy cannot resolve: a strong government, a secure solution, the war. All capitalism associates itself with this. They conceal this and come out with the biggest lies. They write about a 'democratic conclusion'. 'Look, they have changed the government in a democratic way!' Lies. But this bum Ford was not elected by any one. They chose him. He was chosen after they got rid of Agnew who was vice president.

These are the same people who massacred in Vietnam, in Latin America, in the Middle East. They are the same creatures who hide the assassinations in Lebanon organised by the Israelis who hurl bombs and kill hundreds of people. These are the same people who massacred thirty five children in one school - also Israeli - to justify the war. How then is it possible to believe that capitalism can associate itself with a democratic event? Is it not democratic. It is to cut in half a president who answers to a sector of the bourgeoisie that wanted advance in the economy and to gain time with the Soviets. Nothing more. He was a president who made a defined policy and whom the Soviets saw as the least evil. Now a president is nominated with a capacity for anything. This shows that capitalism realises that it is entered on a crisis which it cannot resist and a complete crisis also in Europe.

In Italy, France, Belgium, Britain and Germany, capitalism is in crisis, nothing functions well. They are completely besieged. They try to make fascism, they throw bombs, massacre, and they have lost. The masses are not afraid and they realise that they are losing politically in the elections, losing, losing, losing. Now they seek a solution together which can render a certain faith in capitalism; and that faith is a president 'capable of whatever is required'. So they kill one and nominate another - vice president Rockefeller or another.

For capitalism this means a problem, measures which must be taken over a space of years. They have done the same thing with Kennedy. He was killed to prevent a stabilisation of a dialogue with the Soviets. Then, as it happens, it is also a warning to the Soviets. It does not mean necessarily that the war will come now. It means 'beware' to the Soviets that imperialism is ready

to go to war and wants to force them to yield.

The speech of Nixon on his removal was that of someone who did not believe that he deserved to be thrown out. If Ford continues the same policy, why have they not thrown him out? All those who are being nominated now are anti-Soviet, while Nixon made the policy of detente. It was a parody but he tried to contain the process and to trade with the Workers States - and to lengthen the period preceding the war. But the CIA sees that their preparation escapes control and provokes the revolution throughout the world. It advances in Greece, in Portugal, now in Spain and Turkey, while they lose control.

If Nixon has to be accused of a felony which he caused then he should resign and it is finished. But the principle objective is simply to be able to nominate a president capable of doing anything that is closer to the decisions of the military team. This is equivalent to the idea of the 'coup d'etat'. A Soviet journal affirmed the possibility of an event of this type.

No one confronts this problem of the expulsion of Nixon. The question of the intercepted telegrams does not justify this action. The foreign policy, the economic policy, nor the economic situation have not been judged. Thus, the reasons for the removal of a president have not been raised. The bourgeoisie are not interested if a president has a phone-tap phone, but what is the nature of his economic or world policy - and, in this case, fundamentally the policy with the Workers States. On this theme there is not a single word despite the fact that all those who are substituted for Nixon are from the CIA. They leave Kissinger to make believe that they will continue the same policy and to calm the Soviet Union so that it does not appear in opposition. But how long Kissinger will last is another matter, unless Kissinger changes his policy, because he represents none other than the policy which they order him to make. It is a journey of the dead who risks his own funeral. Hence world capitalism celebrates Nixon is gone, good democracy triumphs'. What does democracy mean? What programme? What policy? World capitalism is in complicity with

We are publishing this article of Cde Posadas on the Watergating of Nixon because it has a striking relevance to the new crisis of the Presidency of Reagan. The crisis over Reagan is even more severe now than with Nixon. The latter came to represent forces in capitalism which wished to prolong the process by deals with the Soviets. This new crisis is between two sectors of the war tendency, one of which was prepared to risk Reykjavik and try to blackmail the Soviets with SDI and the other which was against any discussions and is concerned only to augment the atmosphere of militarism and threats.

Yankee imperialism which seeks to govern more decisively to contain the revolutionary process.

What is happening in the Dutch army is very clear: the soldiers have achieved trade union and political organisation which risks calling into question the monolithic functioning of the army. The Dutch army is not any army, but an army of imperialist origin. It is the same with the Portuguese army. This is to demonstrate the influence of the revolution in the armies which before exercised an imperialist function. It shows the great opportunities which are presented to the Communist parties and to the Workers States. If there is a war the revolution will develop throughout the world.

In his intervention Nixon maintains the agreements with the Workers states, with the Soviet Union and with the other countries. But, as regards Ford, the only thing that one knows is that he played rugby. Big business cannot have just any president, and the presidency of the United States is the great financial houses, armaments, oil and steel. These determine the economy of the United States because they possess the money which decides the economy. These are the ones who choose the president, and they dumped Nixon for political and economic reasons. They do not say anything but simply 'Watergate'. This means that the policy of Nixon favoured another sector of the bourgeoisie, and for

this reason supported himself on the Workers States. The Soviet Union in the last elections favoured Nixon because Nixon guaranteed this policy, and the opposition was stimulated by high finance to a policy of war directly.

The Soviets hoped that Nixon might be able to resist right to the end of the year. Instead, after Cyprus, everything was concluded in a week. After Cyprus, every thing happened like a boomerang.

The intervention of the Soviet Union in Cyprus accelerates the conclusions because imperialism understands that the Soviet Union will go beyond the usual norms and has declared that the war is possible. Cyprus shows that imperialism does not have the strength of decision. Everything comes to grief - Cyprus, Portugal, Spain and Turkey. It is a process in which the control of the world escapes them and, at the same time, the revolutionary world process increases. Then it is necessary to understand that it is not a war now, but an accelerated

process to accelerate the preparations of a war. It shows the crisis of Yankee imperialism which cannot resolve the problems as was done before now, and not even with a military coup or a substitution. They are forced to show themselves in front of the world as very weak.

The reason for all this is that they want to give more confidence to capitalism to confront the problem and the development of the revolution, even if by themselves they cannot choose the road. They are obliged to take measures in a brutal manner - and they are measures which afterwards they cannot control and which can have results not entirely foreseen. They would have preferred a fascist coup in Italy or France, but things went badly for them. The masses have impeded them. Everywhere imperialism is ready for changes: perhaps they will not be immediate, but they are preparing for war. Since the period of Kennedy it has been the same, and eleven years have gone by. Kennedy was assassinated because he did not continue with... and eleven years went by (text obscure). This shows that the opposition in the United States is very strong, and these people have had to remove a vice president to arrange for him to be replaced by someone else.

It is necessary to expect the conclusions of the Soviets who will respond in the same manner. There will be an internal struggle among the Soviets. The fall of Nixon occurred at the moment in which the Soviets were considering the possibility of a president that might make concessions to prevent a sector of the Soviet army with a harder policy entering the arena.

Nixon has been liquidated, but the revolution advances throughout the world; the anti-imperialist front advances from Latin America; there is the advance in the Middle East, and quite consciously in a direct and an indirect manner from Algeria, and where Italy also weighs quite a lot. The workers' movement is advancing; capitalism understands that it is impossible to stop it, and then prepares the war. This is a preparation of war even if it will not be tomorrow nor the next month nor the next year: any way this is a preparation of the war. They would have made the war before, but they have been forced to restrain themselves: and when the Soviets pronounce

'the war is possible' it is also progress of the anti-capitalist because they see that it really is struggle. It is not true that what possible. It means the concen- has happened is a triumph of tration of power in the hands of democracy; it is a coup made by those who decide the war. high finance. They have made a president fall, and they nominated a vice president whom nobody had

The fall of Nixon - not the resignation, the fall - is an aspect of the crisis of North American capitalism which is debating between launching the war or going forward to an agreement with the Soviets, with detente. Thus, as this promotes a concentration of power in the hands of those who decide the war, they promote in the Communist parties those people who see the war instead of those people who would wish to avoid it, who are a leader among the assassins of Africa and Latin America, racist stand that it is not a question of respecting democracy but of who decide the war. We enter into an acute phase which will not be expressed immediately: apparently it seems that Ford will visit China. He will go to China to make the petit bourgeoisie of the United States and world-wide believe that he is the bearer of a policy of detente, of agreement; but he will go also to seek to be able to use to the maximum the Sino-Soviet differences which will be one of the fundamental indices to decide on the war.

A transcendent historical fact like this demonstrates the differences between the Communist parties which, as regards the resignation of Nixon, close their eyes - as they close their eyes in every country in front of the possibility of taking power. They close their eyes in order not to see the risk, the danger and the threat of a war which is the meaning of this change. They are afraid of drawing such conclusions. Instead, the Soviet Union and the CPSU are conscious of the reality, even if they don't say so openly. They understand that the possibility of the war is accelerated. It is necessary to discuss in the Communist parties, to persuade, to convince, to demonstrate that this is a step towards the war, even if it is not the war now. The Communist parties do not all have the same view-points, which shows the diversity of development and interests. This will lead to conflict with the Workers States and with the Soviet Union, and this will oblige all the parties to unite - not that the Soviets will make the war or will explain it. They will seek to impede it, making concessions, alliances, adjusting things here and there with one or other sector of capitalism.

The Communist parties, the Socialist parties must demand the united front, a policy of a united front with the programme for the

chosen except them. Thus they will have a president or vice president chosen from high finance Where is democracy? These are not democratic rights. It is the right of the big consortiums which, under the name of democracy, take the decisions. It is not necessary to expect that imperialism can respect the rights of the masses. These are the same assassins of Vietnam. This new president would wish to avoid it, who are a leader among the assassins of Vietnam, of the invasion of Asia, Africa and Latin America, racist and anti-democratic. Where is the triumph of democracy? When the journals say that it is a triumph of democracy they are telling lies, deceiving the petit bourgeoisie, and making believe that this is democracy. Instead, it is big business which takes control directly. It is the way of organising a coup d'etat.

It is necessary to appeal for the development of a united front in Europe to create governments of the left, worker and peasant governments, a programme for the statification of the principle sources of production and finance, to weaken and break capitalist power. They will seek to reinforce, to make capitalism recover in front of the worker masses. It is necessary to expel NATO from Europe, the North American presence throughout Europe and the world. This shows the weakness of capitalism, which is preparing for more concrete actions and more central actions, but which shows how weak it is. Then it is necessary to profit from this situation.

In Europe it is necessary to make a policy of the expulsion of imperialism, to throw out NATO from Europe and from the world. It is necessary to realise a plan of struggle for a government of the left, with a programme of statifications of the principle sources of production and exchange. This is the conclusion: a programme of a united front between the Socialists, Communists, trade unionists, left Catholics and the nationalists. This is the object, which it is necessary to push forward. It is also necessary to call for the unification of China-Soviet Union and of all the Workers States to foresee the measures which capitalism may take in the acceleration of the preparations for a war.

J. POSADAS 9.8.74

From page 1

Yesterday' - and, as such, is now perfectly acceptable to capitalism. In many ways the CCG and the 'Morning Star' groups the best elements of the old CPGB. They favour the Soviet Union as the leading Workers State, they maintain an understanding of the historic role of the working class and the importance of the process in the Labour Party. The other crew have written off the working class and are violently critical of the Soviet Union. In this context, the move of Sue Slipman from a leading position in the YCL (Young Communist League) directly to the Liberal/SDP Alliance was simply a move from one set of social democrats to another with better career prospects.

blow to the progress of humanity and the struggle for Socialism. It is simply part of the crisis of all the bureaucratic apparatuses of the workers' movement. It is a direct result of the process of partial regeneration in the Soviet Union and the crisis of the apparatus of the British trade unions to which the old CPGB was so closely linked.

The group that now functions around the 'Morning Star' is something of an improvement, in as much as it does support the workers' struggle and, more importantly, does transmit something of the progress of the Soviet Union and something of its

The crisis in the Chinese leadership and the need for the political intervention of the Soviet Union.

These demonstrations of the Chinese students were characterised only by general political statements for more 'democracy' and 'liberty'. There was no criticism of the disastrous effects of the Deng 'reforms', nor any expression of solidarity with the workers and peasants of China who have to put up with inflation, unemployment and lack of direction in the economy and total lack of democracy for them to discuss. The Party apparatus, in face of the interventions, was obliged to resort to Marxist thinking and pointed out that Socialist democracy is not the same as bourgeois democracy. At the same time, the apparatus was also concerned that demonstrations of this type could well provoke a reaction in the population and cause workers and the dreaded leftists to intervene in more demonstrations and thus provoke even greater complications. At the beginning of the demonstrations there were reports of attacks on the 'new bureaucrats', and there must have been some fear that workers might take the opportunity to demonstrate against the 'economic reforms' and the bureaucracy with its open encouragement of western attitudes.

The removal of Hu Yua Bang, a close associate of Deng Peng, is still a removal organised within a very closed apparatus which works with Mandarin intrigues and without honest and open public discussion. Nonetheless, it is a removal of a notorious rightist associated with remarks denigrating Marx. Deng has been obliged to speak of slowing down the economic reforms and even 'shaking off poverty'!! Reports in the official press indicate greater concern with agriculture where, after the abandonment of the communes, grain production has fallen. At the same time, demands have been voiced for return to centralised planning in spite of Deng's affirming of the 'open door' to foreign trade.

The fact that such student demonstrations took place at all brings out the consequences of the Chinese leadership. Clearly they reflect the depth of the struggle that has been taking place within the apparatus.

The burning of copies of the Party press, and the calling of these organs 'organs of the leftists', shows the sharpness of the internal dispute which has been developing for some time.

From 1978 the communes were more or less abandoned. The land which remains collective property was leased out to farmers, and the conception of working for an uncontrolled market was introduced. The emphasis was placed on the individual enterprise thus reintroducing into the countryside differentiations in peasant households which the original conception of the communes, of the Chinese revolution, was designed to overcome. The recent stage has seen inevitably the development of a kulak class.

When Deng Peng is obliged to refer to the grain question and

'shaking off' poverty as a result of the crisis in the leadership, this is because the policy of the last few years since the counter-revolutionary trial of the 'gang of four' and the rejection of the cultural revolution, has been a disastrous turn to the right on a scale even more lunatic than the idiocies of Stalin in the formation of the Soviet bureaucracy.

Encouraging the play of the market in food production, and abandoning centralised control of prices and production, besides communal functioning has meant a fall in grain production because sectors of the peasantry found it more profitable to invest in other commodities. Thus, the Deng reforms have led to the impoverishment of the poorer sectors of the peasantry and, with the fall in grain supply, an increase of prices for the working population in the cities. The vicious pursuit of this policy, part of the abandonment of the commune system, has led - according to some economists - to massive unemployment in the countryside run into millions. Sectors of the CCP are now directly involved in this process of 'enrichment' and are actively involved in employing wage labour. The remaining high level of illiteracy is due to the lack of interest of the new rich bureaucracy.

Many articles were published by Cde Posadas on the reasons for the emergence of the counter-revolutionary clique of Deng Peng, and they retain all their value. The lack of a constructed Bolshevik team, the liquidation of some of the best cadres in the destruction of the first Chinese revolution in the twenties, and the overall effects of Stalinism mean that, in the face of the problems of constructing the Workers State and the conflict with imperialism, nationalist tendencies could develop which had no serious conception of Marxism, and where perspectives were for a 'strong independent China'. This was essentially the re-affirmation of the idea of 'Socialism in one country', although the conditions for extending the revolution were much more favourable than in the time of Stalin.

The problems of the evolution of the process in China arise primarily from the absence of a Party, the absence of a regular political life; and this leads in effect to the Party becoming the centre of camarillas which enter into dispute without discussion with the population. The process has gone so far in China that a sector of the Party becomes literally based on the richer peasants and sectors linked to foreign trade and are against Communism. They are simply a reformist nationalist sector.

The most important element which can weigh is the intervention of the Soviet Union, whose existence is the force which has prevented an even greater deterioration taking place in China. In general, the Soviet leadership says very little about China, although periodically they comment on the problems of the economy. They hope to be able to settle matters diplomatically and

by degrees, without causing great problems. No doubt they hope to increase trade contacts. But the solution to the problems in China demands a type of political intervention for which the Soviet leadership is not prepared or, indeed, upon which they can be divided; as over other issues, including how to confront imperialism.

The conservatism of the Soviet leadership has always been apparent in their attitude to the Cultural Revolution and the communes. The dynamism of this profoundly revolutionary process, when the Party in Shanghai spoke openly of the role of the Paris Commune and the need for forms of Soviet functioning, was not approved by the Soviet leadership because of its revolutionary implications for Soviet society and the rejection by the Cultural Revolution of the policy of peaceful co-existence. The insecurity and lack of preparation by the Soviet leadership hinders them now from making the necessary intervention.

This does not alter the fact that a vital component in leading the international Communist movement is the unification of China and the USSR, to develop COMECON as the means of a comprehensive planning of the Workers States, and overcoming on the basis of mutual aid the disharmonies in the various individual states.

This crisis in China occurs at the same time as the Water-gating of Reagan. Although it is a continuation of the crisis that occurred with Nixon, it is a new and extremely acute stage. Now this is not a fight between the 'nuclear war' group versus those who have an interest in developing the external and internal markets; it is an internal fight within the team preparing the war. This shows the acuteness of the fight in the ruling circles and the desperation of imperialism. Despite the great plans of the Chinese counter-revolutionary leadership world imperialism has never had much confidence in the outcome of the Deng reforms. They feel that the underlying structure of the Chinese Workers State in the world revolutionary structure is too resistant to capitalist penetration. Thus there is a good opportunity to intervene in the process in China. The empiricism and imbecility of the present Chinese leadership is going to lead to further resistance from the masses and it is not going to be so easy to put the leftists in gaol.

We appeal to the comrades of Communist parties of the world to open a discussion on the process in China, the need for a unification of China and the USSR, to register the significance of the crisis of the Chinese leadership, and the failure of the policy of 'great China' and the need to reassess the experience of the Chinese Cultural Revolution, the communes, in the light of Cde Posadas' analysis that the world is ready for Communism.

THE PROCESS IN BRITAIN, STALINISM AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY. J. Posadas 26.4.79

(Continued from the recent issue).

It is necessary to see that this characterises the Labour Party, but one has to take account of the fact that this is taking place in the present world relations of forces. Within the world relations of forces as they are, the Labour Party as such does not have any perspective. No social democracy has.

All this analysis forms part of the intervention of the International towards the Labour Party. It is made in order to understand how to educate the Labour vanguard for the stages to come, not for now. The Section of the International must develop a cultural, didactic and revolutionary activity towards the Labour Party with the aim of combining the immediate need for trade union political and cultural demands, with the elevation of a cultural, scientific and historic understanding. Outside ourselves nobody is giving this education. The Section must develop a Party life for this activity.

British imperialism and the bureaucracy - the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy - which represent British imperialism - are not homogeneous. The bureaucracy has a part of itself with one foot in the proletariat and with proletarian interests, historic interests of progress; but with the rest of the body and the hand representing British imperialism. This is so because of the nature of the class struggle in Britain which has been determined by the Labour Party, and because a sector of the Labour bourgeois leadership - which is bourgeois and not mistaken - represents capitalism. The latter is combined with sectors which range from the revolutionary interests of the proletariat to those of the middle layers.

Whole sectors of the population which are driven towards a historic solution are expressed in the Labour Party. It is the axis of the class struggle. This is why, when a left is formed, it is formed in the Labour Party and nowhere else. It will not be formed outside the Labour Party. The essential task for social transformations in Britain is to understand the Labour Party and to develop activity towards the Labour Party. All this is part of the world and it has to be seen that between the bourgeois apparatus of the Labour Party and the world progress of the revolution, it will be the world progress of the revolution which will force Britain to advance. This apparatus will not be able to contain the process of advance in Britain. It is necessary to count on this. One has to see also that it will not develop by itself but by the intervention of our Section to support the formation of the Marxist Labour vanguard.

Britain, in common with the rest of the world, has no perspective as a capitalist country. Britain, at the moment, lives enclosed. But to progress it will have to make social transformations. The whole world has shown that social transformations are necessary, and in a short stage possible. The discussions which are taking place in the Labour Party do not represent the will of the working class, the petit bourgeoisie, or even of the leadership. They are discussions which express the desires and very limited understanding of the leaders and their capitalist interests. The masses do not support these because they are bureaucrats or because they are agents of capitalism, but because they have an instrument (the Labour Party) in which the masses are concentrated. Our Section must intervene to support the organisation of the Labour vanguard. It must also intervene, if possible, towards the Communist Party but considering that it is one of the most culturally and scientifically backward Communist parties. The duty of the Communist Party in Britain is to understand that there is no room for it to become a large Party and that this will not happen. The Communist Party has to be an instrument to support the formation of the Labour left. It is after this is being done that the Communist stage will come. The Communist Party has to understand that the working class is organised in the Labour Party.

The Communist Party has to grasp also that it has kept silent and has not understood; and it has been an accomplice of all the monstrosities of Stalin and of the Chinese. It has kept silent about the bureaucracy and about Stalin; it has kept its mouth shut about all this and justified it all. And its members have educated themselves on the method of accepting imposition by force and not by reasoning. In order to decide certain stages in history, force and military means have to be employed. This is so because of the need to decide. But it cannot be so regarding the generation of the process leading to the necessity of decision. Military means determine the course of the reasoning of history, but reasoning is what is necessary in order to advance to Socialism.

Our British Section has to direct itself to winning and to impelling the vanguard. It must create it and develop it so that it will intervene in the daily problems of the economy. The British section must also intervene to impel the vanguard to accept the method and consequences of the dialectical method of analysis. To develop it, to understand it,

and acquire confidence in it; and to develop itself within this

It is necessary to consider that British capitalism is one of the vital centres of the capitalist system, but this would not be so if it were not also linked to North America. This is because, in North America, there is no Labour Party and there are trade unions which are semi-bourgeois. Whilst on the other hand, in Britain there is a powerful Labour Party which speaks in the name of Socialism and the trade unions are amongst the strongest in the world. They have a certain strength of influence in some countries. The same applies to the German trade unions and Social Democracy. The course of the world advance of the revolution influences even in the German Social Democracy and trade unions. This is going to influence in Britain, too. Not because Germany influences Britain, but because the crisis of German capitalism is the same as that of British capitalism. And there is the same political crisis in the leaderships of both the German and British social democracy. It isn't the bourgeois policy of the social democratic leadership of British Labour which measures the progress of Britain or the necessity of the struggle of the masses and progress of the country. What the Labour Party does is to contain. It is the masses who are stimulated to by-pass the Labour Party. The world influences Britain greatly. The social democracy has to constantly re-adjust all the alliances it used to make with British capitalism. There are differences between the alliances with British capitalism they used to make and such as those of Attlee, and those that they make today. In the meantime the world process has elevated and the progress of the world is anti-capitalist - not capitalist. It is neither arms nor money which decide the course of history. The Labour masses have seen this. In spite of the fact that the Labour masses are not educated, that they have no cultural point of support, their class conception and understanding allows them to learn, make distinctions and analyse. But they do not have a centre in which to develop these things. The Labour leadership impedes the formation of centres. The Labour leadership was confirmed in this by Stalin, but Stalin was not the teacher. However, the Labour bureaucrats drew from Stalin. Stalin taught the Labour bureaucracy - in later stages - how to falsify history, falsify, adulterate and corrupt people in the name of Socialism. It taught the Labour bureaucracy to oppose the Workers State in the name of Socialism - which was precisely the policy of Stalin. It was he who brought this to them.

J. POSADAS

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industrial stagnation, and social and financial crisis. The latest round of the "trade war" between the yanks and the European bourgeoisie has only been damped-down by the Europeans submitting, as they always have to in the end, to the demand of yankee imperialism. Scandals arise from the "city of London" like so much scum on dirty water and reveal a bourgeoisie who create nothing and whose only interest lies in financial swindles.

BRITAIN IS UNDER YANKEE OCCUPATION

Thatcher is nothing but a puppet for the yanks, fully supporting their war preparations and implicated in creating a Britain occupied by the armed forces of yankee imperialism; a fact that the Labour left should use much more than they do particularly in the run-up to a general election. The rise of repression under Thatcher is part of war preparations. Repression is the nature of the capitalist state but the current round which includes the attacks by police on demonstrators at Wapping is part of war preparations. Repression against workers is the norm but now all kinds of bourgeois elements are being repressed. The head of the BBC has been forced to resign, BBC commentators are attacked by the armed police at Wapping and bourgeois journals and journalists like the 'New Statesman' and Duncan Campbell are gagged. Anything that opposes, for whatever motive, the idea of preparing and ultimately launching the nuclear war is subject to repression, including organs of the state - for that is what the BBC is.

Capitalism is weak and it has suffered another blow in the result of the West German elections in which the hard anti-Soviet line of Strauss and Kohl was rejected by many bourgeois elements who abstained or voted SPD. Indeed capitalism could have lost the election if the SPD had not been so intent on losing it themselves. The SPD leadership preferred to lose the election rather than to be in government and under the pressure of the masses and forced to take measures which would damage capitalism. The Labour left should draw conclusions from this because it is exactly what Kinnock and the Labour leadership are about. This is why Kinnock attacks Thatcher for not being repressive enough over the Zircon affair and why the Labour leadership gives no support to the anti-capitalist struggles currently in train. The printers at Wapping, like the teachers and miners before them get no support from the Labour leadership and neither do the workers in occupation at Caterpillar or the Telecoms engineers currently on strike. The Labour leadership will not support any mobilisations, including those against the yankee bases and occupation of this country because they are intent on either losing, as the German SDP did, the next elections, or being elected on such a weak majority that they will have the excuse to do nothing about transforming society.

The Labour left has to take this into account and also the fact that elections in this country are a swindle anyway. Thatcher is in government against the wishes of the majority of voters in the last general election and she could well lose votes next time but still be elected. Therefore the Labour left have to understand this and free themselves from any illusion in bourgeois democracy and the apparatus of the Labour party. It has also to widen its horizon. Capitalist Europe is a picture of weak bourgeois governments like Kohl or Chirac, or Social Democrat governments as in Spain and Greece. This is combined with an advance in social and industrial struggles like the general strike in Greece, the "peace movement" and the recent struggles of workers and students in France. It is on this that the Labour left has to base itself in order to advance a programme for the lifting of the yankee occupation of this country and for the transformation of society.

31.1.87

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The SDP, in the Godesburg port. Moreover, their policies programme, tried to throw out of repression will tend to meet Marxism but the world is blow - stronger social resistance as ing back into the SDP again. capitalism grows weaker. The Despite the preence of reac - traditional social democracy tionary governments in Germany throughout the world is in a and Italy. France and Britain, most profound crisis, and the all of them are in deep crisis possibilities for Marxist inter - from their lack of social sup - vention are augmenting.

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historic significance. This is a process in general. It was part of the support for the development of the policy of conciliation with capitalism. Labour left because the bureaucratic apparatuses of the Labour Party and the trade unions and the old CPGB Star have some understanding that always tired to isolate the British the process of the development of a working class from the influence of workers' leadership, a revolutionary the Workers States, and the world leadership, goes through the organi-

sation of the Labour left as a Marxist tendency. These comrades have to continue to transmit the reality of the world, including the role and development of the Soviet Union, to the Labour left; and to support it rather than to compete with it.

The political revolution in the Soviet Union will advance the process in Britain.

The process in the Soviet Union continues to centralise the attention of the whole world, not least the forces of capitalism who cannot understand it. They see the release of dissidents, but feel that they are not going to get much advantage from it. When they speak of 'hard line' elements, they are not referring to the old fungoids who are being thrown out, but to the invisible force of the left in the Workers States who seek to impel the Workers States towards much more advanced positions, internally and externally. Gorbachev's policy is not going to stand still; it will have to advance or others will take the helm. One part of his policy has already been severely dented — the moratorium on nuclear testing. It was not a bad initiative for a stage, but only if coupled with more orientation towards the masses of the world, to impel directly the downfall of world imperialism. World imperialism is at the end of its tether, and war preparations and war are its only perspectives. It has no interest in moratoriums. The Red Army was never enthusiastic on this issue, and the tendency of Ogarkov will weigh in future discussions.

An editorial in New Times recently said: 'In a workers and peasants state everything is the people's business.' That is quite right, and under these auspices the anti-bureaucratic revolution will continue because the confrontation with imperialism demands it, but the Party has to function with the masses to discuss everything political. In this respect the conference of Soviet trade unions is very important with measures to increase the weight of the working class, with specific reference to building the link with the Party. Cde Posadas article on Ponomarev's speech which we publish in this issue indicates the needs of this process.

The crisis of the Yankee pre-days when it could intervene against the revolution directly are rution. The hoodlums are at each other's throats because they are always falling out over the Soviet Union. They have no security. Unlike Hitler, they have to conceal their sinister intentions but, while the Workers States blossom towards a new stage, the Yankee leadership fragments. They go toward war without control of the conditions, timing and co-ordination. Weinberger has recently made it clear that they intend to go ahead with Star Wars, and beyond mere research. The Thatcher sector suggests that they want Star Wars confined to 'research', but then Younger says that the allies will basically have to put up with what the Yanks decide. The Soviets must see that Thatcher is not going to give anything important in negotiations, but only seeks to use these negotiations to gain authority as being able to 'work' with Gorbachev. Without question some sectors of European capitalism object to Yankee control and speak of a European alternative to Yankee hegemony, but it is all expressions of defeatism without any possibility of a solution because private property decides, and this requires centralisation around the Yanks — even if this is tantamount to death.

The electoral campaign is now proceeding in Britain. The Green-wich by-election confirms the impotence of the bourgeois parliamentary system. It shows the weakness of the main parties and the existence of large middle layers, uncertain of the capitalist system. The Thatcherites did badly, and this can only be accounted in part by the famous tactical voting. As for the Labour Party, the campaign was determined by the weak face of the Labour Party apparatus. As a conclusion, the election in its most transcendent significance shows the lack of solution within the capitalist system. The most direct representatives of capitalism exert only a limited appeal, but the workers and petit bourgeoisie do not have a force which really represents their interests. Such a bye-election shows the downfall of the old stable repetition of previous epochs.

British imperialism shows a most complete decadence. Even Leyland is subsumed by a Dutch firm. The only perspectives of the capitalist class is to further increase action against the trade unions. In all this, the trade union apparatus lives a life of passivity and anguish. The situation surpasses them, and the whole structure is called into question. The Labour left must grasp the significance of the fall of the old consensus and the fact that conditions are maturing for a revolutionary current in Britain, which sees that the experience of the Soviet Union decides the course of human history and that reformism has had

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It is necessary to understand that the intervention of the Syrians in the Lebanon is an example of the total incapacity of imperialism to take initiatives or determine events in the Middle East. The Syrians have intervened partly to contain the Palestinians, but are also obliged to contain the Amal. The intervention of the Lebanese Communist Party has been very important, showing the elevation of the process. In all this, imperialism has been passive. It carries on its vicious arms trade, but the

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The world balance of forces runs counter to the policy of the present Chinese leadership (extracts). J. Posadas.

The developments in China whilst the population shows no with bourgeois democracy — which show that there is a combination sign of reaction. Today, China is a bit like trying to drive a nail of tendencies which want a con- is fed by the world process and in with spaghetti. However, even firmation of the bureaucratic there is a very great revolutionary in these conditions, a discussion apparatus in alliance with world tradition in China itself. Even continues which impedes even the capitalism and a resistance which if that revolutionary tradition is higher echelons of the present is disorganised because it has no empirical, it is a great one. Chinese leadership from simply Party or trade union life — and so it cannot express itself effective- ly. There used to be other ten- dencies which tried to express themselves with dazibaos. They were not allowed to last long, but time of Mao Tse Tung, but it was they came up with criticisms of revolutionary empiricism. The the leadership. They wanted empiricism of the time of Mao 'democracy' but were not anti- was not capitalism or abstract Communist. They were after bureaucratic empiricism. It was general democratic rights, the the empiricism of a Communist right to speak; but without pro- nationalist-revolutionary sector grammatic objectives. This does which had to organise and develop not mean to say that all those a movement to defend itself who wrote dazibaos were dissi- against the pressures of Stalin dents, but they represented the and Krushchev. Unfortunately, desire of people to fight against this allowed the development of the elements of repression and nationalist-democratic tendencies open up towards a form of demo- which had a form of cracy allowing discussion and alliance with capitalism. At the opposition to the anti-Communist same time, the absence of political dictatorship there is today in life in the trade unions, the lack to build on Stalin. However, in a China. It is not a capitalist of an organised workers' movement certain way, even Stalin was sub- dictatorialship today in China but and the lack of a functioning Party jected to norms which were estab- an anti-Communist one, in the mitigated against the development lished in the First Seven Years of the Russian Revolution and which sense that it crushes every aspect of a political life in the Communist Party. imposed themselves on him. In fact, Stalin could not help but remain within the confines of the Workers State. On the other hand, this Deng goes so far as to en- danger the Workers State itself, even though he tries to demon- strate that he is not a capitalist. He and his like say that they want to utilise the capitalists, but the capitalists want to use them. The question is, who is using whom in this instance? It is a situation which cannot go on much longer. It is not possible to believe that in circumstances where the most poverty-stricken parts of the world animate themselves to rise against capitalism with very little means,

It is empirical as it was at the time of Mao Tse Tung, but it was the empiricism of a Communist nationalist-revolutionary sector which had to organise and develop a movement to defend itself against the pressures of Stalin and Krushchev. Unfortunately, this allowed the development of nationalist-democratic tendencies which had a form of opposition to the anti-Communist dictatorship there is today in life in the trade unions, the lack to build on Stalin. However, in a certain way, even Stalin was sub- jected to norms which were estab- lished in the First Seven Years of the Russian Revolution and which imposed themselves on him. In fact, Stalin could not help but remain within the confines of the Workers State. On the other hand, this Deng goes so far as to en- danger the Workers State itself, even though he tries to demon- strate that he is not a capitalist. He and his like say that they want to utilise the capitalists, but the capitalists want to use them. The question is, who is using whom in this instance? It is a situation which cannot go on much longer. It is not possible to believe that in circumstances where the most poverty-stricken parts of the world animate themselves to rise against capitalism with very little means,

Also, the absence of a Party firmly based on the working class, coupled with a proletariat of small weight — and this was very much the case in China — allowed the rise of such a leader- ship as you see today. To these problems you have to add the added difficulty of the absence of tradition of political life in that country. All this created condi- tions for the present leadership to appear with formulations which oscillate between proletarian and to top leaderships. This is no longer the period of Stalin, when the sort of rights this leadership only the people at the top could decide and act with impunity, what it wants, in fact, is Socialism

A great deal of attention has to be given to this process in China, where there are fluctuations due to the absence of political life and all changes are confined to top leaderships. This is no longer the period of Stalin, when the sort of rights this leadership only the people at the top could decide and act with impunity, what it wants, in fact, is Socialism

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The process in the Philippines and the opportunity for the anti capitalist forces.

The eighty per cent vote for the proposed constitution of Cora Aquino is only a stage in a much more profound process which is to come. The existence of such a vote and the varied support given to this constitution is the expression of the unusual situation which has developed in the Philippines. This is the result of the favourable conjuncture in the balance of forces which goes against imperialism and led to the downfall of Marcos, with the Yanks as more or less passive spectators unable to sustain their direct stooge, Marcos.

The masses who voted for the Constitution in the rural areas and in the towns are seeking to impel Aquino towards social transformations, whilst rival bourgeois sectors, making use of the 'democratisation' process, seek to intervene with their own particular objectives in view. It is a Constitution which is pale and reformist in a broadly formal democratic way. There is little that is decisive in it. Land reform is left open to the Congress; the right to strike seems to be qualified; and control of foreign assets is minimal. Although for purposes of concentration the masses voted a resounding 'yes' the class organisations of the trade unions in the cities and the countryside have no illusions in its content. The people who decided the content were fundamentally the two wings of the bourgeoisie - those orientated towards imperialism and those oriented towards developing the internal market, a policy of industrialisation, a more national bourgeois road.

The forces of the right and the coercive apparatus of the right linked to imperialism continued their policy of intimidating the masses up to the last moment. Thus the labour leader, Oldia, was murdered and a crowd of peasants massacred in a demonstration in Manila, but the military representative of the right, Enrile, was eventually obliged to go. However the military apparatus is still there. Imperialism is obliged to go along with Aquino, as the

least evil, but the polarisation of class forces will gather momentum again if it becomes quite clear that Aquino is incapable of embarking on a regime of serious concessions to the masses.

The quality of the process is in the guerrilla movement under Communist leadership, with their supporters in the cities. This is a movement of some maturity which, although in part uncertain of how to react to Aquino in the opening phases, has reacted with capacity in the more recent stages. Fundamentally Aquino's interest has been to disarm the guerrillas as the basis of minor concessions but with no clear declarations over fundamental issues, such as land reform. The Communists have continued to negotiate, which enables them to put forward their demands and impel what democratic measures are possible but without conceding on what amounts to fundamental demands of social transformation, and the removal of Yankee bases.

The guerrilla and Communist movement has shown maturity in refusing to abandon their arms but maintaining a dialogue with the government, and in general it participated in the elections to impel the 'democratisation' process.

The problems of the Philippines are profound and have worsened since the fall of Marcos. 40% of the national income now goes in the debt service, sixty per cent of the population live in poverty. To solve these problems requires a massive agrarian reform and the expropriation of the banks. If Aquino proves incapable of developing a better relationship with the masses which transcends purely political or civil freedoms, then a new period of confrontation between the masses and the state apparatus will become inevitable.

It is important that the Communist movement strengthens its links with the petit bourgeois masses and, in developing the programme of social transformations, develops the Party side by side with the armed struggle.

The sectors that propose 'complete freedom' in China also demanded a closer relationship with the West, and this shows the type of 'freedom' they were after. All this came up in the novels which were published. They were novels criticising the corruption of the regime in the main, but all this was said. At the same time, the fact that Deng Xiaoping has given top posts to people like Hua Kuofeng, and others like him, shows that a large stratum remain show that large strata remain which are linked to Maoism. This prevents the stabilisation of the present set up. All the grandiose plans for investment for China have gone out of the window. The leadership of Deng thought that capitalism was going to invest in China, but it did not.

The play "Perdition" and the censorship of capitalism.

The profound decomposition of capitalism leads to the wholesale degradation of culture, a series of blocks to artistic and scientific activity and the development of a crass commodity 'culture' mistakenly called 'popular' by the epigones of capitalism. Imperialism becomes more and more repressive in every way, encourages only violence and degenerate social relations which represent only the world of dying capitalism. A regime of pap is instituted. But capitalism is also weak although it tries to institute by every bureaucratic means a form of gleichstaltung to efface human joy and security, it is faced with the existence of the Workers States which encourages opposition and even in the cultural sphere occasionally an anti-capitalist missile penetrates the world of bourgeois culture.

This is the case with the play 'Perdition'. It deals with the 'strange' case of the way millions of Jewish people ended up in the gas chambers of Hitlerism and thus provided with a form of justification for settling in Palestine and then practising the murder and assassination of the Arab population there. It does not require much astuteness to detect

collusion between the nazis and the zionism. This suggestion has always provoked charges of anti-semitism from the zionists, who cannot bear to have any discussion of this phenomenon. Just as they deny collaboration with the nazis, so they pretend that they are not a stooge state of world imperialism in the Middle East.

The immense pressure made to withdraw the play from its central location shows the intense fears of imperialism to have a discussion over reality as it is. This is what they mean by democracy - democracy for their class to decide that nothing is discussed that threatens their class interests. One moment they are talking about 'repression' in Poland, the next moment a 'difficult' play is taken from the Court Theatre and a printing worker condemned to prison for being a militant.

sire to discuss fundamental political issues that are repressed by capitalism and its agents in the workers' movement, remembering that zionism has its supporters in the Labour Party.

The whole experience shows that there is an ambience in Britain involving intellectual sectors who want to discuss, who do not accept the bland deceptions of imperialism or its 'anti-Soviet mystifications.

Imperialism has tried to create a mythology around the Holocaust and accuse the Soviets of anti-semitism although it was the timely arrival of the Red Army which saved many other Jews from the gas chambers to which they were led in passivity as a result of collaborationist activities.

The discussion around the zionists also reflects the weight of the Workers States who have consistently exposed the zionists and whose presence has impeded the war plans of imperialism and zionism in the Middle East. The Soviets have much documentation on the activities of the nazis and the zionists, which ought to be discussed by the Labour left as part of a cultural activity independent of capitalism.

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OUT WITH YANKEE BASES!

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nuclear weapons. The country is clearly governed from elsewhere but parliament and whilst there is a choice between one MP and another, there is no choice whatsoever for people when it comes to the principle policies of the country. There is some right to change or other leader - albeit every few years and only with great difficulty - but there is no choice regarding policies. Those who control the most important questions, do so whether the government is Labour or Tory. They are not above classes, they are the ruling class, permanently at the helm through the organisms of the state of private property and private property relations.

Capitalism is not just repressing the workers movement. It is trying to silence whole sectors of its own social support, like the BBC. The revulsion provoked in the bourgeoisie by the raid, and the subsequent contradictory statements by Thatcher that she had nothing to do with it but that naturally nothing is done outside her knowledge, is going to be a great damage to the social support of capitalism. People like Campbell would have belonged to capitalism had the system had anything to offer. All this crisis is going to deepen the social crisis of capitalism, and reduce still further its social support. It is quite obvious that parliament is no importance in deciding about anything central. Today, there is no more advance possible through being more 'left wing' or having left MPs. For these things to be effective, they must chose their ground for struggle firmly outside the organisms of power of the bourgeoisie.

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its day in Britain. All the Thatcherosaurus experience shows that capitalism cannot be modified but has to be smashed. It pollutes everything from the environment to culture and human relations.

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the Deng leadership will manage to block the revolution and the Chinese people will sit still and accept it all.

J. POSADAS 25.10.80

The speech of Ponomoriev on the hundred and tenth anniversary of the birth of Lenin. J. Posadas

The speech of Ponomoriev on the 110th anniversary of the birth of Lenin is good; there is nothing incorrect in it, but it is insufficient. He speaks about Communism as a necessary task in order to solve the problem of the economy, and he presents Lenin as the great educator of Communism, that is Communist society. That is certain; but Lenin did not only do that. In the first stages it is a question of the construction of Socialism, but in the direction of a higher social development which eliminates all classes, as also all forms of state and relations based on power or property. It is not only a question of the working class so that Socialism is a better formation of the economy but the question of human relations which are much higher than a purely economic relation. That is, in principle the social relations are affirmed through the economic basis, but now this is not so. In the most backward nations of the world such as Ethiopia it is not the economic conditions which underly the social relations. Already there exists the consciousness, the realisation about the development towards Socialism, which the Ethiopians take as an example. Thus, they leap over a stage. That is, the permanent revolution. In Ethiopia it is possible to go from feudalism to the revolution. In Ethiopia it is possible to go from feudalism to the erection of the Workers State. These same generals, to whom I have referred often, who before killed the peasants, now obey the peasants - and these tell them what has to be done to build the new Ethiopia.

Thus the historical comparison in spite of the fact that humanity which Cde Ponomoriev uses is organised in different lands and very limited. It is not possible to societies, it teaches that inequality confine Lenin to be the builder of in distribution, the phenomenon of the Soviet Union, or Marx and scarcity is not now the origin of Engels as founders of Communism. The inequality of power between It is a question of the form of strong and weak. It is the in-society which, in order to be able adequacy which results from dis-to develop, has to construct tribution according to the principle Communism. More and more the 'to each according to his abilities', Workers State from the beginning But, with the growing development has to eliminate all the contra- in culture, science, art, and also ditions of society which stem in sport, there develops in human- from the old society, including the ity a consciousness no more of organisation of distribution 'to distribution according to ability each according to his abilities', but according to who needs which comes from private property more than me'. and thus leads to private feelings, consciousness and interests. Thus in the Workers States the Black Market exists.

Thus it is no longer a question of the economy but of the parti- cipation of the people in the leadership of society. In the Soviet Union it should be possible to discuss in different types of committees, in the workers' areas, factories and schools - and these are higher forms than the Soviet Deputies. In the first stage these were necessary, as Ponomoriev says. In the first stage it was necessary to go from Tsarism to higher social forms, and there was nothing to eat. In the Soviets of today there are around 2.5 million Deputies. If the Soviet form, as with the Soviet Parliament, were right for the first stage, it is necessary now to seek higher forms. The Soviet leadership ought to decentralise this Parlia- ment, develop a thousand 'parlia- ments' which are then centralised around the Party and which the government leads. Higher social human and intelligent relations ought to be achieved. The Soviet Union develops endlessly more as an example, as a centre of in- fluence, as a Communist structure, than as an economic or military power. Also, Ethiopia is not in the least a military power; yet it is like the Soviet Union. In his speech Ponomoriev does not refer to such matters, and so he leaves the USSR and Lenin to a very modest function.

Communism is a phase in a developing process of humanity.

limited plane with the object of discussing all the problems of the country, so that people give an opinion and decide, and the centre then uses this.

The Soviet leadership ought also to discuss the function of the trade unions, which play a most important role in the Workers States, be it in the control of pro- duction, the quality of the product, the determining of wages or the relation between wages, produc- tion and work conditions.

The great and vital power of Leninism showed itself in the boldness of Lenin and of the Bol- shevik Party, small at the time but which dared in such an im- mature country and in the worst conditions to seize power. This boldness of Lenin and of the Bol- shevik Party was affirmed through the world-wide balance of forces to which Ponomoriev does not refer. If these conditions were not favourable, Lenin would not have been able to seize power. In part he based himself on the attitude of the German bourgeoisie which, from hard necessity, had to turn Russia against the British and the British on their side nee- ded Russia against the Germans. Under the leadership of Lenin the Bolsheviks used this situation of Russia against the lot of them. Lenin travelled in the sealed wag- gon of the Germans with the idea of reaching a cease fire. He ended the war in one sense, but led it into another - he stopped the war against the Germans in order to lead a fight against the capi- lists of both imperialist states.

At the time that Ponomoriev was making this speech on the legacy of Lenin, the USSR was in the position - it had been for some time - of determining social relations on the basis of 'to each according to his needs.' In part this has already been discussed in the Soviet leadership: Brezhnev discussed it during the debate over the Soviet Constitution.

Communism is a phase in the development of human progress, not an objective to see then how it turns out. When a certain social, economic, scientific, cultural and human level has been reached -

then the human relation surpasses everything as it is superior to all other forms of social relation. It is the human relation which affirmed in all other relations, leads and advances. It is no longer possible to proceed in the building of the Workers State without clearly realising the force that moves the world. The world is going to Communism because it is a necessity of life, not just a conclusion of Marx. What Marx did was to give a consciousness of this unconscious process of history. It was a process which occurs in life, but in an uncon- scious way.

The process of economic rela- tions which affirmed the scien- tific, cultural, technical and artistic development, led to a form of relations which were linked to private property. It is as though a mass of water was contained by a piece of paper. Humanity now possess in this phase of its de- velopment towards the future much superior human, cultural and scientific relations. They put aside individual interests, the individualist conception of every point of view. The capitalist system began to create already the historic basis for the change, and we contribute to this. In the Soviet Workers State, which is the most progressive of all, there must be a cultural and economic de- velopment of this type. In part the Soviets do this, but as a very limited initiative like the experi- ment in space. They do it in a partial and very limited form, for the whole population must parti- cipate in such an activity. Dis- cussions have to be conducted where it is shown that Communism is a higher form of existence of life, not just a society based upon superior economic distribution. Communism is a necessity of life, a phase in the development of humanity, of every significant animal species, of every form of motion on earth and water. It is the necessity of a homogenous struc- ture of humanity, together with the elements of life.

On the side of capitalism there is the preparation of the war, and this means preoccupation by the Workers States. But, as this

understanding and level of com- sciousness develops, humanity prepares very well in their secu- rity and understanding that capi- talism has to be smashed. The progressive consciousness on the significance of the Communist objective within the Workers State is not intimidated, but the under- standing over the importance of this future perspective is streng- thened. People will not only struggle for better conditions of life, but for the world-wide de- velopment of mankind in relation in the cosmos, in endless higher relations. This objective goes much further than 'tomorrow we will eat much more'.

We propose this discussion to the Workers States which should have taken place a long time ago. The leadership of the Soviet Union must realise that the Soviet Union, in order to win, has to stimulate the progress of the world towards Communism without which they do not win. That is the basis for their victory. The basis for the victory of 1917 was the taking of power, for the victory of 1945 it was the elimination of capitalism in eight more countries and its weakening in many more, and the basis in this stage is the liquida- tion of capitalism altogether. This is the basis for the progress of history.

The Soviet Union in this stage represents the progress of human- ity. The concern of the Soviet leadership with the consequences of the confrontation with capital- ism is legitimate, but what they are doing is insufficient. In this case it is a question of incorpora- ting the stream of scientific thinking which is not to be found in the leadership of the Workers States and the Communist parties, but contributes to the preparation of future thought. That refers not only to ourselves but also to other people, which may not directly feel attracted by policy and pro- gramme but, however, in science, culture and art make their con- tribution. In art this is more limited, for this is not the stage of artistic creation, but even here there are some aspects which can reach useful development.

J. POSADAS 4.1.1981.



SOVIET ASTRONAUTS IN NEW SPACE MISSION

GLASNOST AND THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKERS STATES

The purging of functionaries and the need to extend forms of activity more attuned to the needs of the Workers States are proceeding under Gorbachev under the name of Glasnost, that is, 'publicity' to reveal more on corruption and the need to purify the Workers State of its deficiencies. This is imposed by the objective necessity of the Workers State.

Thus Posadas analysed this leadership, beginning with Breznev, as more related to the needs of the Workers State, no longer able to put aside the interests of the Workers States in bargaining with imperialism, but still not revolutionary. More and more the progress of the Soviet Union, the continuous advance of the world revolution — as shown in the attitudes of leaders such as Ghadaffi, the civil war in South Africa etc. — demands leaps in the capacity of leadership. The contradiction between the demands of the situation and the insufficiency of the existing leadership is the cause of the uneven character of the Gorbachev policy.

On the one hand, it is clear that they genuinely want a better functioning to eradicate the parasites and loafers who impede the functioning of the Soviet Union; on the other hand, their lack of clarity over the objectives of the Workers State tends to lead to aberrations. The top layer wishes to survive as a bureaucracy, although all the conditions for this are disappearing. It is manifestly absurd for the leader of the Workers State, Gorbachev, to get on the phone personally to release a fossilised dissident, Sakharov. It is true that the release of these dissidents is not an important issue because they are a spent force; but the time given to this is partly — however much they may deny it — to conciliate with those sectors of Western bourgeoisie whom they hope to influence. The problem with Glasnost is that it is still a very superficial stage. It is necessary to have a Glasnost which not only brings out abuses but actually throws a flood of Bolshevik light on policy, programme and the application.

In reality, the Gorbachev leadership tends to want to contain the process of purging and greater democracy which they cannot avoid, to a limited and economic objective. Scandals are to be publicised with an especial eye on the world bourgeoisie, so that they can see a well-run and comfortable Soviet Union concerned with peaceful construction. In other words — and this has been seen clearly in the programme of the CPSU — they are still trying to confine the Soviet Union, to limit its world intervention, and therefore to limit a Communist functioning in the Soviet Union.

Imperialism follows in their publications meticulously the

process in the Soviet Union. They are aware of the struggle over the positions of Ogarkov (who in a particular form expressed the invincible sense of victory of Communism) but, as they understand nothing of the essential structure of the Workers States, because they cannot grasp the forces that are at work, they are in a constant state of apprehension. The weaker sectors of the Western bourgeoisie seek to maintain links with the Soviet Union to survive, but it is not they who determine the line of imperialism.

The latest speech of Gorbachev gives no comfort to imperialism. He was obliged to denounce without qualification the manoeuvres of the Yankee assassins who are embarking on their latest war preparations and ignore the SALT 2 treaty. Also, the policy of Soviet restraint over moratoriums has shown that it has no further perspective, and the Soviets will resume their testing — this will confirm the Red Army in their positions, and there is no doubt that there will be pressure there for a more audacious policy against the Yanks, even though these criticisms will not always come to light. The withdrawal of the Soviet Fleet before the attack on Libya will also not pass without criticism in the Soviet Union. Parts of the Gorbachev policy have already failed, and when he is obliged to speak of resigning if his policies were not adopted the complexity of the situation is clear. It is quite certain now that many currents are in operation in the USSR, although none at this moment may represent the revolutionary character of the Workers State.

The worst aspect of Gorbachev's recent intervention was his perspective of the need for 'new' thinking to overcome the problem of atomic war. Now it is obvious that the Workers State does not want war, so there is no need of new thinking on this aspect but the system of imperialism is wedded to war, it is war. In such a speech Gorbachev limits the world intervention of the masses to overthrow imperialism, and gives weight to the nuclear blackmail of the Yanks. Of course, the reality is that the Workers State does not, and cannot, concede fundamentally to imperialism, but such statements — although it is difficult to believe that Gorbachev can subscribe to them — reflect a desire to contain the ineluctable process towards war and to adopt a line which does not frighten the weaker sectors of capitalism, and limits the direct appeal of the Workers States to the world masses. The whole tenor of Ghadaffi's speech at the meeting

of the unaligned countries was to signify the need for a Communist International, but the Soviets did not reply to this intervention.

We say directly to Comrade Gorbachev and the new teams which are developing in the Soviet Union that it is far better to intervene over what is happening in Mozambique than to keep on publicising trade links with the West. The point is that an increase in economic efficiency is not the priority at this stage. Those who attack Breznev in this way are very lopsided, as Cde Posadas analysed in the article on Ponomarev. It is not the economy which is the principle problem. No doubt it can be greatly improved, but the most important aspect of the Workers State which needs rectification are the social relations and the political life. Economic efficiency is a function of this.

Gorbachev speaks about 'reconstruction'. Quite so, but the Soviet Union is not an island; it is part of human progress — in fact, the most advanced sector to develop Communism throughout the world. Lenin did not take power in the Soviet Union just to develop Socialism in the Soviet Union. Gorbachev says: 'We want to get on with the task of reconstruction in peace.' But this is absurd. Imperialism will not let the Soviet Union 'reconstruct in peace'. On the contrary, it is clear what the demented gangsters who rule the USA intend. They are building up Japan as a base to hit the Soviet Union. All the 'terrorism' they go on about is a ploy by imperialism. The Soviets know this, but it is necessary to draw the conclusions. Whatever happens about Star Wars the hoodlums who rule America will still jack up war expenditure to insane heights. The Soviets have published all that is necessary; showing imperialism is dedicated to first strike missiles.

What tends to be lacking in the speeches of Cde Gorbachev is sufficient reference to developing the Party and liberating the political and social forces in the Soviet Union. Objectively, he tends to contain them by limiting the nature of Glasnost. We are all for a revolutionary Glasnost — discuss the economy of the Soviet Union linked to politics, linked to the struggle for world Communism. Glasnost is not the same as the 'liberalisation' of Khrushchev. It is part of a real political revolution, but the conclusions of all this have to be drawn by the CPSU; and we suggest Glasnost is extended to discussions in Moscow of anti-capitalist movements, Socialists, Communists, and the revolutionary nationalists who accept the leading role of the Workers State, to discuss the way forward, to draw conclusions for the world revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism.

THE ZIRCON EPISODE AND ITS CONCLUSIONS

The revelation of the existence of the Space Satellite ZIRCON in its function of spy against the USSR and the subsequent raid on the BBC, are events that reaffirm principles to understand this stage of history. Capitalism prepares for war against the Soviet Union, and it prepares it clandestinely. It also prepares it against a whole layer of scientists, technicians, journalists, intellectuals and intelligent people, who perceive that it is not a war to preserve 'our way of life' (whatever that means!), but the way of life of the ruling class, that is to say, its own power and privileges.

It is important to see that since British Aerospace had published a press release on the day of the launch of the satellite, giving its precise location in the sky, the idea of hiding from the USSR the existence and role of ZIRCON is not in discussion. The fact that the government does not want the matter talked about and the film made about it shown, is not that it wants to preserve national security. It is quite clearly that it does not want the British public to know.

The British public is prevented from knowing for two reasons. One because military matters — like peace or war — are decided without consultation with anyone (certainly not parliament), except US imperialism (certainly not all, as shown by Irangate). That is to say, the fundamental decisions of life and death are made by very restricted circles that will eventually want to keep to themselves the prerogative to launch the nuclear war. The other reason is that the British public would not have agreed, if it had known.

It is true that public opinion in capitalism is very much formed and informed by capitalism itself. However, if those who have the power to decide war or peace — not necessarily the government — cannot trust the public, it must be that they are engaged in something unpopular. One can only conclude from this that war against the USSR is not popular. This is a reaffirmation of what Posadas analysed long ago, that the USSR is a superior social regime, and the nationalist sentiment in people will not be sufficient to galvanise the whole population in a war — particularly a nuclear one — against it. War being prepared in this way, is not likely to be a success.

The population receives from such events the knowledge that they are of no importance, and whilst they should keep financing every bit of the war preparations, they should not have any opinion about it. This warns of the murderous intentions of capitalism. For, does it not stand to reason that if the USSR is the enemy, everyone can be made to see it? But capitalism conducts no campaign of explanation on that account. It can only instill in people prejudices against the USSR, about the right of "free trade unions" and the rights of the dissidents. For as regards a logical and argued campaign to explain why the USSR is the enemy, they cannot do it because if a discussion started, it would soon boomerang against capitalism. — A country with no unemployment, with 200 million inhabitants, recently a colony, today the first power in Space and the nuclear field.

The Labour Party leadership shows how much it is prepared to submit to capitalism, when it joins the chorus of the 'national security' scare. By that however, what must be understood is the security of the ruling class, which sees that to retain its power in history, it has to try to smash the workers states and the workers movement. However, the Workers States are no longer colonies, and the world masses — included the masses of each capitalist country — are not against them.

What capitalism shows in all this, is that it has no argument. It has only weapons, but even the effective use of those weapons will demand more social support than capitalism has. What it calls national security is a mantle to cover its own secret preparations. Thatcher showed quite clearly that she does not care if the US Phantoms F11 start from British territory loaded with

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The Thatcher visit to the Soviet Union shows that there is no basis for conciliation with imperialism.

The process of 'perestroika' in the Soviet Union is the centre for the course of world history. It is part of the process which Cde Posadas analysed long since as that of partial regeneration, whereby the Workers States returns to its essential structure liberated from the incubus of Stalinism. This stage of perestroika is still within its opening phases, with peculiarities and limitations, but it is preparing the way for new forms of leadership in the Workers States - an approach to a more revolutionary leadership. Already, in a very slight way, it is posing: Why Stalinism? Why the liquidation of the Bolshevik cadres who led the revolution? What are the implications for the world process today? The leadership in the Soviet Union is still not a revolutionary one, but it has opened a process which cannot but be dynamic, leading to revolutionary conclusions.

The most striking limitation at this moment is that the process is being interpreted as though it were confined to elevating the interior relations in the Soviet Union, but this can only be a phase. When the Soviet leadership speaks of improving life and economy in the Workers States, there has to be a global link with all humanity, all the millions of people who are exploited by imperialism. There has to be an end to the type of interminable negotiations with capitalism when what is required is a systematic effort to develop the bases for a new mass Communist International. That is a central task for perestroika, reconstruction of the world on the basis of getting rid of world imperialism.

It is in this context that one has to place the visit of the appalling Thatcherosaurus to the Soviet Union. In our view this was not the best mode of diplomacy by the Soviet leadership, because it has achieved nothing that could not have been achieved by less ceremonial means. It is true the British masses see that the Soviet Union wants peace, but this is not new. The responsibility of the Soviet Union is global, and diplomacy is part of the process of preparing for the final encounter with imperialism, but what in reality has been gained from this visit in Moscow? Certainly the Soviet people have seen this primaevial creature threatening their Workers State. That's all. Any trade treaty could have been arrived at in other ways. In fact, as everyone has seen, there was no change in the balance of relations. Neither capitalism, nor the Workers State, made any concessions. The confrontation continues. There has to be an end to this type of diplomacy by the Workers State, to be replaced by a much more vigorous diplomacy which involves appealing to the world masses over the heads of the representatives of capitalism who only negotiate because they want a facade to conceal their intentions.

It is important that Arbatov at least made one clear conclusion when he

said that with Thatcher's policy 'the nuclear holocaust', as he put it, was inevitable. This visit will provoke further thought in the Soviet leadership on the need to deepen their policies in relation to the world revolution against imperialism. The days of this type of conciliation are numbered.

As for Thatcherosaurus, although clearly she has tried to use the visit to make herself look important in the coming elections, this 'electoral' prestige will not amount to much. The debacle of British imperialism is complete, and thus the government seeks to make us of every little piece of electoral advantage, but nothing important has come from these negotiations. Thatcherosaurus seeks to make it appear she has the ear of the Workers State. Capitalism seeks to extract authority from talking to the Workers State, to make British imperialism appear to be important and speaking for 'European capitalism'. It is obliged to appear to 'support' perestroika because it has to conceal its sinister intentions.

In going towards the elections it is clear that the whole functioning of capitalism is in decay. Terms such as democracy and parliament become increasingly meaningless fictions as the capitalist state attempts to impose forms of dictatorship, increasing the powers of the police, depriving trade unions of their rights, and trying to crush the poor, the youth, the unemployed and the old. The Labour Party apparatus has gone out of its way to show that it has no interest in winning the elections. It conducts no mass campaigns on anything, but is quite ready to participate in the campaigns over 'the loony left' and is remote from any workers' struggle, as over the miners, the printers etc. The visit of Kinnock to see the representatives of Yankee imperialism also brings out the ineptitude of the apparatus trying to get the approval of the imperialists in spite of Weinbergers open hostility to the Labour Party programme to terminate with

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Yankee missiles. In reality Kinnock is obliged to go along with the Labour Party programme, but does everything to limit its effect - and thus inevitably the apparatus sabotages the Labour Party and weakens its electoral weight.

Even so, many of the bases of the Conservative electorate are doubtful of future perspectives with Thatcher and thus, even with no serious opposition, insecurity characterises the capitalist class. The fact is that the majority of the population, as in the last election, is against Thatcher but there is no anti-capitalist centre which can mobilise these forces. The left in the Labour Party will have to reflect on all this. The fact that Benn sees the importance of perestroika points to the effects which this process will eventually have throughout the Communist and Socialist parties, although a return to Bolshevism in the Soviet Union will require the need to develop cadres throughout the world Communist movement.

Despite the active collaboration of the trade union leaderships in sabotaging the various struggles of the masses, and the lack of sufficient Soviet intervention to impel the anti-nuclear movements, it has proved - and will prove - impossible for capitalism to stabilise its position. The budget of Lawson is simply one for the ruling class and is of no interest for the development of the economy. The problems of housing, transport, massive pollution, industrial growth cannot be solved within the orbit of capitalism. So-called reforms in education are simply to maintain education at the level of the declining capacity of the system. But capitalism does not have the strength to impose its totalitarian control. All the capitalist states - including Spain, Italy, France and Germany - periodically see mobilisations of the population which show that capitalism has no authority and relies on the inadequate Communist parties and social democratic parties to sustain itself. At the same time, despite innumerable conferences,

capitalism cannot unite its forces. The dispute with Japanese capitalism is an example of the disputes which undermine capitalism as a system. At the present moment the Soviet leadership does not take full advantage of the situation to organise the forces of the world against imperialism. It has to develop world discussions and impel the Socialist and Communist parties with Marxist understanding. Inevitably, this is on the agenda because imperialism will not concede over anything. Its nuclear armories are to attack the Soviet Union and the world revolution. Negotiations cannot overcome this. Changes in the Soviet Union will impel all the left forces throughout the world, and this will have a decisive effect, undermining all the conciliatory trade union functionaries and destroying the arguments of the apparatuses who seek to sustain capitalism. Decomposition is at the heart of the capitalist system. It was only necessary to see the recent TV

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The Teachers' Dispute and the incapacity of Capitalism.

Imperialism in the process of its downfall alienates many sectors of the petit bourgeoisie that would normally offer a base of social support. The 'disruption' in the schools is an expression of the decomposing structure of capitalist authority. Even when sectors of the unions - i.e. the headmasters - draw back from confronting the class enemy, it is clear that the majority of teachers will not accept the diktat of the capitalist government. The union leaderships have been obliged to resort to strike actions. The process is in this case not primarily concerned with wages but with the decision of the government to deprive the teachers of basic trade union rights. Again, what is notable is the way in which this

is slipped across by the government, and little is said about this in the 'organs of public opinion', i.e. the capitalist media. This monstrous act of despotic capitalist power is reported quite quietly by the television, radio and press. When, however, there was a discussion over the counter-revolutionary 'solidarity' movement in Poland, then the servile trade union leaderships and the bourgeoisie went mad about 'denial' of trade union rights. This action by the Thatcher government (or, as Tacitus might have put it, they make a desert and call it democracy) has also shown very sharply the collusion of the Labour Party apparatus, which does absolutely nothing to ensure

the support of the population for the teachers. In practice, this is a form of sabotage in line with Labour Party policy elsewhere. This relays, in effect, the general line of the trade union bureaucracy which is concerned that all trade union struggles are waged in isolation so that no effective opposition can be mounted.

It is of fundamental importance that the teachers wage this struggle in defence of a fundamental right, but, at the same time, this struggle should not be confined to this issue. The Thatcher government is very frail. It is based on a minority of the population and relies on the supine attitude of the Labour Party apparatus to continue. Recently, they put forward a plan for a 'national' curriculum - which idea the Labour Party supported a direct hand-shake with the class enemy - which is complete mystification in a situation of the decomposition of the educational system.

In this respect there ought to be a general discussion of the need
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Proletarian Internationalism. J. Posadas.

PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM: THE DIALECTICAL PROCESS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

Proletarian internationalism is correct. But why? Soon the need for a new discussion of the Communist International will arise. The Soviet Union does not develop the conception of the necessity and the historic objective because otherwise it would deal with the policy, above all the discussion of the reason for Stalin. How did Stalin occur? Why was he killed? How explain the period of Stalin's? What function has the dictatorship of the proletariat played in the period of Stalin? It was a dictatorship against the proletariat.

Giving simply the theme of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of proletarian internationalism does not give explanations. And in depth the explanations which they give of proletarian internationalism is partially erroneous — although not in everything. Indeed, the historic objective of proletarian internationalism comes from the same need as Socialism. As the centralisation of the economy is necessary, the centralisation of the objectives and of the struggles is very necessary. To that is united the solid, capable and fraternal action of the proletariat. But of all that, the most important aspect is the historic function of the need of internationalism, to conceive the process as a necessity of history; from which derives the sagacious fraternal behaviour of supporting the process of history. In the opposite case, it would appear as a link of instrumental support for another interest. This is true but secondary. What is important is that it is a question of an historic necessity, as is the fact that the economy must be centralised. From which emerges the truth that every objective progress has to be supported. The USSR has changed the course of history. Before, Stalin betrayed the revolution; while today, the Soviet Union sustains it. It is an objective need of history which departs from the necessity of centralising the economy which, when it is broken up, instead of progressing, retreats. But, as humanity has already conquered science, technology and the capacity for producing, it has need of structuring all the productive capacity on a world scale. And when, today, to construct a railway needs a week, a few minutes will be sufficient in the future. Humanity homogenises intelligence, capacity, wisdom and understanding to produce, above all, human intelligence.

The centralisation of the economy, its homogenous leadership, the world centralisation of life are the most elevated form of intelligence because they eliminate from the human being concerns such as where are we? why do we live? why the strike? why war? why the class struggle? why the death of the son? why is there not enough to eat when there is so much food? All these are blows, impediments and barriers against intelligence. They do not maintain ignorance,

but the construction of doubts, of the insecurity of humanity which impedes the development of the intelligence. Proletarian internationalism serves to elevate all this because it comes from the necessity of homogenising the economy and to apply then the new solidarity and support to every progress of history in a concrete way, in supporting each process.

From that is born the concrete, particular application and the homogeneous centralisation of the economy, of the leadership of society, of science, and of the results of the class struggle.

It is necessary to affirm with decision that we find ourselves in a new phase that we are entering globally in a new stage, which includes also a more resolved fight of the Workers States, the anti-colonial revolution, and the workers' movement against imperialism and capitalism.

The trip of Giscard d'Estaing to the United States has the objective of resolving numerous problems, but essentially because the Yanks are intervening in Europe and to regulate the world economy, because otherwise everything would fall. The Yanks must therefore intervene to help the economy to some extent, not only the war economy.

There is an enormous disproportion between the very favourable condition and the lack of leadership. Thus there are developing in a fragmentary way ideas which answer to theoretical necessity but which still do not lead to practical and political conclusions. The Soviets, for example, have no practical political conclusions from the principles which they enunciate and show, but they are advancing to proceed from necessity of the formation of general principles to their practical application. They are beginning a process on the problem of independence, of the causes, of the necessity of independence; and of the unity of the world Communist movement. What type of unity? On what is it based? What is the theoretical, political, objective, social, historic base of the unity?

Our task is to make the Communist parties convinced that this is possible.

The independence of each Party leads to a greater exposure to the enemy, while unity leads to the anti-capitalist objective in economic policy and to Soviet democracy. The Communist parties demand independence, but not to break with capitalism.

There is a precedent which favours then this impulse to independence and it is that of Stalin. But this is not the only motive; above all, the theoretical and political preparation is missing, and they do not affirm many principles from fear. Hence we believe that once these are embarked on the taking of power, they will have less impediment and will realise that there was no reason for fear. Also in the present phase the centre is conquered by the left.

One of the fundamental principles of proletarian internationalism is that of defending and sustaining the processes and progress of history. These are then supported, and this is a logical necessity and scientific obligation. This is the basis of internationalism. It is not a question of solidarity with the exploited but of supporting the progress of history which the exploited represent. The alliance, the solidarity, the support to the exploited and the oppressed peoples, to the struggle for the revolution; to the peoples who make the revolution and to the Workers States, is the highest form of class struggle. It originates from an objective principle of history, not of special interests of one or another. The Workers State has an interest that all countries become Workers States; with that there is removed the basis of a new bureaucracy, of a new power.

At the base of Internationalism is the fact that the process of history leads to a centralisation of the economy of society and of human relations and, beyond that, to the necessity of helping every movement, every anti-capitalist revolutionary process; because in this way the historic enemy weakens — which is capitalism — and the objective necessity of the process of history is reinforced — that is the revolution.

Accordingly Internationalism must offer all solidarity, all support to the Workers States, to the

Proletarian internationalism was reduced to an empty slogan under Stalinism, but the new phase in the Soviet Union requires that the principle is given a consistent value, Soviet help to Angola, Cuba, Nicaragua, Afghanistan etc. represent the actuality of this principle, but the principle needs application in the sense that the Soviet Union is the instrument of world revolution. Its own development needs the liberation of the whole world from capitalism. Capitalism is a world system to be replaced by the world system of Socialism.

colonial revolutions, and to every strike — beginning with the simplest. Solidarity with strikes is a support to the exploited against the exploiter; but it serves also to increase the force of progress represented by the revolution, which is expressed in these concrete forms of the struggle for wages which increases the strength and cohesion of the proletariat and its security in the confrontations with the class enemy which come out of it weakened. The policy of independence on the other hand, tends always to be an instrument for the exploiter under the pretext of the right, as they say, to pluralism. The historic conception of proletarian internationalism is based on the objective need of human relations, of science, technology, of the economy, and of the progress of history.

This manifests itself in a lesser scale in other aspects of scientific activity, literary, medical and cultural. Internationalism is a conception because it refers to a new society. Such a conception is founded on the need to sustain every aspect of the movement of progress and of struggle, and to absorb their experiences, to discuss and to live them. All that lies within the aim of generalising the progress of the struggles, to know them and to understand that these do not reflect interests of groups or sectors, of castes or a

complete democratic Soviet objectivity. That is, not for the benefit of the Socialist country or the most powerful Workers State, or of the Communist Party or Socialist Party or the most powerful trade unions; but serves to stimulate the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system. It must then generalise the experiences and make emerge those which are born from the class struggle.

The fundamental conception of proletarian internationalism is that the class struggle is permanent and that the process of history is interpreted through the class struggle. That does not impede affecting forces of the enemy, as has happened with sectors of the army in Portugal, in Ethiopia, in Algeria and in Madagascar. At the base is the class conception. The classes thus answer to the objective class consciousness as regards the function and the interest of the economy. The proletariat — which is the class which will overturn the capitalist system — has no egotistic interest in taking the position of the present owner, capitalism. But its function in the economy and in history, which is that of overthrowing capitalism and forming a new society, obliges it also to eliminate itself as a class. That determines the consciousness and the behaviour of the proletariat and is at the base of proletarian internationalism.



closed class interests, but the interests of the working class to make history advance. This is the basis of proletarian internationalism.

An unbreakable part of proletarian internationalism is to live the experiences with the most

Proletarian internationalism means to generalise the experiences which form in the Workers States, in the Socialist parties, in Cuba, in China and in the other countries. It does not mean to assimilate bureaucratic aspects, partial interests or limits, but to take the most advanced elements:

which, in this case, are shown by the Soviet Union, that is, support to the revolutionary movements and the criticism of Stalin.

Stalin did not prevail because he was an evil person who controlled the Party apparatus. If matters were like that it would mean that the Party of Lenin had no strength — but then it would not have made the Revolution. In reality, Stalin was the fruit of the coincidences of some historic conditions at world level which allowed the development of the bureaucracy and thus of Stalin. Among these conditions were the situation of the Bolshevik Party which emerged weakened by the Revolution, and the failure of the Revolution to extend itself, which forced it to retreat. Also, the economic poverty of the Soviet Union has to be recalled, and the loss of numerous cadres submitted to administrative tasks or killed in the course of the civil war. Stalin was not the product of a demoniacal intellectual capacity, or a result of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but emerged from a historic condition which could not be repeated.

Supporting proletarian internationalism means criticising the methods of the bureaucratic leaderships and the national interest of the bureaucracy, of all the Communist parties and the Workers States. They have to discuss objectively, because in this way they win some sectors of the population. Other sectors they can win if they show the historic function of the proletariat at the cultural, economic and scientific level. The proletariat is not egotistic and does not function only in function of its class; thus it wins sectors of the population as it wins the army.

The historic security of the proletariat which works as a function of Socialism, making its own all the experiences and carrying with it other sectors of the population, is the fundamental element why the proletariat acquires the majority. From a particular component it becomes the majority, because it expresses the scientific, political and social objectives of the development of the economy. It thus wins other sectors of the population, because

it shows itself at the level of the oppressed. This is not a mystico-religious conception, but a necessary condition for the progress of humanity, a form of fraternal love for humanity. We are in fact winning, also, a part of the world religious sectors based on a mystical, hypocritical conception — as in the behaviour of the Church which protected and represented capitalism, who have matured and are linked with the revolution. Human solidarity and defence of human dignity, this is our influence on the Catholic masses which we are carrying within the revolution. They realise the superiority of the proletariat and the Workers States. Capitalism is in crisis, while the Workers States show a constant progress in spite of their limitations, the bureaucratic apparatus and the regional and national interests of each state. And indeed the Workers States have an extraordinary authority over the population of the world.

One of the fundamental tasks of proletarian internationalism is the unification of the Communist world movement, above all of China and the USSR.

Unification between China and the Soviet Union will save humanity dozens of years of tragedy and poverty. Hence, it is necessary to demand proletarian internationalism which creates the conditions for solidarity with the poor and

is possible to take from the enemy sectors of the petit and middle bourgeoisie, and from the artisan sectors, with a line and a programme in which the proletariat shows itself capable of leading society and suppressing all the evils. And it is necessary that all the population participates, creating the appropriate organisms as the Russian Revolution did.

The bureaucracy was not born inevitably from the Revolution through the defeats of the Party or from the historic errors of the dictatorship of the proletariat, but through the historic conditions which cannot be repeated, and thus fascism has triumphed nowhere in the world even if imperialism was able to continue to survive for a period.

It is on this base that proletarian internationalism must be interpreted.

J. POSADAS 20 May 1976.

It is necessary to discuss on this base and to generalise the experiences which show that the class struggle is permanent and world-wide. That means that it

The situation in the Middle East and the need for Afghanistan to develop as a workers state.

The most recent revelations from the Irangate proceedings show yet again the impasse into which Yankee policy has arrived in the Middle East, entering into the negotiations with the 'fundamentalists' whilst publically condemning them for terrorism.

Apart from exciting tension, imperialist policy is paralysed in the Middle East. Israel, for example, was constructed to act as a gendarme in the area as a means of containing any advance of the Arab revolution. Imperialism relied on collusion with representatives of the capitalist and feudal elements in Jordan, Iran and Saudi Arabia to put the blockers on human progress. At one time they could intervene openly in the Middle East as over the Yankee invasion of Lebanon in 1958. Now the whole balance of world forces imposes such a level of restraint that it is impossible to maintain a credible policy. What little existed has now been blown sky high by the crisis of Irangate which has reduced the presidency of the United States to a shambles, thus depriving United States imperialism of authority.

As it has not been able to intervene directly in the affairs of the Middle East imperialism has had to resort to all manner of organised terrorist acts. Thus, until recently, a massive campaign was organised against Libya — with trials in Britain and West Germany — so as to develop a high state of tension in the Middle East with possibilities leading to war through direct collision with the Soviet Union. The disastrous

Israeli defeat in the Lebanon has complicated everything. At one stage it looked as though they might have been able to maintain a certain impetus in their attacks, but their interventions in one part of the world cannot be conducted apart from the general balance of world forces, and after the Libyan fiasco they were unable to maintain any momentum.

Imperialism continues to huff and puff not on the basis of any social strength but on the basis that none of the countries in the area are Workers States with a leadership of the necessary calibre. There are revolutionary states, such as Iran, Iraq, Syria and Algeria, but none of their leaderships represent the character of the process. Thus imperialism hopes to manoeuvre. Periodically they hold military exercises involving Egypt within emergency forces to terrorise the region. Now they are making a great deal about the need to defend shipping in the Persian Gulf.

The complete impotence of imperialism is shown in relation to the present process in the Lebanon. There the PLO has re-established itself, much to the chagrin of imperialism, and elements of other anti-imperialist Islamic forces have also appeared. The Syrian leadership, which is quite limited, has entered Lebanon, to contain the anti-imperialist process, but also it cannot continue so directly with the attempted destruction of the PLO. Imperialism, after having mounted a massive campaign against Syria, now has to speak in dulcet tones. All this confirms the analysis of

Cde Posadas that in the preparation of the war imperialism lives in a state of paralysis, it cannot determine events, and is constantly involved in operations which go nowhere and result in showing up the shoddiness and lack of perspective of the capitalist system.

The Workers States are not in the best position to intervene in the Middle East because they lack firm bases, owing to previous errors of the Stalinist regime. Thus, the Stalinists ruined the Tudeh Party after the Second World War and disastrous policies affected the Iraq Communist Party so that the leadership of these countries fell into the hands of camarillas who do not represent progress. The Soviet Union sustains the revolutionary process by its existence and support, but there has been a lack of political preparation to intervene much more powerfully and consistently in the area.

The Iran-Iraq war is very much an example of a war of this period which is totally backward and has no relation to the aspirations of the masses and is the result of failures to construct progressive leaderships in the past. Imperialism tries to intervene in these struggles but is not the determining agent. Although the war was launched by the clique in Iraq, partly to gain prestige and partly from fear of the results of the original progress of the Iranian revolution, in the latter stages it is clear that the clique in Tehran has continued the war for its own objectives. It seeks to exhaust

the social revolutionary forces in Iran via the war, while maintaining anti-imperialist positions.

The case of Iran particularly shows the change in the balance of world relations. At one time the Shah of Iran was the ideal Yankee stooge. A large army and vicious persecution at home seemed to guarantee a bastion of anti-Communism. Now all is past and the Yanks go cap in hand to negotiate arms deals with one of the cliques in Tehran. But, they have nothing firm. They negotiate with one of the cliques to contain a new revolutionary step forward in the revolution, i.e. land reform and statification. Even the group they try to work with has to maintain the anti-imperialist, anti-Zionist front.

It is true that the Workers States do not have the firmest bases in this area with which to intervene, but also Soviet policy is still geared to forms of conciliation which prevent taking full advantage of the declining fortunes of imperialism.

What is necessary is to utilise the most revolutionary sectors in the Middle East to act as centres to attract the masses throughout the area. Libya and South Yemen are examples of this. This does not exclude diplomacy to take advantage of the conflicts of the Israel-Arab bourgeoisie, but these have a limit; thus the Soviet Union places much weight on a conference which incorporates themselves in the discussion in the Middle East. The Yanks may be impeded in their course to war, but it remains their only way out and discussions for them are a

smokescreen, just as the Thatcher's visit to Moscow punctuates the preparations for war, and imperialism is obliged to participate in diplomacy to cover their intentions. Certainly it is necessary for the Soviets to use diplomacy here, but more important it is necessary to improve the political orientation in these areas.

In this respect the recent Soviet policy over Afghanistan leaves much to be desired. A well defined policy here could have repercussions over all the Middle East. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan was one of the most important interventions of the period of Breznev and produced one of the finest texts of Cde Posadas. We are re-publishing some parts of this text because it shows how a consistent policy in Afghanistan could have repercussions in the whole of the Muslim world. Afghanistan cannot be a subject of diplomatic games with imperialism. The development of Afghanistan consciously towards a Workers State would have immense repercussions throughout the Middle East. It would be an example of construction.

As part of their diplomatic policy the Soviets have offered to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan if Yankee imperialism will refrain from intervening there. Vast funds have been dedicated by imperialism to promoting war in Afghanistan. In fact, the country is at war with imperialism which intervenes with all manner of atrocious massacres and bombings.

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It is necessary to support unconditionally any measures - like the Soviet intervention - which impels Afghanistan towards the Workers State. At the same time, it is necessary to call upon the population to intervene, to participate in discussions, organise trade unions, district committees, committees in the countryside. The population has to be called upon to participate rapidly in a plan for a political, economic and social programme of development. There must be a plan for the development of cultural, academic and artistic knowledge; and an intensification of cultural and scientific programmes through the radio, the TV etc. ...It is necessary to create cadres in the trade union field and in the universities so that people intervene in the process. Appeals to the nomadic tribes - who are determined by the big landowners - must be launched seeking to win the tribesmen over. The Soviet Union was full of such nomads like Afghanistan today, and it incorporated them into the social life of the Soviet Union. The Communist parties must interpret the Soviet intervention on this basis. The criticisms one may address to the Soviet leadership concern the limits there are in the development of internal Soviet democracy. Then it is necessary to demand more Soviet democracy. But, before demanding this from the Soviets, the Communist parties must start practising Soviet democracy themselves! The Italian Communist Party or the French Communists cannot demand from the Soviets greater democracy when, in their own parties, one cannot discuss.

It is necessary to support agrarian reform. One must give it a systematic character, distribute the land to the peasants, and set up collective co-operatives throughout the state. The big landowners must be expropriated and the land distributed to the peasants, together with a plan of pro-

duction, supported by the technical intervention of the state. Or the nationalised land has to be worked under state control. At the same time trade union and political life must be improved, and one must proceed with the organisation of co-operatives, intensification of education; and a plan for literacy, political education and industrial production. The plan must be developed to respond to the needs of the population in housing, roads, means of transport, hospitals, running water, gas, electricity and the production of all manner of foods. The population must feel that the plan is for the population. It must see that it is not a programme dedicated to - or for - the benefits of capitalist sectors; it must see that production is not geared to affirm, increase or reproduce capitalist interests and exploitation. The population must be shown that production is for its benefit. There must be the formation of organisms in the schools, in the factories, in the districts etc.... There the population must discuss this programme and the plans for its application, so as to elevate the political and cultural capacity of the population and for it to become able to intervene in production. This is going to give the masses an enormous confidence.

At the same time, the political education of the masses must be elevated. It will be on this basis that the capacity and interest of the population to learn will elevate. The population is going to understand this quickly because it is going to see the link between this and the progress of its standard of living. It is going to see the unity which there is between political preoccupation and the programme to satisfy the necessities of life.

The Soviet government must give all its support. It must give loans and economic aid, and make appeals

to the international workers' movement, and revolutionary movements, for them to support this development of Afghanistan. Appeals must be launched to the Muslim movements of the world to support this, to bring the masses out of backwardness. The world Muslim movement must be made to feel that the Soviet Union and the other Workers States are preoccupied and interested in the development and progress of the population, be they Catholic, Muslim, Jewish or any other religion.

The Workers States have an objective preoccupation for the social and cultural development of the peoples. It is necessary to act like this to influence the Muslim movement, and also for the Muslim masses of Iran to see that there is no contradiction at all between the social, political, scientific and cultural development of the Muslim movement and the development of Workers States. Religion is not an obstacle to this - it does not contradict the cultural, social and economic development of the population.

The population must intervene and lead this process. Let the population do this and in this way impede the formation of bureaucratic apparatuses, which contain and deviate the process; they interfere to contain the development of the scientific and cultural elevation of the population.

In Afghanistan there is an internal struggle where a belated leadership for this process is being formed. The Soviets and the Communist parties have intervened late - but a leadership is in formation. There is an elevation of the struggle internally and internationally. It is obvious that imperialism has an interest to block the spreading of the political authority of the Soviet Union.

J. POSADAS

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for the wholesale transformation of the education system. The present structure of teaching is related to the exigencies and limitations of capitalism. It is geared to satisfy the limited needs of private property, and the result is that now it is revealed that millions are illiterate in the heart of an 'advanced' capitalist state. What has the great 'national' curriculum to do with this?

set by capitalism merely mean disputes over allocation of minute resources. Similarly, when there are complaints about the insufficient resources given to Polytechnics as opposed to Universities, this again confines the problem within the frontiers of capitalism. This ploy has failed because many parents see that the problem is the inability of capitalism to allocate sufficient resources.

The teachers' struggle is being waged in a limited defensive way. The reality is that, in its final phases of degeneration, the education system is reduced to the most crude instrumental role to sustain the falling capitalist system. Military research dominates science, and the preoccupation with 'standards' in the schools is pure camouflage by capitalism.

Education has no future within capitalism, save for a small privileged minority. The struggle for education has to be linked up with the programme of social transformations, with the struggle to overthrow the capitalist system - which is a block to human progress in all spheres. The need to concentrate the various struggles against capitalism is going to augment, because the Labour Party leadership in this stage of capitalist disintegration is resigning from serious struggle. This will open the way to revolutionary currents which will see that there is no possibility of changing capitalist society or education within capitalism. What is required is a comprehensive programme of social changes, expropriation of all key industries and the banks, workers' control, the eradication of private education and the placing of all educational institutions under the control of popular committees, and a genuine democratic functioning in schools which eliminates the bureaucratic hierarchy and separate caste interests which stultify educational progress.

When there are so many millions of illiterates, this is because the system has no interest and no capacity in educating the population. In practice they would like to reduce the cultural level of the population to that of zombies and totally lumpenise society.

It is necessary to advance the programmatic levels of the struggle and go beyond mere trade unionism which leaves the field to the spokesmen of capitalism. If there is a far-reaching programmatic struggle, this would allow a much more profound link with the population. Capitalism now talks about involving parents much more in discussion about education... but with what objectives? Those

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programme on the Malvinas war, where the soldiers who had fought for banks, imperialism clearly did not believe in the war, to see that the world system of private property is in total putrefaction and the way demands the programme of social transformations,

expropriation of the industries and workers' control and the closing of all nuclear bases. The Labour left will have to relate to the population, it cannot be submitted to the Labour apparatus or Parliament.

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as the Hitlerites intervened in support for the world revolution. Spain. Internally the Afghan government has adopted what is called a policy of national reconciliation, hoping to gain from the decomposition of the class enemy. Imperialism seeks to utilise these policies to make it appear that they are strong and that the Soviets are obliged to listen to them. In practice, of course, the Workers State cannot make a deal over Afghanistan which betrays the revolution, just as the Soviets cannot abandon Nicaragua or Cuba.

The problem is that a policy of conciliatory diplomatic gestures has a limit because it is quite clear that the decisive rulers of imperialism are dedicated to war, and the emphasis has to be changed from hoping to influence the weaker sectors of capitalism to organising the masses of the world to take power. This was unequivocally the policy of Lenin. Whatever diplomacy was developed with capitalism, the Bolsheviks maintained the perspectives of

More and more the world process and the changes in the Soviet Union are going to raise these issues. It is possible by a revolutionary policy to influence the bourgeoisie. There were many examples of this in the Russian Revolution.

It is clear that Afghanistan is making social progress, but there is no need to make internal compromises politically or economically. It is necessary to develop the Communist cadres with the clearly expressed idea of developing Afghanistan as a Workers State. This may cost support among Western liberals, but the gain in social support throughout Asia and the Middle East would be immense. It would begin to destroy the structure of the Islamic cliques in Iran, and the regime of the Iraqi camarillas as well. The masses of the whole world would see an example. We salute the changes in Afghanistan, but they are not enough and there is no

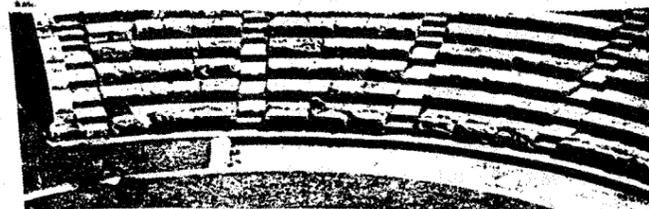
justification for policies of conciliation, internally or externally. It is to be expected that groups of reaction will fall apart because the balance of forces is against them. Imperialism lacks any force of social attraction save for the barbaric sectors of feudal landowners, drug pushers, arms dealers and mercenaries.

We suggest that instead of Soviet preoccupation with Western trade deals, that Afghanistan is made a showpiece of COMECON, an example of the social superiority of the Workers State. The Soviets have given already much help to Afghanistan but, as Cde Posadas argued, it is necessary that conclusions of principle are reached so as most effectively to liquidate the class enemy throughout the planet. The apparent 'impasse' in the Middle East would be resolved in favour of decisive social change if the Soviets were consistently to use Afghanistan and the experiences South Yemen as examples for the Arab masses.

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THEATRE AND SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS



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FOR A LABOUR GOVERNMENT!

- CLOSE ALL THE NUCLEAR BASES

- A PLANNED ECONOMY

UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The Conservatives have been obliged to call the elections, although they still have a year to go, seeking to choose a moment they feel is more favourable to them, hoping to avoid the consequences of an economic downturn in the near future. They are full of insecurity despite having an electoral system rigged in their favour. Anxiously the Conservatives examine every poll and every aspect of business confidence. They know that the majority of the population is against them, and they have to disguise the total lack of perspective of capitalism by pretending interest now in public improvements, although there are no resources within capitalism for this. As we have argued before, they need fascism but are unable to develop it, and the potential fascists get no further than the football hoodlums and racism. Objectively, there are plenty of elements here and in Northern Ireland who are the raw material of fascism, but capitalism lacks an historic perspective. War for them has to be prepared for in clandestinity.

In spite of the Labour Party can be made to think better, or be apparatus, the central sectors of won over. the workers' vanguard and the petit bourgeois allies will concentrate around the Labour Party.

The negotiations over missiles continue at Geneva and all manner of discussions take place on the subject of linking one group of missiles with another. There is disarray in the German government on the issue, and top layers of imperialism speak about caution in receiving the Soviet proposals. Imperialism itself has no interest in making any agreements because this would make complications for their need to maintain an anti-Soviet excitement. They see various conciliatory attitudes from the Soviets, as over the miserable Sakharov, but they also see the essential firmness of the Workers State. They realise that they are not in a position to take advantage of the Soviets so that they can attack the Soviets unawares. On the other hand, such is their social weakness in front of their own masses that they are obliged to negotiate. Thus negotiation is a defeat for them. Some limitation on missiles in Europe is no guarantee against bombardment in nuclear war. New technology is developing, 'conventional' weapons exist close to 'nuclear' weapons. Thatcher has now 'conceded' over the missile withdrawal, in line with the Yanks. It is a necessary tactic for them and does not alter their intentions for war. The Soviets, on the diplomatic plane, have been right to take full advantage of the immense debility of imperialism, but it is incorrect to give rise to any illusions that imperialism

It is clear that there is much discussion in the Soviet teams, some of it relating to early experiences of the Soviet state, which are very limited and use the NEP experience in a way which has no relation to the present world, but there are discussions which are going to have to continue. The Workers State cannot stay with the NEP however much the top bureaucracy may want this - including taking a soft line on bad aspects of the Chinese experience. In any case, the problems of the Soviet leadership are ones which will lead to progress. This is not the case with the ludicrous happenings in the Irangate investigations, where the Yankee Presidency is paralysed. The continuity of imperialist leadership continues, not through the titular heads of government but through General Staffs, like Rogers and NATO and all the extra-government agencies linking business, the armed forces and the intelligence services. The problem for them is that, more and more, the democratic facade of Western capitalism is breaking down, and the petit bourgeoisie become aware that capitalism cannot provide stability or a perspective, and that the system is open season for multi-national military contractors, speculators and gangsters. Even quite accommodated sectors see more and more that the system is fatally flawed and has no solution to anything.

While the Soviets tackle corruption and arbitrary conduct in the police or the Red Army

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Workers of the world, unite!

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itself, or in the Party apparatus, imperialism degenerates into insider dealing, the avoidable loss of life on the Channel Ferry disaster, and massive contempt for the needs of the population. All this contains a fundamental political lesson. The errors and limitations of the Workers State can be corrected. The bureaucracy is an excrescence on the Workers State, it is not natural to the Workers State. But capitalism is altogether different. That system depends on exploiting people and on killing them. That is capitalism: war and exploitation. There is no possibility of changing capitalism. It is entirely vicious in its nature and has to be put down.

THATCHER CAPITALISM HAS FAILED.

The electoral preparations in Britain are thus occurring in a most unfavourable world setting for imperialism. The government dons the electoral mask and pre-

tends to be concerned about rural schools, hoping to win a few votes. Despite the humbug about lower unemployment, the economic situation continues to deteriorate with the decline of manufacturing and the export of investment capital elsewhere. The war budget is immense. There is no way out for capitalism save war, because all the problems are insoluble within the terms of the system.

The dispute with the teachers continues and the suggestions about the relevance of Latin and the possibility of choice of schools - i.e. more competition, for reduced resources - is only further proof of the total cynicism of the capitalist system, openly giving over to parasitism, mendacity and war preparations. This constantly stimulates the need for a fundamental re-think on the left of the Labour Party - is this bourgeois democracy the only instrument of change? is it not necessary to prepare

a Marxist current to terminate with illusions of the old social democracy and open the way for a different relation of party and masses?

THE INTERNAL DECOMPOSITION OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE.

The attempt to stop the publication of a book by a former agent in Australia, plus the refusal of the government to investigate the extra-parliamentary plottings of state officials during the Wilson period - with implications of the CIA - arises from the profound disorder within capitalism, the defeatism of the heart of capitalism. Thatcher's refusal to allow a serious investigation of the idea of a coup against the Wilson government is that such an action would tend to show that all power lies outside Parliament and is in the hands of cliques who do as they like. They dare not look into these issues, just as the nature of Yankee intervention in this country prior to war is also ignored. The fact that sectors of the bourgeoisie raise these problems is because the system more and more lacks credibility and is decomposing. Thatcher's regime cannot stop this rot.

In the recent local elections, Labour made some gains but the performance was not distinguished and abstentions are quite high. The apparatus was quick to enter into collision with the Black sections, which means a fight within the apparatus because the Labour left does not develop a struggle outside the apparatus. The 'black' sections suffer from the same limitations as the rest of the Labour left - a lack of Marxist orientation and using the Blacks as an electoral counter and not a force with the rest of the population for a programme of social transformation, independent of the apparatus.

The passive attitude of the Labour Party in front of Thatcher

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Soviet Youth demonstrate for peace

MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY

The first of May is celebrated in a planet of immense tumult under the pressure for radical social change to liquidate what remains of imperialism. It is a process of unequalled concentration. The contrast between the vast social aspirations of humanity and the total and homicidal degeneration of imperialism — including its ecological banditry — is complete. Although imperialism does not have the strength to turn what remains of it into a concentration camp, its intentions are identical with those of the nazis, to try to wipe out human progress and intimidate humanity into submission. But the growing confidence of the Soviet Union in particular impels humanity to confront the imperialists, and this in itself weakens the capacity of the war planners.

Nothing brings out the contrast between the two social systems to compare the advance of the Soviets with the situation in the United States. The prime Workers State is now entering upon a new stage, still incomplete and with drawbacks and complications but nonetheless there is a real attempt to rid the Workers State of bureaucratic excrescences, to eliminate the elements that stagnate and are a dead weight against the progress of the Workers State in the confrontation with imperialism. Imperialism cannot interpret this phenomenon. In general, they try to say that it is because the Workers States have to modernise themselves to compete with capitalism. They say warily that it is good or not so good, according to its conciliatory features, but for analyses they have nothing. The masses of the world have no such doubts. They see the Workers State actively involved with whatever complications and limitations trying to augment the functioning democracy of the Workers State and make life better for the Soviet masses to take into account the needs of the population. Even when the Soviet leadership does not represent totally and adequately the revolutionary character of the workers or of the world masses, humanity sees a distinct progress and the smiling face of the Soviet Union irradiates throughout the world and sustains every initiative of progress.

At the same time, even when it is clear that there is much to change in the smaller Workers States such as Yugoslavia, Hungary, Romania, Poland etc., and enormous rectifications to be made in China, this does not weigh on the masses of the world as in previous epochs. The Sino-Soviet dispute has diminished in weight. In this sense it is important to see the

crisis which was reflected in the rebellion of the Chinese students. Certainly rightist elements were trying to use the rebellion for their own purposes but the movement was larger than this and shows, in a limited way, the rejection of the policies of the present leadership, who are obliged now to manoeuvre and, in part, retreat. The progress of the Chinese Workers State enters into conflict more and more with its reactionary leadership.

The camp of imperialism gives a totally different picture of disintegration and degeneration on an unparalleled scale. Thus the overthrow of the system on a world scale is, in some senses, already being accomplished. The top apparatuses of imperialism are in position but their apparent power masks an inner void. Faced with the development of the Workers States, the armies of imperialism are rife with defeatism. The obsession with spies is a reflection of this uncertainty, the need to maintain a constant state of preparation. Soviet diplomacy has taken advantage of the parlous internal conflicts and incapacity of imperialism and has put imperialism, in this respect, on the defensive, even prostrate in front of the Soviets. This weakness augments the tensions within the top teams of imperialism to the point of insanity. They require a permanent state of alert and a constant atmosphere of excitation that allows no respite to impede thought and prevent demoralisation; but this is constantly undermined by the social weight of the Workers States.

Thus, the delays in the launching of the war lead to an inevitable exacerbation of all the contradictions within the camp of imperialism. The struggle with Japanese imperialism is a war without actual fighting, only because the imperialist states are forced to keep together to confront the Workers States. The Yanks, having driven up interest rates in the past to finance their colossal war programmes are now trying to smash their industrial competitors by a brutal tariff war and a falling dollar. All this in the midst of confronting the Workers States. This is total confirmation of the analysis of Cde Posadas that imperialism can only launch the war in the worst possible conditions for them, in which their propaganda has failed, in which the world sees the immense progress of the Workers States. Capitalism has lost all the arguments and their apparatuses have lost all confidence. Large sectors of capitalism are now reduced to complete inertia,

surviving on the basis of financial speculation, and some look to the Workers States as a lifeline for survival by trade. The Reagans, Thatchers, Kohls and Nakasones represent only a small layer in comparison with the masses of the world. They show only the isolation of imperialism.

All the continents show the maturity, and more than maturity, for the elimination of the capitalist system. Even in Africa, where tribal traditions and economic backwardness are a legacy of imperialism, there is a constant progress. Countries such as Zimbabwe submitted to the incursions of South Africa nonetheless make a continuous progress, including steps towards a united single socialist party for the country and closer relations with the Workers States. Soviet aid sustains Angola and Mozambique, and Birkina Faso has entered on the path of social progress, despite minimum conditions of survival. On the other hand, the regime in South Africa sustained by world imperialism in the most despicable and hypocritical manner, is in irreversible degeneration. A regime of murder and torture cannot stabilise their suppurating regime. Africa, as a whole, shows the criminal effects of the impoverishment induced by the imbecile structure of capitalism. The levels of starvation, the crisis of agriculture and the abandonment of Africa as a place for development is a particularly brutal example of the complete lack of interest of capitalism in anything save immediate profits and the sale of arms.

In the continent of Asia, in and raises basic slogans such as the Socialist Federation of Latin America, and the slogan of Socialist Federation is valid for all continents. Progress is made through those instruments that happen to be available in history, but if they are not sufficient the progress of history nonetheless is invincible and has no stopping place. In this respect, the Socialist and Communist parties are very backward compared with the reality of the situation. None advance at the level of the Workers State and, whenever there are major events as in the anti-Chirac demonstrations in France, they are slow to respond and do not give a perspective. The social democracy is in crisis throughout the world and cannot overcome this without the intervention of the world Communist movement, specifically that of the Soviet Union. The crisis of the social democratic parties in the major European countries such as Britain, Germany, France and Spain is profound, in the sense that they are parties which can no longer act as a viable prop to relieve capitalism of its crisis, and with their present leaderships they are a block to the masses. Thus, the apparatuses of these parties are, in a sense, suspended in air and can only fall to pieces, giving rise to left wings linked to the masses in a way superior to the past. They are engulfed in the crisis of imperialism confronting the Workers States, and the Soviets have to elevate their intervention towards them.

In Latin and central America Nicaragua acts as a permanent focus, with the Cuban Workers State, against the failing regimes of Latin American capitalism. The incapacity of the military in Latin America to continue the old system of repression is a major defeat for reaction — and, at the same time, the experience of Brasil and Argentina show that the existing regimes are purely transitory, that capitalism is in a total impasse, and whatever democratic reforms or currents or reform within the bourgeoisie they have no perspective. It is possible for a Posadist current to develop in an ambience favourable for the programme of social transformations, which transcends national boundaries

WE SALUTE THE BLACK PROLETARIAT OF SOUTH AFRICA

We salute the powerful intervention of the black proletariat of South Africa which, in the face of the savage intimidation of the white ruling class, has intervened to stimulate the struggle of the masses of South Africa to finish with Apartheid, and thus capitalism itself.

Workers have been killed as the ruling class, made desperate by the invincible opposition of the masses, seek to use all possible repression to sustain their tottering system. It advertises the weakness of the system. At the same time, it is necessary to see that this intervention by the proletariat is a contribution to the international struggle against what remains of the putrefying capitalist system. South Africa, like Israel, is a fundamental base of world imperialism and its internal decomposition is a severe blow at world imperialism. The capitalist despots in the United States, Britain, West Germany, all support the system to the hilt and reject any form of sanction although they have always tried to weigh with sanctions against the Workers States.

This action of the black proletariat is going to weigh in the Soviet Union, in particular. The struggle of the 'front line' states to survive the attacks of imperialism in Angola and Mozambique depends fundamentally on the Soviet Union and the intervention of the black proletariat, its persistency, weighs against the Apartheid criminals and complicates their preparations. On the other hand, the Communist consciousness of the Soviet masses is constantly elevated, and the actions of the South African masses will weigh on the leadership of the CPSU.

We call upon the left of the Labour Party to discuss the significance historically of this magnificent struggle, to see it not just as a struggle in South Africa but a major blow at the Reagans and the Thatchers. In effect, the black proletariat is a stimulus to the left in Britain.

It is important to see the situation in the United States because the attitude of the American masses is fundamental in the paralysis of the imperialist assassins. The last elections there were an immense disaster for imperialism, and every effort has been made in the imperialist states to conceal the depth of this unmitigated catastrophe. The turn out in the recent elections was the lowest ever, the majority of the population ignored them, and it is clear that large sectors of the bourgeoisie itself are demoralised. The war party in the United States is caught in insoluble dilemmas. They need a United States preferably under authoritarian control, but it is clear that they cannot organise fascism and the closest that they can come to this - apart from professional assassins - are the extreme fundamentalist sects whose social base is limited, indeed they are socially repellant. They cannot weigh against the reputation by the American masses of capitalism shown in the elections. Such is the force of the Workers States and the diplomatic advantage of the Soviets that new Yankee imperialism has been obliged to send back a nazi war criminal to the Soviet Union and exchange experts on nuclear testing sites. The great preserver of nazi war criminals is forced to admit their guilt and say: 'Yes, the Soviets were right'. When Schulz was in the Soviet Union they are obliged to say that they have to take the Soviet proposals seriously. Their preparations are continuous. They intervene in Chad. They bomb, kill and maim in the war in Afghanistan; they use nazi methods on the West Bank - but there is no way in which they can gain social support or present a viable programme against world Communism.

return to that functioning with the need for a mass Communist International. When Ghadaffi called recently to break with the non-aligned attitude and for progressive countries to line up with the Soviet Union, this was the expression of a profound need for a mass Communist International

This need to elevate and act as a world leadership is more and more going to present itself to the leadership of the Soviet Union. They can see that imperialism is weakening, although its intentions and plans are as sinister as ever, and this will tend to develop pressures to go outside the purely diplomatic roads and seek to develop a greater political intervention on a world scale not submitted to the necessary diplomatic meetings with capitalism. The fact that the Soviets are now discussing the purge trials of the thirties, and the early days of the revolution has a profound importance for the future elevation of the role of the Workers State. Trotsky is alive and well in the Soviet Union, and so is Posadas. The Workers State is in the opening stages of the re-encounter with Marxism which Cde Posadas spoke about. This is not to say that there are not, or will not be, complications; but of necessity the Workers State has to breathe the fresh air of the world revolutionary process rather than the fetid waters of Stalinism, and bureaucratic inertia.

We salute with all our revolutionary joy and passion the advance of the Soviet Union and the struggles of the world masses who give imperialism no respite.

VIVA Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky, Posadas.

For a much more profound 'Perestroika' in the Soviet Union to encompass open political discussion with the masses under the political leadership of the CPSU!

FORWARD TO A NEW MASS COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL!

From page 4

The policy of Martinez Houdart destroyed the industrial apparatus in Argentina but this could be reconstructed; it depended on the capacity of the concentration of power. Brazil nearby is making a policy of the reconstruction of its economy, and the principle competitor of the Argentinian bourgeoisie is Brasil. In the world this is not the case, because essentially Brasil exports agricultural products which do not enter in competition with those of Argentina, like coffee. But, industrially, they compete in the Latin American field. Thus it is possible to expect in the next stages a tendency for agreement of large-scale Brazilian finan-

cial capital with that of Argentina and possibly with others such as Uruguay and Chile, with the objective of creating their own market in Latin America. This already exists in principle with the experience of the Andean Pact.

The attempt to create the Andean Pact indicated the interest of the bourgeoisie to have their own market, but in a slow and very expensive form as each country integrated in the Andean Pact would contribute towards a part of the product. This type of agreement in capitalism can only be done when there is no one with whom one can compete but, with the existence of com-

petition, enterprises like Fiat or Chrysler can introduce cars into Argentina or Brasil at half the price of production in these countries. Thus, to defend themselves from this competition, the Latin American countries impose import duties which limit the economic relations with big countries.

That is to say, through these attempts at association between the Latin American countries these seek to create a market to assemble their products, but cannot do it because they have to compete with North America, Japan, German, France and, partly, Italy in the car market.

The present stage and the communist future of humanity.

J. POSADAS. 9 3 81 (extracts)

The USSR dies if it does not support itself on the world revolutionary process. It decomposes if it tries, and with it the bureaucrats also, giving access rapidly to the intervention of the Trotskyists. The USSR, even with this bureaucracy, cannot live without aiding the world revolutionary movement. In the past Stalin could not live with the revolution, but today the USSR cannot live without stimulating the world revolutionary process! It may be that it does not support a revolution at the start, or that it later fails to support both necessary and best measures; but it has to support all anti-capitalist movements nonetheless. The USSR may still conciliate with capitalism in given places, but it cannot surrender either the least or the most important revolution. It may conciliate with capitalism to maintain a certain status quo, but the very condition of survival for it is to progress; and to progress the USSR has to support all movements that tend to identify with the USSR. It has to support all movements tending towards the Workers State. The logic of history determines this condition, regardless of whether I drop dead now or continue to live. The USSR cannot live if it does not impel the world revolution, and this is the condition for its very existence.

Beginning from a given level - the historic situation that arose after the Second World War - the USSR felt the need to extend its world strength in relation to the capitalist system. It acquired this confidence the moment it got rid of Stalin. It matters little how Stalin came to be got rid of. He was liquidated, killed by history. Independent of who actually killed him, Stalin could no longer be supported, because he represented a block and opposition to the very development of the Workers State.

The development of the Workers state needed the state to start acting in the sense of impelling the world

revolution and in stimulating revolution. This was not done with the aim of absorbing other revolutions, but in order to extend the world balance of forces against capitalism.

This is what underpins the thought of the present bureaucracy that leads the USSR presently. As to the other bureaucracies in the Communist parties or the other Workers States, they rather plod on with the same thought as before; how to continue usufructing their positions. Undoubtedly the bureaucracy of the USSR also usufructs, but to a lesser degree because it has to stimulate the revolution. Capitalism has no idea of this process, and this is not because it chooses to ignore it but because it is incapable of grasping this much. This is why it still goes on hoping that it will find support in Poland! However, such hopes arise from desperation because capitalism has nothing else to turn to. The USSR has solutions to problems and, in front of this, capitalism must have belief in some way out because it does not have any historic perspective.

We must expect that in the near future the Soviets will start to advance in ability to analyse, to plan anti-capitalist struggles and to influence the Communist parties. This is going to happen in the very near future. In reality, the Communist parties are the result of the Stalinist stage from which the USSR has broken free. It has liquidated the thought of Stalin, in work and in practice, in the same way as it removed his portraits. What has not yet been liquidated is the remnants of what Stalin built, not in the USSR but in the Italian, the French and in other Communist parties. Inevitably, this process of breaking free from the Stalinist mould passes through the channel which made it more easy - and that is the USSR. The USSR was the most open and ready channel for progress to pass. The USSR was the channel closest to this necessity -

because it is a matter of life or death for it. This is why the USSR has had to change. There is no such compulsion, as yet, for the Italian Communist Party because it has been educated previously in the life and policy of manoeuvres, parliamentary proceedings etc. On the other hand, the Soviets are forced to act in the concrete situation, faced with the capitalist system. This makes it progress, improve policies, and liquidate the sectors inside the USSR which are a block to progress.

This process is slow because it develops in the USSR and less so in the rest of the Communist movement. We have to understand this, and this reality has altered the previous concept of a gradual process of permanent and political revolution. The principles of the permanent revolution and of the political revolution are still valid, but they don't develop the way they did before. As some Communist parties find it impossible to change, we are called upon to find the ways, the big events, the crises, in order to weigh decisively inside them and to help the progressive wings of those parties to triumph and increase their links with the USSR. Despite all the threats of the right wing and the centre of those Communist parties, the idea of not breaking from the USSR - indeed, increasing the ties rather than breaking them - continue to prevail. Even Pajetta, the Italian Communist Party delegate who represented the PCI in the XXVI Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1981, had to admit that Breznev's report had been very good.

With all patience and dedication this is what we are doing. This is why, as a movement, we don't grow much numerically; but we grow in authority on a world scale. We do not rush and we are not impatient. Haste and impatience are the result of immaturity, and immaturity rests on a lack of understanding of the perspectives of progress and how they develop.

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J. POSADAS

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which they import, reduction of the costs of transport, preparation of technical workers to sustain this industry in competition.

The first difficulty which the Andean Pact had was that it had to co-ordinate its functioning, the structure of production to compete with the great capitalist countries: Britain, Japan, Germany, the United States and France. To be able to do this means that they have to count essentially upon state protection. This means subsidies to protect national industry with part of the product of the national income. From this they have to take an important part through the elimination of taxes on raw materials

Agreement made in 1977 in which the following countries were associated: Peru, Bolivia, Ecuador, Colombia and Venezuela.

April 29, 1981. J. POSADAS

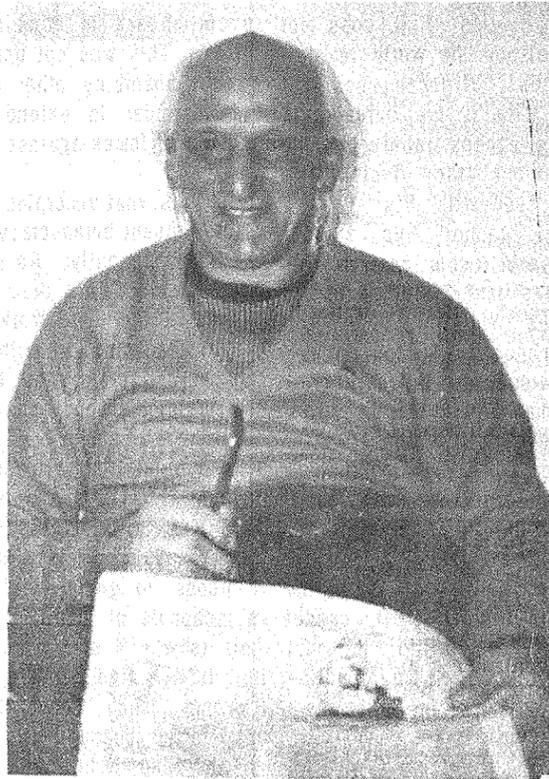
WE RECORD THE SIXTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF CDE POSADAS

This is the sixth anniversary of the death of Cde Posadas, but his spirit is entirely active in all the revolutionary movements against imperialism and in all the efforts to advance towards Workers States and from the Workers States to Socialism.

His most important contribution was to foresee the process of regeneration of the Workers States and to elaborate on the process whereby humanity is on the path of rejecting in toto the mentality of private property, the confines of the family, the concern with the nation, and realising the superior sentiments of Communism. 'The world is ready for Communism' was his conclusion: which in itself is a programme and an understanding. Human consciousness no longer depends on the elevation of the economic forces, but the consciousness increasingly dominates material reality. When the Soviets enter outer

space, this is not determined by the economic need but by the objective human need to investigate the cosmos and seek unity with it. Private property only seeks to compete with the Soviets or use the investigations for military purposes. The volition of the Workers State is totally different.

Cde Posadas intervened powerfully in the practical sense — intervening in Cuba to impel stratifications, and in Guatemala to influence the guerilla movement, but increasingly put weight on the need to influence the Workers State, foreseeing in the process of partial regeneration the historic re-encounter with Marxism. This is clearly on the agenda in the Soviet Union, even if there are aspects — such as the



permission for private operations in services and theoretical weakness in agriculture etc. — which are the most unnecessary aspect of the process. Now, even though the Soviets have attempted to conciliate over Afghanistan, Gorbachev recently congratulated the Soviet troops on fulfilling their international proletarian duty in Afghanistan.

We are privileged in history to see the decomposition of the whole putrid system of imperialism and the immense progress of the Workers States and humanity liberating itself from the weight of private property and the fear of capitalist power. Imperialism tries to use nuclear blackmail, but cannot contain humanity.

Humanity lost a great leader in Posadas, but human progress is invincible. There were gaps in the leadership of humanity on the death of Marx and Engels and at the death of Trotsky, but the new leadership is being prepared as history prepared Posadas.

Posadism is a property of the world historical process. All the roads of progress lead there, and in the Soviet Workers State in particular, as Cde Posadas predicted, there are being laid the bases for the great Marxist thinkers of the future. Posadism is the quality of Marxism in this epoch.

NICARAGUA, THE NEW CONSTITUTION, AND THE NEED TO DEVELOP THE PARTY.

The new constitution of Nicaragua represents the tendency in the nature of the revolution itself, to advance from what is now a revolutionary state towards a superior form — not directly spoken about in the constitution — which can only be a collectivised economy, a Workers State. The rightist sectors in the Assembly see the danger seriously enough, and one called the new proposals a 'liberal bourgeois constitution with Marxist-leninist content.'

The constitution places great weight on the agrarian reform under state control. Co-operatives, with small scale property in the hands of the peasantry plus state agricultural enterprises, has meant the end of the dictatorship of the land-owning oligarchy. Doubtless, with a great discussion and intervention of the Workers States, there could even have been a greater force of collectivisation in the countryside. On the other hand, the sheer force of the structure of the world revolutionary process means that there can be no retreat on the part of the government, and the revolutionary pressure exerted in the many popular committees which underpin the new government can lead ultimately, with the structuring of the Party, towards a Workers State. The constitution refers to the mixed economy as the basis of the state, but also specifically refers to the priority development of the public sector and puts weight on the direct inter-

vention of the population in running the state as well, in the course of economic planning. An important aspect of the constitution is that it was discussed frequently in large popular meetings. Naturally the constitution is totally anti-imperialist. Even a sector of the bourgeois liberals voted for the constitution, which shows how it is possible for progress to influence bourgeois sectors who, in effect, no longer are prepared to fight to the hilt to defend the capitalist system.

The leadership in Nicaragua — like leaderships in Libya or South Yemen — has passed through quite profound experiences in the selection of a team which remains loyal to social progress but, at the same time, advance requires the construction of a party which can carry through the tasks of developing society in the interests of the masses.

Here, there must develop a profounder relation with the Soviet Union, which itself confronts the need to elevate the functioning of the Workers State and thus, more and more, has to consider the elevation of the cadres of the CPSU politically. Firm and unequivocal lead from the Soviet Union would accelerate the development of Nicaragua, immensely. Equally, limitations in the Soviet leadership limit Nicaragua and the Sandinista leadership.

FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE WORKERS STATE IN AFGHANISTAN.!

From page 1

rism is very marked. They even appealed for restraint by the teachers not to strike, because it would endanger the Labour Party winning the elections. As usual, the apparatus is prostrate in front of capitalism.

There is much talk of tactical voting — in fact the Labour Party apparatus has sabotaged a united front from below with the liberal sectors, by refusing to mobilise over the unilateral nuclear disarmament proposals. The apparatus has refused to develop campaigns to influence the large mass of the petit bourgeoisie who are uncertain. In this respect the Alliance can actually appear more radical than Labour in criticising the electoral swindle of capitalism and pointing out the

fact that 'democracy' is a cover for an open dictatorship. The fact that such an Alliance exists is a profound criticism of the character of the Labour Party leadership.

Despite the timidity of the apparatus of the Labour Party, we call for a class vote for the Labour Party on the programme of liquidating all nuclear bases. Out with the Yankee troops! For the programme of social transformations, for the expropriation of the banks and the key industries, under workers' control! For trade unions in the police and the army, popular control of all the media! Out with Thatcher! In with Labour on a programme to wrest power from capitalism! 15.5.87

Trade agreements between Latin American states such as Brasil and Argentina. (extracts). J. Posadas.

The recent agreement between Argentina and Brasil is an attempt to develop the economies of the two countries within the framework of the capitalist system, to try to compete with the great imperialist powers. This does not mean to develop these countries to their maximum but only for what is profitable, nor will it solve the problems of capitalist development itself. The world economy is dominated by the competition of imperialism with the Workers States, and there is only a marginal space for the smaller capitalisms.

Brasil is now the more dynamic power than Argentina within this modest and confined perspective. Argentina's agri-

cultural exports are still 72% of its total exports, whereas Brasil's industrial exports are now 66% of its total exports. Moreover such has been the crippling of the Argentinian economy over the last period that, whereas it exports little to Brasil, the latter exports a great deal to Argentina. In the recent agreement, there is to be a gradual reduction of customs duties between these states, thus making more of a unified market in this area, but against third party competition. Petrobras, the Brazilian state petroleum organisation, is to research more of Argentina's oil resources though normally the preserve of the Argentinian equivalent of Petrobras.

These developments do not solve the problems of the masses although they may give a certain illusion of grandure to the small sectors of the financial oligarchy who benefit. The bourgeoisie of Alfonsin and Sarney cannot go beyond the system. They have replaced the military who, as a party of capitalism, failed utterly to develop these countries or smash the masses, but the new leaders work within the confines of the capitalist system and cannot provide a solution to the under-development of Latin America.

We publish extracts from a previous analysis of the process by Cde Posadas,

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**THE GENERAL ELECTION
IS A DEFEAT FOR
THE LABOUR PARTY AND
TRADE UNION APPARATUS,
AND A PRELUDE TO
HEIGHTENED CLASS
STRUGGLES**

The recent gathering of capitalist vultures in Venice, the "Summit", revealed all the internal and total crisis of the world capitalist system. Reagan's preoccupation was to draw the members of the imperialist war alliance into the Yankee provocations against Iran and the Soviet Union in the Persian Gulf. He failed completely. Nothing was done about the acute three-sided "trade war" between Yankee imperialism, the European bourgeoisie and the Japanese, and every other issue was muted because capitalism cannot agree on anything. Thatcher only made an appearance to further her own electoral interests and left immediately after being photographed, which is pretty well in character for a meeting of the tired and tattered leaders of a system by-passed by history.

The activity of the Yankee fleet in the Persian Gulf is a provocation against Iran and, more importantly, the Soviet Union. It is obviously nonsense to threaten Iran when the attack on the Yankee ship came from an Iraqi aircraft. The flight by a German light aircraft to Moscow was also a provocation and if the Soviets had shot it down, it might have worked. As it was, the Soviets acted intelligently and allowed the aircraft to proceed. The provocations against the Soviet Union, are uncoordinated and often come from secondary sources because of the disordered nature of the imperialism war alliance but the CIA usually have their dirty fingers in it. In a more direct way, there are constant incursions into Soviet territorial waters and they maintain a war against the Soviet Union and the masses in Afghanistan. The shooting-down of a Soviet airliner all its passengers in Afghan airspace is all part of this. Not much was said about this by all the bourgeois commentators and politicians who express indignation over the treatment "dissidents" in the Soviet Union.

THE FAVOURABLE WORLD BALANCE OF FORCES

The revolutionary mobilisations of the South Korean masses is clearly a blow at yankee imperialism because South Korea is one of the few secure yankee bases in South East Asia. Japan is very insecure, the Phillipines is under threat and the yanks have lost Vietnam a long time ago. Now the Korean masses are saying, amongst other things, "yankee go home!" The courage and confidence of the South Korean masses is remarkable since they have had no previous opportunity for trade union and political organisation, they are faced with a repressive, reactionary military regime and they receive little or no political support from either the workers state in the North or the Soviet Union. However they have followed the lead of the student movement which contains a strong tendency which is calling for the reunification of Korea and this means historically a unified Korean workers state. Whilst saluting the revolutionary spirit and action of the South Korean

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377 - JUNE/JULY 1987

The Fiji coup and the role of the monarchy

The military coup in Fiji is a classic example of the nature of bourgeois democracy and the role of the capitalist state. Bourgeois parliamentary democracy can function only as long as it does not endanger the interests of the capitalists and imperialism. If it does, as the Fijian Labour government of Timoci Bavadra look like doing, then the state comes into the open and imposes control. Bourgeois parliaments are a facade, the real power lies with the state and the class on which it is based. The muted response of the British Labour Party to the military overthrow of the democratically elected government in Fiji - and this is also true of the left - indicates that no real conclusion has been drawn, no lesson learnt.

The Fijian Labour Party (FLP) inflicted an electoral defeat on the reactionary Alliance Party which had held office for the last seventeen years. The FLP is based on the agricultural workers, small farmers and the commercial sectors who are people of mainly Indian origin, whilst the Alliance Party is based on the largely Melanesian land-owning sector. Despite the attempts of bourgeois commentators to characterise the struggle in Fiji as 'racial', it is obvious that it is part of the class struggle. It is certainly not 'racial', nor is it a local event. There is little information

as to the programme of the FLP, although the big land-owners obviously feared some kind of expropriation, but what really decided the army, led by Lt. Col. Rabuka, to overthrow the government was that the Bavadra government was to follow New Zealand's example and deny Yankee imperialism a naval base in Fiji for its nuclear warships. Imperialism, dedicated as it is to war preparations, cannot tolerate this sort of thing. It is something for the Labour left to think about perhaps? What would be the reaction of imperialism if Labour actually started to throw the Yankee bases out?

In this, as in most other reactionary terrorist actions in the world, the CIA had its dirty fingers. Fiji is Chile on a small scale, but on the same principal. We know the CIA was involved by analysing the situation, but there is considerable evidence to support this logical conclusion. The visit, immediately before the coup, of General Vernon Walters (former head of the CIA) is public knowledge, but he was involved in the reactionary coups in both Chile and Brazil. A contingent of the US 'Peace Corp' (a cover for the CIA) was also in Fiji. Imperialism, led by the Yanks, would like to impose itself on a world scale, to openly invade Nicaragua and Afghanistan, and do something about New Zealand

beyond the petty terrorism of French imperialism (and the CIA). However, the existence and advance of the Soviet Union, and the system of Worker States, in the world ensures that the world balance of forces is against the system of private property, and that imperialism can only move in tiny islands like Granada and Fiji. And in Fiji it had to hide behind the local reaction! Undoubtedly this coup was engineered by Yankee imperialism, dragging the French and British in its wake, and this fact is made more obvious by Yankee, British and French diplomatic representatives meeting with the Fijian military after the coup: to give them their next set of instructions no doubt.

The role of British imperialism in all this is obvious. They are accomplices of the Yanks; but what of the monarchy? It has clearly supported the coup by keeping silent. Indeed, the Queen refused to see Timoci Bavadra when he visited London a few days ago. The monarchy is, clearly, not above classes and politics but the facade behind which imperialism hides. Behind the monarchy lies the repressive, reactionary capitalist state, and this includes the army. It is an essential conclusion that Labour has to draw if it is ever to free itself from its illusions in bourgeois parliamentary democracy and to advance on the road to social transformations.

Labour lost a beautiful opportunity to use the events in Fiji to denounce the sham of parliamentary democracy, and the essential repressive and reactionary nature of capitalism, during its electoral campaign. The leadership, because it is dedicated to maintaining capitalism, and the left because it simply does not understand that



Fijians against the coup

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THE WORLD IS READY FOR COMMUNISM. J. POSADAS.

The division into classes is not the product of nature, but of an insufficient development of the human being in relation to nature. This determines the later course of history. When science, technology and large-scale production succeed in answering all the needs of humanity, they eliminate the essential factors which divide human beings: the limitations of the economy. But, as society is now divided into classes and the force that possesses the means to develop society is capitalism, it is necessary to eliminate this factor which is the one which impedes this development of science and technology — the means which generate the satisfaction of human needs in the economic aspect.

Today, it is not only capitalism that exists. The Workers States exist, the Revolutionary States, the great development of human consciousness, of science and of technology. An immense development of all humanity exists which shows that the human being can now eliminate 60% of the time dedicated to production, and can dedicate it to other activities. Now, today, through the means of technology and science in a specific form, it can eliminate its dependence on having to live to work, among other means, through automation and cybernetics. Today, the human being with a few fingers on a control panel dominates the economy.

The development of the human being is more rapid than the progress of the economy, more than the technical, scientific means, than the technology to live, to build houses, to procure food and sustenance. Distribution was less and there came the first social division of the human being. From this emerged egoism and conservatism, all the attributes which private property generates, which develop right up to today under the capitalist regime

What divides human beings is not the antagonism between human beings one with another — of one nation against another, of one nationality against another — but class differences. Already, there is a consciousness of this in humanity. The immense development of proletarian solidarity is now extended into human solidarity. It is not only proletarian solidarity, it is human solidarity. No other stage of history has had this human solidarity. Vietnam exemplifies it.

The existence of the Workers States, the relation of class forces, has stimulated the proletariat and, through the proletariat, the peasants, the petit bourgeoisie, to influence the rest of the population, to realise that it is possible to suppress the antagonism of living, struggling, fighting, exploiting, to develop existence.

There is an advance of human consciousness that already accepts that it is necessary to change, to suppress the life of dependence, of submission to work; not only to capitalism but to work. There is a rebellion. As Marx said, it is the rebellion of the productive forces expressed through the rebellion of the producers; and today the human

being shows that there is no reason to depend still on nature not to have to work in this way — today, the human being can press a button and resolve all the problems of production, of existence and of the economy. This already exists within human consciousness, and Engels said: 'In Communism we will return to the primitive period, but with abundance.' And we add to what Engels said: 'But with intelligence and reason.'

We are living a complete cycle. Already this consciousness exists. The actions of solidarity, the rebellions of humanity against all this existence which dictates the struggle to live, to live to struggle, to have to dispute in order to exist, and to have to suppress one human being in order that another can live. Human intelligence is already rebelling against this, because this is against the development of science, of nature and of technology. Such backwardness is antagonistic to the development of science, of technology and of nature.

The human being in his relation with nature and other human beings acquires the consciousness of this situation, which is his essential attribute. Capitalism cannot have it, because its function is not this. Its function is to suppress the intelligence, to use it only for production and competition and war, but not to develop human relations. On the other hand, fourteen Workers States, sixteen Revolutionary states, the struggle of the trade unions and the powerful workers' movements throughout the world are developing through the aggressive and violent persuasion of the class struggle, so that it is possible to suppress the system of antagonism in order

The text re-published below gives a very concentrated view of the world process today, Imperialism as a world system whatever its strength in missiles has exhausted the possibilities of private property. The problems of the economy no longer determine human conduct.

to live and to eliminate it without having yet reached the appropriate economic conditions. One simple fact: are there in Vietnam the conditions for Socialism? No. Nevertheless, in Vietnam they think about Socialism. 'In the middle of the imperialist massacre Vietnam prepares its sons for Socialism.' This is Vietnam. In Cuba, do the conditions already exist for Socialism? No. Do the economic conditions exist? No. But the will exists to advance to Socialism.

Capitalism has not succeeded in causing any uprisings against the government of Fidel Castro, and when it tried to do this it failed in the Bay of Pigs. In the Middle East, in Vietnam, imperialism is strong and the peoples are very poor, but the people resist.

In the Soviet Union, in Stalingrad, the Soviet people confronted the nazis in the most magnificent action of history, demonstrating the historic power of the Workers State, which was capable of such a decision in the Soviet population, to endure and conquer nazism. In supporting it, it prevented it from triumphing — if the nazis had triumphed it would have been a retreat for humanity of thousands of years. The actions of the masses of Stalingrad sustained the level of civilisation and showed to the world that the most powerful aspect is the progress of humanity, sustained by the proletariat in its most essential forms: the Workers State, which is the materialisation of Marxism. This was the source of progress. Without achieving all the economic conditions to satisfy human needs, the Soviet people defended Stalingrad. It did not defend it because it had these economic conditions or to live better, but because human dignity had acquired the understanding that the Workers State was superior to the forms of capitalist life. Hence the influence was communicated to the rest of humanity. The still limited economic progress already gave to humanity the consciousness that it could live and advance without limit. The base which generated this confidence is the proletariat. The Communist parties, and in part the Socialist parties, but essentially the Workers States show the material forms of progress.

Humanity sees already what it can achieve. Hence any important revolution which advances adopts immediately the form of the Workers State. Humanity has such a consciousness. Humanity sees that this relationship exists. Hence imperialism fails in all its efforts to make history retreat, because there exists a consciousness in humanity that today, now, it is possible to live with Communism.

All human solidarity — all without exception — is a function supporting and sustaining the movement of progress. Imperialism does not have a single world support, not one 'silent majority', nor any 'invisible majority' which support it. Neither capitalism nor imperialism. Any small movement in the world, even of children, finds the welcome and the solidarity of humanity. Humanity is conscious, it does not work as a function of economic interest but as a function of human dignity. This shows the failure of capitalism which, furtively, has to prepare the atomic war which furtively has to send Kennedy to speak to Brezhnev to keep the discussion going, not because at this moment it is going to launch the atomic bomb but because it is the method of imperialism which cannot confront directly the Workers States.

There is an important historic action of solidarity which has been expressed with Vietnam and Bangla Desh. The support to Vietnam was important than to Bangla Desh, because it was support to a class war against imperialism, against the arrogance of imperialism, against the bombs of imperialism. A people without complete resources to conquer imperialism. And the most complete resources of Vietnam was the combination between arms, which the Soviets gave — and, in part, the Chinese — and world solidarity. But why did countries of Europe — like Sweden, which from the point of view of capitalist exploitation, from their social point of view, would be against Vietnam — support it? This is to foment in Sweden an uprising, a class consciousness against Swedish capitalism. Nevertheless, the Swedish government had to do it with Chile.

To secure the social, political and trade union movements they had to support Vietnam, they had to support the Popular Union in Chile. Why did they do this if this is against economic interests? Because the pressure of the Swedish people is not only through economic and political interests, but at the level of historic understanding which is very elevated. The magnitude, the importance of Sweden in the economic relation of forces is of no importance. We measure it from the point of view of human relations, just as we do not measure Vietnam through its economic and military importance but through the historic example of human dignity, which is an essential base for the development of Communism. Hence, in Communism, a position is defended right to the end! Right to the end means with life and every thing! Vietnam defended humanity right to the end, the forms of human dignity.

Do such human relations exist? Yes or no? They exist and develop. Humanity is aware that Communism is better than capitalism. Still, without achieving economic satisfaction, nor with even a reasonable standard of existence, humanity has the consciousness that in a short time all human needs will be satisfied, and it is going to advance in search of superior universal relations. Hence the world is ready for Communism. All its forms show that it is ready for Communism, human solidarity, trade union solidarity, political solidarity, world solidarity, hostility to capitalism. It repudiates capitalism; thus the strikers in the United States, who are an expression of wanting to combat the capitalist relationships, show repugnance for capitalist governments. For all these reasons we say that the conditions are ready for Communism.

What do the Italian and French proletariats defend? Better conditions of work, of wages, better rights in the factories? Yes. But it is not their principal motive. The essential cause for which the French and Italian proletariats struggle in advancing towards the taking of power or the

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The release of Sakharov without discussion by the Soviet leadership is not a good example of marxist method. The bureaucracy still resists thorough political discussion and the article of Posadas discusses the origins of such people as Sakharov and their penchant for a pluralism alien to the Workers State.

Sakharov demands freedom of opinion. For what purpose? What is freedom? Is it the individual resolution to do whatever it wants? Or the need to do what impels the convenience, the well being and the interests of the majority of the population? Sakharov demands the freedom of opinion and of word, but there is no condemnation of Yankee imperialism which kills and assassinates in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Then what freedom is Sakharov asking for? Freedom of opinion, and for what?

When he asks for freedom of leadership.

opinion it is necessary to be based upon the nature of the USSR. The USSR is a Workers State which, from an enormous backwardness with 80% of the population illiterate, did not have anything to eat. Today, in the Soviet Union, there are no illiterates, everybody eats, and there is no unemployment. There is not a single worker who is opposed to the economic support which the USSR brings to Vietnam and to the revolution in the world. The Soviet workers do not protest against this help. Why is this? And what is this? Freedom or not? Is this oppression? What does Sakharov have to say about this? He asks for 'freedom, plurality in Socialism'. What is this plurality, this freedom of opinion? For what purpose? If he wants freedom of economic orientation and political orientation we are not in agreement. We want statified property, planned production, and foreign commerce monopolised by the state. From there stems liberty. We propose bases of progress for all the population. Freedom begins there.

In his demand for 'freedom of opinion' he does not speak of freedom of the Yankee assassins who have massacred in Vietnam. He does not speak of the 'freedom' of oppression which exists in the United States where money is the cause of oppression.

The discussion which Sakharov and Solzhenitsen are making show the very deep power of the bureaucracy which succeeded in having representatives in science, literature and art which were the sectors who painted cubism and surrealism*. Life is diaphonous. Vietnam and the struggle of the masses of the world show that the painter has motives of diaphonous inspiration. But the lucubration which is surrealism and cubism shows a form of thinking far from life.. Human relations do not show, do not orient to cubism or surrealism. It is a disintegration, a dehumanisation, a partialisation of the human being.

Painting, on the contrary, must show the unity which exists between human will of progress and ideas united to the population. When these painters abstract themselves it is because they represent layers by-passed by history, who represent the power of small groups, who aspire to forms of power. They are the result of Stalinism and of the absence of a world political

These sectors also express themselves in literature and are a great number. They are not secondary types, but represent leading apparatuses who have the pretention of utilising the Workers State and statified property, for private ends - that is to say, to function as a new social class. They are sectors who feel themselves to be closer to capitalism than to the Workers State. Like the writers, the intellectuals who do not depend on production thus have a certain independence, including the interest of private property. Thus, they can speak of freedom and of democracy.

People measure the Soviet Union not through the bureaucracy but through the function of the Soviet Union. Thus it understands that the bureaucracy is not an historic impediment but a transitory obstacle which is going to be overcome. These dissident sectors do not discuss comparing social regimes, but they want another society which is not the Workers State. There are many things to correct in the Workers State, but what things? The Workers State, statified property or the political leadership of the Workers State? It is the political leadership which it is necessary to correct.

Plurality.

We are not in agreement with introducing plurality into the Workers State which is what the dissidents intend. We are for plurality of opinion for the progress of the Socialist revolution, of Socialist ideas. The plurality which comes from capitalism is to make capitalism participate to avoid the advance of Socialism. When they demand this plurality it is because they do not want Socialism to advance. The development of society can only be done by advancing against capitalism. The Soviet leadership does not combat these dissident sectors with more important measures and, above all, with ideas because they are bureaucrats. They have advanced, but very limitedly. But we propose that a public discussion is made of why Sakharov exists, what freedom Sakharov wants, what freedom he wants and what plurality? He asks for a plurality which affirms private interest, private property and, as a result, re-animates capitalist power - war.

Capitalism is war, Socialism is peace, said Lenin. And if the USSR has to prepare itself mili-

tarly for the war, it is because imperialism has arms to attack the Workers State - otherwise there would be no reason for arms in the Workers State, they would not be needed.

A decisive proof is that the USSR made no invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. Invasion means the submission of a country to subjugate it or exploit it. And what exploitation does the USSR make in Czechoslovakia? None. Economically, in fact, it can be said to lose money. The intervention of Soviet troops in Czechoslovakia was a bureaucratic act, but not reactionary. The method is reactionary, but not the end. Hence we define the method as reactionary, but for a non-counter-revolutionary objective.

Capitalism has already shown in the world that it cannot give more progress. But Socialism showed through statified property, centralised planning of the economy, its historic superiority, decisive in relation to the capitalist system. All this, in spite of the fact that a bureaucracy exists in the Workers States which impedes a better progress of the same. In the USSR Stalin was liquidated and the USSR has progressed enormously, and has developed. But the capitalist States have liquidated a president and the same crisis of the capitalist regime continues.

We propose a public discussion open and able to liquidate the bureaucracy. This is the plurality which we want. The plurality which Sakharov asks for, like the Italian Communist Party, is not the plurality to advance in Communist measures but to permit co-existence of ideas, thoughts and capitalist programmes. But none of these dissidents has a perspective, nor importance. Solzhenitsen lasted six months, got some cash, and then no one listens any more. The same thing will happen with Sakharov. He writes of 'the concentration camps'. Now these camps no longer exist, nor torture in the USSR. This is what goes on under capitalism. In the Workers State, on the other hand, there is an economic, social and scientific development which allows people to live in freedom.

J. POSADAS 12.10.75

The Cubist and Surrealist movements were expressions of the crisis in art through the decomposition of capitalist society. Some of these artists were anti-capitalist but confused. Their use by the dissidents of the Soviet Union arises from a different situation, that is, to develop interests against the Workers State.

The recent crisis over Black Sections in the Labour Party and the subsequent silencing of the matter by the NEC (under the pretext that all had to submit to the electoral campaign), show all the limitations of the bourgeois structure of the Party, but also all the limitations of the Left. The construction of Socialism will demand from the workers' Party that it allows the right of tendency, for the overthrow of the capitalist class.

It is true that the Labour Party functions at the present moment very much like capitalist society, and that it has all the attitudes of the bourgeoisie. In it, the Black people are treated with arrogance and contempt and this is well shown in the case of Sharon Aitkens who was peremptorily replaced as a Labour candidate for Nottingham, by the NEC. But this contempt by the leadership was not just directed against Aitkens, but also against those who chose her. So, the problem the Black people are having in the Party is shared by a good many others. For example, had the miners received the support of the Labour Party leadership and the TUC, they would have won the strike. The miners have at least as much to complain about - if not more indeed - than the Black people in the Party.

The construction of socialism demands the overthrow of the capitalist system, the imposition of state-ownership and the planning of production against the sabotage and counter-revolution of the capitalist class. For this task, the party representing the workers will need to unite Black and White. The transformation of society is not a question of race, sex or age. There can be no Youth, Feminine or Black socialism.

Black sections are an attempt at finding solutions within the actual structure of the Labour Party, creating the illusion that if only there can be a Black MP, he or she will be able to look after the Black people. It is another version of the old social-democratic vision that the workers will have power if only they have a majority of MPs. However, as the structure of the Party is built for the purpose of reforming capitalism, all those who reach parliament are drawn into this function. This applies to the Black people as well as to the Whites. In the Labour Party this has the effect of drawing Black people into the Labour apparatus, where they end up furthering their own sectional ends.

It is the experience of all 'sections' in the Party, that they have been unable to transform the Party. They have been drawn into the apparatus because to combat it, they would have needed to construct a Left with the rest of the Party and the proletariat. Thus sections develop currents of careerists, and the whole question of class and anti-capitalist struggle is eluded. The solution is clearly, to struggle against capitalism, impose state ownership against private property, and the divisions and exploitation it produces.

For the transformation of society, the Party will have to allow the widest internal debate regarding how to make socialism. In the handling of Sharon Aitkens, and the crushing of the question of Black section, like in so many other instances, it is clear that any advance in the party will have to be made against the leadership. The left will need to impose the democratic right to a programme and ideas, the right to discuss openly the anti-capitalist struggle and to publish. Each of those things will have to be imposed against the present structure and leadership. It would be more helpful for the left to criticise the utter lack of democracy in the Labour Party, than to criticise such a lack in the Soviet Union. For in the Soviet Union, there is infinitely more democracy than in the Labour Party. What is more, the Soviet Union has applied the programme of nationalisation and planning of the economy which the Labour Party wishes for, but never could impose against capitalism, in its present state.

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

ART J. Posadas

AND SOCIALISM

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advance towards power, is the defence of human dignity. One of the essential problems which the proletariat of the world defend is human dignity, now expressed in work. And why does it defend human dignity in work? Why does it not defend its economic interests? The peasants of the world - who were previously avaricious to progress within the capitalist system, avaricious for the land - saw the future of their life in the land, the land was their life. Now their life is not devoted to the land. Today, the peasants' life is superior to one of being dependent on production and commerce. On a world-wide scale, the peasant is no longer avaricious for land. He wants to live, and feels that there are more secure forms than the tenancy of the land, to subsist and to live and to reproduce, that there are superior human relations based on superior regimes of property and pro-

duction. Hence, world capitalism has failed in wanting to develop peasant movements against the revolutionary movements. It has totally failed.

These are all the conditions to show that humanity accepts, understands, desires and lives for Communism. It does not accept it in a programmatic form. That it does not accept it and still votes for bourgeois parties is true; but only because the Communist parties do not show themselves as the representatives of this process. Then the petit bourgeois masses, the peasant sectors, sectors very, very far from the proletariat, or people who live for work; even in France and in Italy do not accept, or still seek individual solutions. But they are small circles and the immense majority of humanity which is exploited seeks collective solutions in all the problems of existence. This is expressed in the trade union struggles, in this unity in

France now, the unity shown in the great movements which attract the rest of the population.

There is a sentiment of joy in humanity, an uninterrupted joy, which the symphonies of Beethoven are insufficient to express. The choir of the 9th Symphony is hardly an outline of this joy which exists. It is necessary to incorporate the triumph of Vietnam, the joy of humanity, in feeling that it can resolve all the problems of existence. Hence, humanity is joyful because it feels that it can resolve all the problems of existence; not that it has resolved all of them, but that it can resolve all of them. It does not have in front of it the darkness, the obscurity of ignorance; it has clarity, the transparent sentiments that we can resolve everything, we can do everything! and we will do everything! Hence, humanity is already apt for Communism!

J. POSADAS 15th May 1974

Changes in the Soviet Union and the need for a deeper public political discussion.

In the complex process of perestroika it is necessary to judge its positive and negative features. In so far as it is possible to judge at this moment, it is important to be based on the fact that there is a liquidation of delinquent sectors of the bureaucracy who weigh on the productive process and impede the centralisation of the Workers State in confrontation with imperialism. The centralising role of COMECON is also being extended.

On the other hand, there are features which show an incorrect appreciation of the world situation - leading to a phenomenon which can only be regarded as retrograde 'NEP'ism. This has been shown in the weight given to small enterprises in the services sector, the fact that the agricultural situation has not been rectified in a firmly collective way, and also in the idiosyncrasy of joint enterprises with foreign capital, whereby foreign capitalism in such enterprises can make profits from Workers States in exchange for investments etc. This is still ultimately controlled by the state monopoly of foreign trade and state planning, but nonetheless is a concession to capitalism.

This tactic, which is clearly linked to the diplomatic offensive of the Workers State towards imperialism, is based on false premises. NEP was a special tactic of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party after the rigours of war Communism, when it was essential to stimulate the economy with private initiatives, when the Workers State was very isolated, and when it was worthwhile, indeed essential, to gain access to Western trade and advice to develop the economy. Moreover, it is quite absurd to discuss Brest Litovsk in the way it is being discussed. Lenin was correct, in front of the

extreme menace of the German invasion, to make peace which involved great losses of territory because the Workers State was isolated, beset with immense problems, and it was necessary to await revolutionary developments in the West. This is not the case now, and to try to develop this premise in present conditions is absurd, and does not give any idea of the power and force of the Workers State.

The objective necessities of the Workers State do require the maximum of internal democracy. They require the trade unions to intervene on all matters of production, including the management of the plant. In relation to the election of managers, the Workers State can facilitate also rotation systems so that the maximum experience is gained by all workers in the functioning of the plant.

Soviet comrades, the most important experience of Brest Litovsk was the ability of the Bolshevik team to discuss their differences and reach a conclusion. In the midst of great crises there was a vigorous unconcealed political life! This must exist now. Glasnost and perestroika must incorporate this! It is absurd, Soviet comrades, to have secret ballots in the Communist Party! Imagine Lenin with secret ballots! Yes, let us have glasnost in the Party, with open discussion including with the population, Glasnost over the testament of Lenin, PUBLICLY. If we are to discuss the purges, let us have the reasons, not just a catalogue of the terror. If there is cleansing of the bureaucracy, let us see how it got there in the first place.

Finally, on the cultural front let us have a discussion of what is necessary for culture at this stage. What sort of film is necessary for the Workers State? Does the Workers State require pop

music? Excessive preoccupation with fashion - is that part of the Workers State? No, it is not: it is part of the superficial concerns of the consumerist culture of disintegrating capitalism which substitutes concern with commodities for concern with social relations.

Let us have glasnost on cultural matters. It is not right for the bureaucrats in the Workers State to have their fashion shows when fifty per cent of the Mozambique economy is being destroyed by the South African fascists.

Nor does NEP apply to Afghanistan! There, eighty per cent of the economy is still in private hands. Shame on you, Soviet comrades! The Red Army did not enter Afghanistan and young men lose their lives to allow conciliation with private business.

The most positive aspects of glasnost must prevail, but it is necessary to extend the political discussion and not stay in a previous epoch which does not correspond to now and leads to incorrect conclusions. If we are to have glasnost on the past - open the archives on the left opposition, on Stalin and the assassination of revolutionaries in the USSR, Spain and elsewhere.

There is much talk about new thinking and avoiding the horrors of nuclear war. But everywhere imperialism is active in confronting the Workers State. Even if there were any pseudo-concession over nuclear arms, imperialism is preparing new changes in military technology to confront the Soviets. This is the nature of the system. The final encounter began in 1945 when the imperialists dropped bombs on Dresden and on Nagasaki, and when Yankee troops crossed into Germany to prepare, as Patton said, to deal with the next enemy the Soviets.

masses, we are aware that their confidence is based on a favourable world balance of forces which is made more favourable by the advance, in the Soviet Union, of the process designed to weaken the bureaucracy.

This world balance of forces created conditions for a Labour victory in the recent British general election. But the Labour leadership had no interest in exploiting this. What the Labour apparatus wanted was government with a small majority so that they it would not have been forced to take any anti-capitalist measures, or a "hung" parliament and the possibility of some deal with the Alliance. What it got was a severe defeat in parliamentary terms. Labour's whole campaign was designed not to attract support from elements outside of the traditional working class base of the party and the Labour support who usually abstain. Issues like the dumping of radio-active waste which would have attracted even some Conservative voters were ignored. Even somebody like Enoch Powell put forward a better "defense" policy than Labour and pointed out that Britain was not threatened by the Soviet Union. All the population got from Labour was vague humanitarian sentiments with soft music. Kinnock made it quite clear that anyway he would renege on Labour's policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and removing the yankee bases, if he were elected. The German SPD acted in much the same way in Hessen when they broke with the Greens over the nuclear issue - and lost the election. Kinnock said nothing when Thatcher publically proposed that the military chiefs of staff should rebel against a Labour government. This was actually an invitation to some kind of military coup and a threat against Labour, and the majority of the population who want the yankee bases out. And Kinnock had nothing to say! The trade union leadership was totally absent during the campaign when they should have been representing the interests of the working class.

Labour's electoral defeat is a blow at the whole rotten apparatus of the Labour movement and at all the bourgeois parliamentary illusions it fosters as a means of defending capitalism. There is now a very high awareness amongst the population at large, that elections under capitalism are generally a swindle and particularly in this country. Who can avoid this conclusion when Thatcher receives a minority of the votes and a majority in parliament?

Both Teachers and the Civil Servants gave the election its true value by continuing their industrial action. And they will not submit now. The Labour left will take confidence from these struggle and from the fact that the Left Labour candidate did quite well in the election with a swing to Labour, in places like Coventry, Liverpool, Manchester, the whole of Scotland and Wales, whilst the right did badly and this includes the SDP who are, after all, the Labour right outside the party. Also a third Thatcher government is going to do nothing to prevent the deepening of the economic crisis British capitalism faces or the explosion of inflation which will surely follow the amount of money generated by financial speculation and arms expenditure.

The Labour left has now to open the widest possible discussion with the population on the nature of parliamentary democracy and electoral swindle. It has to discuss and propose a programme for the transformation of society based on mobilisations of the population outside of the parliamentary arena. Above all it has to free itself from the domination of the Labour apparatus and to form itself into a consistent tendency. It has to impose the right of tendency in the Labour party, the right to organise around programme, policy and ideas, and the right to publish. The apparatus is already preparing measures to contain the left and this can only be defeated by functioning independent of the apparatus. In the end the advance of the Labour left is dependent on its adopting the marxist method and basing itself more fully on the centre which determines human progress at this stage in history, the Soviet Union.

20th June 1987

From page 1 and campaign to include the abolition of the monarchy in Labour's programme, as an essential step on the road to Socialism. Labour left really has to demonstrate against the coup and in support of the Fijian masses,

THE LABOUR LEFT HAS
TO INTEGRATE ITSELF
WITH THE CLASS
STRUGGLE

The soviet diplomatic offensive against imperialism has shown the social weakness of that system, throwing it into profound political unease. German imperialism felt obliged to make concessions to the soviets over the Pershing missiles, this time to the fury of the Strauss wing of the German bourgeoisie. These feel that their class authority is diminished by this type of concession which indeed it is. The ineptitude of imperialism has been manifest throughout the diplomatic rigmarole, whatever the final outcome of the negotiations on the removal of medium range missiles. As the soviets themselves recognise such negotiations have their limitations because imperialism cannot abandon its natural atmosphere of hate and aggression. Reagan's latest buffoonery includes saying that the soviets have to change much more before their behaviour is acceptable! The actions of the Yanks in the Gulf and their distaste for the proposals of the Central American republics against aid for the Contras show yet again that the tendency towards the unleashing of war by imperialism can only be partially contained by the world process. Eventually imperialism will go to war in the worst conditions for itself.

The speech of Gorbachev of the 10 July was very important in giving an idea of the depth of the process in the Soviet Union. He reiterated that glasnost must be extended, that the conceptions of culture have to be examined "We do not want things to be quiet on the cultural front". "Glasnost is the normal state of society". He appealed for the need to discuss and admitted "We sometimes lack a political culture... I do not pretend to know the absolute truth". The powerful condemnation of Stalin and the reaffirmation of the socialist objectives of the Soviet Union indicate the depth of the process of partial regeneration, analysed by Cde Posadas and ultimately this will lead to a total regeneration in the re-encounter with marxism and specifically within the Soviet Union the logical recognition of the historic role of Trotsky. The later speech of Ligachev was comparatively conservative tending to diminish the importance of the discussion on Stalin which is not only a question of justice for the victims of Stalin but the search for the understanding of the origin of the workers state, what went wrong and how all can be overturned and made new, that is, deepening the role of the Soviet Union as leader of the world revolution to overthrow imperialism and capitalism.

It is the strength of the workers states which is responsible for the historic miners strike in South Africa, the interventions of the proletariat in the Phillipines and the intervention of the workers in South Korea, profoundly embarrassing for the bourgeois parties and which are stimulated specifically by the existence of the Korean workers state. Such interventions show the unorganised strength of the masses throughout the world which objectively demand a Communist International, with communist cadres educated in the conceptions and needs of this stage and not enclosed in the narrow electoral perspectives of any particular communist party.

The return of the Thatcher government has thrown all the existing leaderships of the opposition parties into forms of crisis and paralysis. This has erupted most powerfully in the SDP which sought and failed to develop as a party of the centre maintaining links with imperialism on defence but attempting a limited conciliation with the population. This is the end of the old social democracy. Such a perspective is no longer viable in Britain because the resources no longer exist to conciliate with the mass of the population. Hence

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Workers of the world, unite!

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Monthly organ of the

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

378 SEPT 11, 1987

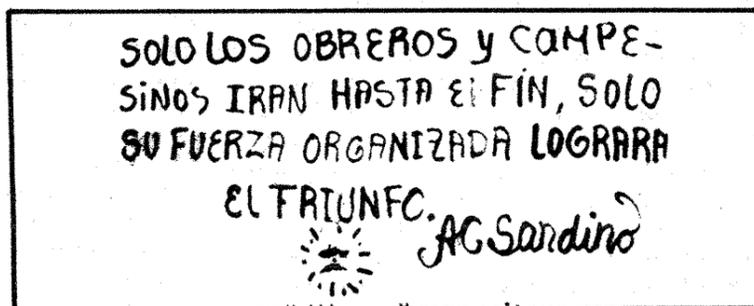
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NICARAGUA AND ITS ADVANCE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE TO THE WORKERS STATE

The Central American 'peace plan' recently signed in Guatemala by presidents of five central American states is primarily a blow at Yankee imperialism and its war of intervention against Nicaragua. It will effectively deny the Yankee organised bands of assassins, the 'Contras', bases on the frontiers of Nicaragua, and since they have little or no support inside Nicaragua it will be much more difficult for the Yanks to prosecute their war against the Nicaraguan masses. It also means that countries like Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras, which

its Sandinista (FSLN) leadership in the future, probably in the measures it takes to support the struggle of the El Salvadorean masses, but in the immediate sense the 'peace plan' is to the advantage of Nicaragua. In the first place, it will ease the pressure imposed on the Nicaraguan economy by the war of intervention, which currently absorbs over half of the country's budget. This is what the 'contras' are all about: not proposing an alternative way of raising the living standards of the masses, but killing people - particularly medical staff, teachers and technicians -

Revolutionary State, with a 'mixed economy' in which roughly half agriculture and industry are still in private hands. The Sandinista government and its policy of state ownership has developed the economy which was stagnant under the previous regime, and the bourgeois sector would like to continue a situation in which the state develops the economy and the private sectors reap the profit. It is these people who are most vocal in support of 'pluralism'. But, since private property has proved itself incapable of developing the economy and society -



Writing on Managua wall

Yankee imperialism has treated as colonies and has considered as its own 'backyard', have separated themselves from the Yanks and taken an independent line. In signing this 'peace plan' they have acted against the reactionary interests of the Yanks. The motives of the various bourgeois leaderships of Central America in taking this action are self-interested ones, in as much as whilst the Yanks used these countries to attack Nicaragua, it was also engaged in exploiting them; and survival dictates that these bourgeois leaderships distance themselves from the Yanks. Of course, Nicaragua is, for them, still a danger because it encourages the Honduran or Guatemalan masses to struggle for social transformation, but Yankee imperialism is a far more immediate and dangerous enemy.

No doubt, the 'peace plan' will impose limitations on Nicaragua and

and destroying resources in order to prevent any advance. They are very aware that any advance goes against the interests of private property and all the talk of 'democracy' is a desperate attempt to maintain these interests. The proposals on 'democracy' contained in the 'peace plan' represent no problems for Nicaragua. After all, there has been a general election in Nicaragua in which the Sandinistas gained 60% of the vote, which is considerably more than the 41% that allows Thatcher to remain in government, and considerably more than Reagan ever got.

The war of intervention has given a certain weight to the policies of 'national unity' and 'pluralism' inside Nicaragua, and the effects of the 'peace plan' will be to stimulate the discussion on how Nicaragua is going to advance from the Revolutionary State it now is to a full Workers State. At the moment it is a

even for its own sectional interests - the advance of Nicaragua depends on the extension of state ownership and the planned economy.

For many in the Sandinista leadership 'pluralism' was a tactic for a country under siege, a state rather like that of Lenin's NEP in the early days of the Soviet Union. Today, with the existence of the system of Workers States the world balance of forces is more favourable for Nicaragua. The 'peace plan' is a local expression of the world balance of forces, because the bourgeois governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras would not have made this agreement if they did not feel weak in front of the revolutionary developments in their own countries. This means that Nicaragua may not long remain isolated in Central America. At very least it opens the possibility of some form of economic

Continued on page 4

THE WORKS OF MICHELANGELO AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN HISTORY.

J. POSADAS

9.10.1972

By looking at the works of art of various epochs we can observe how capitalist society has evolved on the basis of previous regimes. Also, it is possible that one can observe the poverty of imagination and intelligence of all these societies which were based on private property. Obviously there was an evolution for the better as time went on, but intelligence always remained very much behind scientific knowledge, culture and art in general. The regime of private property was incapable of anything else.

Science is a powerful expression of human intelligence whether in natural science, physics or astronomy, but its wings never spread across the whole spectrum of human endeavours. In private property knowledge has always tended to remain localised and its use restricted to the bare needs of the regime. The history of private property shows that people's education and participation were always very low and progress belonged to a few. This has remained true all through the history of private property.

Michelangelo contributed enormously to human experience with versatility and a great deal of passionate love, although he lived under a repressive regime. Hundreds of thousands of people died of various epidemics, hunger, floods and cataclysms. There were endless wars and massacres. The capitalist regime in formation proved to be superior to feudalism, but progress was still determined by the interests of the ruling class, by layers, groups and castes.

Nothing produced in such conditions can be without grave limitations. The feuding ruling circles had no interest in anything unless it suited their interests. The advance of intelligence and of fraternal and loving human relations was very much determined by their exploiting interests and the accumulation of capital. They took hold of discoveries for their own use. They displayed a great deal of intelligence in natural science, chemistry, mathematics and astronomy, but social relations mattered little to them as a result of the sentiment engendered by the regime.

The art of the nascent bourgeoisie is rather rigid, showing lords and nobles completely aloof, not interested in whether people lived or died. They did not want to know whether agriculture could be organised to satisfy the needs of the population. They were solely interested in the market and the demands of the market. When visiting museums this must be observed in the art of the entrepreneur bourgeoisie.

This kind of regime could produce little more than an art of a limited kind. Only very strong individuals could

escape this but never entire currents, groups or tendencies. There was an abysmal standard of life in the countryside, little production and even less distribution. Epidemics, disease, war and famines were daily occurrences. However, there was a very great development of knowledge and, in the midst of it all, a Michelangelo appeared. There were vast human resources that should have produced much more than a Michelangelo, but he remained an exception. The social regime, first based on the slave and the serf, and then on the capitalist mode of production, did not allow the force that inspired Michelangelo to become generalised. The regime itself, and the economy based on a limited development, did not allow more to be done. The human ability to do more existed but the ruling class had no interest. It was only interested in itself. It did not need progress for everyone, and the latter was against its interests. This paralysed everything.

It is important that Michelangelo was able to represent social relations superior to those that generally existed under feudalism. His elevated consciousness and sentiments made him look for the signs of a more humane society. He felt that the relations between the ordinary people were superior to those of the ruling circles, without having a political understanding of it. He knew that there were people ready to die for holding the belief that all things had a cause, and all causes could be investigated without reference to the question of God's existence. Until, then it had been the norm to accept the answers of those in power: the Lords, the kings and queens, whose knowledge apparently came from the Almighty. Heaven was the ultimate protector, particularly of the feudal class who were interested in science only as long as it eased the life of their small cliques.

This is why the works of Michelangelo are so important. Whilst he lived surrounded by extremely backward human relations, he depicted not these relations but those in development, and the future ones of a better regime yet to come. This was transmitted to him by the solidarity of the ordinary people and by his contemporaries

who made science progress by their own human efforts. Thus Michelangelo acquired qualities and gave prominence to conclusions which enlarged his great revolutionary artistic capacity.

Michelangelo made projects firmly based on the stories of life on earth, and not about paradise. As an artist he believed in new and superior social relations that would not fail to come one day. In an epoch when there were no political parties or organisations art was one of the rare mediums through which such a belief could be expressed, and Michelangelo is all the more important for having done it.

His works did not obey those in command or answer to the interests of the Church. He dedicated himself to exalt the new and revolutionary ideas of his time. Naturally, they were those of the bourgeoisie, for the latter was developing. It was not that he had a quality nobody else had, but that a logical need arose from the development of productive forces and productivity. Feudalism was wholly incapable and impervious to this. The limitation of all the social regimes to be taken in history is the interest of private property. However, with the development of the economy, capitalism arose and with it the proletariat. Struggling against capitalism, the proletariat eventually took power against capitalism. In so doing, it installed superior regime without which it could not have maintained its power. For this superior regime to exist the proletariat could not give property to the workers and create a new form of private ownership. It did this by collectivising the economy and by using the power of the state.

When the state became the owner of all property this allowed an increase of production and distribution; but more than this, it allowed a great development in social intelligence: a most important factor. Conditions arose for objective social relations between people; objectivity was allowed to

prevail, and this created a new level of human confidence. With the Workers State, intelligence develops deep roots in the tissue of society, and not just in one or other individual. The harmonious development of living a life dominated

Michelangelo, that do not submit to private property, tend to reinforce the notion of the necessity of Communism for

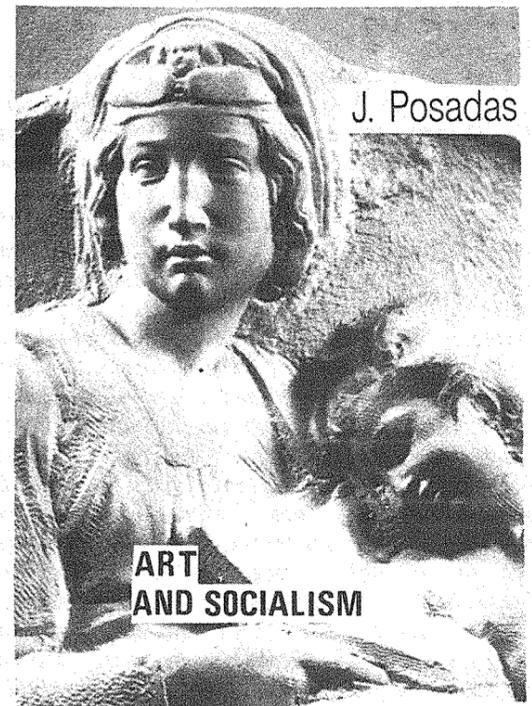
Michelangelo is one of the most dominating figures of the Renaissance, but frequently he is interpreted in terms purely of his artistic capacity. Nonetheless, it is quite clear that he had sympathies with the great revolutionary, Savonarola, and he was a direct and passionate critic of the papacy and its various corruptions. He participated in the defence of the Florentine Republic and denounced the treachery of its military leadership. The mystical nature of some aspects of his thinking tends to obscure the very human quality of his painting and sculpture, which entered into direct conflict with the traditions of feudal art. It is not accidental that he wielded much influence over Diego Rivera, the painter of the Mexican Revolution.

of all in society is the essential base for the development of the intelligence of each individual, and not just a few. In all the regimes of property that came before this, only one or other individual managed to make an impression by breaking through a little.

Intelligence develops to the extent that the workers' movement increases its intervention and achieves leadership, with its own analyses and conclusions. To be at the head of an economy that surpasses capitalism, the working class needs to be intelligent

by struggle, wars, civil wars and strikes. All these are the result of life in capitalism, the consequence of the various regimes of private property. Private property is the backwardness that has to be ended.

Social transformation is necessary because the very structure of the economy needs to expel private property. Private property can no longer develop the economy which needs now a superior form in order to go forward again. This can only be attained by collectivisation, which will be followed by the elimination of



J. Posadas

ART AND SOCIALISM

and not just to acquire what property altogether — property is called 'culture'. If it could as presently known in the Workers State included.

better; but the very act of exercising an organised and scientific leading role makes it acquire the best in ideas and culture. Its position in the economy and society gives it an objective understanding of history, the base for the most advanced intelligence and qualities.

All that capitalism has achieved shows its immense limitation. It has accumulated impressive quantities of paintings and treasures in museums but, at the same time, it impoverished whole areas in the world, massacred, caused famines, deprivation and poverty. Works like those of

In conditions infinitely inferior to those in capitalism, in conditions where the proletariat has not yet intervened to the full, the Workers States — like China and the Soviet Union — have achieved infinitely more than all the works of art you see in the museums of capitalism; in the Workers States the proletariat has still not intervened to the full, and it has not yet exercised its role of leadership of the Workers States. There is still a form of dual power in the trade unions and in the Communist Party, between the proletariat and the bureaucracy. The

Continued page 4.

The Communist International and the progress of humanity.

J. Posadas

14.3.1976

The Communist International is an objective necessity of history. It is not an instrument to measure one or another Party. It is a scientific centre of the organisation of the collective life of the world. It is the centre which develops the most elevated scientific principles. It was like this in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. If afterwards there was a retreat, this was the result of Stalin, not the power of Stalin but because of the historical conditions which led to Stalin. But the Communist International is indispensable. The Communist International generalises the experience, communicates it as a scientific instrument, and allows the Communist parties to reach the unification of the level of theoretical and political understanding and of the most elevated experiences.

It is a lie when capitalism and some Communist parties say that the 'Communist International' is an instrument which now no longer corresponds to history. The Communist International is not an instrument to defend the interests of the most powerful country against the smallest country, but to generalise the experience, to unify the creative capacity of the masses through the Workers States and thus to organise the power where it lies - it was in this way that the Communist International functioned. If it did not continue like this, it is because Stalin's policy led to the degeneration of the Communist International.

The unification of China and the USSR is the most powerful and necessary instrument for the progress of humanity. This has to be discussed. The Chinese leadership is bureaucratic and conciliatory with capitalism, but the Chinese Workers State has a base which is superior to the bureaucracy which leads it. Thus as Stalin was defeated so the conciliatory tendency within China will be defeated. It is necessary to propose in all the Communist parties and all the Communist militants must propose that the Sino-Soviet unification is necessary. The unification of all the Workers States is necessary. It is necessary to make this discussion rapidly, now, immediate, without cessation, uninterruptedly; it is necessary to unify the Workers States, to plan the economy of all the Workers States, to plan the economic and military policy, with the full right of discussion of the experiences and conclusions of all the parties.

It is necessary to measure the parties not as small and great, not that the 'biggest party has more power than the smallest', but - as in science - to give direction to scientific capacity and the intelligence of the Workers States. It is not the most powerful which wins or determines the course of events, but the intelligence which the smallest can have, Albania, for example.

This is the mass Communist International.

The degeneration of the Communist International, of the Third International, was not the work of the programme and of the policy of the Third International but of the retreat of the world revolution which allowed the rise of Stalin.

It was not an error of Lenin or a deficiency of Lenin. It was the result of the deficiencies of the process of history which today is no longer the case. Among the essential points of discussion of the Communist parties must be the unification of the world Communist movement on the basis of its anti-capitalist programme and the construction of Socialism, on the basis of Soviet democracy.

All this must be done with the participation and the support of the revolutionary world movement, whatever its origin or strength. The movements of the colonial countries, the most backward - like Sahara with Polisario - pass directly from Polisario to the Workers State. They say 'We want to construct Socialism'.

This is the most urgent task which the Communist parties must discuss. Each Communist Party walled within itself develops consciousness, understanding policy and sentiments of isolation which segregate it and make it a small island in the world which is united by Communism. It segregates and then develops the bases for bureaucratisation, for the apparatus. It is a constant and uninterrupted necessity that all the Communist militants should have this conclusion present.

Socialism is not constructed with the unification of countries. Socialism is a scientific conclusion which one supports, which is based on the objective necessity of the development of the economy, of science, of technology and of productivity. Economy, science, technology and productivity feel strangled by

capitalism which does not allow them to develop. In the Workers State the bureaucracy acts as custodian but does not pressure or strangle as in capitalism; with the bureaucracy eliminated they will develop unquestionably.

For the construction of Socialism the basis of stratification of property, the planning of production, the elimination of the bourgeoisie is required; not pluralism but Socialism. The Congress of the CPSU functioned as a Communist International, not the same but similar in many respects to the Communist International.

The Soviet bureaucracy has had to function in this way to defend itself, and also because the Soviet working class has a level of political culture, of organisational intervention, of combative resolution so that the bureaucracy is obliged to make changes. This is not a change merely reproductive of the bureaucracy. It is a limited response; one that is contained by the formidable impulse of the Soviet working class.

This resolution of the Congress of the CPSU, at the same time that they expel five hundred thousand members as bureaucratic thieves and their clients, that it expels Ministers, that it has embezzlers shot, expresses a very great drive from the Soviet working class. The Soviet working class is the most formidable, the most complete and the most powerful in history. Without the marvellous Soviet working class fascism would have triumphed, and the Soviet working class has weighed in the Congress of the CPSU. It has not weighed in a direct form in the incorporation of workers into the leadership of the Party. There are some, but still very few.

The resolution which they have taken goes on the road of the necessity of developing workers power in the world. This increases the conditions for the development of the workers' movement.

We feel that we are an indispensable factor of history. No doubt without us history would go on the same path. Even without Lenin the path would have been taken, but with a very great slowness which would have allowed a retreat in history.

We are conscious of our function and seek to make it the best possible.

J. POSADAS 14. 3. 76

The mass murder of 15 people committed by Ryan in Hungerford - including his mother and women with children - before he killed himself, shows a process that started in the United States and is now developing in Britain. It is a process of social degeneration, quite in accord with a society that has lost all its power over the peoples of the world, a society with a civil war mentality.

Ryan belonged to a Rifle Club, a place where any would-be fascist can train with impunity. He had obtained employment with royalty once - and this shows that he had access to services close to, or vetted by, the secret services. In one way or the other, this casts some light on the sort of people to be found there, whom capitalism cultivates for when it will need them against the masses. There are increasing numbers of books, films, video tapes, etc. which exalt violence, murder and horror; these are made particularly available to children. It represents the madness of a regime that lives with the 'obsession of power', and the certainty that it has lost it for ever - as comrade Posadas in an article written on the 'Social Origin of Madness in this Stage of History', 24.6.74.

The bourgeoisie sees that, in the USSR and the other Workers States, a new society and a new Man are growing without capital, economic domination or colonies - and this, in spite of the furious war capitalism wages against them. The bourgeoisie sees that, in a small country like Nicaragua, people learned to read and write in less than 5 years, once imperialism was expelled. The cultural decadence in capitalism corresponds to its realisation that it has lost power, that the world will never return to be a colony, and that progress advances against its arrogance and thirst for supremacy.

Individuals like Ryan live a life of contempt and hatred against people. They compare their wretched individual lives of dispute and failures, with the dignified life of the Blacks of South Africa, or with the masses of South Korea or the Philippines, and they cannot bear the comparison. They turn to madness and in the bourgeoisie there are various levels of such a madness, from closing hospitals to repressing the people who warn against the poisoning of the environment, radioactivity and nuclear preparations. The event in Hungerford is only one most strident expression of the madness of capitalism.

A society that ignores the daily genocide that is being perpetrated against the Palestinians, or justifies the regime in South Africa, cannot be but insane. It is a society that lives in the belief that might is right. Those who have no power are of no importance; there is on average, at least one child murdered in this country every week in his or her own family, sometimes after months or years of torture. There are countless cases of child rape in families, and this is on the increase. Those who suffer most are always those most vulnerable; the old, the women, the children. It shows the cowardly nature of a system that turns to madness because it would like to make fascism.

Indeed, the world balance of forces, the advance of the Workers States and of revolutions in the world, prevent imperialism from making fascism; this is why capitalism hates the Workers States and is preparing for nuclear war against them whilst it prepares for civil war against the masses.

In the Workers States, the children are the centre of all love and activity. If there was one case of child rape or murder in the USSR, you can be sure that the eagle eye of capitalism would have spotted it. But this is the major reason for the unbounded fury of capitalism; it is faced with a superior society that defies it, undeterred by nuclear weapons.

The Workers State is the society that closed the brothels of Cuba, rehabilitated criminals in Vietnam, showing how to live without having to colonise and kill; the Workers States are the mighty force that prevents imperialism from murdering Nicaragua or the revolution in Afghanistan. Even though imperialism finds this insufferable and will launch the nuclear war against the Workers States, it is impossible for it to triumph because it is a social regime by-passed by history, that only leads to destruction and death - including its own - like Ryan.

Imperialism and the campaign against Iran.

The present campaign against Iran orchestrated by Yankee imperialism with supporting roles for the British dinosaurs and their French equivalents is the expression of the inevitable tendency towards the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States. If it was not Iran there would be some other crisis. Even when Yankee imperialism in any particular instance has not the immediate intention of launching the war, it is geared to trying to maintain a constant fever of bellicosity to sustain authority and decision over its allies and justify all manner of arms budget and preparations.

The Iran-Iraq war has been continued in its last phase, particularly by the ruling clique in Iran, as a means of diverting the pressure for revolutionary change in Iran into a 'patriotism' against Iraq. Imperialism has cynically helped the war by massive arms deals. The interest of the Soviet Union is of a different nature - not to allow one nation to humiliate the other and to impede the intrigues of imperialism.

The war can cause problems for shipping, but it offers a wonderful opportunity for imperialism to add to the tension, and particularly after the Irangate disorder in the ruling class to try to regain lost authority.

A massive campaign has been carried out in the organs of publicity against Iran, with the typical imperialist mentality. The Iranians are portrayed as insane - in comparison with the 'civilised' imperialists. Thus, when the Saudi Arabians - well known as puppets of the Yanks - carried out a blood bath of the Iranians, this was im-

mediately declared the fault of the Iranians. Mass murder is justified by the 'democracies', just as they say nothing about the massacres in Mozambique or Angola or Afghanistan. In practice, although without the strength of fascism, this is a fascist programme.

Similar campaigns have been launched against Libya and Syria in the past. All the time imperialism feels the continuous growth of the influence of the Workers States throughout the region, and is pre-occupied to contain this.

In the case of Iran, they would like to force a turn to the right.

The intervention of full-scale Yankee fleets and the extensive re-flagging of oil tankers under the Yankee flag, originating in competition with the Soviets who were asked by the Kuwaitis to re-flag their vessels, in the conditions of the war in the Gulf are extreme provocations, and as such have been denounced by the Soviets. Imperialism is trying to use the UN Resolution over the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran, and the criticisms of Iran, as a pretext for their intervention.

The Soviets, although realising that it is the intransigence of the clique in Iran which helps prolong the war, know full well that the high moral line being taken by imperialism is simply to justify a policy of intimidation against Iran. Imperialism fears the anti-imperialist force of Iran, which also influences in Lebanon. It is the previous failures of Soviet policy in Iran that has permitted the revolution there to be contained by the fundamentalists and

other reactionary sectors, who nonetheless have to maintain a vigorous anti-imperialist position.

The Soviets have offered to help Iran over its oil supplies and imperialist conflict with Iran would quickly lead to confrontation between the Soviets and Yankee imperialism.

This dispute over Iran has to be seen in the context of the world-wide confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States. In effect, small wars are being waged everywhere between the two opposed social systems. Nicaragua, Chad, Eritrea and Mozambique are prime examples of this situation and, at the same time, imperialism seeks to destabilise India through the Sikhs, and also in Sri Lanka, creating opportunities so they hope for right wing regimes.

Soviet policy is without doubt hampered in the Middle East by the absence of strong Communist parties, and the cliques in Damascus, Tehran and Baghdad have benefited from this. On the other hand, these regimes do not answer to the needs of the population and the need for complete social and political transformations. This is why a more decisive policy in Afghanistan, which transcends 'reconciliation' and puts the emphasis on the complete social transformation of Afghanistan, would have a powerful effect in all this area. It is not by chance that reactionary elements in Iran support the counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan. There is now much discussion on all these problems in the Soviet Union, and on the internal conflicts among the Afghan Communists. The interests of the Workers State will prevail.

From page 1.

the anguish of the SDP. The traditional apparatus of the LP and the majority of the trade unions - bar the miners and a few others - is mainly concerned to do nothing that will provide a living political centre for mass intervention. This is particularly so now because Thatcher's dinosaur has no perspective save clumping around, privatising and reducing the standard of living of the masses. The longer the war is postponed, the grimmer the capitalist regime becomes, and the more irrelevant its policies. In the past capitalism has averted the worst expression of its natural tendency to degenerate by war. Thus war seemed to "cleanse" society of its "ills". As capitalism cannot now organise itself in security for war all the social crises accumulate and the conditions for both civil war and crime multiply. The classes are locked in struggle and peripheral layers sink into a mire without end.

The apparatuses of the LP and the trade unions bemoan the loss of sectors of the aristocracy of labour who voted conservative but their going is good riddance. What the left has to do is to make a balance of the last period. The recent statement of Benn on the need for a discussion of ideas is a response to the aftermath of the election when it is clear that the policies of trying to take over the apparatus have no future. The left in order to learn from the experiences of the Thatcher years has to realise that programme and policies for anti capitalist struggle have to be waged in the factories and the workers areas. Thatcher's more or less open invitation to the military to intervene against a Labour government proposing nuclear disarmament is a lesson on the stage which history has reached. Mere electoralism even of a radical order is insufficient. Britain cannot be isolated from the world and the fundamental role of the workers states. 6.9.87.

the historic
significance
of the triumph
of the guerrilla
in Nicaragua

J. POSADAS

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From page 2.

The works of Michelangelo

proletariat has not yet been the leadership. However, in the limited manner in which it has been able to lead, it has shown that it is fully capable of leading. When we make a comparison between the creation of the Workers State and the limitation in creation in private property, we are not mocking or depreciating any artist, painter, sculptor or poet. We only feel the joy and satisfaction to see that the necessary historic function of ideas has been accomplished. And that Marxism has been its main instrument.

The Workers State allows the development of all human capacity. If it does not prove this conclusively yet, it is because of the bureaucratic leaderships. However, the

Workers State has proved that it is here to stay. It is a necessary transitional form. There is no doubt that new generations of artists will arise. We do not know exactly when as yet, but we do know that there is no advance in social organisation that has not had its artists. The development of the intelligence of entire populations through their participation directly in the leadership of their countries - in production, in distribution, in science and technology - represents the greatest impulse to art ever known. The Workers States, even with their bureaucracies, have done more in this field than all the previous regimes put together. It is still too early to measure all the potential possibilities.

The development of human intelligence is intimately bound up with the economy, society and social relations. It is determined by the development of society, production, the economy and distribution. Intelligence will bloom when it is based on complete confidence and objectivity in thought. This is the base for infinite knowledge! Capitalism presents intelligence as the particular endowment of one or other individual. But this is quite false because intelligence is social, and if it appears to be individual today it is because life is not given the full possibility and organisation to unfold. But all the conditions are present for this advance.

J. POSADAS 9.10.1972

From page 1.

plan, or 'common market', which would mitigate the effects of the Yankee blockade of Nicaragua.

State ownership and collectivisation have to be extended, and this is particularly true of agriculture. In order to feed the population in a quite desperate situation, the sandinista has distributed land to families and organised them in co-operatives. The limitation of this policy is that whilst it does allow individual families to feed themselves, it does not allow the economy to be centrally planned and it tends to stimulate individual interest in land ownership. The Soviet Union still suffers from the problem in agriculture created in the early days, which prevents a central planning. In Nicaragua, it is generally not a problem of expropriating big landowners but of utilising land which is not cultivated. The human and material forces released by the 'peace plan' should allow the state to develop its own centrally planned agriculture. The same is true of industry. World conditions do not allow private property to develop industry. This has to be done by the state, and, if pluralism means that the small sector of bourgeois industrialists are allowed to limit or influence this policy, then pluralism will have to be replaced quickly by workers' and popular control.

Already the trade unions (CST) play an important role in developing the economy and, with the existence of elements of workers' control, there is an understanding in the CST that

the role of the trade union - even in a Revolutionary State, and certainly in a Workers State - is not the same as in capitalism. In these conditions

they have to support the process of planning the economy rather than simply seeking better wages for 'their' workers. Indeed, workers already give days of work without wages for the benefit of the overall economy, and many workers in the CST questioned recently about whether a recent wage increase - given to counteract the effects of inflation - should not have been dedicated to the benefit of the national economy. The CST is the most direct representative of the small Nicaraguan proletariat and is dedicated to the construction of Socialism. As such, it is a potent force in the advance of Nicaragua to the Workers State.

Whilst there is a nationalist and pluralist tendency within the FSLN, as a leadership it is dedicated to the advance to Socialism. Indeed, it has already organised permanent schools to train cadres 'to construct the Party for Socialism'. The consciousness of the need for a Marxist Party is a very high level of consciousness indeed. The leadership of the FSLN is very aware of the problems of bureaucracy, and the circumstances of the early days of the Soviet Union, the rise of Stalinism, and the role of Trotsky, are a matter of close study. There is clear evidence that the FSLN are actively seeking the ideas of Trotsky and their development in this stage of history by Posadas.

THE LABOUR LEFT HAS
TO INTEGRATE ITSELF
WITH THE CLASS
STRUGGLE

The soviet diplomatic offensive against imperialism has shown the social weakness of that system, throwing it into profound political unease. German imperialism felt obliged to make concessions to the soviets over the Pershing missiles, this time to the fury of the Strauss wing of the German bourgeoisie. These feel that their class authority is diminished by this type of concession which indeed it is. The ineptitude of imperialism has been manifest throughout the diplomatic rigmarole, whatever the final outcome of the negotiations on the removal of medium range missiles. As the soviets themselves recognise such negotiations have their limitations because imperialism cannot abandon its natural atmosphere of hate and aggression. Reagan's latest buffoonery includes saying that the soviets have to change much more before their behaviour is acceptable! The actions of the Yanks in the Gulf and their distaste for the proposals of the Central American republics against aid for the Contras show yet again that the tendency towards the unleashing of war by imperialism can only be partially contained by the world process. Eventually imperialism will go to war in the worst conditions for itself.

The speech of Gorbachev of the 10 July was very important in giving an idea of the depth of the process in the Soviet Union. He reiterated that glasnost must be extended, that the conceptions of culture have to be examined "We do not want things to be quiet on the cultural front", "Glasnost is the normal state of society". He appealed for the need to discuss and admitted "We sometimes lack a political culture... I do not pretend to know the absolute truth". The powerful condemnation of Stalin and the reaffirmation of the socialist objectives of the Soviet Union indicate the depth of the process of partial regeneration, analysed by Cde Posadas and ultimately this will lead to a total regeneration in the re-encounter with marxism and specifically within the Soviet Union the logical recognition of the historic role of Trotsky. The later speech of Ligachev was comparatively conservative tending to diminish the importance of the discussion on Stalin which is not only a question of justice for the victims of Stalin but the search for the understanding of the origin of the workers state, what went wrong and how all can be overturned and made new, that is, deepening the role of the Soviet Union as leader of the world revolution to overthrow imperialism and capitalism.

It is the strength of the workers states which is responsible for the historic miners strike in South Africa, the interventions of the proletariat in the Phillipines and the intervention of the workers in South Korea, profoundly embarrassing for the bourgeois parties and which are stimulated specifically by the existence of the Korean workers state. Such interventions show the unorganised strength of the masses throughout the world which objectively demand a Communist International, with communist cadres educated in the conceptions and needs of this stage and not enclosed in the narrow electoral perspectives of any particular communist party.

The return of the Thatcher government has thrown all the existing leaderships of the opposition parties into forms of crisis and paralysis. This has erupted most powerfully in the SDP which sought and failed to develop as a party of the centre maintaining links with imperialism on defence but attempting a limited conciliation with the population. This is the end of the old social democracy. Such a perspective is no longer viable in Britain because the resources no longer exist to conciliate with the mass of the population. Hence

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Workers of the world, unite!

RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

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

378 SEPT 11, 1987

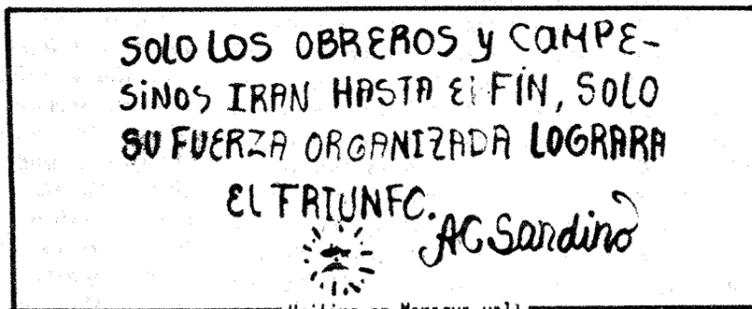
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NICARAGUA AND ITS ADVANCE FROM THE REVOLUTIONARY STATE TO THE WORKERS STATE

The Central American 'peace plan' recently signed in Guatemala by presidents of five central American states is primarily a blow at Yankee imperialism and its war of intervention against Nicaragua. It will effectively deny the Yankee organised bands of assassins, the 'Contras', bases on the frontiers of Nicaragua, and since they have little or no support inside Nicaragua it will be much more difficult for the Yanks to prosecute their war against the Nicaraguan masses. It also means that countries like Guatemala, Costa Rica and Honduras, which

its Sandinista (FSLN) leadership in the future, probably in the measures it takes to support the struggle of the El Salvadorean masses, but in the immediate sense the 'peace plan' is to the advantage of Nicaragua. In the first place, it will ease the pressure imposed on the Nicaraguan economy by the war of intervention, which currently absorbs over half of the country's budget. This is what the 'contras' are all about: not proposing an alternative way of raising the living standards of the masses, but killing people - particularly medical staff, teachers and technicians -

Revolutionary State, with a 'mixed economy' in which roughly half agriculture and industry are still in private hands. The Sandinista government and its policy of state ownership has developed the economy which was stagnant under the previous regime, and the bourgeois sector would like to continue a situation in which the state develops the economy and the private sectors reap the profit. It is these people who are most vocal in support of 'pluralism'. But, since private property has proved itself incapable of developing the economy and society -



Writing on Managua wall

Yankee imperialism has treated as colonies and has considered as its own 'backyard', have separated themselves from the Yanks and taken an independent line. In signing this 'peace plan' they have acted against the reactionary interests of the Yanks. The motives of the various bourgeois leaderships of Central America in taking this action are self-interested ones, in as much as whilst the Yanks used these countries to attack Nicaragua, it was also engaged in exploiting them; and survival dictates that these bourgeois leaderships distance themselves from the Yanks. Of course, Nicaragua is, for them, still a danger because it encourages the Honduran or Guatemalan masses to struggle for social transformation, but Yankee imperialism is a far more immediate and dangerous enemy.

No doubt, the 'peace plan' will impose limitations on Nicaragua and

and destroying resources in order to prevent any advance. They are very aware that any advance goes against the interests of private property and all the talk of 'democracy' is a desperate attempt to maintain these interests. The proposals on 'democracy' contained in the 'peace plan' represent no problems for Nicaragua. After all, there has been a general election in Nicaragua in which the Sandinistas gained 60% of the vote, which is considerably more than the 41% that allows Thatcher to remain in government, and considerably more than Reagan ever got.

The war of intervention has given a certain weight to the policies of 'national unity' and 'pluralism' inside Nicaragua, and the effects of the 'peace plan' will be to stimulate the discussion on how Nicaragua is going to advance from the Revolutionary State it now is to a full Workers State. At the moment it is a

even for its own sectional interests - the advance of Nicaragua depends on the extension of state ownership and the planned economy.

For many in the Sandinista leadership 'pluralism' was a tactic for a country under siege, a state rather like that of Lenin's NEP in the early days of the Soviet Union. Today, with the existence of the system of Workers States the world balance of forces is more favourable for Nicaragua. The 'peace plan' is a local expression of the world balance of forces, because the bourgeois governments of Costa Rica, Guatemala and Honduras would not have made this agreement if they did not feel weak in front of the revolutionary developments in their own countries. This means that Nicaragua may not long remain isolated in Central America. At very least it opens the possibility of some form of economic

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THE WORKS OF MICHELANGELO AND THEIR IMPORTANCE IN HISTORY.

J. POSADAS

9.10.1972

By looking at the works of art of various epochs we can observe how capitalist society has evolved on the basis of previous regimes. Also, it is possible that one can observe the poverty of imagination and intelligence of all these societies which were based on private property. Obviously there was an evolution for the better as time went on, but intelligence always remained very much behind scientific knowledge, culture and art in general. The regime of private property was incapable of anything else.

Science is a powerful expression of human intelligence whether in natural science, physics or astronomy, but its wings never spread across the whole spectrum of human endeavours. In private property knowledge has always tended to remain localised and its use restricted to the bare needs of the regime. The history of private property shows that people's education and participation were always very low and progress belonged to a few. This has remained true all through the history of private property.

Michelangelo contributed enormously to human experience with versatility and a great deal of passionate love, although he lived under a repressive regime. Hundreds of thousands of people died of various epidemics, hunger, floods and cataclysms. There were endless wars and massacres. The capitalist regime in formation proved to be superior to feudalism, but progress was still determined by the interests of the ruling class, by layers, groups and castes.

Nothing produced in such conditions can be without grave limitations. The feuding ruling circles had no interest in anything unless it suited their interests. The advance of intelligence and of fraternal and loving human relations was very much determined by their exploiting interests and the accumulation of capital. They took hold of discoveries for their own use. They displayed a great deal of intelligence in natural science, chemistry, mathematics and astronomy, but social relations mattered little to them as a result of the sentiment engendered by the regime.

The art of the nascent bourgeoisie is rather rigid, showing lords and nobles completely aloof, not interested in whether people lived or died. They did not want to know whether agriculture could be organised to satisfy the needs of the population. They were solely interested in the market and the demands of the market. When visiting museums this must be observed in the art of the entrepreneur bourgeoisie.

This kind of regime could produce little more than an art of a limited kind. Only very strong individuals could

escape this but never entire currents, groups or tendencies. There was an abysmal standard of life in the countryside, little production and even less distribution. Epidemics, disease, war and famines were daily occurrences. However, there was a very great development of knowledge and, in the midst of it all, a Michelangelo appeared. There were vast human resources that should have produced much more than a Michelangelo, but he remained an exception. The social regime, first based on the slave and the serf, and then on the capitalist mode of production, did not allow the force that inspired Michelangelo to become generalised. The regime itself, and the economy based on a limited development, did not allow more to be done. The human ability to do more existed but the ruling class had no interest. It was only interested in itself. It did not need progress for everyone, and the latter was against its interests. This paralysed everything.

It is important that Michelangelo was able to represent social relations superior to those that generally existed under feudalism. His elevated consciousness and sentiments made him look for the signs of a more humane society. He felt that the relations between the ordinary people were superior to those of the ruling circles, without having a political understanding of it. He knew that there were people ready to die for holding the belief that all things had a cause, and all causes could be investigated without reference to the question of God's existence. Until, then it had been the norm to accept the answers of those in power: the Lords, the kings and queens, whose knowledge apparently came from the Almighty. Heaven was the ultimate protector, particularly of the feudal class who were interested in science only as long as it eased the life of their small cliques.

This is why the works of Michelangelo are so important. Whilst he lived surrounded by extremely backward human relations, he depicted not these relations but those in development, and the future ones of a better regime yet to come. This was transmitted to him by the solidarity of the ordinary people and by his contemporaries

who made science progress by their own human efforts. Thus Michelangelo acquired qualities and gave prominence to conclusions which enlarged his great revolutionary artistic capacity.

Michelangelo made projects firmly based on the stories of life on earth, and not about paradise. As an artist he believed in new and superior social relations that would not fail to come one day. In an epoch when there were no political parties or organisations art was one of the rare mediums through which such a belief could be expressed, and Michelangelo is all the more important for having done it.

His works did not obey those in command or answer to the interests of the Church. He dedicated himself to exalt the new and revolutionary ideas of his time. Naturally, they were those of the bourgeoisie, for the latter was developing. It was not that he had a quality nobody else had, but that a logical need arose from the development of productive forces and productivity. Feudalism was wholly incapable and impervious to this. The limitation of all the social regimes to be taken in history is the interest of private property. However, with the development of the economy, capitalism arose and with it the proletariat. Struggling against capitalism, the proletariat eventually took power against capitalism. In so doing, it installed superior regime without which it could not have maintained its power. For this superior regime to exist the proletariat could not give property to the workers and create a new form of private ownership. It did this by collectivising the economy and by using the power of the state.

When the state became the owner of all property this allowed an increase of production and distribution; but more than this, it allowed a great development in social intelligence: a most important factor. Conditions arose for objective social relations between people; objectivity was allowed to

Michelangelo, that do not submit to private property, tend to reinforce the notion of the necessity of Communism for prevail, and this created a new the future of humanity. Communist level of human confidence. With the Workers State, intelligence develops deep roots in the tissue of society, and not just in one or other individual. The harmonious development of living a life dominated

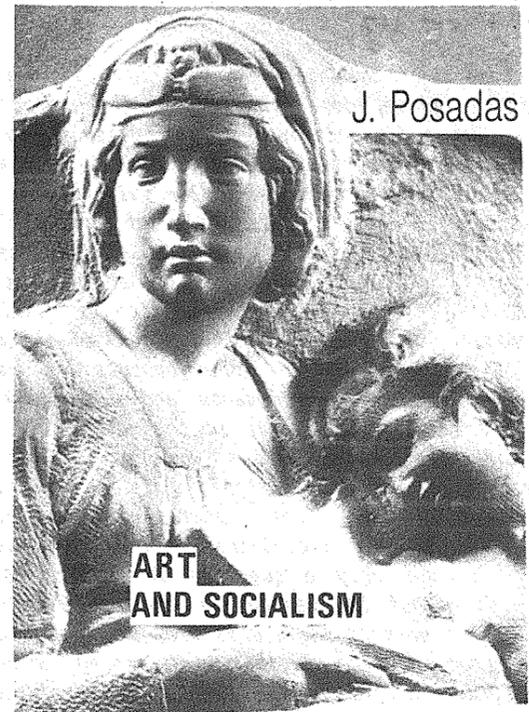
Michelangelo is one of the most dominating figures of the Renaissance, but frequently he is interpreted in terms purely of his artistic capacity. Nonetheless, it is quite clear that he had sympathies with the great revolutionary, Savonarola, and he was a direct and passionate critic of the papacy and its various corruptions. He participated in the defence of the Florentine Republic and denounced the treachery of its military leadership. The mystical nature of some aspects of his thinking tends to obscure the very human quality of his painting and sculpture, which entered into direct conflict with the traditions of feudal art. It is not accidental that he wielded much influence over Diego Rivera, the painter of the Mexican Revolution.

of all in society is the essential base for the development of the intelligence of each individual, and not just a few. In all the regimes of property that came before this, only one or other individual managed to make an impression by breaking through a little.

Intelligence develops to the extent that the workers' movement increases its intervention and achieves leadership, with its own analyses and conclusions. To be at the head of an economy that surpasses capitalism, the working class needs to be intelligent

by struggle, wars, civil wars and strikes. All these are the result of life in capitalism, the consequence of the various regimes of private property. Private property is the backwardness that has to be ended.

Social transformation is necessary because the very structure of the economy needs to expel private property. Private property can no longer develop the economy which needs now a superior form in order to go forward again. This can only be attained by collectivisation, which will be followed by the elimination of



and not just to acquire what property altogether — property is called 'culture'. If it could as presently known in the Workers State included.

better; but the very act of exercising an organised and scientific leading role makes it acquire the best in ideas and culture. Its position in the economy and society gives it an objective understanding of history, the base for the most advanced intelligence and qualities.

All that capitalism has achieved shows its immense limitation. It has accumulated impressive quantities of paintings and treasures in museums but, at the same time, it impoverished whole areas in the world, massacred, caused famines, deprivation and poverty. Works like those of

In conditions infinitely inferior to those in capitalism, in conditions where the proletariat has not yet intervened to the full, the Workers States — like China and the Soviet Union — have achieved infinitely more than all the works of art you see in the museums of capitalism; in the Workers States the proletariat has still not intervened to the full, and it has not yet exercised its role of leadership of the Workers States. There is still a form of dual power in the trade unions and in the Communist Party, between the proletariat and the bureaucracy. The

Continued page 4.

The Communist International and the progress of humanity.

J. Posadas

14.3.1976

The Communist International is an objective necessity of history. It is not an instrument to measure one or another Party. It is a scientific centre of the organisation of the collective life of the world. It is the centre which develops the most elevated scientific principles. It was like this in the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky. If afterwards there was a retreat, this was the result of Stalin, not the power of Stalin but because of the historical conditions which led to Stalin. But the Communist International is indispensable. The Communist International generalises the experience, communicates it as a scientific instrument, and allows the Communist parties to reach the unification of the level of theoretical and political understanding and of the most elevated experiences.

It is a lie when capitalism and some Communist parties say that the 'Communist International' is an instrument which now no longer corresponds to history. The Communist International is not an instrument to defend the interests of the most powerful country against the smallest country, but to generalise the experience, to unify the creative capacity of the masses through the Workers States and thus to organise the power where it lies - it was in this way that the Communist International functioned. If it did not continue like this, it is because Stalin's policy led to the degeneration of the Communist International.

The unification of China and the USSR is the most powerful and necessary instrument for the progress of humanity. This has to be discussed. The Chinese leadership is bureaucratic and conciliatory with capitalism, but the Chinese Workers State has a base which is superior to the bureaucracy which leads it. Thus as Stalin was defeated so the conciliatory tendency within China will be defeated. It is necessary to propose in all the Communist parties and all the Communist militants must propose that the Sino-Soviet unification is necessary. The unification of all the Workers States is necessary. It is necessary to make this discussion rapidly, now, immediate, without cessation, uninterruptedly; it is necessary to unify the Workers States, to plan the economy of all the Workers States, to plan the economic and military policy, with the full right of discussion of the experiences and conclusions of all the parties.

It is necessary to measure the parties not as small and great, not that the 'biggest party has more power than the smallest', but - as in science - to give direction to scientific capacity and the intelligence of the Workers States. It is not the most powerful which wins or determines the course of events, but the intelligence which the smallest can have, Albania, for example.

This is the mass Communist International.

The degeneration of the Communist International, of the Third International, was not the work of the programme and of the policy of the Third International but of the retreat of the world revolution which allowed the rise of Stalin.

It was not an error of Lenin or a deficiency of Lenin. It was the result of the deficiencies of the process of history which today is no longer the case. Among the essential points of discussion of the Communist parties must be the unification of the world Communist movement on the basis of its anti-capitalist programme and the construction of Socialism, on the basis of Soviet democracy.

All this must be done with the participation and the support of the revolutionary world movement, whatever its origin or strength. The movements of the colonial countries, the most backward - like Sahara with Polisario - pass directly from Polisario to the Workers State. They say 'We want to construct Socialism'.

This is the most urgent task which the Communist parties must discuss. Each Communist Party walled within itself develops consciousness, understanding policy and sentiments of isolation which segregate it and make it a small island in the world which is united by Communism. It segregates and then develops the bases for bureaucratisation, for the apparatus. It is a constant and uninterrupted necessity that all the Communist militants should have this conclusion present.

Socialism is not constructed with the unification of countries. Socialism is a scientific conclusion which one supports, which is based on the objective necessity of the development of the economy, of science, of technology and of productivity. Economy, science, technology and productivity feel strangled by

capitalism which does not allow them to develop. In the Workers State the bureaucracy acts as custodian but does not pressure or strangle as in capitalism; with the bureaucracy eliminated they will develop unquestionably.

For the construction of Socialism the basis of stratification of property, the planning of production, the elimination of the bourgeoisie is required; not pluralism but Socialism. The Congress of the CPSU functioned as a Communist International, not the same but similar in many respects to the Communist International.

The Soviet bureaucracy has had to function in this way to defend itself, and also because the Soviet working class has a level of political culture, of organisational intervention, of combative resolution so that the bureaucracy is obliged to make changes. This is not a change merely reproductive of the bureaucracy. It is a limited response; one that is contained-but the formidable impulse of the Soviet working class.

This resolution of the Congress of the CPSU, at the same time that they expel five hundred thousand members as bureaucratic thieves and their clients, that it expels Ministers, that it has embezzlers shot, expresses a very great drive from the Soviet working class. The Soviet working class is the most formidable, the most complete and the most powerful in history. Without the marvellous Soviet working class fascism would have triumphed, and the Soviet working class has weighed in the Congress of the CPSU. It has not weighed in a direct form in the incorporation of workers into the leadership of the Party. There are some, but still very few.

The resolution which they have taken goes on the road of the necessity of developing workers power in the world. This increases the conditions for the development of the workers' movement.

We feel that we are an indispensable factor of history. No doubt without us history would go on the same path. Even without Lenin the path would have been taken, but with a very great slowness which would have allowed a retreat in history.

We are conscious of our function and seek to make it the best possible.

J. POSADAS 14. 3. 76

The mass murder of 15 people committed by Ryan in Hungerford - including his mother and women with children - before he killed himself, shows a process that started in the United States and is now developing in Britain. It is a process of social degeneration, quite in accord with a society that has lost all its power over the peoples of the world, a society with a civil war mentality.

Ryan belonged to a Rifle Club, a place where any would-be fascist can train with impunity. He had obtained employment with royalty once - and this shows that he had access to services close to, or vetted by, the secret services. In one way or the other, this casts some light on the sort of people to be found there, whom capitalism cultivates for when it will need them against the masses. There are increasing numbers of books, films, video tapes, etc. which exalt violence, murder and horror; these are made particularly available to children. It represents the madness of a regime that lives with the 'obsession of power', and the certainty that it has lost it for ever - as comrade Posadas in an article written on the 'Social Origin of Madness in this Stage of History', 24.6.74.

The bourgeoisie sees that, in the USSR and the other Workers States, a new society and a new Man are growing without capital, economic domination or colonies - and this, in spite of the furious war capitalism wages against them. The bourgeoisie sees that, in a small country like Nicaragua, people learned to read and write in less than 5 years, once imperialism was expelled. The cultural decadence in capitalism corresponds to its realisation that it has lost power, that the world will never return to be a colony, and that progress advances against its arrogance and thirst for supremacy.

Individuals like Ryan live a life of contempt and hatred against people. They compare their wretched individual lives of dispute and failures, with the dignified life of the Blacks of South Africa, or with the masses of South Korea or the Philippines, and they cannot bear the comparison. They turn to madness and in the bourgeoisie there are various levels of such a madness, from closing hospitals to repressing the people who warn against the poisoning of the environment, radioactivity and nuclear preparations. The event in Hungerford is only one most strident expression of the madness of capitalism.

A society that ignores the daily genocide that is being perpetrated against the Palestinians, or justifies the regime in South Africa, cannot be but insane. It is a society that lives in the belief that might is right. Those who have no power are of no importance; there is on average, at least one child murdered in this country every week in his or her own family, sometimes after months or years of torture. There are countless cases of child rape in families, and this is on the increase. Those who suffer most are always those most vulnerable; the old, the women, the children. It shows the cowardly nature of a system that turns to madness because it would like to make fascism.

Indeed, the world balance of forces, the advance of the Workers States and of revolutions in the world, prevent imperialism from making fascism; this is why capitalism hates the Workers States and is preparing for nuclear war against them whilst it prepares for civil war against the masses.

In the Workers States, the children are the centre of all love and activity. If there was one case of child rape or murder in the USSR, you can be sure that the eagle eye of capitalism would have spotted it. But this is the major reason for the unbounded fury of capitalism; it is faced with a superior society that defies it, undeterred by nuclear weapons.

The Workers State is the society that closed the brothels of Cuba, rehabilitated criminals in Vietnam, showing how to live without having to colonise and kill; the Workers States are the mighty force that prevents imperialism from murdering Nicaragua or the revolution in Afghanistan. Even though imperialism finds this insufferable and will launch the nuclear war against the Workers States, it is impossible for it to triumph because it is a social regime by-passed by history, that only leads to destruction and death - including its own - like Ryan.

Imperialism and the campaign against Iran.

The present campaign against Iran orchestrated by Yankee imperialism with supporting roles for the British dinosaurs and their French equivalents is the expression of the inevitable tendency towards the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States. If it was not Iran there would be some other crisis. Even when Yankee imperialism in any particular instance has not the immediate intention of launching the war, it is geared to trying to maintain a constant fever of bellicosity to sustain authority and decision over its allies and justify all manner of arms budget and preparations.

The Iran-Iraq war has been continued in its last phase, particularly by the ruling clique in Iran, as a means of diverting the pressure for revolutionary change in Iran into a 'patriotism' against Iraq. Imperialism has cynically helped the war by massive arms deals. The interest of the Soviet Union is of a different nature - not to allow one nation to humiliate the other and to impede the intrigues of imperialism.

The war can cause problems for shipping, but it offers a wonderful opportunity for imperialism to add to the tension, and particularly after the Irangate disorder in the ruling class to try to regain lost authority.

A massive campaign has been carried out in the organs of publicity against Iran, with the typical imperialist mentality. The Iranians are portrayed as insane - in comparison with the 'civilised' imperialists. Thus, when the Saudi Arabians - well known as puppets of the Yanks - carried out a blood bath of the Iranians, this was im-

mediately declared the fault of the Iranians. Mass murder is justified by the 'democracies', just as they say nothing about the massacres in Mozambique or Angola or Afghanistan. In practice, although without the strength of fascism, this is a fascist programme.

Similar campaigns have been launched against Libya and Syria in the past. All the time imperialism feels the continuous growth of the influence of the Workers States throughout the region, and is pre-occupied to contain this.

In the case of Iran, they would like to force a turn to the right.

The intervention of full-scale Yankee fleets and the extensive re-flagging of oil tankers under the Yankee flag, originating in competition with the Soviets who were asked by the Kuwaitis to re-flag their vessels, in the conditions of the war in the Gulf are extreme provocations, and as such have been denounced by the Soviets. Imperialism is trying to use the UN Resolution over the cessation of hostilities between Iraq and Iran, and the criticisms of Iran, as a pretext for their intervention.

The Soviets, although realising that it is the intransigence of the clique in Iran which helps prolong the war, know full well that the high moral line being taken by imperialism is simply to justify a policy of intimidation against Iran. Imperialism fears the anti-imperialist force of Iran, which also influences in Lebanon. It is the previous failures of Soviet policy in Iran that has permitted the revolution there to be contained by the fundamentalists and

other reactionary sectors, who nonetheless have to maintain a vigorous anti-imperialist position.

The Soviets have offered to help Iran over its oil supplies and imperialist conflict with Iran would quickly lead to confrontation between the Soviets and Yankee imperialism.

This dispute over Iran has to be seen in the context of the world-wide confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States. In effect, small wars are being waged everywhere between the two opposed social systems. Nicaragua, Chad, Eritrea and Mozambique are prime examples of this situation and, at the same time, imperialism seeks to destabilise India through the Sikhs, and also in Sri Lanka, creating opportunities so they hope for right wing regimes.

Soviet policy is without doubt hampered in the Middle East by the absence of strong Communist parties, and the cliques in Damascus, Tehran and Baghdad have benefited from this. On the other hand, these regimes do not answer to the needs of the population and the need for complete social and political transformations. This is why a more decisive policy in Afghanistan, which transcends 'reconciliation' and puts the emphasis on the complete social transformation of Afghanistan, would have a powerful effect in all this area. It is not by chance that reactionary elements in Iran support the counter-revolutionaries in Afghanistan. There is now much discussion on all these problems in the Soviet Union, and on the internal conflicts among the Afghan Communists. The interests of the Workers State will prevail.

From page 1.

the anguish of the SDP. The traditional apparatus of the LP and the majority of the trade unions - bar the miners and a few others - is mainly concerned to do nothing that will provide a living political centre for mass intervention. This is particularly so now because Thatcher's dinosaur has no perspective save clumping around, privatising and reducing the standard of living of the masses. The longer the war is postponed, the grimmer the capitalist regime becomes, and the more irrelevant its policies. In the past capitalism has averted the worst expression of its natural tendency to degenerate by war. Thus war seemed to "cleanse" society of its "ills". As capitalism cannot now organise itself in security for war all the social crises accumulate and the conditions for both civil war and crime multiply. The classes are locked in struggle and peripheral layers sink into a mire without end.

The apparatuses of the LP and the trade unions bemoan the loss of sectors of the aristocracy of labour who voted conservative but their going is good riddance. What the left has to do is to make a balance of the last period. The recent statement of Benn on the need for a discussion of ideas is a response to the aftermath of the election when it is clear that the policies of trying to take over the apparatus have no future. The left in order to learn from the experiences of the Thatcher years has to realise that programme and policies for anti capitalist struggle have to be waged in the factories and the workers areas. Thatcher's more or less open invitation to the military to intervene against a Labour government proposing nuclear disarmament is a lesson on the stage which history has reached. Mere electoralism even of a radical order is insufficient. Britain cannot be isolated from the world and the fundamental role of the workers states. 6.9.87.

the historic
significance
of the triumph
of the guerrilla
in Nicaragua

J. POSADAS

1987

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From page 1.

plan, or 'common market', which would mitigate the effects of the Yankee blockade of Nicaragua.

State ownership and collectivisation have to be extended, and this is particularly true of agriculture. In order to feed the population in a quite desperate situation, the sandinista has distributed land to families and organised them in co-operatives. The limitation of this policy is that whilst it does allow individual families to feed themselves, it does not allow the economy to be centrally planned and it tends to stimulate individual interest in land ownership. The Soviet Union still suffers from the problem in agriculture created in the early days, which prevents a central planning. In Nicaragua, it is generally not a problem of expropriating big landowners but of utilising land which is not cultivated. The human and material forces released by the 'peace plan' should allow the state to develop its own centrally planned agriculture. The same is true of industry. World conditions do not allow private property to develop industry. This has to be done by the state, and, if pluralism means that the small sector of bourgeois industrialists are allowed to limit or influence this policy, then pluralism will have to be replaced quickly by workers' and popular control.

Already the trade unions (CST) play an important role in developing the economy and, with the existence of elements of workers' control, there is an understanding in the CST that

the role of the trade union - even in a Revolutionary State, and certainly in a Workers State - is not the same as in capitalism. In these conditions they have to support the process of planning the economy rather than simply seeking better wages for 'their' workers. Indeed, workers already give days of work without wages for the benefit of the overall economy, and many workers in the CST questioned recently about whether a recent wage increase - given to counteract the effects of inflation - should not have been dedicated to the benefit of the national economy. The CST is the most direct representative of the small Nicaraguan proletariat and is dedicated to the construction of Socialism. As such, it is a potent force in the advance of Nicaragua to the Workers State.

Whilst there is a nationalist and pluralist tendency within the FSLN, as a leadership it is dedicated to the advance to Socialism. Indeed, it has already organised permanent schools to train cadres 'to construct the Party for Socialism'. The consciousness of the need for a Marxist Party is a very high level of consciousness indeed. The leadership of the FSLN is very aware of the problems of bureaucracy, and the circumstances of the early days of the Soviet Union, the rise of Stalinism, and the role of Trotsky, are a matter of close study. There is clear evidence that the FSLN are actively seeking the ideas of Trotsky and their development in this stage of history by Posadas.

From page 2.

The works of Michelangelo

proletariat has not yet been the leadership. However, in the limited manner in which it has been able to lead, it has shown that it is fully capable of leading. When we make a comparison between the creation of the Workers State and the limitation in creation in private property, we are not mocking or depreciating any artist, painter, sculptor or poet. We only feel the joy and satisfaction to see that the necessary historic function of ideas has been accomplished. And that Marxism has been its main instrument.

The Workers State allows the development of all human capacity. If it does not prove this conclusively yet, it is because of the bureaucratic leaderships. However, the

Workers State has proved that it is here to stay. It is a necessary transitional form. There is no doubt that new generations of artists will arise. We do not know exactly when as yet, but we do know that there is no advance in social organisation that has not had its artists. The development of the intelligence of entire populations through their participation directly in the leadership of their countries - in production, in distribution, in science and technology - represents the greatest impulse to art ever known. The Workers States, even with their bureaucracies, have done more in this field than all the previous regimes put together. It is still too early to measure all the potential possibilities.

The development of human intelligence is intimately bound up with the economy, society and social relations. It is determined by the development of society, production, the economy and distribution. Intelligence will bloom when it is based on complete confidence and objectivity in thought. This is the base for infinite knowledge! Capitalism presents intelligence as the particular endowment of one or other individual. But this is quite false because intelligence is social, and if it appears to be individual today it is because life is not given the full possibility and organisation to unfold. But all the conditions are present for this advance.

J. POSADAS 9.10.1972

Editorial

THE LABOUR LEFT MUST INTERVENE DIRECTLY TO THE POPULATION ON THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The continued imperialist intervention in the gulf is aimed at intimidating the anti-imperialist forces in Iran and also to test the reaction of the Soviet Union. But this type of tactic has already shown its limitations in the Libyan and Lebanese experience. There the Yanks bombed Libya and there was no reaction from the Soviets. Even so, the Yanks cannot get anywhere because there is no means by which the Soviet leadership can make any historic concessions to imperialism. Thus, the latter is doomed to repeat its policies without being able to achieve the objectives of intimidating the Workers States or blocking the world revolutionary process. Weinberger personally directs the Yankee campaign in the Gulf but has achieved nothing new. The element that is limiting the response to Yankee aggression is the lack of a global revolutionary policy on the part of the Soviet leadership.

The Iranian missile which hit the Yankee protected vessel symbolises the contempt of the world masses for imperialism.

When Gorbachev speaks of an immense reconstruction in the Soviet Union, and that a form of peaceful revolution is taking place, this is partially true. Clearly the structure of the Workers State and the pressure of the Soviet people dictate fundamental changes, but it is one thing to liquidate Stalinist functionaries it is another to develop Socialist democracy to its most elevated level. Gorbachev speaks of price arising from these 'economic reforms', but why should the Soviet masses pay for price increases when there are privileged layers who benefit from such rises? Was there a consultation with the masses about this? No, there was not. Nor was there a discussion about Sakharov. We support all the efforts to junk the Stalinist functionaries, but the prime issue facing the Workers States is not the augmentation of privilege, but their reduction.

The strength of the Workers States is based on centralised planning, with a decentralised application on a collective basis, not the separation of factory units in competition. The appearance of these economic 'reforms' limits the international function of the Soviet Union. There will certainly be crises, but they will not be of the Workers State; they will be crises of leadership. The comparison with the NEP in the early stages of the Soviet Union is a retrograde discussion. Even so, the factor which will determine the future course of the Workers States will not be backward steps but the discussion which has been opened on the origins of Stalinism. Of its nature, the Workers States have to be Trotskyist, have to be Posadist,

THE CAPITALIST WAR AGAINST THE POPULATION.

In Britain, the whole tenor of the policy of capitalism is the open affirmation of the civil war against the population. The campaign to implement privatisation, the pretence that education is going to be transformed by parents' 'choice', the steady deterioration of the hospital service are stages in the class war which are changing the social and political scene in Britain, and preparing the way for the downfall of the conceptions of the trade union bureaucracy and the Labour Party apparatus. The strength of British imperialism, the respect for the capitalist system, lay in the sense of consensus that the monarchy and parliament would symbolise a union of the country, 'nation' above 'class'. All this is being systematically destroyed and the incapacity of imperialism and capitalism to make reforms, to better the life of the population, is ever clearer. Such a period is not one for the pessimistic moaning of the trade union functionaries and the Labour Party apparatus, who are responsible for the passivity in front of capitalism which has allowed the latter to impose its decisions. Any discussion which ignores the utter bankruptcy of the social democratic and parliamentary conceptions of social progress will not get very far. After all, the conciliators with capitalism have had a very long innings and have been great organisers of defeats.

They have been in government on many occasions, but the result of all the great effort of consensus, 'realism', controlling the left, 'acting responsibly', and obsession with elections and 'not frightening people' is now Thatcher with privatisation and nuclear

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arms. So much for the 'British road', 'moderation' etc. The only Utopian perspective for the apparatus is that possibly in two million years there might be the timid suggestion that Socialism could be talked about. But not for two million years, because the electorate might be frightened by such criminal audacity. Even so, the Labour Party still have a programme of nuclear disarmament with strong left support for this, and that is a major plank against the capitalist system.

The Labour Party Conference was not a source of ideas because the left lacks homogeneity and partly shares the pessimism and disorientation of the conservative layers in the apparatus and in the unions. This is despite the fact that the forces of the left gained much in the elections, and there is an objective basis in the population to conduct debate about the need for a Workers State in Britain. The line of the leadership to discuss all aspects of Labour Party policy and programme is, in reality, the apparatus turning in on itself and not organising resistance to the policies of the government. As the Labour Party is an electoral machine which offers time and money for political

careers, there is no conception in it of organising systematic mass campaigns against capitalist policies.

Imperialism is preoccupied with uniting its forces to confront the Soviet Union. They would like to take advantage of the crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers States, but cannot. Moreover, in reality, despite every effort to harmonise the economies of capitalism, its whole world structure is very precarious. The dollar has to be sustained by wholesale buying of dollars or else interest rates rise in the United States, causing further imbalance in the world economy.

The economic boom in Britain, about which capitalism speaks, has no great depth - unemployment is in reality whatever the contortions of the government well over three million, and that comes from capitalist sources. Part-time, ill-paid employment is on the increase. Yes, part of the economy does well for some - the rich and wealthy sectors of the petit bourgeoisie - but that is all.

It is the lack of perspective of the Labour left which gives rise to scepticism.

The Thatcher presidential style is mere facade. Socially, the system is feeble and gives no perspective. It is the incapacity of the workers' leaderships which gives capitalism a certain margin for manoeuvre. If the Labour left cannot look at the world process and the progressive role of the Soviet Union, naturally it has no orientation. It is true that much depends on a clarification and elevation in the Soviet leadership.

There has to be much more emphasis there on the intervention of the Workers States to help the world revolutionary process, to intervene much more - for example, towards Mozambique and Afghanistan - less on spreading illusions on negotiations with capitalism, and a more profound effort to reduce social differentiation in the Workers States. But, even without this immediately occurring, it is necessary that the Labour left reconsiders the whole history of solely electoral politics and why this limits the discussion of ideas and the direct intervention of the population.

16.10.87

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

ART **J. Posadas**
AND SOCIALISM

Published in May 1987 £2

THE LIVING THOUGHT OF TROTSKY.

J. Posadas. 11.1.79.

The process in the Soviet Union is only partially defined by 'glasnost' or perestroika'. But when discussion breaks out about Trotsky and different levels are discernable in this discussion and sectors seek to contain and distort it, it is because the process in the Soviet Union far outstrips the leadership.



V.I. Lenin: constructor of the Party and organiser of the 1917 Revolution.

The living thought of Trotsky is the theoretical elaboration which teaches how to interpret the process of history. The essential bases of these analyses of the Soviet Union until his assassination in 1940 are no longer valid today. The historic moment, the relation of class forces and of world forces between the Workers States (Socialist countries) and capitalism are different from the epoch of Trotsky but the essential instrument — that is, the Marxist analysis and dialectical materialism to interpret the course of history — continues to be valid.

The analysis of Trotsky answers to the necessity of preparing the world proletarian vanguard, the intellectuals, the scientists, the leaders of the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions, to offer to them the instruments to understand the elements which intervene in the process of history, the class struggle, the internal struggle of the bourgeoisie, and the relation of the Soviet Union — the only Workers State then existing — with the rest of the capitalist world.

The analysis then undertaken by Trotsky has been changed today precisely because the relation of forces has changed, but the elements and the class bases are those present in his time, established in a different relation as regards the balance of forces, the specific weight of each capitalist country or of the system as a whole. Above all, this is through the weight acquired by the socialist countries and by the Revolutionary States, which together constitute half of the world population, not so much on the economic and cultural plane as on the social, since they represent the progress and the continuous ascent of history towards the liberation from any form of oppression.

Trotsky wrote with this perspective. He did not intend to elaborate a text which might be valid as an immutable timeless programme, but an immediate proposition which answered to the necessity of history in the phase of the transition of the construction of the Workers State in the encounter with the capitalist countries through the war which was unleashed by capitalism, through the nazis and the 'demo-

cratic' states to perpetuate the system itself. This war had the objective of resolving the internal differences and divergences of the capitalist system; but it also was an attempt to annul and to crush the Soviet Workers State. The fact that capitalism was not capable of coming to an agreement to crush the Soviet Union and resolve its internal contradictions and divergences shows that these are insoluble, since

they relate to its nature — and these, however much its economic power, also increases.

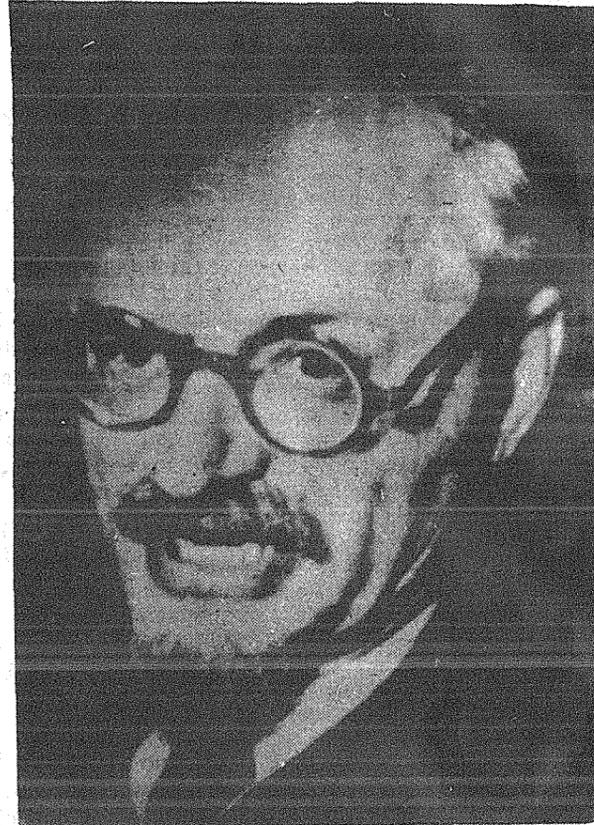
The present conditions are not those of the epoch of Trotsky, but the class struggle is the same and has grown to become the final encounter. Before, there existed a single Workers State confronting the capitalist system, which even then was incapable of destroying it. Today, on the other hand, a series of Workers States are opposed to it, and around them is gathered the constant progress of the countries of the 'third world', of Africa, of Asia and of Latin America: capitalist countries which set out from the acquisition of a relation of forces more favourable to the elimination of capitalism, besides preparing for the war which is threatening. Such an aspect was not then present, while today it is.

From this arises the fact that, while the class principles are historic and maintain their validity, the relation of forces are changed, and with these the programme and the tactic; the programme to develop is changed organically, although the objective remains of overthrowing the capitalist regime. As a result one of the programmatic points proposed by Trotsky has changed, that is to say, the political revolution.

Today, the political revolution does not proceed in the way Trotsky proposed at the moment when the Soviet Union was isolated and on the point of succumbing to Stalin; but in developing and extending the USSR and the Workers States. The Soviet Union supports with force the progress of the countries of the whole world, certainly in an unequal way but it is in this way that the political revolution is realised.

Such a form does not negate, but on the contrary favours the struggle for democratic principles against the bureaucracy, and links it to the necessity of the Workers States conflicting with capitalism; that is, a struggle between the two systems. It is an economic, political, juridical and intellectual struggle, joined to the war which imperialism is incessantly preparing against the Workers States. This is another aspect which did not exist in the epoch of Trotsky.

The bureaucracy continues to be an apparatus, but Stalinism no longer exists. It has been conquered by the progress of the struggle of the masses of the world. It is still active, but is progressively losing its force and capacity of control. Henceforth,



L. Trotsky: Organiser with Lenin of the October Revolution and the theoretical work of Marxism.

it is not a question so much of push forward — would be a great example for the masses of the United States.

It is necessary to see that the Soviet Union and the Workers States turn to the masses of the United States, of Japan and capitalist Germany, in such a way that these can take account of the cultural life and of the development of the cultural relations of the Soviet masses, who participate and lead, express ideas and organise meetings. The Workers State would acquire thus a great authority over the masses of the capitalist countries, creating the conditions for the intervention in the United States of the anti-capitalist masses.

Trotsky wrote to maintain alive the sense, the ideas that the Workers State is a necessity of history. He interpreted the errors of the Workers State and of the suicidal policy of Stalin, not as a result of Stalin's nature but of his political leadership. He imparted thus a teaching and educated the proletarian vanguard in the Communist parties and the trade unions, and in the intellectual vanguard, to make a distinction between the Workers State and its leadership.

Trotsky indicated as a permanent element, a necessary element in history, the structure of the Workers State as a factor of development, showing that the centralised planning of the economy — developing an economic

Continued on page 4

ON THE 70th ANNIVERSARY OF THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION, THE CPSU AND THE SOVIET PROLETARIAT MUST INTERVENE WITH ALL THEIR STRENGTH TO DEVELOP COMMUNIST DEMOCRACY IN THE WORKERS STATES.

On this seventieth anniversary of the October Revolution more and more the Soviet Union is the centre of attention of the world masses who find in it their point of concentration in the class struggle against what remains of imperialism and capitalism. In spite of all the diplomatic manoeuvres and talks etc., humanity constantly lives in the margins of the final encounter between the forces of human progress and the drags of imperialism. No sooner have the diplomats announced an agreement over medium range missiles - covering only three per cent of the said missiles - than the Pentagon announces they are making great strides with SDI. What the negotiations have established is that imperialism is socially senile, has no strength, and has to act according to the initiatives of the Workers State.

The centralised planning, monopoly of foreign trade and the expropriation of private property is the central appeal of the Workers States to humanity, and nothing can destroy this experience - including nuclear war. The October Revolution set the historic example for the future of mankind. It announced the death-knell of private property. All the fascists, the pompous conservative scholars who for years projected the end of Communism are all being swept into the bin of history, where they join the slave-owners, and the beaters of serfs.

It is clear that a process of profound transformation is coming in the Workers States, primarily in the Soviet Union. The latter is the centre. It is a complex process and, in making a balance of perestroikas, it is essential to see both its progressive and also profoundly limiting features. Cde Posadas defined the process occurring in the Soviet Union as one of partial regeneration, and we do not blindly follow the Soviet leadership in all its steps.

Certainly, the most decisive important and progressive feature is the continuous war against the Stalinist functionaries, the immense caste of pests and parasites who sustained Stalin and made a usufruct of the Workers State for their own ends. They are totally useless, block the masses, and hold positions as a source of profit and privilege for themselves. They are a large body with influence in the Party, the trade unions, and hence the vastness of the purge which had already begun extensively under Breznev. It means also inevitably a clash with backward nationalist forces, the liquidation of these cliques and their separatist interests.

We are witnessing the process of the downfall of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union and a process of partial political revolution. The Soviet leadership does not dominate this process, but it is obliged to continue on the line of liquidation of the Stalinist functionaries. At the same time, this leadership is uncertain of the path ahead and, because of the breakdown in the functioning of the bureaucracy, one of the first things Gorbachev did was to seek an alliance with the technocrats, the factory directors, as a means of facilitating the purge of the Stalinist dross in the lower and middle ranks of the Soviet bureau-

cracy. Hence the release of Sakharev. Thus, the policy of the new team is marked by dualism.

This came about partly through the conservatism and fear of the Party bureaucracy of the direct intervention of the proletariat, a fear of their Communist spirit; and partly not knowing what on earth to do because of their previous theoretical upbringing. Gorbachev acknowledges the problem when he says: 'We have no political culture.' The lack of a political life for years in the CPSU means that tactics and strategy arise from groups, and this still bears little direct relation to discussion with the masses. The attempt of Gorbachev to associate with the masses is a search for another policy. To counteract the interests of the technocrats and the factory directors, the Soviet leadership has spoken of the need to involve the population and to change the character of Party work, i.e. the Party must not be too involved with economic activity so as to maintain its independence. At the same time, the social needs of the population are stressed, and the strengthening of the Soviets as a vehicle of mass intervention is advocated. It is in these areas, as opposed to the economic reforms, that the positive features of perestroika can reveal themselves.

It is quite correct to want accurate accounting in monetary-commodity relations, as Trotsky originally argued in 'The Revolution Betrayed', but the centralised workers' economy intervenes on the law of value for the common interest. Competition between factories is not a logical corollary of correct accounting. The latter means the Workers State is not to be swindled by Stalinist parasites. But competition between factories in the face of an uncontrolled consumer market is alien to the Wor-

kers State. Decentralisation, i.e. initiatives to the masses to apply the decisions of the centre is genuine Socialism. Putting one factory against another warps the economy and leads to greater differentiation among the population. Some have argued in the Soviet Union: 'Well, we are short of labour', So factory closures will merely mean redistributing the labour force.' But, as usual, the 'successful' factories will receive higher remuneration, and the 'failures' will earn far less. These arguments do not correspond to Communist principles - on the contrary, as Posadas argues in the article on Ponomarev, it is necessary to reduce differentiation in the Workers State.

The alliance with the factory and technical sectors is really an admission in practice of the end of the bureaucracy, because the admission of principles of factory autonomy, self-financing and profitability have nothing to do with the collective functioning of the Workers State. Breznev was obliged to speak of 'each according to his needs', and more or less say 'but not yet'. The new team has placed all the emphasis on 'rewarding merit' with greater salaries. Thus, they open up an ever greater differentiation in the Workers State than exists already. In practice, there is a wealthy layer in Soviet society who wish to create a market in their own image, where they decide the goods to be produced to satisfy their own needs and not the objective needs of the Workers State and the needs of the world revolution. In reality, it is a pipe dream because the Soviet proletariat will not wear it, and already there are reports of strikes. Moreover, the Party will be obliged to support the workers, thus they have sought to extend the power of the unions in the factories and enforced greater control in the factories, but 'autonomous' factories develop interests of the aristocracy of labour. Have there, in reality, been any discussions over the 'economic reforms'? Were there mass meetings to affirm these reforms? No.

As the saying goes - it's all right for some, those with the cash who can blow money on cars and fashions, dachas and expensive restaurant meals etc. Cde Posadas analysed this layer in the article on Sakharev. They have developed their own private tastes, a separate technical caste who try to stand above the Workers State. When the Soviet leadership concedes to this layer it is a sign of the disintegration of the bureaucracy, because the Soviet proletariat and the struc-

ture of the Workers State will expel any such sectors.

The Soviet leadership knows there will be trouble, and hence Gorbachev insists on the fact that the Workers State retains all its Socialist objectives and Ligachev also repeats that there will be no market economy. They say this because in reality there are sectors who would like to terminate with Socialism. Indeed, some of the articles that have appeared in the Soviet journals are a disgrace. People saying, 'Well now the workers can decide in the factories, so if that factory fails then it is their responsibility.' These are bourgeois arguments of a layer that would like to be a bourgeoisie, but cannot.

With all the growing crisis of the bureaucracy, the Soviet leadership has tried to extend the policy of peaceful co-existence; in this case, in part retreating on previous gains. Thus, a great play has been made with dynamic diplomacy to keep capitalism busy; we are not against diplomatic manoeuvres but not as a means to avoid revolutionary policy. Imperialism is now so tatty, senile and divided that it can scarcely have the strength to don its trousers, and when it does it falls back in a state of instant exhaustion.

Part of this policy corresponds to the wishes of the 'Sakharev layer'. There have even been articles actually saying that the war necessitates a 'supra class' policy. War stems from the class war, and however horrific nuclear war may be it is a logical outcome of imperialism. The most obvious retreat of the Soviets has been over Afghanistan - instead of developing Afghanistan unequivocally towards a Workers State, there have been attempts at a policy of conciliation with capitalist interests in spite of the clear fact that imperialism is endeavouring to smash Afghanistan, as they are doing in Mozambique and Angola, etc. This inevitably follows from the breakdown of the united front of the bureaucracy, and the desire of the failing bureaucracy to maintain its life.

To turn the Workers State towards independent factory functioning and profitability is an enormous backward step. Similarly in agriculture, the freeing of family contracts again gives full play to private as opposed to collective interests. It will not work, and the Party apparatus knows it will not work. Hence it keeps speaking of Socialism, Socialism'.

This means a delay in organising the forces of the masses

throughout the world. The crisis in the internal functioning of the bureaucracy has meant, in part, a turning away from the need to impel the world revolution by all possible means. Even so, the balance of forces between imperialism and the Workers States does not allow concessions to imperialism.

At the same time, the process of partial regeneration passes beyond the control of the Party leadership. The Soviet proletariat prepares to re-enter the historic stage, and the discussion over Stalin affects the Soviet intellectuals and workers. The discussion over Stalin is complex because there are sectors of the Sakharev variety who use the crimes of Stalin to attack the centralised functioning of the Workers State. It is these from whom Ligachev defends himself, but there are other sectors who seek to unravel the history of the Workers State, who seek out Trotsky even if this is still in a limited form. Thus we have the statements of Butenko who characterises the stratum of Stalin in Trotsky's terms: 'Stalin was the representative for the newborn, bureaucratic power apparatus of Socialism which Lenin, during his last years, saw developing and warned about. It was this bureaucracy that came to power at the end of the 1920s and eliminated all opposition. It is this same bureaucracy that represents the biggest hindrance to perestroika'.

The Red Army feels the objective force of the Workers State and has sought to impel more vigorous policies, hence the dispute over Ogarkov. The incident of the German pilot who landed in Red Square indicated forms of crisis in the Red Army where sectors do not respond to the exigencies of the process. The attack on privileges in the Red Army goes hand in hand with the way in which the most dynamic sectors in the army have brought out the disastrous role of Stalin, even with a call for the downgrading of Stalin as unfit to be buried next to Bolshevik revolutionaries. This objectively means a process which will inexorably lead towards the origins of the Red Army and its founder Leon Trotsky.

The strikes of the Soviet proletariat will augment against any higher prices, losses of jobs etc. These will impel the Workers

leadership to respond to and terminate with the activities of the technocratic and privileged termites who seek to divert the resources of the Workers State for their own benefit. It is necessary and possible to advance 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs. Imperialism has sought to draw profit from the new situation in the Soviet Union. Even so, when Thatcher has to speak appreciatively of Gorbachev's efforts to change (referring doubtless to the 'new' economic policies) her conclusions are pessimistic. 1917 will indeed resist all changes to the structure of the Workers State and hurl imperialism into oblivion.

The crisis in the smaller Workers States is profound. In Yugoslavia financial corruption and the immense foreign debt point to the invidious results of 'self-management'. Hungary is in profound disorder, and recently broke a contract with the Soviet Union. Their crisis and that in China, will not be solved by 'profitability' and 'factory autonomy' but only by the political elevation of the Soviet leadership and the collectivised economy.

Thus objectively the top layer of the bureaucracy seeks to survive

by balancing between incompatibles - the factory managers, on the one hand, and the masses on the other. To the former handouts 'for work done'(!), and to the other social benefits, but this reflects only the incoherence of the bureaucracy.

Perestroika is thus ambiguous - a purging of Stalinists, much talk of 'democracy' but accompanied by 'competition' and price rises for the masses. Gorbachev speaks of a 'peaceful revolution': the political revolution can certainly be peaceful, but not at the expense of the population.

The process of partial regeneration is profound in the Soviet Union and goes beyond the present leadership. The discussion on Trotsky is immensely important, but the discussion cannot stay with Trotsky. The contribution of Trotsky, dear Lev Davidovich, to history is immense and, as time advances, his shadow extends over contemporary history. All his writings on politics and culture remain immensely valuable - the precision of Marxist method excels in his texts.

At the same time, history moves on.

Posadas represents this new stage. To rehabilitate Trotsky in depth means to recognise the validity of the role of Posadas, which is Trotskyism today.

On this magnificent anniversary of the October Revolution we salute all the sectors in the Soviet Union and the Red Army who are attempting to advance the interests of the Workers States. We salute especially the Soviet proletariat, the most powerful in the world which liquidated nazism, and endured Stalinism, and will more and more be a driving force to destroy the internal obstacles to progress in the USSR and impel the whole world to terminate with the imbecility of imperialism and capitalism.

There has to be a complete discussion with the population in the Soviet Union on the need to develop the Workers State politically and economically, to develop Communist cadres who see the Workers State not isolated in itself but as an instrument of the world advance to Socialism. There have to be mass assemblies on all the major political and economic issues and a discussion on the reduction of privileges, on the basis of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs.'

the historic
significance
of the triumph
of the guerrilla
in Nicaragua

J. POSADAS

1987

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Nicaragua has brought forward great possibilities for Latin America. Nicaragua, a small country emerging from 42 years without trade unions, without parties, without a political or cultural life, manages to triumph thanks to the Sandinistas. The population rose and supported the Sandinistas and not Somoza. Had the population not supported the guerrillas, they could not have won and Somoza would have stayed. The population united, formed part of the guerrillas and this is the way the guerrillas won. The population was not intimidated by repeated deaths and assassinations. In this, it shows that it lived the reality of the world process; world process meaning more than Cuba and all the Sandinista propaganda, which however good, could not possibly have reached everyone. It is in a thousand ways that the masses realised that they could win; through the radio, conversations, newspapers, etc. - and this lead them to believe in the Sandinistas. When they saw that the Sandinistas had the courage to overthrow Somoza, the masses understood that this wasn't just a movement of armed men, but an armed political movement ready for social transformation.

A process is opening up in Latin America which is going to influence Bolivia, Peru, Brasil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico, and also Venezuela and Colombia. It is going to influence socially and very deeply, and give a guide on how to resolve the problems of Latin America. The discussion now is social, political and economic; what programme, what policy, what organisation to develop Nicaragua. This is the next stage and yankee imperialism is going to support capitalists in the Sandinistas - sectors whom it opposed before - to try to use them against further progress and contain it.

J. POSADAS 18 7 79

allowed progress, and this in turn the flowering of culture, of science and of art, and as a result a continuous and progressive improvement in human relations.

Trotsky wrote to stimulate humanity to have faith in Socialism as a necessity of history, not only of the working class, but the latter through its function in the economy and in society is the most vivid expression, of this necessity

He wrote so that the vanguard would not allow itself to be beaten, nor believe that the Communist parties, the trade unions, the Socialists and the Workers State were impotent, but understand that the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union was not formed because of the fatal errors of Bolshevism, of the Bolshevik Party, of the Communist Party or of the Workers State, but of the world relation of forces which allowed the appearance and development of Stalinism - that once the historical conditions which had led to the retreat of the world revolution had been overcome, then the conditions would again be created for

the development of the world Communist movement, as is happening now.

Trotsky wrote to favour the optimism and the confidence in the method of scientific analysis. That is, he demonstrated that the Workers State is a necessity of history and that the passage of capitalism to Socialism comes through the intermediate phase of the Workers State. This has the task of facilitating the construction of Socialism, with all the errors and deficiencies which that includes, accentuated besides by the class conflict with capitalism which has not allowed the creation of a leadership without problems, without difficulties or errors. Trotsky wrote to help to organise the proletarian vanguard and, in particular, so that the world Communist movement might understand that Communism was not represented by Stalin, a mere caricature and expression of a bureaucratic layer born and grown in the conditions of the retreat of the revolution of that period of history.

PART 1.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS

ARGENTINA. The Alfonsin government suffered a major reverse in the September elections. The Peronists won more votes than the Radical Civil Union in fifteen of the twentyseven provinces. The Radicals also lost their absolute majority in the Lower chamber, although it has retained more seats than the Peronist and other parties. This was not the time of the elections in the Senate, so the Radicals retain their majority there. These elections show the polarisation of forces, and the Peronists gained heavily in the industrial concentrations. This is the result of the pusillanimous conduct of the Alfonsin government which, despite the heroic intervention of the population in the Campo de Mayo military school, has conceded to the military and abandoned the investigation of military terrorism.

Yankee imperialism has been obliged to put up with phenomenon like Alfonsin, Aquino etc. but these governments seek to pursue bourgeois reforms that do not coincide with the interests of imperialism. The bourgeoisie are thus caught in a vice. If they resolutely confront imperialism they face dependency on the masses. If they seek to compromise they will lose electoral support. Hence the continued threat of sectors of the army linked to Imperialism to Intervene.

The economy of Argentina is being slowly strangled by the mounting debt, which extracts constant interest payments at the expense of the masses and of capitalism itself. At the same time, the programme of Alfonsin

has placed the burden of the economy on the masses, and wages have fallen by twenty per cent.

The Posadists have intervened in the elections with the programme of social transformations and the repudiation of the debts to imperialism.

TIBET: The provocations in Tibet, organised by the backward remnants of the Tibetan monks in collusion with agents of imperialism, are part of the attempts to take advantage of limitations in the leadership of the Workers States. Imperialism seeks to take advantage of the confusion caused by the counter-revolutionary leadership in China, which has not integrated Tibet sufficiently in the Workers State and has damaged the centralised functioning of the Workers State.

Basically, there is no support for the Tibetan counter-revolutionaries, but the failure to transform Tibet is shown in the high rate of illiteracy and the limited social and economic development. The government continued to give concessions to wealthier peasants with extension of land leases and the ending of taxes. Following the abandonment of the Communes and the turn to the right in China the problems of Tibet continue, but Tibet has no future outside integration with the Chinese Workers State. All its previous history is one of backwardness and superstition. Imperialism had no interest in developing it, and calls for autonomy etc. are the hypocrisy of those who kept Tibet in backwardness for centuries. Even so, the provocations of imperialism are very feeble.

Editorial

The Labour left will gain from the polarisation of the class struggle.

— OUT OF NATO.

— FOR THE PLANNED ECONOMY UNDER WORKERS CONTROL.

Soviet diplomacy has forced imperialism into an agreement over intermediate ballistic missiles and a visit by Gorbachev to the United States has been arranged. All this arises from the balance of world forces, which has wrecked the great pretensions of the Reagan-Thatcher alliance to develop a policy of strength to intimidate the Soviet Union. Without doubt, some sectors of the Soviet bureaucracy believe it is possible to develop 'peaceful co-existence' ad infinitum, but a collision between the Workers States and world capitalism is inevitable - the advantage lies with the Workers States because imperialism is enfeebled by the hour. Imperialism will sign all manner of agreements and continue with its war preparations, albeit weakened diplomatically, politically, economically and socially. Gorbachev's statement in which he affirmed support for Cuba and Nicaragua shows - and despite compromises over Afghanistan - that there is no basis for a new Yalta. At the same time, at the recent conference of Organisation of African States in Arusha the Soviet Union gave new aid to the front line states in their struggle against South Africa, thus affirming Soviet aid to the extension objectively of the world Socialist revolution. In the Workers States themselves the intervention of the proletariats in Romania and Yugoslavia, and the rejection by the Polish masses of the 'economic' reforms, show that the masses - even without the best means to intervene - make their weight felt against the incapacity of the bureaucracy, wherever it is. The proletariat and the tradition of Bolshevism of the USSR guarantees against the results of bureaucratic ineptitude. The fall of Yelstin is part of the crisis of the bureaucracy, not the Workers State.

Irrespective of the high diplomacy with this, to confront the greater of the leaderships of the Soviet Union enemy - the Soviet Union. The and Yankee imperialism, the world downturn in the economy is basically revolution continues with blows at the the result of the gigantic arms budget backward regimes in Bangla Desh, which leads to a condition of limiting and with the process of democratisa- the consumer market. On the other tion in South Korea. With all its hand, there is the vicious inter- ferocious fascist brutality, the Botha capitalist competition on a world regime was obliged to release an market which they cannot expand to ANC leader and faces the rebellion meet the increase in productivity and of even white students in South technological innovation. Whole Africa. Imperialism has to prepare continents offer no major base for a its gangster plans in clandestinity. constantly extended reproduction of capital. The imperialist economy is in a permanent crisis, with a perma- nent militarised economy.

Its atomic weapons do not intimidate the masses of the world. What is lacking is a world leadership capable of using all this rich situation, a new Communist International to plan the overthrow of the whole crumbling edifice of imperialism and save humanity from prolonged and unnecessary oppression.

At the same time, and inevitably, there is the stock market crash - a result of the lack of confidence in the future of the world capitalist economy. Imperialism is pre-occupied to maintain some relative stability in the world economy so as to limit inter-capitalist dispute in front of the Workers States; but this is difficult when Yankee imperialism has tried to drown the rest with high interest rates to finance its deficits, followed by letting the dollar slide to help its own exports. The other imperialist powers have to put up

CAPITALISM WITHOUT HISTORIC PERSPECTIVE.

The present capitalist government in Britain flounders in this great mess. The policy is simple and without perspective, on the basis of 'live and be merry today, because tomorrow we die.' Privatisation is a means of using surplus capital because capitalism now is short on initiatives nationally and internationally. The Thatcher regime marks the complete failure of capitalism which prided itself in the heyday of imperialism on overcoming 'the two nations', i.e. modifying the class struggle. The Thatcher regime is digging assiduously a very great trench for capitalism. The fact that a whole layer of conservatives have been left aside by Thatcher points to the internal disaster within the capitalist class. Heath's attack

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on the Baker educational proposals and the repudiation of the phony arguments about more resources for the health service by a former Conservative minister shows the disorder within the ranks of Conservatism. Disraeli had some form of perspective for his class. Thatcher has none.

The forces of the left and the resistance of the masses objectively grow in this situation, even if this is not always visible because of the nature of the Labour Party. Heath attacked with some contempt the useless leadership of the Labour Party. They, like all good

Stalinist functionaries, are in a state of fear in front of the population and the left. They know that a real fight even in Parliament against the puny thugs of capitalism would stimulate the population and create problems for them and the trade union functionaries who are geared to reformism.

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SPAIN - the struggle against nuclear weapons and NATO continues

ENNISKILLEN AND THE DISCUSSION ON IRELAND

The bombing at Enniskillen has predictably inspired gargantuan quantities of mendacious rubbish and phoney sympathy in the ranks of British imperialism and its supporters. In fact, the chorus of Socialist Ireland are perfectly legitimate, and there is no justification it is clear that British imperialism was expecting an incident such as this. It has to be remembered that the ranks of the IRA are by no means homogeneous and that the hand of imperialism via informers and double agents is quite capable of penetrating its ranks and making use of it. The original attack on Thatcher at Brighton had all the marks of a set-up and imperialism had a hand in the present bombing directly or indirectly.

The reactionary nature of the Labour Party apparatus was once more confirmed with the speech of Kinnock, referring to the IRA as terrorists when its objectives for a Socialist Ireland are perfectly legitimate, and there is no justification for the presence of British imperialism in Northern Ireland save to prevent the emergence of Socialist revolutionary forces which could affect Britain itself. The Anglo-Irish agreement is an attempt to incorporate the Northern Irish Catholic bourgeoisie into an agreement and, with the Southern bourgeoisie, to collude with imperialism so as to turn Southern Ireland into a NATO base. The row over the intervention of Livingstone shows the extreme vul-

nerability of British imperialism on this issue. The fact that he speaks in this way - although tending to see the issue as one of simple British withdrawal, testifies to the strength of feeling on the Labour left although it lacks homogeneity and is still lost in the toils of empiricism and parliamentary illusion. With all its military terrorism, the Diplock courts, the collaboration of the Labour apparatus and the trade union bosses with Thatcher, it is impossible for imperialism to contain the Irish issue.

The leadership of Sinn Fein is trying to develop a more political

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Trotsky demonstrated that capitalism was not in a position to bring Russia back into the orbit of its system and that the historic bases established by Lenin, by the Bolshevik Party and the Workers State of the Soviet Union were the essential instrument to pass through successive phases in the construction of Socialism.

Trotsky dedicated himself to prepare the vanguard for this task. In all his analyses he tried to show that the perversion of Stalin did not arise from Communism and the Workers State, and that it was not an inevitable feature of the progress of humanity; but that it was due only to the historic conditions of retreat. This phase was described by him as Thermidor, and today there is no possibility of such a condition.

For these motives before the war unleashed by German imperialism against the Workers State, Trotsky defended in an inflexible manner the Soviet Union; and to the journalists who asked if he supported the invasion of Poland and Finland he answered: 'Yes, it is necessary to defend it because it is a right of the Soviet Workers State to have its frontiers pushed back against German imperialism which wants to destroy the Workers State; the Workers State is the most advanced and necessary instrument for the progress of humanity.' The journalists went on: 'But, Mr Trotsky, Stalin wants to kill you.' He replied in effect: 'Life is not determined by my existence but by the Workers State, the necessary and indispensable instrument for the progress of humanity; and it is necessary to defend it unconditionally. These are not invasions to subject and dominate a state, but a strategic and military move to confront German imperialism.'

The thought of Trotsky showed the objectivity in his analyses. He had shown that Stalin was not a product of the Workers State and the Bolshevik Party, but of the historic conditions and the retreat of the Revolution, and also of the incapacity of capitalism to crush the Workers State. Among the conditions which at that moment allowed the bases for the birth of Stalinism there was the situation of the Bolshevik Party, decimated by the war, and the necessity to construct the Workers State, which had weakened the structure of the Party.

The essential concern of Trotsky was that of preparing the proletarian vanguard for the future of humanity in the years to come. He knew that he would be killed, he wanted to place the vanguard at the level of understanding the logical optimism of history, which was based on, born and developed from, dialectical materialism; the Workers State is a necessity of history, Socialism is absolutely indispensable and invincible, because it represents the development of human intelligence through the economy, science, culture and art. This shows itself in the social relations which constitute the first phase of the Workers State. Stalinism is a transitory degeneration of history.

The objective, historic necessity of Socialism is determined by the crisis of the capitalist system, by the impotence of this system - which, once established at a certain level of development, is no longer capable of developing the economy, technology, science and art.

To sustain itself, capitalism must retreat and does so in great strides backwards in the economy and in science and culture.

Capitalism develops and centralises the economy for the market, but poisons and kills people and distributes wealth among a smaller and smaller minority. It causes the pollution of waters, constructs factories which poison workers, produces food poisoned by noxious substances, and is responsible for every form of blood, lung and skin infection. Capitalism kills continuously. It no longer has the interest or the strength to encourage the progress of art and science at the very instant that these show the possibility of limitless development of the human being and of human relations. It is necessary to eliminate capitalism because the conditions already exist to do so, given the world proletariat and the Workers States, which represent at the organised level of thought the will, disposition and historic proletarian instrument necessary to substitute for the capitalist system.

Trotsky affirmed his thought and his work so as to give to the proletariat the historic understanding that Socialism and Communism represent a phase in the historic progress of humanity and the proletariat is the objective instrument of this. Trotsky was concerned to strengthen the instrument, Marxism, explaining that Stalinism was a transitory degeneration of history. Thus he proposed a political revolution. In the present phase this is no longer necessary in the way Trotsky expressed it, since it is realised daily.

In the Soviet Union they are confronting in the programme of the New Constitution the principle of distribution 'to each according to need.' This is a very elevated

principle of Communism, since it means that the process of development in the Workers State, through its nature, creates elevated human relations which mature interests of property which excite and generate egoism.

If the present Chinese leaders implement an anti-Soviet policy and ally with capitalism, imperialism and the most barbarous elements and backward sectors in history - the Pinochet and the South African fascists - against the Workers States, that is because it is a question of a bureaucratic clique resulting from the lack of life and of proletarian weight in the Chinese Communist Party.

That does not mean that they repeat the historic cycle of Stalin, since there are no longer the conditions to do this. The masses of the world have learnt and participate in this process. On the other hand, among the main objectives of Trotsky was that of making the masses intervene, to educate and convince them that Socialism is not the product of the intelligence of Marx, of Engels or of Lenin and the Workers State, but of history - which Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Workers States represent. The capitalist system is not able to realise the progress of the economy, of science, of culture, of art and of technology. As regards technology, capitalism makes a limited use of it since it applies it only for the market economy, for competition, for the production of armaments, for war; and not to favour the development of human relations.

While, on the other hand, Trotsky led a sharp fight against the bureaucracy, Trotsky defended

alone, but unconditionally, the Soviet Union in so far as it was an instrument of the progress of history, a state in which the proletariat had an economic, social and political centre to oppose the capitalist system. The Soviet Union demonstrated the creative capacity of the proletariat because, for the first time, this completed the historic experience of conquering power in a process in which it was isolated and had to resist enormous pressures. Trotsky organised the IV International, but tried to remain in the Third International where he found himself in the most difficult conditions, an object of accusations and threatened with provocations and of expulsion from various countries. But he confronted them, to remain united to the Workers State and to the Communist masses of the world.

The object of Trotsky was to intervene, to play a role of sustaining development with his experience, and with his theoretical strength and political ability placed at the disposition of the Workers State as an instrument of history for the construction of Socialism. Hence the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union.

Trotsky did not limit himself to see only in the Soviet Union, the domination of Stalin, the bureaucracy, the extermination and assassination of the Communists, but he considered it to be an instrument of history guided by a leadership with a counter-revolutionary policy.

The confidence which Trotsky placed in the future of the Soviet Union was shown, among other things, in 1938; in the worst conditions when he felt that Stalin was seeking to kill him - and he

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Scargill is an example of a leader who at least maintains a class position. The problem is that there is a need of a left team in the unions and the Labour Party which can develop ideas and discussions with the population, to develop a consistent national leadership against the system.

The recent conference at Chesterfield brought out the problem of developing a homogeneous leadership, but the efforts to form this will continue because they have to continue. The progressive aspect of changes on the Soviet Union, i.e. dumping the Stalinists, will encourage this process, whatever the drawbacks of other Soviet policies. It will be necessary to continue on this path to place Britain within an

international context and to systematically develop meetings with the population and in the workers' areas. The Labour apparatus is very weak, the fact that one person, Livingstone, can create havoc over the Irish discussion, is because the apparatus sees that there is a left which cannot be put down and will persevere.

There has to be an effort to develop a consistent left trade union sector, because strike actions from the teachers to the postal workers show that powerful class forces are not being used sufficiently. The need for an objective discussion in the Labour left on a Marxist basis, taking into account the force of the Workers States and the declining powers of imperialism, will constantly assert itself in the next stages in front of the impasse of the Labour leadership, the fall of the SDP and the blind alley of Thatcher capitalism.

J POSADAS ON THE L. PARTY

British imperialism and the bureaucracy - the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy - which represent British imperialism, are not homogeneous. The bureaucracy has a part of itself with one foot in the proletariat with proletarian interests, historic interests of progress; but with the rest of the body and the hand, representing British imperialism. This is so because of the nature of the class struggle in Britain which has been determined by the Labour Party and because a sector of the Labour bourgeois leadership - which is bourgeois and not mistaken - represents capitalism. The latter is combined with sectors which range from the revolutionary interests of the proletariat, to those of the middle layers.

Whole sectors of the population which are driven towards a historic solution are expressed in the Labour Party. It is the axis of the class struggle. This is why, when a left is formed, it is formed in the Labour Party, and nowhere else. It will not be formed outside the Labour Party.

THE STALIN ISSUE AND "RECONSTRUCTION"

As yet we do not have the full text of the speech of Gorbachev on the 70th anniversary of the Russian Revolution, but what is available points to the very limited understanding of this leadership to enter into a searching objective account of the Soviet history and its relationship to the present. Perestroika and Glasnost merely judging by the latest offering have very confined limits. The continued inability at the top to confront the Trotsky-Stalin problem, allied to the effort to accelerate the 'economic reforms' shows the empirical disorder in which the bureaucracy is involved. But the crisis is much more severe because the discussion of Stalin is going to be very difficult to control among the new generation of Soviet workers and intellectuals, who well know that Stalin and his methods and his ideas were subjected to a withering analysis by the 'over confident Trotsky' and it will be impossible to put the clock back and maintain the old silence. Gorbachev has concentrated his attacks on Stalin on the period of collectivisation and purges, when the original empiricism of Stalinism became apparent in all its imbecile savagery. Thus all the anterior errors and empiricism, which led to this counter-revolutionary situation, remain unregarded. This profoundly limits the insight into the present problems in the Soviet Union. But when Gorbachev has to condemn Stalin so completely over the purges, this is an attempt to live with a massive pressure for discussion and change in the Soviet Union, to which the bureaucracy finds it difficult to respond.

In general, his type of analysis is close to the Sakharov tendency who complain about the crimes of Stalin to justify conciliation with capitalism and more private enterprise in the Soviet Union. It is necessary to repeat that Lenin and Trotsky were concerned with the emergence of the bureaucracy which found its most sinister representative in Stalin who was to propound the stupid doctrine of Socialism in one country. It was the left opposition who warned of the kulaks and

proposed the programme of industrialisation and collectivisation before Stalin had got round to the problem, and he took the programme of the left opposition.

Finally, the arrogance and avarice of the bureaucracy led to a war against the masses in the thirties and the extinction of the leadership which had led the revolution, culminating in the assassination of Trotsky.

Abalkin's article, published in a supplement to *Socialism: Theory and Practice*, on the economic re-structuring in the USSR gives a very good idea of the character of the new turn, which the top bureaucracy support in its crisis. There are many currents at work in the present discussion but Abalkin's article represents the sector which is now most evident in trying to make changes. Others will be opposed to these ideas and not only the old parasitic Stalinists.

It consists of a series of questions and answers

From the article it appears that we are in the presence only of the initial stage of developed Socialism. Even so, there is something rather odd about having to employ capitalist methods in the economy when we are even 'at the beginning of Socialist development'. The reform of the economic mechanism is a systematic attack on the centralised plan and, whatever noises to the contrary, it is clear that if all this 'de-regularisation' was applied 'private enterprise' is going to make fundamental decisions. Thus, 'what to produce will no longer be decided by the central planning board',

It will be decided in the sphere of relations between industrial enterprises, that is, the production programme and the concrete plan will be oriented towards the users, orders to be filled under contract.' One question in this interview is particularly apposite when taken with that analysis: 'Could it be that the changes in the present system will undermine the relations of comradely aid and assistance to Soviet enterprises?' (!)

There are a number of superb declarations by this economist... the more foodstuffs the state sells the more losses it sustains, the more housing it builds the more it

loses. On the other hand, the mass of people have long established ideas which cannot be ignored. No, indeed they cannot! His solution to all problems is quite simple - differentiation. To solve difficult issues, this economist is very direct. In a superb passage on the use of the price mechanism and the example of high quality sausages our economist sees that there were big queues for sausages at a low price. However, this was easily solved. They raised the price, and lo and behold 'with the price rising to nine roubles and fifty kopecks (per kilo) people have stopped queueing for them.' Under this new system the corruption of the Stalinists is being used to discredit centralised planning based on democratic discussion. The new 'differentiation' is to be open and blatant. The state is being visualised simply as a bourgeois state, i.e. to correct imbalances and to see that the poor are not 'overlooked'. This has nothing to do with Socialism and reflects the interests of a layer with highly developed appetites who wish to differentiate themselves from the Soviet masses and act as a bourgeoisie. They have gained influence over a sector of the leadership, but there will be a reaction to all this. The Soviet people did not endure Stalin and Hitler just to see their country handed over to a new gang of grasping moneybags with a taste for the worst aspects of western 'culture'.

These economic 'reforms', if completely instituted, would lead to a state of affairs worse than Yugoslavia. They were analysed long ago by Cde Posadas in an article of 1965 where the false claims of these reforms were exposed as against the interests of the Workers States.

The degree of crisis of the bureaucracy can be envisaged simply in posing the present phase of the world revolution and the apparent passivity of the leadership in front of this. Every

where the system of imperialism upon.

is reeling. All the grand Reagan-Thatcher offensive against the Soviets has become muted. At the same time, all the feverish war preparations organised by imperialism have helped to lead to an enormous economic crisis and indication of profound insecurity by capitalism in itself. Imperialism is gravely wounded. Its power of attraction is waning. Yet, on the commemoration of the 70th anniversary, the Soviet leadership makes hardly any reference to the ideal situation for further disintegrating imperialism. They speak only of 'reconstruction' for the Soviet Union, when the term should be used to apply to the whole world which needs reconstructing without capitalism. Such confined vision is the result of Stalinist mis-education, but also because there are large privileged layers in the Soviet Union interested in developing a new consumer market for themselves and to hell with world Socialism. They have an interest as well as the Workers State, in disposing of the Stalinist functionaries who live off the centralised economy - that is, get rid of them as part of the means to liquidate or semi-liquidate centralised functioning. They calmly admit that prices will rise and inconveniences for the population occur - but not, of course, for the privileged layers. They will be earning 'according to their work'. They also, like Sakharov, live the pipe dream of a peaceful settlement with imperialism, which flies in the face of reality.

It was Stalin's regime which finally led to the appearance of the Sakharov layer, analysed by Cde Posadas.

There is no justification for the particular nature of these reforms, except that there is now an extensive layer in the Soviet Union represented by Sakharov and various economists etc. who wish to develop a capitalist-Socialism, not a viable animal. They are interested in a democracy of a formal order rather like the bourgeoisie in the West, where the real issues are not discussed and voting takes place on issues that the ruling cliques decide

For the Soviet economy there has to be a plan which clearly deals with the needs of the population and which can be decided upon by the masses in their organisms, and then applied. We hear much about 'democratisation', but this seems to be linked with these economic reforms which, in fact, were never discussed in the first place. This is hardly democracy; rather it is a particular form of democracy to facilitate reforms which have not been discussed.

We also reiterate that for a Workers State a discussion cannot exist on the economy in isolation from the rest of the world. Why is there no discussion about the state of the world revolution? Nothing publically discussed about China or about the recent coup in Burkino Faso, or about South Africa. The Communist sentiments of the Soviet people would find immediate expression if there was a lively political discussion. They have no fears of the Yanks-even if jackals like Sakharov live in fear and trembling. Nor has the Iranian people who have treated the Yanks with total contempt. The Soviet leadership must base itself on these sentiments and not aim at limiting them by isolating the economy from the people, ignoring the achievements of the centralised economy and injecting capitalist methods into the economy.

At one time the Party under Breznev distanced itself from these reforms and Kosygin carried the onus and they were dropped.

Now a sector of the Party apparatus involves itself in a chaotic situation which represents a massive crisis of the bureaucratic running of the Workers State. But the discussion of the future of the Soviet Union, which with the discussion of its past transcends the immediate understanding of the leadership will prepare the ground for rectified policies and new Communist cadres in the Soviet Union and throughout the world, based on the acquired statification of property and centralised planning - which even with Stalinist deformation has proved superior to capitalism. It is this structure which will weigh in the long run and determine Soviet policy.

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

J. POSADAS MAIN TITLES IN ENGLISH - a selection -

The essential task for social transformations in Britain is to understand the Labour Party and to develop activity towards the Labour Party. All this, is part of the world and it has to be seen that, between the bourgeois apparatus of the Labour Party and the world progress of the revolution, it will be the world progress of the revolution which will force Britain to advance. This apparatus will not be able to contain the process of advance in Britain. It is necessary to count on this. One has to see also that it will not develop by itself but with the intervention of our section to support the formation of the Marxist-Labour vanguard.

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In this process the USSR was created, resisted the hardest test of history and developed as an instrument of the progress of history. Its function and development as a Workers State towards a Socialist society was, and is, conditioned through its link with the proletariat and the world revolutionary process. The conditions of isolation which led to the installation of the bureaucracy and national isolation have been overcome and crushed by history, but not thus the results at the level of leadership, of the leading superstructure of the Workers States and the Communist parties in the world. This much more complex and contradictory process, today lives through a process of definitions whose epicentre is Soviet society.

J. Posadas posed in his text 'The Russian Revolution, the Degeneration of the Workers State, and the process of Partial Regeneration of 20 October 1973': 'Socialism is not an economic elevation but it is the elimination of every form of imposition, of violence, of inequality. Socialism means the elimination of 'each one according to his capacity' by 'to each one according to his needs'.

Socialism means the elimination of every dependency on the economy. It is the rational relation determined by the mind, by thought, by fraternity — which includes and resolves inequality. A family which has ten children and does not have enough to live on gives all that it can, and the planning of society means not to produce individually, not to make private cars when there is insufficient housing. And when there are enough houses people are not going to make private cars because they will say 'why the individual cars'?

Such an analysis is completely relevant now, being based on the recognition that the Soviet people are fully conscious that they have sacrificed their individual material well-being and, as a country, has supported and extended the revolution throughout the world — and it does this with Cuba, Nicaragua, Africa, Asia and Afghanistan. No one in the USSR says, 'We should suspend the external aid which is killing us'. Quite different is the bureaucratic thieving which denounces the present leadership. But, anyway, the Soviet masses are sufficiently mature — when they can intervene — to put order in distribution, into production, and in all the aspects of Soviet society. The Soviet masses are capable of a thousand initiatives, and if necessary sacrifices to extend and generalise the Socialist relations without any necessity of private, family or individual profit. They are ready for Communism.

As revolutionaries, we are not interested in the rehabilitation of a name as a symbol. It is living ideas of all the masters of Marxism which show that they are necessary and invincible. The examples of the Russian Revolution show that they are imperishable. The Party is indestructible, but the Party for this task. Not a Party made to relate to the daily life of the capitalist system, either its trade union or electoral life, but preparing for this revolutionary process developed in the science and in the consciousness of this conclusion. Hence, in spite of Stalin, the Russian Revolution went on because the first seven years of Lenin gave the structure and solidity of the Soviet economic and social structure. More important is the social than the economic, because this gave the security to the Soviet

people that the progress of the USSR was determined by the progress of the revolution, and if progress was not possible at a particular moment it was necessary to maintain the revolution at all costs, awaiting another stage. The Party was educated in this, and knew how to wait without disintegrating or breaking, nor dividing nor forming other parties. J. POSADAS Capitalism can sign all sorts of agreements because it is socially weak, but it prepares the war anyway and does it socially, increasing poverty and starvation and the destruction of a great part of humanity. The USSR must shine forth as 'The lighthouse which illuminates the world', and it is correct to intervene to organise a new leadership of humanity. It is not now a question of Socialism in a single country or 'each Party doing what it wants', but a world instrument, retaking the experience of the Bolshevik instrument to deal on a world scale with problems, including particular problems, to generalise the conclusions and the experiences for the progress of the world. Although certain Communist parties resist or oppose these conclusions — because they have not understood the role of the first four Congresses of the Communist International — they continue being necessary. It is humanity which poses this and has its eyes placed on the Soviet Union on this Seventieth Anniversary.

It is necessary to make of this date a re-affirmation of this instrument of progress of history impelling the struggle for the truth and contributing with ideas, analyses and criticisms to impel and to elevate the anti-capitalist struggle in the world.

18 Oct. 1987. European Bureau.

The recent meeting of the Chinese Communist Congress did not change anything profoundly. There has now developed an apparatus in government and in the economy which is quite divorced from the masses and has its own economic interests. As a layer, they are pro-occupied with 'Great China' and have no idea of Marxism. The new leader, Zhao Ziyang is part of a layer with very flexible spines. At one time quite capable of attacking all forms of material incentives, he is now pushing private enterprise where ever possible. Whole areas of the Chinese economy are practically outside state control, and the basis for new forms of class struggle clearly exist in the countryside against the rich peasants who are also involved in private industrial development. The stratification of the means of production and land continues to exist, but in effect much is being leased to private farmers and social differentiation is naturally developing. All this has been analysed by Cde Posadas long ago, as a result of the limited role played by the proletariat originally in China, the destruction of the best cadres of the CCP in the Twenties and the lack of a consistent Communist political life, together with the generalised extension of Stalinism. Nonetheless a Chinese proletariat now exists.

It is impossible to ignore the revolutionary origin of the Chinese Workers State, and the conflict with world imperialism cannot solidify the counter-revolutionary leadership in China.

There is no doubt that the emergence of counter-revolutionary, directly restorationist tendencies in a sector was prepared to intervene in the Chinese Red Army against the pro-capitalist sectors in the student demonstrations.

The leadership in China wishes to separate Party and government, to limit the role of the Party and to develop a non-political civil service. Certainly the Party should not be confused with government, but its influence should be established on the basis of the continuous intervention of the masses. The new policy to limit the Party can incur certain risks for the counter-revolutionary leadership, as the diminution of Party control in government could accelerate currents of criticism from within the Party.

THE RIVERA EXHIBITION

The fact of an exhibition re- for 'political' art is generally merely calling the work of Diego Rivera, the reference or protest, or a passive first time his work has been shown form of realism. What is lacking is in a serious way in Britain, has some Communist conviction. As a result importance in showing that it is what passes for art in general is most possible to have a powerful political of the time empty and mediocre. collective art which is both good art Although the best periods of Rivera's and good politics. It is in total contrast to the confusion and debility of it still overshadows the art of the art under capitalism in this stage of twentieth century. history.

Naturally it was not possible to show his major mural works save in photographs.

It is true that art is not the constructor in society, as in part it was in previous stages, because now humanity is engaged in a progress of advance and construction which depends directly on the highest possible elevation of human relations and requires also the presence of a Party capable of foresight and harmonisation.

Because of the failure of the Communist and Socialist parties to develop tendencies armed with revolutionary conviction, what passes

In this sense the CPSU has still to develop policies which marshal Communist passion and enable the use of art in a more functional way, as one of the instruments to develop Communist sentiment and security in the inevitable Communist future of humanity. Most of the art in the Workers States is very limited, with very confined sentiments, and without the capacity to develop epic historical themes which can guide and give security to humanity. To this extent the best work of Rivera has not found an equivalent in this stage.

Rivera later deserted the team of Marxism led by Trotsky, but the banner of the IV International retains the relevance it had in his murals, because it is the ideas of the IV International elaborated by Trotsky and Posadas which meet the historic needs of today.

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and social orientation under Gerry Adams, and this finds opposition from the more right wing military sector. The more the political understanding and the left develops in the IRA, the more difficult will it be for informers to play a role and complicate matters. Imperialism is frightened of the political development of the IRA, Hence the re-doubled repression, North and South of the border. Hence the attempt to stifle any discussion in Britain on the Irish question by screaming 'terrorists' any time the subject is mentioned.

At the same time, Northern Ireland is an excellent training ground for repression in Britain.

The Labour left intervention has to elevate the political discussion to face the problem that Ireland and Britain must have a common Socialist perspective. Withdrawal of troops is not enough. Both countries face the oppression of the capitalist class. A Socialist federation of both countries has to be the objective — a Republican Federation with the monarchy abolished.

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had already experienced several attempts on his life — when he declared that the isolation of the USSR would be broken and that imperialism would injure itself in front of the progress of the Soviet Union. It was not yet possible to value the resistance of the country, but Trotsky was confident in the world proletariat which had already impeded capitalism from launching itself against the Soviet Union.

On the other hand, the internal contradictions of capitalism were very acute, infinitely stronger than their capacity to eliminate the USSR; and these showed them

selves later in the encounter with German imperialism. Hence Trotsky in 1938 anticipated that in the war millions of revolutionaries would know how to move heaven and earth, and then the Soviet Union would no longer be isolated and new conditions would be created. Although not expressed exactly in these terms, this was the essential thought of Soviet bureaucracy remains, but Trotsky. Indeed, he believed that it is a less serious factor, linked the unconditional defence of the Soviet Union was part of revolutionary policy, and was the most elevated factor in that stage of human history. The other factor of importance was shown when Trotsky developed the programme of the IV International. Although this was in general correct, today the analysis as regards the Soviet Union is changed because the problem of Stalinism no longer exists. This has disappeared, it has been smashed by the course of the world revolution. The struggle of capitalism against the workers States.