

# THE INCREASING OPPOSITION TO THE GOVERNMENT REQUIRES AN ORGANISED LABOUR LEFT

The result of the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting has not diminished the intensity of the struggle between the two systems. The Yanks have made it clear that whatever schemes are dreamed up to allay the contra-Sandinista struggle they will continue to support the contras. The European bourgeoisie may prefer less hostility to Nicaragua, but they will not deter the Yanks. Similarly over Afghanistan, imperialist arms and money continue to pour in to aid the counter-revolution; and in Angola etc. The phony charge against North Korea, accusing it of complicity in the destruction of a South Korean airlines has led to the US breaking off relations with North Korea, that is further intensifying points of conflict with the Workers States.

Soviet diplomacy is seeking to make the most of differences within the imperialist alliance between European and Yankee capitalism, and also to appeal to sectors of capitalism who seek to survive by gaining access to a market in the Workers States.

The Soviets are wanting a greater role in the Middle East and because Yankee imperialism has failed to intimidate the whole area and now Israel, which was once a firm Yankee base, is greatly divided, it is impossible to contain the growing influence of the Workers States. The Soviets are preparing, developing relations with Israel and aim to play a great role in the Middle East through a conference in which it is included. This policy is not sufficient and is not underpinned by a great preparation of the revolutionary forces in the Middle East, but nonetheless the pressure of the Workers States augments and undermines the position of imperialism. The insurrection of the Arabs against the fascists repression of the Zionists is a great blow at imperialism - which, in the case of Britain, is obliged to show horror in order to prepare better links with the Arab bourgeoisie. The Soviets have still to develop a policy which gives the Arab masses a perspective with Communist cadres who have a programme which transcends national boundaries and see that the perspective of a Palestinian state is insufficient. The fact that the Iran-Iraq war continues is an expression of the lack of leaderships which correspond to the needs of the masses and thus revolutionary forces are dispersed.

The recent Soviet offer to develop better relations between the Soviet Union and China reflects an objective necessity, but this has to be accelerated by a superior political intervention of the Soviet leadership as the policies of the present Chinese leadership do not correspond to the necessities of the Chinese Workers State. Without question, the most positive features of perestroika, i.e. the massive purging of Stalinist elements, will weigh in China; but the political discussion on the experience of Stalinism would weigh even more against the Deng leadership which represent the Chinese variant of Stalinism.

Although the Thatcher government has been able to create unemployment, destroy trade union liberties, and impose a regime notorious for its brutal assertion of the capitalist doctrines of profitability, it is running into more and more difficulties. The crisis of the Health Service and the Community Charge have aroused considerable opposition within the Conservative ranks themselves. The rebellion of the consultants, and now the nurses, is an indication of the limited social support for Conservative policies. In this process, it is typical that both Thatcher and Kinnock criticise the militant action of nurses. It is a classic case of how the Labour Party leadership identifies itself only with the most passive criticisms of the capitalist system. Over most issues the bourgeois opposition to Thatcher is less obsequious. Thus the attempts of Thatcher to control the press and television on matters of state security have stimulated far more opposition from bourgeois sectors than from the comatose leaders of the Labour Party. Nonetheless, the apparatus is uneasy. The criticisms of Warburton of the GMWU and the proposed Prescott candidature against Hattersley are examples of the agitation even in the bureaucracy with the snoring of the Labour Party leadership and its campaign of 'listening' to the population rather than actually organising a popular resistance to the policies of the government. The apparatus of the Labour Party and the unions is terrified of any projection of a clear anti-capitalist policy, because they would strengthen the left. The abnormal passivity of the Labour Party leadership is precisely because only major anti-capitalist measures can solve the present crisis.

The attitude of Benn towards the progressive measures of perestroika in the Soviet Union is of great importance. It shows that a current exists in the Labour Party, even if not expressed fully

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# RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

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

381 January 29, 1988

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at this moment, which looks to the Soviet Union as in some sense a source of experience. This is the first time that a sector of the Labour left sees the Soviet Union as separable from the Stalinist's falsification of history. A less prejudiced view of the Workers States is fundamental for the theoretical grounding of a viable Labour Party left. The crisis of the Liberals and the Social Democrats however formally this may be resolved, shows the profound weakness of any new centrist formation. The policies of contemporary capitalism demand not an opposition of the mixed econo-

my etc. but a programme which goes against the market conception - a programme where the human being is central and the laws of capitalist accumulation are liquidated. It is a solution which demands co-ordination with the masses of Europe in a massive anti-capitalist united front transcending national boundaries, superior to the national conceptions of capitalism. The latter has no perspective save war and the savage exploitation of Latin America, Africa and Asia.

capitalism but its descent into chaos because it has no other perspective. The analogy is often made with Victorianism. It is a bad analogy. The leaders of Victorian Britain were concerned to modify the class struggle on the basis of an expanding imperial economy which allowed a substantial structuring of reformist layers in the proletariat. Thatcher does not have the possibilities of such an imperial expansion. They are faced with the competition of the Workers States and a

The policies of Thatcher do not represent a re-animation of

*Continued page 4.*



German workers reject Krupps closure

## THE VISIT OF STRAUSS TO MOSCOW AND THE INTERVENTION OF THE PROLETARIAT IN THE RUHR.

The visit of Franz Josef Strauss to Moscow after the great noise over negotiations on the limitation of nuclear arms is a profound sign of the accumulating weakness of German imperialism. It is true that Strauss seeks to take advantage of the emphasis in Soviet policy on peaceful co-existence at all costs, but for a

leader so rightist and anti-Communist - representative of the sector most linked to nuclear energy in Germany and to the Yanks - it demonstrates the inertia of capitalism. More than Kohl, Strauss represents the most aggressive anti-Communist sector in German imperialism.

After years of attacking the Soviets, Strauss is reported to have said that the West need not fear any 'offensive, aggressive intentions' from the Soviet Union. Imperialism is seeking to make use of the present policy of the Soviets in order to survive a little

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In order to intervene in the present historic phase which capitalism tries to control and crush through war, it is necessary to link the struggles against the bureaucracy with the necessity of defending the Workers States and creating a united front of revolutionary movements with the Communist and Socialist parties and the struggles of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The contradictions in which capitalism exists prevents it from employing its forces when and how it wants. It operates in an atmosphere of internal differences and disputes, having to confront at world level the competition between capitalist countries, besides that with the Workers States which show a social superiority which is much more important than the economic superiority which in some directions it possesses.

Trotsky formulated a programme for the struggle in the capitalist countries which is still valid. He proposed the sliding scale of wages and of work and guaranteed employment. In the case of a factory forced to stop production and proposing dismissal of workers, the interests of the workers have to be placed before the interests of the management.

The state must expropriate the factory which then must function under workers' control. This means work sharing, no reduction in wages, and that the state takes over the factory to develop production according to the needs of the population and exchange. It is necessary besides to guarantee equality to the women and the youth. Trotsky formulated these propositions in the perspective of the war which the capitalist system was preparing, but they still maintain their validity.

Today it is no longer a question of confronting the problem of Stalin-

ism, but of combining the struggle against bureaucracy with the struggle against the capitalist system. Stalinism has disappeared, overcome by the progress of the world revolution. The differences between the Workers States are motivated by the interests of the bureaucratic sectors. The proletariat has not succeeded in making itself felt as a class, since it depends on the parties, trade unions, and therefore also the influence which the workers' aristocracy exercise in the bureaucratic apparatuses preventing the masses drawing close to revolutionary thought. In the Workers States, conditions such as unemployment do not exist, nor the starvation present in capitalism. The Workers States express their superiority more at the social level and in human relations rather than in science and technology, and constitute the pole of attraction for the masses of the world. Trotsky had confidence in this when he said - and it was one of his most important political conclusions - in ten years millions of revolutionaries will know how to move heaven and earth and the USSR will not be alone.'

This was the essential task of Trotsky, and for this reason he is one of the teachers of history. With these texts we render homage to him, to Marx, to Engels, to Lenin, to the Bolshevik masses and, besides, to the struggles of the masses of the world against the capitalist system, for the development of Socialism, and for the unconditional defence of the workers states (Socialist countries). These, indeed, today represent the necessary instrument of history to carry forward the progress of humanity as in its time the Soviet Union did.

## THE FUNCTION OF THE PROLETARIAT AS A RULING CLASS.

In this way Trotsky transmitted to us the dialectical model which allows one to understand the present his-

toric phase. He was not able to furnish the formulas for the concrete political relations and organisational needs from his epoch, but the method which he proposed is still valid - as are the class relations and the class logic of capitalism. The Workers States do not yet have the necessary unity, do not yet form a united front in the confrontation with the capitalist system although, in reality, a front already exists which has the power to suppress the capitalist system.

The method and the dialectical analysis to interpret the process of history are the legacy which Trotsky has left to the proletarian vanguard. The existing political and organisational conditions are not those of the period of Trotsky, but the class struggles and relations are the same; although the equilibrium and balance of world forces has changed. Today the relation of forces expressed in the Workers States are superior, together with the revolutionary States of the so-called Third World - and the proletariat of the great countries of the world and the Communist parties of France, Italy, and in part of Japan, Spain and Greece - which constitute vital centres for the progress of history. Trotsky dedicated himself to the task of organising and creating the instrument for the progress of humanity. Like the teachers - Marx, Engels, Lenin and the Bolshevik masses - Trotsky dedicated himself to the creation of an instrument which would allow the proletarian vanguard to unite, to be centralised, and to acquire the security and confidence in the method of analysis to confront the historic phase which would come, as really has happened and is in process today. This is the progress of the Workers States, the advance of the masses of the world and the Communist parties, and the will that all have achieved at a world level to destroy the capitalist system.

In this phase, the people of Iran - without mass party and without trade unions - have adopted a security the decision to transform the country socially. Its will is determined by the world relation of forces, thanks to which they learn to open themselves to the influence of history. The integrating aspect of the relation of forces is, above all, the Soviet Union, the struggle of the Workers States, of the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America against the capitalist system, and the struggle of the masses around the great Communist parties and in the trade unions of France, of Italy and, in part, of Spain.

The British, German and Japanese proletariats with their struggles play a fundamental role as natural ally, if not at the programmatic and organisational level of the Workers States in the anti-capitalist struggle.

In this respect the German proletariat with the mobilisation of the engineering workers has inflicted a serious blow against capitalism and has put in discussion the structure itself, affirming that progress must come also for the workers, and not only for capitalism. It has thus placed in difficulty the capitalist system and has weakened its struggle authority and its economic and social force. The same is valid for the British proletariat, protagonist of major struggles and of sharp conflicts with the Labour leadership, agent of British imperialism; and, for that the Japanese have a Communist Party and strong Socialist Party which confront capitalism and contain its reactionary and counter-revolutionary role. These are the bases of the world relation of forces

The proletariat must learn to lead society, but it lacks the experience of history to do it. Capitalism expanded and presented itself as the ruling class in society, performing its function through the economy. In this, it acquires its security and

dominates, influences and attracts the larger part of society to submit to it. The proletariat does not have this strength. It must learn to lead society while fighting against the capitalist system, without having any permanent role in the leadership, in the orientation and programming of the economy. The proletariat fulfils this apprenticeship through the class struggle and the defence of its vital demands, learning to refine the instruments which allow it to develop the battles for the progress of society; that is to say, for its social transformation.

Trotsky wrote to give security and confidence to the proletarian vanguard, so that the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions would understand that Communism is a necessity of the progress of history. The development of technology, of science and of the economy, with a lesser intensity in art, needs a new human relation because all these expressions raise the intelligence of the human being. The proletariat will then find bases to fulfil its historic function in the sectors which feel drawn towards intelligence and art and culture, and then create a united front which includes the proletariat, intellectuals, scientists and petit bourgeoisie.

Trotsky wrote with the knowledge of not being able to survive and having to leave an historic experience for humanity. This was not a defence of himself, and in his works, in 'My Life' and 'The History of the Russian Revolution' he put in evidence that his argument was not aimed at Stalin as much as his ideas; that Stalin was not a perverse expression of the struggle of the Bolsheviks in Russia, of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, but the fruit of particular historical conditions which nevertheless cannot, any longer, be repeated.

Trotsky taught confidence in the dialectical method and believed in the re-birth of democracy in the Soviet Union.

PART 3

## THE LIBERAL - SDP MERGER

The crisis in the relations between the Liberal Party and the SDP has some importance in showing the inability within capitalism to develop a centre force of any stability or perspective. At the same time, there are forces at the base of the Liberals that seek a solution which does not correspond with the objectives of capitalism.

It is true that the electoral system has been arranged on the basis of the old collaboration between the Labour and Conservative parties to impede the existence of small parties that can complicate capitalist government. Thus, in Italy there is a system which allows small parties to weigh, part of the weakness of Italian capitalism. Even so, the failure of the Alliance to grow at the expense of the Labour Party in the last elections, and the fact that the Labour left gained and that it proved impossible for the Alliance to make much progress against the Conservatives in an

election of polarisation of forces, is quite decisive. The basis of the centre groupings are basically the small business layers and comfortably off layers of the petit bourgeois professions. The top layers are linked to imperialism - as in the case of Steele - and hence their desire to retain nuclear weapons and remain in NATO. But these layers in the massive decomposition of British imperialism in general reflect concerns, rather like the Greens - especially hostility towards the militarism of the last stages of imperialism.

The Social Democrats essentially reflect - although not exclusively - the right of the Labour Party. Their leader, Owen, was a Foreign Secretary and wore the badge of imperialist distinction. The agony of the old imperialist strand in the Labour Party was made manifest in Owen, who tries to combine elements of reformism with market economy plus dedication to the nuclear arms, i.e.

a very direct link with imperialism. Such a position is part of the old imperialist face of the Labour Party which led to his minority isolation. Such a fall is indicative of the deep crisis of British imperialism. The Labour Party can no longer sustain such positions, which belong to the epoch of Ramsay MacDonald, Bevin, etc.

It is certain that sectors of the Labour Party linked with imperialism and local capitalist interests will continue to impede the process, but the apparatus is uncertain and unstable compared with the past, and the left of the Labour Party - whatever the crisis through which it must pass - is going to re-animate and weigh. The world process is its basis and it is precisely this which undermines Owen's effort to remake the classical social democracy and its alliance with imperialism.

The main concern of the sectors of the apparatus of the Liberal and Social Democratic parties

is to contain the forces that lean more to the left. Hence the row over NATO. There, the rightists have placed allegiance to NATO in the constitution. This has been strongly opposed. At the same time, the apparatus has toned down some quite radical aspects of the original preamble with its countenancing of a more egalitarian society and the need for social justice - naturally, expressed in reformist terms. Nonetheless, this shows layers of the petit bourgeoisie against the functioning of the capitalist system.

It is possible for the Labour left to influence these sectors powerfully, because to reject NATO is to reject capitalism in its most concentrated form: the military defence of private property. Many of the anti-capitalist sectors who vote Liberal or who hope to make Liberal policy much more radical have been alienated

from the Labour Party by the bureaucratic apparatus and the absence of any discussion. On the other hand, as happened at a Liberal Conference before the elections, Steele openly derided a majority vote against nuclear policy and said he would ignore it; so much for 'democracy'! If the Labour left develops a more homogeneous position, with clear perspectives on the role of the Workers States and a policy which relates to the demands of social transformations based on the most militant and most oppressed sectors of the population, it would be possible to develop a united front of the population from below and circumvent the bureaucrats in the Liberal and Labour parties who block revolutionary progress.

Socially, the regime is a pack of cards whose 'strength' depends on the weakness of the opposition

## PARTIAL REGENERATION AND "PERESTROIKA"

Trotsky at the end of his life analysed that with a change in the world conditions which had given rise to the degeneration of the Workers State — that is, the overcoming of the isolation of the first Workers State with the augmentation of the world revolutionary process — then the conditions would be laid for a process of regeneration. This was elaborated by J. Posadas in many texts, and provided the keystone for understanding the Workers State in this stage. As a result of the triumph of the Workers States over world imperialism, represented by the nazis, the foundations of the Workers States were assured. The new conditions of the process meant that the bureaucracy under Khrushchev had to re-adjust itself to new circumstances and even denounce Stalin, although in no way encouraging a discussion on the origins of the perversion of the Workers State.

### THE BUREAUCRACY ON THE DEFENSIVE IN FRONT OF THE WORKERS STATE.

More and more, the balance of world relations favoured the Workers State and this meant naturally not only against imperialism but also against the bureaucracy. The power of the Workers State begins to impose strains on the existing united front of the bureaucracy and the latter, in a condition of the decline of the justification for its existence, has to respond to the situation. This is quite complex. On the one hand, there is the objective need more and more to terminate with the worst obstacles to the expansion of the economy; that is, the need to abandon purely quantitative advance in favour of quality of production, with a superior use of

technology and a more rational accounting of resources. At the same time, the accumulation of wealth in the hands of a sizeable minority has meant that changes take place in an ambience in which a whole layer has developed on the basis of the Workers State without any proletarian control, but closely linked to the top layers of the Party, the scientific intelligentsia and cultural circles. As Stalinism has deformed Marxism, these people are also quite outside Marxism. This layer has interests which, as Posadas analysed over Sakharov, do not correspond to those of the Workers State and desire to escape it. Thus they have flourished and developed a corporate mentality, alien to the world revolutionary process, at the same time that the conditions for bureaucratic castes are declining. Hence the peculiar conditions of this Perestroika, which, at one and the same time, show the interests of a caste and on the other the declining powers of the bureaucracy, its inability to cope with the masses and the character of the Workers State in the old way. Thus the policies of Gorbachev are at one and the same time oriented towards exposing abuses and at the same time to contain the expansion of the Workers State internally and externally. Democracy, democracy, democracy — but with limitations. This is a measure of the declining powers of the ruling caste.

The Workers State, in its advance, inevitably clashes with the lack of accountability of the bureaucracy in the economy and the administration. In his time Trotsky devoted space trying to work out the extent of the means by which the bureaucracy could

acquire its privileges and arrange prices so that a realistic accounting of the economy was hard to come by. Thus the emphasis in the Gorbachev programme of precise accounting is well justified. It is a means by which the top bureaucracy hopes to winkle out the Stalinist functionaries in the Party and the economy, who developed a vast network of overlapping forms of corruption often on a Mafia scale to secure their cut from the revenues of the Workers State. Needless to say, such people are a conservative block to progress and are only interested in the lifestyle of peaceful co-existence with imperialism and blocking the creative capacity of the masses.

Thus the top bureaucracy, under the pressures of the structure of the Workers State, has to come out with the affirmation that the Workers State should see who is earning what and why. The admission that there is considerable social differentiation goes against the 'theoretical' conception that people are living in the opening stages of advanced socialism etc.; nonetheless when there is an emphasis on the need for precise accounting, this cannot help but be a gain — because it leads to further questions: why does there have to be great differentiations in wages, and why are there so many privileged persons while others have much more difficulty in living?

Now the justification for the bureaucracy that remains, i.e. the factory directors, the top Party functionaries, the well-paid technical layers and the aristocracy of labour, will apparently be that they receive their emoluments on the basis of 'their work'.

In the present maturity of the Workers State the mass of the population who have sustained it have seen its superiority over capitalism develop on the basis of the centralised economy. The Soviet masses have supported a whole series of economic provisions for states like Cuba, Nicaragua and Afghanistan, which are vital props for the extension of the world revolution — why should they also accept great differentiation at home? They will certainly support the liquidation of the Stalinist functionaries. The masses have given no support to them! But these other privileged layers, what is their justification? The factory directors etc. who are they to collect large salaries whilst others have to confront price rises? In fact, if some enterprises close down is that not a waste typical of capitalism? Certainly, the Workers State is transitional to Socialism and therefore bourgeois norms in distribution are justified historically (but not on the scale of bureaucratic privilege). Now the strength and maturity of the Workers State and the world process lays the basis for a reduction in differentiation, an approach to a Communist functioning. Posadas emphasised this new state 'the world is ready for Communism'. Having launched a programme of 'economic reforms' without massive discussion, Gorbachev has relied on the fact that the Soviet masses will not support the army of parasites that are being thrown out — and much is now being made of the process of democratisation.

### FOR A COMMUNIST DECENTRALISATION.

The new team and the new top economists have made a massive

attack on unearned incomes and the great faults of the 'command economy', but this latter also is not objective. Trotsky enumerated in devastating detail the unbounded waste and arbitrary conduct of the early stages of the planned economy and how the Stalinists plundered the Workers State and how this led to massive waste; but, at the same time, he pointed out the fantastic success of the centralised economy over anything that capitalism had devised. This basic conclusion is as correct now as then. With that planning the Soviet Union crushed the nazis, found the means to confront the gigantic scientific resources and technology of world imperialism, and at this very moment is showing its superiority to Yankee imperialism in outer space — which also gives them military advantage in the war that is coming. Thus the 'command' economy has to be democratised and decentralised, and with the total participation of the masses, not in atomised factory units but across the whole state, in regions and local assemblies, with a communication with the centre — not weakening but strengthening central planning on the basis of a genuine democracy. With a real proletarian democracy, both centre and base are a dialectical unity.

When the bureaucracy has to speak of democratic reforms this is a sign of very great crisis, because democracy is totally alien to the bureaucracy. Nor in reality is there much public discussion. Yeltsin falls, but all the ramifications of this are not discussed; the former leader retains all the loyalty to his caste and abjectly retires. Are politics

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## THE ASSASSINATION OF PRESIDENT SANKARA — (BURKINA FASO).

The Posadist IV International expresses all its sorrow and indignation at the news of the death of Comrade Sankara, president of Burkina Faso. The circumstances of the coup remain obscure because certainly such an outcome could only be in one way or another a gain for French imperialism.

The origins of this bloody event lie, however, in the particularly difficult circumstances of trying to make progress in such a backward state as Burkina Faso — that is, backward economically. Clearly, from the social point of view, the masses of Burkina Faso are emerging from social backwardness and feel all the consequences of the world process; but this does not alter the conditions of great poverty, absence of industry and lack of technicians to facilitate social progress.

There is no tradition of Party life in Burkina Faso, and the actions of the army cannot substitute for this. As there is no Party life with the masses the tendency exists to settle matters by groups and finally by force.

The Five Year Plan was essentially very contradictory. On the one hand it was financed by imperialism; on the other it projected plans of self-sufficiency. Sankara did pay a visit to the Soviet Union but not a great deal seems to have come from this. The Soviets did not enter into the problems of Burkina Faso, and their conduct must also have been affected by not desiring to confront French imperialism in this part of the world. Without doubt, the limitations of the Five Year Plan, the lack of a sufficient life with the population, the lack of a Party, and the reserved attitude

of the Workers States contributed to this debacle.

Imperialism will try to take advantage of this crisis which objectively will continue because the removal of Sankara has solved none of the problems. On the other hand, this experience must be considered by the advancing Communist cadres in the Workers States. Is it correct to concentrate interminably on trading with capitalism and not considering that countries such as Burkina Faso are part of the problems of the Workers States and cannot be separated from the struggle for world Socialism, from the progress of the Soviet Union, itself

## ELECTIONS IN SOUTH KOREA

The elections in South Korea have given no solution to the problems of the country, but they have dealt a blow at the capitalist regime in so far as the military dictatorship has been forced out despite the fact that the new head of government is part of the old criminal military team.

The elections were without doubt permeated with violence and fraud from the ruling cliques, but the different interests in the elections prevented a united front opposition to the regime. No candidate represented the interests of the worker and peasant masses as an independent force.

General Roh, the winning candidate, represents the big business circles linked to imperialism. He was responsible for the bloody suppression of the Kwangju uprising in 1980. Kim dae Jung had support among the masses and one of his proposals was to cancel the farming debt. Kim Young Sam had a more conservative

bourgeois base. Both candidates may be regarded as bourgeois candidates based on particular regional areas of support. This brings out the weakness of the local bourgeoisie of Korea. No candidate went seriously beyond acceptance of the capitalist structure of society. This found expression in the inevitable absence of a positive view of the North Korean Workers State.

The latter carries weight in the South but is limited by the present leadership which does not present an imaginative view of Socialism and does not present the re-unification of Korea on the basis of a unified Workers State. The attempt by the Southern regime to implicate the North in a recent incident involving the destruction of a plane is part of the effort to contain the influence of the Korean Workers State.

to be discussed on a democratic basis? Is there a right of ten- dency on the basis of the accep- tance of the Workers State? The 'Breznevites' came under serious criticisms for their stagnation, but was there ever a public dis- cussion on this issue? (Breznev had in fact begun a wholesale purge of functionaries in the Party trade unions etc.) They were thrown out, and that was that. And, in the latest report of Gor- bachev, Khrushchev receives praise - the man who capitulated over Cuba. Under Breznev, the Soviets entered Afghanistan - a major blow at world imperialism. The leadership complains of re- sistance to 'change' from sectors of the bureaucracy - but to coun- ter the old Stalinist functionaries it is necessary to appeal to the masses. On the other hand, with the economic 'reforms', the population naturally have their reservations.

Thus we see an unusual com- bination of factors: purging the parasites, and accelerating fac- tory autonomy, accompanied by large-scale declarations on the need for 'Socialist democracy'. All this shows a bureaucracy on the defensive seeking to maintain its caste but faced now with contradictions which surpass its ability to control them. There is no question that the Soviet mass- es, seeing the turn against the hitherto protected Stalinist func- tionaries in the factories and the Party, are going to breathe more freely, and the nature of the eco- nomic reforms allied to extensive use of terms such as Socialist democracy is going to provoke much thought and criticisms, such as why do prices have to rise if everything is so democra- tic. But the Soviet proletariat has a long experience. There are no signs of universal jubilation, only a measured and reserved response from the soviet masses; i.e. we have no time for the 'Stalinists', but what about this other lot?

Genuine Soviet democracy means right of political tendency, immediate revocability of man- dates, and a control of the wages of functionaries to be no more than the average wage. Democ- racy to implement the economic reforms is already pre-judging the form of democracy. The masses are to participate on this basis, i.e. independent factories, self-financing, etc., with even the means of production becoming commodities in wholesale trade.

The type of 'democracy' pro- posed by Gorbachev is somewhat like a 'checks and balances'

constitution, i.e. a dose of 'plu- ralism'. Thus central planning reserves a role of general over- seer to see that 'priorities are observed', no doubt seeing that the economy is not caught 'over- heating' etc. Then we have elections of directors in the in- dividual atomised factories, each competing with others. Then an aristocracy of labour operates in 'democratic competition' with the factory management. The Soviets come in to 'correct abuses', as also does the Party - now more independent of economic administration. We are not sug- gesting that the proletariat cannot make use of this situation. It can because an ailing bureaucracy is a weak one. When the leadership distinguishes between bourgeois and Socialist democracy, this shows the need for a debate to concretise the issues raised. The top bureaucracy justifies its policies of attempted peaceful co-existence by saying 'we need time to change the Soviet Union.'

The 'new thinking' of the Sov- iet leadership, as in the realms of foreign policy, is not new at all; but the crisis of growth of the Workers State is more profound than in 1965 and the bureaucracy has to cope with even more pro- found contradictions. The pres- sure from the Workers State de- mands that the Stalinist layers in the lower and middle bureau- cracy are thrown out because their living off the Workers State prevents the transformation of the production process from an em- phasis on quantity to quality. On the other hand, the technical layers have developed over the years and want to enjoy the Wor- kers State, blow their savings and free themselves from tutelage to the aims of the Workers State. Moreover, the workers' aristo- cracy also wants benefits - so to them is given powers in the fac- tory to compete with the manage- ment for their cut. At the same time, the Soviet proletariat is maturing and seeks for a path clear from the incubus of all the functionaries and conservative layers, whoever they are.

In his statement on 'The October Revolution and Today's World', Gorbachev speculates on the possibilities of imperialism changing its spots. Surely they may be able to do without a mili- tarised economy? At the same time, because of the weight of the Workers State and the objective weight of the Communist move- ment throughout the world, he is obliged to refer to the Communist International - and we agree people ought to know about its history, both the successes under

Lenin and Trotsky and the dis- asters organised by Stalin in China and Germany in particular.

However, for the Gorbachev grouping all Communist parties are now 'completely and irre- versibly independent' (doubtless analagous to independent fac- tories in the Soviet Union!) Thus the lack of comprehension and the self-interest of the top layer of the bureaucracy is hostile to an organised world leadership based on the Workers State to help finish off world capitalism. This conclusion is the exact opposite of what is necessary. It is necessary to expect other layers in the Soviet Union to draw more objective conclusions. A new Communist International is an objective necessity, not only for the Soviet Union, but for the world Communist movement and humanity in its struggle to dis- pose of world imperialism.

Gorbachev concludes his speech with emphasis on 'Collec- tivism instead of egoism, freedom and equality instead of exploita- tion and oppression, genuine power of the people instead of the tyranny of the few', and we are in accord with these sentiments - which are the sentiments of the Workers State; but they will not be obtained by believing that imperialism can be changed, that Stalin's original course was correct, that competition between 'autonomous' factories is a good thing, and that the Communist International is not necessary. History will not accept these propositions; that is, the revolu- tionary world process and its driving force the Workers State, led by the Soviet Union.

When Gorbachev in New York came out of his car to shake hands with the crowd, the masses see not the limitations of the leadership but the superiority of the Workers State, and that superiority decides everything.

The amount of discussion that is developing in the Workers State surpasses the bureaucracy and allows the development of a Posadist current which in one way or another is maturing. Hence the previous attacks on the bureaucracy on Posadism and the crisis over Ogor'kov. The need for a cleansing obliges the lea- dership to speak of socialistdem- ocracy, but for this to work the masses will have to intervene to give the slogan a genuine content and the Party sectors most sen- sitive to this must intervene to help this.

#### From page 1 EDITORIAL

world capitalist economy in a weakened condition. The Empire is gone, and the whole infra- structure is in decay.

All the traditional approaches of the reformist leaders have been discredited, but such leadership can continue for a period when a prepared leadership is lacking, and especially when the Workers

States and the Communist and Socialist parties still do not intervene with the necessary weight. It is necessary for the left in the Labour Party to persist in developing a discussion and irrespective of the antics of the apparatus, developing better relations with the population and orientating a discussion around the need for a policy of social

transformations, so that all the housing, transport, medical, eco- logical and educational needs of the population are satisfied. Out of NATO! Closure of all nuclear bases! Workers control of the principle industries and banks!

23.1.88

longer. But underlying all this is the great weakness of German capitalism.

Economically, German capita- lism is still relatively prosperous. It has not experienced the ravages of the Thatcherite experience. Even so, it is quite clear after the Stock Exchange crash that the weakening of the capitalist economy will affect Germany. Strauss hopes to use relations with the Workers State to give some authority to the system in front of their electoral support in the petit bourgeoisie. Even so, this weakening of the consistent hostility to the Workers State is not the best conditions for the preparations for the war against the Workers States. German im- perialism seeks to utilise the crisis of the bureaucracy in the Workers States to help its own survival, as with the proposed visit of Honecker. In the last elections in West Germany Kohl was returned, but lost hundreds of

thousands of votes, and in furious altercation with Strauss - after a campaign preceded by much anti- Soviet propaganda and the onset of racialism as well!

The German proletariat made a spectacular intervention at Rhein- hausen to prevent the closing down of the Krupps works. A veritable united front was made with the steel workers, teachers and other workers in the public sectors, completely paralysing Duisberg and other towns. Earlier the Villa Hugal, was stormed.

Radical slogans that Krupps belonged to the wor- kers were much in evidence. The Soviet bureaucracy ignores the German proletariat, as it has ignored the struggles of the Bri- tish masses, as it seeks to sur- vive in negotiations with imperialism.

On the other hand, the inter- vention of the German proletariat tends to stimulate the left of the German Social Democracy.

#### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST STALINIST CORRUPTION CONTINUES IN THE SOVIET UNION.

The enquiry into the Kazakh- stan Party has revealed a mass of repression and robbery of the state on a massive scale. The revolts in Alma Arta were the re- sults of a regionalist resistance to the needs of the centralised Workers State as a whole. A mound of clientalism has come to light. The Party contained a network of corruption through interlocking groups. A thousand police officials and one hundred and eighty four judges have been purged. State farms were appar- ently found harbouring and paying for one and a half million head of private livestock. More than ten thousand people pleaded to eco- nomic crimes and re-imbursed the state to the tune of 41 million roubles.

There is bound to be a massive resistance from the Stalinist bureaucracy and the fall of Yelt- sin has been connected with this. But it is not clear what action Yeltsin was proposing over im- pelling Perestroika or how to animate the population. Gorbachev

has held the discussion over Stalin at a certain point or tried to do so, partly because the con- frontation with the rest of the Stalinists would demand a more advanced dependence on the population directly, and partly because the upper echelons of the bureaucracy would also feel threatened by such a discussion.

It is necessary that the work collectives are informed not only with economic discussion but also with political life, and that in the face of the economic reforms, the Soviets, schools, universities, factory committees and their inter-linking in regional bodies and with the trade unions, discuss not only the issues directly of the economy but issues linked to the international situation, discussion over Burkina Faso, over Mozam- bique, Angola and the need to discuss the way to establish a real unification with the Chinese workers state

Yankee imperialism is concer- ned with damage limitation asin the Philippines and as in Haiti. As the leaderships of the Workers States do not present a firm anti- imperialist and anti-capitalist orientation, imperialism takes ad- vantage of the limitations in any local situation, even after the collapse of a military dictatorship to contain further popular advance.

## The Labour left must press forward with the programme of social transformations

OUT OF NATO!

Despite the efforts of Soviet diplomacy which placed imperialism on the defensive because imperialism now has no means to develop even pilotatic initiatives in practice, the recent meeting of NATO shows that nothing has changed or can change the nature of imperialism is war and all its strength is dedicated to this end. The system has no creative capacity. Everything is submitted totally for war internally and externally. Thatcher at the meeting represented directly the interests of Yankee imperialism. As Britain is under Yankee military occupation this is quite logical. The top layers of British imperialism are completely dependent on the Yanks, and substitute for them according to the circumstances. The dispute with German imperialism reflects the fears of the latter that their interests will be completely overlooked in the process of the 'modernising' of NATO weapons. As German imperialism lacks the full military equivalent to its economic strength, it feels that it will be a mere disposable unit for the Yanks in the war that is coming. Thus it resists, though it has to remain within the alliance because it is obliged to continue with the other imperialist powers against the Workers States.

The Soviet leadership has committed itself to a policy of conciliation with imperialism, but this has limits particularly if there is any question of weakening the defences of the Workers State. In order to develop towards Socialism the Workers State has to expand, and particularly to associate with the most exploited sections of the world. If this is limited, it limits the capacity of the Workers State by prolonging the life of imperialism and deprives it of allies in the stages prior to the final encounter. Whatever the immediate consequences in Afghanistan, the fact of Soviet withdrawal is not a correct policy. What is the logic of it? Does that solve the problems of the security of the Workers State? No. It will not stop the murder squads of South African fascism attacking Mozambique or Angola. The IMF gets its teeth into Mozambique, and this is no advantage for the Soviet Union.

The Soviet leadership is following in part a policy of liquidating the most corrupt Stalinist layers. The maturity of the Workers State demands this, and without doubt there are difficulties - the local bureaucracy seeks to play the regional card as in Armenia, but the effects of the internal purge are greatly limited by the top bureaucracy itself, because they seek to defend themselves from the proletariat in part and to impede the external expression of the process - that is, a policy more vigorous against capitalism and imperialism. In practice that is the way to terminate with the infestations of corrupt bureaucracy. But for the top

bureaucracy greater dependence on the proletariat means limits to its own bureaucratic life. However, any serious limit to the power of the Workers State would provoke a crisis in the leadership. Imperialism itself distrusts the course of what is happening in the Soviet Union, and realises that it can only gain a little margin from all this.

### WAR THE ONLY SOLUTION FOR IMPERIALISM.

Within Britain imperialism launches a barrage of propaganda to make it appear that the Thatcher regime is strong and commanding. The bourgeois layer in the Labour Party proceed to give credence to this by the refusal to use even the parliamentary organs to the full. Parliament is the arena that is most confined for the expression of the class struggle, and it is here naturally that the effects of electoral cretinism are most notable. Thus, Kinnock can join in the fanfare of 'disgust' over Israeli but is less forward in Britain over the Irish question and British atrocities in Northern Ireland.

The left of the Labour Party has obviously much to gain from the present conjuncture of events. The Ford dispute and the struggles around the medical, educational and other social services, and the fight against the Community Tax give the means for an organised left to gain in influence and the possibility to weigh much more decisively in the fight against capitalism. But it is essential to develop a life of publications in which arguments can be developed

that allow discussion and place the apparatus of the Labour Party at the mercy of ideas, because as they have only the prejudices inculcated by a lifetime of serving capitalism they have little to say - apart from investigating 'subversives'. The weight Benn gave recently to the need to control the banks and the central financial structures is an indication of the possibilities for the re-animation of a Socialist programme and policy. A process of re-selection is taking place on the left. Some layers are so smashed by the experience of Thatcherism that they imagine history has been thrown back. As they tend to see just Britain and cannot relate it to the world process, they feel overcome. That has largely happened to the backward layers of the Communist Party, whose Stalinist origin has led to various forms of capitulation. But this is not the stage for the sceptics, nor for those who wish to ignore that the class struggle is world wide, and the proletariat is not represented by this or that proletariat locally, but by the Soviet Union which represents the world proletariat in the fight against world imperialism. To be confined to 'British' experiences is to lose historic perspective. In fact, that is what the Conservatives and the Labour Party and trade union bureaucracy wish - to keep the world away from the process in Britain so that they can continue to try to block a more extensive political life.

### THE PERSPECTIVE FOR BRITAIN HAS TO BE AN ECONOMY FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POPULATION.

The capitalist government is centralised around the struggle against the advance of the Workers States. The arms bill dominates the economy. The regime is totally parasitic. The emphasis on privatisation is not a sign of the capacity of capitalism to re-animate the economy, but a sign that its capital can only operate when all the work has been done for them, i.e. it expropriates assets and investments already achieved or the money goes into speculation - somewhat more dangerous now after the fall in the stock markets. The trade deficit is the expression of the weakness of the economy. Exports fall well below imports, and whatever figures the economists trot out to say all is well, in fact the economy shares fully the world incapacity of capitalism to solve any of the problems. So flourishing is capitalism that it is constantly creating unemployment and pauperising the population, charging more and more for health services, and smashing into the poor, the aged and the unemployed youth. So uncertain is capitalism that it lives in constant uproar over the next trade figures, what is happening on the stock exchange, and surely the Soviet monster must dissolve! The Soviet proletariat and the masses of the world feel none of the anxieties of imperialism. The Soviet Union crushed the

nazis - in comparison 'Yankee' imperialism and their British stooges are far less weighty.

The crisis of Britain and of world capitalism is of such intensity and totality that the programme of the Workers State is the only solution. Imperialism has only one ability - to kill people. South Africa, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the Arab areas under Israeli occupation are all examples of this process - which, in reality, is part of the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States. Britain, as part of this structure, is already an authoritarian state, whatever occurs at Westminster. The recent preparation for 'manoeuvres' around the Malvinas Islands is a classic case of attempted imperialist terror against Latin America.

The left in the Labour Party and the unions have ample space in which to project the programme for a Workers State. All the talk about more co-operatives, more 'Social ownership' - rather than expropriations under workers' control, with a plan to run the economy for the sake of the population and not for the owners and the banks - is not a solution but a reform which has no perspective in the present world situation. It is necessary to re-animate the anti-nuclear arms movement and campaign for the closing of nuclear bases, that part of the programme of the Labour Party most inimical to capitalism.

### THE STALKER AFFAIR AND THE EROSION OF THE MYTH OF BRITISH 'DEMOCRACY'

The dubious manoeuvres around the Stalker affair bring to light the structure of the Thatcher regime and its seeking to impose 'strong' authoritarian functioning which is the necessary corollary of its objectives - preparation for war with the Workers States and the smashing of

the resistance of the population to capitalist policies.

The continuation of the war in Northern Ireland is aimed partly to block the progress of Ireland and any advance there to Socialism; but also it is a fundamental prop for a regime

of repression in Britain itself. It is useful for capitalism in its present predicament and inability to solve any social problems to maintain a regime of tension sanctioned by the 'Prevention of Terrorism Act', which allows mass arrests. At the same

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REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
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382 March 11th, 1988

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## THE LATEST TURN BY PAPANDREOU

(Extracts from the paper of the Greek Section)

The PASOK experience is an example of the inability to confront capitalism, without seeking support from the working class and its allies. Payments on Foreign Debt now are about a quarter of export earnings. There has also been an increase in anti-strike legislation and the bureaucratisation of the Party apparatus.

On the other hand, the General Strike actions against the government show the continued animation of the population.

The speech of Papandreou in Salonica characterises the Socialist government, as especially in the economy, it has remained within capitalist confines and now returns to the point of departure by conceding the initiative officially to the private property of capitalism. From the moment that neither the government nor the Communists impelled the initiative of the working class and its allies based on the programme of the development of the country and of the masses, and stabilising itself with anti-capitalist measures, measures of social transformation, then capitalism could impose on the leading nucleus of the government its own initiative.

Anyway, capitalism could not impose totally its own policy which it needs today to survive, i.e. Thatcherism — that is, depriving the masses of all their advances as it is doing through out the capitalist world. It is for this reason that Papandreou, with ease in front of capitalism, rejects and criticises this policy and calls for measures to ameliorate the condition of the masses and makes appeals for a policy of development for Greece.

The government of Pasok originally came out correctly before Greek and world capitalism against a possible victory of the bourgeois opposition adequately adjusted to and seeking to apply in Greece Thatcherism. Pasok won, stimulated by the maturing and the intervention of the masses to confront the various problems and results in all aspects products of the backwardness and of the crisis of decomposition of Greek capitalism, with the social change and the rupture of the dependency on the centres of imperialism. But the Socialist government, even taking measures to alleviate the consequences of

capitalism, did not touch the base and cause which provoked them; that is to say, the structure and the functioning of the capitalist system. On the contrary, even with the initiatives which it has taken as a government and state, they have been given a 'private enterprise' character to function on the basis of profit.

Thus, as capitalism within its final and total crisis cannot tolerate new conquests by the masses, the gains of the first four years of the Socialist government provoked a worsening in the capitalist economy and an acute reaction on its part on all fronts. In the critical moment for the economy to be able to continue functioning, it was necessary to stimulate even with problems of backwardness social transformations; nationalisations and workers' control, freedom from the Common Market and of the other imperialist centres, or the gains were going to retreat, slowly or rapidly. The lack of will, of programme and preparation to impel this led to the retreat of the biennial 'programme of stability of the capitalist economy (as they called the austerity measures of the last two years).... The fact that Papandreou announces in this speech the end of the programme of 'stabilisation' and of austerity is the product partly of his failure to provide an important injection even in the backward capitalist economy; and at the same time, of the pressure of the masses and of his own base and cadres, who see that there is no remedy within the margins of capitalism.

It is not only capitalism which has eliminated the Five Year Plan of development of the Socialist government, but, as there was no organic anti-capitalist support and a profound link with the Workers States, this has corrupted the leading layer of the government and of the state

convicted of murder in Northern Ireland is released after a short period of imprisonment. These are not 'abuses', they are the reality of capitalism which finds its expression through the state apparatus.

The logic of the British military presence in Northern Ireland has nothing to do with democracy or protecting the Protestant minority, but it has everything to do with the sinister class objectives of imperialism — the perpetuation of the regime of repression to justify repression throughout the British Isles. Capitalism does not have the power to organise mass fascist movements, but it therefore operates through

augmenting bureaucratized coercion to the maximum. This country already has a police force with practically a military capacity, and one of the highest per capita rates of imprisonment in Europe.

Capitalism becomes hysterical over any support for the IRA in the Labour Party, because it means taking an issue of principle and not accepting capitalism at its own view of itself. The treatment of Northern Ireland has nothing to do with justice but the class objectives of the British ruling class. It remains a principle long ago recognised by Marx that the Irish question cannot be separated from the 'British

apparatus, and made it seek a solution only within the capitalist structure. It is for this reason that Papandreou speaks clearly for a turn towards private initiative and nothing about a turn to meet the needs of the population.

The perspective with the lack of preparation and intervention on the part of the mass movement is that capitalism is going to force the government not to give even these small concessions which it has announced or to give them at a very reduced level compared with a severe form of austerity and to deprive the masses of even more gains. That is to say, a new round of a similar policy on the part of the Socialist government is going to be much more limited, and hence the link with the masses will be more limited.

We are in agreement with the direct programme of development which the Greek Communist Party has proposed to the left and the trade union movement. But, in a capitalist country and placed right in the middle of the world imperialist division of labour, it is not possible to realise a minimum within the margins of capitalism and of the ECM, as tends to appear in the programme of the KKP, if it is not combined directly with anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist measures. It is necessary to show clearly that 'planning for the masses and the country and not on the basis of profit' is the only possible solution in the course towards the establishment of a Workers State in Greece, and the Socialist world division of labour....

The Greek masses have not only not retreated in their understanding and maturing, as was expressed in the elections of 1981 when voting for the parties of social change, but have elevated it through their positive and negative experience in Greece and under the influence of the world anti-capitalist and Socialist progress.

question'. There is also no doubt that the desperate and cynical attitudes of the ruling cliques are eroding all the mythology of 'democracy' and consensus' and preparing the way for a superior Marxist understanding that the state apparatus has to be smashed, that it will not go by electoral fiat. It is not enough for the Labour left to demand simply the withdrawal of troops; it is necessary to develop a common programme of social transformations uniting the popular forces of Britain and Ireland against the ruling class oppressors and the private property which determines their policy.

## MYCENAE AND HUMAN INTELLIGENCE: J. POSADAS

Mycenae dates from two thousand years before Christ. It shows that the intelligence of human history was not lost, not destroyed. It was dispersed and we are in process of re-discovering it. These ruins, as for example the tombs, have no particular importance but they are the indications of a certain order which the architects followed later in the construction of houses.

Between the tombs of Agamemnon and the Soviet Union there is an indestructible unity. It is the unity of history which has utilised different phases of history, different social regimes of property, to elevate intelligence until history led to the creation of the proletariat. The economy reached a certain level and intelligence found the way to extend it. The swimmer found a calm sea in which to swim.

The process of intelligence needs a centre which makes communication between knowledge and social relations. It is through social relations and knowledge that intelligence is formed. Everything which answers to the necessity of the objective development of history is intelligent, that is, the basis of all intelligence. The use of intelligence is determined by the idea which is intelligence concentrated in principles. The Greeks partly did this. It is Marx who concentrated all human intelligence which Communism is going to concentrate in an even more elevated way, posing to history the need for a leap.

Agamemnon was a warrior, but he won because he combined intelligence with military ability. The Greeks still gave a mythological significance to that, but Agamemnon united military skill with the intelligence of human relations. Class consciousness was not yet developed — classes existed, but not yet the sense of class. It is for that reason that Agamemnon incorporated people from the other side, and won them so that they fought with him.

Primitive Socialism is not very well known in our period. It was an organisation which contained an emperor like the Incas, for example; but also the form of ancient property — property was in the hands of the emperor, who had to provide the means of subsistence for everyone. The usage of property was determined by the chief. The latter was also elected by all, by the tribes, and he had attributes which represented command and power. The primitive Socialism of the Incas was not Socialism, but a collective form of property and a collective leadership of the chieftain elected by the tribes.

It is good to see people visiting the works of three thousand years ago. What an indication of the flowering of the intelligence. People do not go to see these things to remain at the level of that civilisation, but say 'If they did that in their epoch, why is it not possible to do as much today?' It is a support to the intelligence.

J. POSADAS 3.9.1978.

## YANKEE TROOPS OUT OF BRITAIN!

From page 2

for the progress of the economy, of science, of technology, of culture and of art.

Socialism is an indispensable need of humanity expressed by the working class as an instrument and guide of history through the Workers States and the Communist and Socialist parties and trade unions. Trotsky dedicated all his will to this consideration, not to defend himself personally from the attacks of Stalin, nor to sustain the purity of his intentions and his struggle. His works show this without the necessity of for other examples. These set out to organise the scientific thought of the proletarian vanguard, of the Communist movement, of the Communist leaders, in the certainty that Socialism is a necessity of history and that the Soviet Union would recover with the historic conditions to be able to advance. He based himself on the contradictions of

the capitalist system and, in this sense, there is a phrase which defines well the security of his vision on the Socialist future of humanity. 'If the human being has succeeded in passing from the ape to the human being, how can one doubt that he will go from the Workers State to Socialism in spite of Stalin.'

He considered that it was a logical necessity of history that the development of the economy, of science, and of culture and of art, implied a development of human relations that capitalism was not in the position to develop but, on the contrary, suffocated. Capitalism put chains on culture, science, art and human relations; while Socialism made it progress. To advance, Socialism has indeed need of science, culture and art — which shows itself in the qualitative growth of human relations, in the objective sense of developing their purity.

11th January 1979 J. POSADAS

## THE INSURRECTION OF THE PALESTINIANS

The persistent struggle against the Israeli fascist repression by the Palestinians is not only a tribute to the decision of the Arab population to confront the Israeli occupation forces but also represents the force of the world revolutionary process against capitalism and imperialism, although it lacks an organising centre. Such a continuous struggle against the nazi type brutality and atrocious killing of young people can only come from the fact that the people of these zones feel that they are not alone in their struggle. They see that the masses of Nicaragua, South Africa, Mozambique and Angola do not concede to imperialism, and that they are supported by the Soviet Union - although the leadership of that prime Workers State as yet does not have the will or capacity or understanding to organise the anti-imperialist forces and terminate with peaceful co-existence.

Moreover, they have seen that despite massive Israeli organised killings in Lebanon and all the imperialist intimidation of Iran, imperialism has got nowhere and has, in effect, been defeated.

Imperialist diplomacy is now faced with the task of trying to strengthen links with the Arabian bourgeoisie to seek to control the process and make a deal with the Israelis. Imperialism is not keen on an independent Palestinian state, because they feel it may still be a source of revolutionary disquiet in the Middle East. On the other hand, as Cde Posadas has argued, the idea of an autonomous Palestinian state could easily turn it into a cipher for influence from the other surrounding bourgeois states. A perspective for the solution of the Palestinian issue cannot be separated from social transformations. The ultimate solution in the Middle East has to be a federation of Socialist states, in which Israel has to be incorporated - that is, with Israel as a Socialist state and liquidated as an imperialist

base. This is the final perspective, but to reach it the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union, have as a minimum to intervene with direct appeals for mobilisations throughout the world, and particularly in the Workers States.

The CPSU and the Soviet trade unions should have mobilised support throughout the Soviet Union and appealed throughout the world for support against handling Israeli trade and organising support directly for the anti-Israeli struggle. It is clear that within Israel there are many elements who reject the imperialist policies of the government. The fact that British imperialism has openly criticised the Israelis, with Kinnock following suit, is a measure of the fear of imperialism of the depth of the process. For years Israel has been basically beyond criticism. When they intervened with full military force to invade Lebanon, little was said to restrain them. Now protests are made, because imperialism feels that the situation is very dangerous and that the Palestinians are not going to be intimidated further and that the crisis could develop - actually convulsing the Israeli state and further disintegrating it. Imperialism also hopes that, with the present redoubled policy of peaceful co-existence, the Soviets will not be too embarrassed. The concern of imperialism is totally hypocritical because, as with South Africa, they could long ago have effected changes in Israeli policy had they so desired but now all that these 'diplomats' are doing is playing for time. It is appropriate that Kinnock participates with characteristic eagerness in this game.

As a minimum at this stage the Soviets must demand the immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops from all the occupied territories, including the Golan Heights. If they wish to resume diplomatic relations with Israel this must not be at the expense of developing an alternative policy for the Middle East.

## BANK NATIONALISATION IN PERU

The storming by the police in October of three major Peruvian banks who refused to comply with the law on the nationalisation of private credit, brought out the weakness of capitalism in Peru. The latter was unable to organise real forces of mass opposition to the nationalisations. In the elections some time prior to this act, the popular forces won overwhelmingly against the forces of the oligarchy. Thus the way is open in Peru, with a convinced leadership, to go much further against capitalism and imperialism.

The government of Garcia has taken control of ten private banks and six financial organisations. Under the legislation, at least fifty one per cent of the shares in the nationalised, and thirty per cent of the shares in the recently created regional banks, financial and insurance companies, will be owned by the state and are designed to stop the outflow of capital from the country. The foreign debt is very high, and this is an attempt to control capital outflow. Although imperialist enterprises have not been nationalised, foreign banks have been forbidden to accept money deposits and to own shares in Peru's national companies.

These are important steps in the re-animation of the process in Peru since the fall of the Alverado government placed an obstacle on the greater development of the Peruvian revolutionary state. The military regime had stayed at a certain level, contained the pressure of the masses

and thus allowed the forces of capitalism to re-group. Similarly, in the Garcia regime it is fundamental to give priority to the participation of the masses and to begin a process that will involve popular organs playing a role to counter-balance and influence the military and police forces of the state apparatus. The experience of Allende shows that, unless the population is made the basis of the government and its policy, sooner or later the class enemy will re-group and try to impose its own solution. The guerilla movement 'senderos luminosos', without clear programme or policy, is an ideal set up for giving more powers to the military. Under the guise of law and order, the oligarchic elements opposed to the government of Alan Garcia, manoeuvre and exert a pressure against further reforms. Thus, under the state of national emergency, 35 of Peru's 180 provinces are now under direct control of the armed forces.

Referring to the element of conservatism in the last stages of the regime of Alverado, Posadas wrote: 'All the efforts made in Peru around social property, industrial community, the different forms of property were a combination between the proletariat, and the state, where the management continued being the boss, determining the economy in accordance with the interest of the owner. All the rest who wanted to associate the workers with the forms of industrial property so that the economy could develop showed only failure and de-

veloped nothing. But, even with the cost of production being high in competition with capitalism, statified property can produce - because it is not profit which determines production.

Even if competition is favourable to capitalism, statified production - which is not destined for profit - is beneficial because if the cost of production is high, by eliminating profit it nevertheless competes with capitalism and allows a fund remaining for accumulation, reinvestment and the continuation of production.

At this juncture how far Garcia is prepared to go beyond the banking nationalisation, which in its immediate objective is to defend Peru being totally submitted to imperialism, towards a programme of agrarian reform, is not clear. The population of Peru is overwhelmingly peasant and, whatever co-operative organisations exist require a consistent pre-occupation to raise the political and cultural level of the peasant masses, so enabling them to intervene and sustain any other advances

in social transformations. The revolutionary nationalist current exist in the army, as seen in the previous regime of Alverado. It is necessary to develop a massive united front of workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie and left sectors in the army, to further extend the process in Peru and not leave it to the efforts alone of Garcia and the sectors of the United Left organisations.

## ON THE ORIGINS OF THE POLISH WORKERS STATE

Extracts: J. POSADAS

*We reprint some extracts from J. Posadas on Poland because the process of perestroika there is not the same as in the USSR, although there can be similarities. The cleansing of perestroika is not pursued in Poland - although the constitution of independent trade unions was a gain for the population. The continued submission to the IMF and the brutal price rises, rejected by the masses, indicate the limitations of the functioning of the Polish Workers State and the absence of a firm Communist Party.*

Poland, together with Yugoslavia, has a large number of anti-revolutionary groups and agents. This is because of the initial weakness of the communist party, that came out of the war very weakened. Indeed, the communist party went to power with the support of the Soviet Union. It was with Soviet support that they managed to expropriate the land and to distribute it in the form of small private plots. It was an error to do so, however. This was the result of a weak communist party, the impoverished conditions in which the workers state found itself after the war, and the imposition of Stalin. At the same time there were all the efforts of world imperialism to impose itself through Stalin. It was the "allies" who forced Stalin to redistribute

the state owned land of Poland, in private plots. Now capitalism wants to mount an offensive against the workers states using these small pieces of private property. The Polish peasants, however are not against the workers state. They want to continue with this form of property, but they have nothing against the workers state. In fact the peasants have learned that they can live under the regime of the workers state, whereas, if they went back to capitalism, the land would be returned to the same people and for the same form of production as existed in the semi-feudal period before the revolution.

The peasant development in Poland is the result of the political and programmatic weakness of the Communist party.

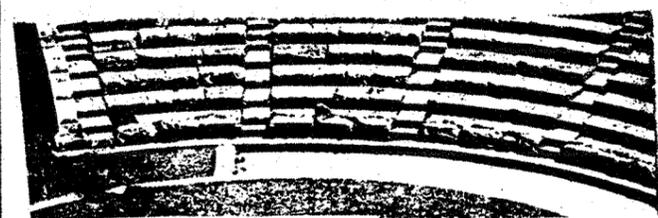
It is also the result of the fact that the Communist party had been submitted to Stalin. In reality, it was Soviet troops that decided the formation of the Polish workers state, but in this process, Stalin imposed his own line. He wanted to impose it also on Yugoslavia and China, but in this he failed. This process in Poland came after the Tehran and Yalta agreements, and one of the clauses agreed upon was precisely the return of the land to private hands in Poland. As it could not be handed back to the landowners who had been defeated together with the nazis to whom they had been allied, it was decided to divide the land and distribute it to the peasants.

This is part of the backwardness of Poland today. It

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## THEATRE AND SOCIALISM

J. POSADAS



- Published April 1986 -

# MANIFESTO OF THE FIRST OF MAY

- TO THE WORKERS STATES
- TO THE WORLD COMMUNIST AND SOCIALIST PARTIES AND THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS
- TO THE MASSES OF EUROPE, NORTH AMERICA, LATIN AMERICA, AFRICA AND ASIA.

On this First of May the Posadist IV International salutes with joy the masses of the world, and particularly the masses and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism and capitalism. The process of changes in the Soviet Union are tending to remove obscurities in the light that illuminates the world and, despite the functioning of the bureaucracy, it is the process of cleansing and re-thinking that decides the future progress of the Workers States in confrontation with capitalism. Although the process of the regeneration of the Soviet Union is not without its complications, the search for the functioning of the first seven years of the Workers States is most pronounced. The Workers State has reached a level of maturity that allows an examination of the past and the archives, and this leads to the understanding that Stalinism was not a necessary stage of the Workers State but the result of specific circumstances. The crime and filth of Stalinism is being removed and the authority of the Workers State comes forth pristine and pure, ready for the next steps in human progress. The rehabilitation of Bukharin is part of this. Bukharin was of the Communist right in his time, but a genuine Communist, and his rehabilitation is a step towards the rehabilitation of Trotsky, even if some sectors of the bureaucracy seek to use Bukharin for their own limited purposes. The demonstrations in Armenia are part of the rectification of the Workers State and the failure to develop a regional resistance is part of the downfall of the Stalinists.

## THE PROCESS OF PARTIAL REGENERATION STIMULATES THE WORLD PROCESS.

The advance of the world revolution is constantly nourished by the progress of the Workers States even when their leaderships do not represent all the force and programme of those states. The upsurge of the South African revolution and the inability of its fascist government to contain it; the failures of the Aquino government or that in Colombia, for example, to contain the masses in spite of ever more brutal and assassin efforts; the mounting crises of all the reactionary regimes in the Middle East and in Europe, despite the absence of the appropriate leaderships, are all due, in one way or the other, not only to the resistance of the masses themselves but because they see the alternative system of the Workers States, and that the Soviet Union in particular is able to rectify abuses and advance, while capitalism degenerates into a total mafia that can only live day-to-day on the basis of killings and more killings.

We salute the masses of the parts of the world. The welcome United States whose attitude of to Gorbachev shows the great rejection of the capitalist system, weight of the Soviet Union in the frequently reflected in their abstention from elections, constantly impedes Yankee imperia-

lism. The crisis of the Yankee ruling class is complete. The Reagan regime has fallen into an unsuspected political senility. The presidential elections are, for the central sectors of capitalism, dedicated to the armaments industry, no source of authority. They have no political personalities. They have to make do with mediocrities as power has to be manipulated more and more out of sight. It is impossible for a system that lives for the moment and has no historic perspective to produce far-sighted candidates. Manipulators and wheeler dealers are their sole resource. Even with all its means of influence and material resources, capitalism cannot stop the intervention of a candidate like Jesse Jackson who, however limited in relation to the true weight of the North American masses, enters into conflict with the policies of Yankee imperialism. That intervention alone is an echo of the desire of the masses in the United States for a fundamental social change. Without a Party or consistent political centre, the American population has prevented the imperialist attack on Nicaragua and much worse adventurism in other

strength of the American masses against their oppressors.

## FOR THE UNIFICATION OF THE WORKERS STATES.

More and more there is the need for a unification of the Workers States. The efforts to improve relations with China and the visit to Yugoslavia by Gorbachev are part of the objective necessity of the Workers States to unite, and part of the objective necessity to prepare for the final encounter with imperialism. There is no possibility of a peaceful 'perestroika' of capitalism. On the contrary, the only way forward for the ruling classes of capitalism is one of war and the destruction of human beings and nature through pollution and ecological degeneration. The systematic murder by the Zionists in face of the rebellion of the Palestinians is typical of capitalism at this stage.

Although it is not the most important issue, the economic down

turn of capitalism in October 1987 is not the end of the crisis. The whole capitalist world is in growing economic crisis, and more is to be expected - flowing from the inability of capitalism to compete with the Workers States. The crisis is much more profound than that coming from the ferocity of competition for world markets in the capitalist world economically. It also comes from the perception that capitalism as a system is blockaded socially and politically. It has nowhere to go. Although some sectors hope to save themselves with dreams of markets in China and the Soviet Union, as a system there are no new fields to enter, to develop, except through arms budgets. Capitalism is at its most parasitic and at the lowest ebb of its confidence.

The diplomatic initiatives of the Soviet leadership, although they have not altered the preparations of imperialism for war, with the constant development of weapons to destroy human beings, have nonetheless won authority

over the petit bourgeoisie who see that the collectivised economy has no need for war, and thus complicated the sinister designs of imperialism. Imperialism continues its provocations against Angola, Mozambique, Nicaragua and Afghanistan. It attempts to intimidate by wholesale massacre and as constantly fails. The build-up to the tension in the Persian Gulf finally collapsed, partly because it was impossible to obtain a unity in the forces of the counter-revolution of Yankee and European imperialism, but also because the masses and the Workers States were not intimidated. Taking advantage of the Iran-Iraq conflict, imperialism will make other efforts to intervene.

In this process the Soviet Union is the centre of the most progressive discussions to impel advances towards world Socialism and to terminate with capitalism. The discussions are still in-

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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)

383 April 29, 1988.

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GORBACHEV SEEKS CONTACT WITH THE POPULATION OF  
YUGOSLAVIA-

PARTIAL REGENERATION, THE HISTORIC ENCOUNTER AND  
THE PERMANENT REVOLUTION IN THIS STAGE OF HISTORY

J. POSADAS 27.8.71

(Extracts from a much larger text)

It is necessary to say clearly that the bureaucracy cannot transform its historic function. It plays no necessary role in the economy and thus it cannot have ideas on the future. If it had ideas it would die. It cannot commit suicide nor transform itself, but as it remains in power it has to develop its capacity of understanding without transforming itself. That produces an internal crisis and upheaval. We profit from these circumstances to develop these revolutionary conditions to the maximum. The layers which incorporate themselves into the bureaucracy try to assume a new function and support themselves on the revolutionary activity of the world proletariat. They thus open to other currents which are going to construct the conscious leadership in the very process of the political revolution.

This task is one of the most difficult to grasp, but it is one of the keys of the progress of civilisation and of the history of humanity: It is an advanced intermediary stage towards the transformation of a stage of humanity. Our contribution consists in understanding the process of this transformation, how to intervene and what are the levels and the stages through which this process of the political revolution passes. The regeneration is one of the stages of the political revolution.

This stage is among the most important in the whole history of humanity. This conclusion includes the confidence in the future of humanity, the assurance to intervene to lead this process and not to be taken over by it, shaken by it or underestimating it. We intervene with small material forces but with the most complete theoretical and organisational capacity since Trotsky. There is no one outside of us who have this capacity. There exist immense forces, as in the case of

China, but it is not China which can resolve these problems. It has material resources which are a base for the solution of these problems, but it is not material resources which decide. Imperialism has far greater material resources than China. It sends people to the moon, but it cannot solve this problem. The Soviet bureaucracy has also more material means than the Chinese, but it cannot any more than they solve these problems.

We intervene in this process with the greatest passion, with the greatest fraternity and with the greatest Communist affection. We do not seek an egoistic and sectarian objective of the Party, in relation to the IV International, but we intervene as a Party in a process which requires the concentration and the centralisation of the best of humanity. This is not a problem of the Party. The problem is that the parties must intervene and utilise the science of Marxism. Marxism requires the concentration of the best human qualities, the utilisation of the instruments of which humanity disposes for progress. The Soviet Union is this instrument. It is the most complete instrument and the base of the political revolution. It is the base, but not the exclusive axis. The impulses can come from any revolution, but the decisions are taken in Moscow.

The behaviour of the bureaucracy in general and in relation to the world revolutionary vanguard and to our movement is one of the most difficult problems to understand. But we do not enter into this process in asking what is going to happen. There are, no doubt, aspects which we are not able as yet to define. But we have the fundamentals through which this process is going to pass. To understand these fundamental laws, it is necessary to understand the vital centres which

determine them. In our case - the centre is the social nature of the bureaucracy.

When one analyses the bureaucracy, it is necessary to understand that the latter acts as a function of interests corresponding to those of a social class without being a class, because the bureaucracy has no position, structure or social relation which would make it a class. Its function in history is determined by its function in the economy. Now the economy is defined by the structure of the Workers State and by social relations. The bureaucracy cannot transform itself, not because it is incapable of acquiring a theoretical and political capacity but because its function in society determines its historic nature. It has neither past, present nor future. Why? Because its function in history does not answer to any necessity. It has no justification to exist, and that is why it has no past. It has power, certainly, but it has no present because it cannot structure revolutionary culture, theory, programme and policy. It is necessary to depart from there to understand the bureaucracy. In this sense the book of Trotsky, 'The Revolution Betrayed', is one of the most complete and beautiful works made in human history after 'Capital'.

The bureaucracy seeks to justify its function in history as history has no heed of it; the bureaucracy justifies itself by the power of its apparatus. But, even in seeking everywhere, it cannot find the revolutionary programme, theory or policy. The bureaucracy is stupid, imbecile, conservative and passive. That is all the defects which are inherent in it. But, as it is the question of the bureaucracy of a Workers State, the development of the world revolution - like the economic, social and political progress of the USSR - create new social

layers within the heart of the bureaucracy itself. These new layers do not rest on the same absolute power, passive and conservative as the old bureaucracy. They have more confidence and they have the sentiment of participating in the construction of society. But they do not have their own ideas.

The bureaucracy has no future. That belongs to the Workers State and to Socialism. The new bureaucratic layers have no longer any culture because they are not capable of developing theoretically and politically the programme of Socialism. It is necessary then to await new internal struggles. These struggles cannot take revolutionary forms. But they must necessarily occur because a new factor intervenes: the revolution, which is an essential foundation of the process in history. In these struggles the new layers of the bureaucracy are not going to act exclusively as bureaucrats; they already have a foot in the revolution. But these sectors are not going to be the ones which decide. The decision will come from a combination between these new layers of the bureaucracy, which have been formed in contact with the world revolution, and ourselves, as with the other tendencies which are inevitably going to

appear in China, Cuba and elsewhere. There will be a concentration of revolutionary tendencies of which we will be an indissoluble part. But it is not necessary in any case to wait for the bureaucracy that it might even in the best conditions formulate a programme and policy involving the conscious development of the revolution. All that will be done in the middle of the struggle in the heart of the bureaucracy. We consider as a formidable measure of the programme of the political revolution the relations which evolve within the Soviet Union.

We do not make a separation between the internal and the external policy of the Soviet bureaucracy. We measure in part its behaviour through the external policy, considering that the Soviet bureaucracy could be more audacious in external policy than in its internal policy. It can only be more audacious in external policy because it must confront capitalism which is preparing war and is trying to destroy it. This factor did not exist in the epoch of Stalin. In that period capitalism, while seeking to destroy the bureaucracy, discussed with it against the revolution. Today this is no longer possible. Capitalism does not have a terrain of conciliation with the Workers States. The cycle of agreements is terminated. The bureaucracy has the decision to confront capitalism, but this is the better to safeguard its interests internally in the Workers States. We say that the external policy is a reflection of the internal policy, but without being always the immediate continuation. There is sometimes a contradiction between the one and the other. These contradictions existed equally in the time of Stalin. How are they resolved? On occasion it is the external policy which determines the internal policy, and at others the reverse. But the contradiction cannot exist in a lasting way.

The bureaucracy can make concessions to the revolution on the international plane - for instance, appealing for the taking of power in Italy - but without that doing great prejudice to it. But it does not make great concessions on the internal plane; that is to say, on the plane of Soviet democracy, of the independence of the trade unions, on the functioning of the organs of Soviet power. It is there that one judges the progress of the political revolution in the Workers

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complete and frequently resolve around the revelations of the crimes of Stalinism, but this will be more and more combined with the search for the Marxist method and seeing the totality of Stalinism which has had consequences not only in the complete distortion of Marxism internally within the Soviet Union, but with effects on the whole orientation of the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The visits of Gorbachev to Yugoslavia, and next to Latin America, have to be seen as part of an objective search by the Workers States for a united front against imperialism and the need to extend the Workers State into the

world. The texts of Posadas expand in authority in the Soviet Union.

FOR THE WORLD UNITED  
FRONT AGAINST IMPERIALISM  
AND CAPITALISM.

We call upon all the Communist and Socialist movements and the revolutionary movements throughout the world to discuss the changes in the Soviet Union and draw the conclusion to change and elevate their policy towards the world unification against capitalism and imperialism.

We call upon the Soviet leadership, the CPSU and the Communist vanguard of the Soviet Union

to base themselves on all the forces in the world which the USSR has generated and which in turn have impelled the progress of the Workers State to develop the world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist united front to unify all the Workers States with a common economic, social, cultural and military planning, and to link up with all the revolutionary processes of the world from Afghanistan to Nicaragua and Burkino Faso and all the revolutionary states of Africa and Latin America.

We call for a united front of the Communist and Socialist parties of the Europe which is still capitalist, together with the trade unions, to oppose the functioning

of the Common Market, of the multi-nationals, and to give a perspective for a united Socialist Europe, the conditions for which develop more and more as the capitalist organisation of production enters more and more into conflict with the needs of society. The confrontation of big business on the one hand and the proletariat and the poor petit bourgeoisie on the other, is augmenting as much in Europe as in other parts of the world.

We call for the increase in aid and solidarity by the Workers States and the progressive mass organisations of the world, with the revolution in Nicaragua, the struggle of the Palestinian mass-

es, the masses of South Africa, for the united front of all the tendencies, of all the movements who want the progress of humanity against imperialism which prepares war in a vain effort to prevent the advance to world Communism.

MANIFESTO OF 1ST MAY  
BRITISH SECTION OF THE  
IV INTERNATIONAL

# THE STRUGGLE OF THE PALESTINIAN MASSES AND THE NEED FOR A SOCIALIST SOLUTION.

## Extracts

The struggle of the Palestinian masses is of enormous social and historic importance. It represents in its force and decision an historic confidence which comes from a world process determined by the powerful advance of the Workers States where the process of Partial Regeneration stimulates all the progressive forces of the world against imperialism and capitalism.

Imperialism has nothing with which to counter this advance of humanity save war and repression, and all its attempts to intimidate the forces arrayed against it fail and lead to further crises of destruction within its apparatuses. The struggle of the Palestinian masses has extended over many months in face of brutal and continuous massacre. The youth have shown no fear, and this in particular has demoralised the Israeli troops augmenting their sentiment of being surrounded on all sides by enemies, with no possibility of military success. Such has been the resistance of the Palestinians that they have gained support among the Israeli population and provoked disorder in the ruling circles in Israel and in the centres of Yankee imperialism. The visit of Schultz has been a total fiasco simply on the basis that there is no possibility of world imperialism adjusting the situation. They would like to adjust it because otherwise they appear to be both impotent and conniving with Israeli assassins. All that they can hope to achieve is a series of truces. Imperialism cannot afford concessions of any

order to the Palestinians, because that would undermine Israel as the Yankee base in the Middle East; but, at the same time, they have no means of impeding the permanent disintegration of Israel precisely because they have no means of settling the aspirations of the Palestinian masses. Israel has also developed large settler interests who are preoccupied to expropriate and settle land on the West Bank and regard the Arab population as an inferior race. As all this process is occurring in the shadow of the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States, there is no time or possibility for a stage of concessions.

The intervention of the Palestinian masses has also occurred in the middle of the continuous aggravation of the Iraq-Iran war, a war which has no sense because its origin lies not in the interests of the revolutionary masses of these countries but in the interest of rival cliques who have no capacity to develop these countries and are the detritus of history that have been allowed to develop because of past failures by the Workers States to develop parties that corresponded to the needs of these countries. Thus the largest historical issues are posed by all these events.

In the uprising of the Palestinian masses a most striking feature has been the manner in which the traditional leadership of the masses - that is, the PLO - has been entirely overtaken by events. Their programme for an autonomous Palestinian state was

present in the demonstrations but in effect it was by-passed because against the repression of the Israeli state what is in question is not some 'national' solution but a solution of social transformations - an end to poverty, an economy which answers to the needs of the population and not to the needs of the land grabbers and the interests of private property. Cde Posadas in his analysis of the slogan of an autonomous Palestinian state said: 'We are not against a Palestinian state, but it is necessary to explain what are its objectives? If it is to make a 'great fatherland' that is meaningless. Moreover, the Palestinians would be given the deserts as their land. But a Palestinian state could be used as a means to develop a centre of unification of the struggle of the Arab masses to seek unity with the Israeli masses against the capitalist system...'

... 'The pro-Zionist Arab bourgeoisie and imperialism cannot support a liberation movement which leads to social transformations. They cannot support it. On the other hand, no small country can propose to pass, to develop through a stage of bourgeois development. It is necessary to pose the necessity of federations and confederations.' The programme for the solution to the struggle of the Palestinians is fundamentally linked to the overthrow of capitalism in Israel: Israel is a capitalist state with a class struggle in which the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie confront the interests of capi-

talism. The recent case of the Israeli scientist condemned because of his exposure of the sinister nuclear preparations of the Israeli ruling class shows that there is a base for an extensive united front against Israeli capitalism, which would incorporate Israeli workers, and technical and intellectual sectors, together with all the Arab masses; and open the way for Socialist transformations in which the problems of the Palestinian masses would be solved on the basis of a federation with the Israeli masses.

The Arab bourgeoisie have been totally paralysed by the uprising. They are afraid of its social implications, none more so than the Egyptian bourgeoisie with their dependency on Yankee imperialism. Egypt is a host to social problems which have no more possibility of solution within the framework of capitalism than the Palestinians. Neither Hussein of Jordan or Assad of Syria, although their social bases are different, have anything but fear of the Palestinian revolution: hence the absence of any substantial programme or policy from them. The fall of Israel is by them to be most devoutly avoided.

The paradox in this situation is the position of the Soviet Union which objectively is the force with the other Workers States which sustains the Arab revolution, whether in the Mahgreb, or Lybia etc. Without the Soviet Union none of the Palestinian uprising would have been possible but, at the level of political

leadership, the Soviets move with caution - in general seeking to maintain relations with the Arab leaderships as they are; which is not wrong on the diplomatic plane but they say little on the perspectives for social transformations in the Middle East. It is true that they have few direct centres of support in the Middle East, such as powerful Communist parties, but now that there is an enormous rectification in the Soviet Union, and reconsideration of all the policies of Stalinism, it must be posed more and more forcibly that perestroika has to find an equivalent in the realm of external policy.

We appeal to the CPSU in particular, but to all the Communist and revolutionary world movement, to discuss the implications of the Palestinian insurrection and initiate discussions on the programme and policy in the Middle East - which, as a final perspective, has to develop towards a Socialist Federation of these countries with the Palestinian and Israeli masses in a federation within that. In the course of such discussions all manner of particular problems will arise, but there is no way forward for the solution of the problems in that area of the world that is not firmly based on the need to transcend the issue of national boundaries on the basis of Socialism as a world system. That is one of the most fundamental lessons of the magnificent experience of the insurrection of the Palestinians.

RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU.

4. 4. 88

\* It is true that Iraq began the war and since then receives much American aid and has adopted policies of privatisation; nonetheless the Teheran group has also in the past continued the war quite unnecessarily. The Workers States seek to avoid giving imperialism advantage and to terminate the war without giving a 'triumph' to either side.

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

A Selection of Articles 1963-81

No. 21  
Volume 2.

Scientific, Cultural and Political Editions.

ISBN No. 0 - 907694 - 02 - 0

The newspaper Arbeiterstimme, formerly of the German Section, no longer represents the line of the Posadist IV International.

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Vol. 2

# A CONFERENCE OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

At the end of 1987 a conference of the Posadist IV International was held (referred to as the XIV conference) to discuss the present stage of the world process. Cde Posadas presided through his work and example, and tribute was paid to comrades recently dead - Milte Radiccionil of Uruguay, a leader of the POP and of the Frente Amplio (Uruguay), and Cde Miller (Samuel Wyroslaw) who had formed part of the team with which Cde Posadas formed the Group of the IV International in Argentina in 1945. Delegates of the European Bureau, of the Latin American Sections and representatives of the French and Italian sections were present.

Cde H. opened the conference on the world situation and the role of Posadism, showing that the process of changes in the Soviet Union was a phase of the process of partial regeneration analysed and foreseen by Posadas as the form of political revolution, the essential basis of the analysis of Leon Trotsky on the USSR. This interacted with the world process in all continents. The unequal forms which the so-called perestroika took were analysed as a stage of partial regeneration, product of the fact that there exists the objective necessity to eliminate obstacles to the progress of the Workers State which the bureaucracy entails, but neither the conscious leadership for this process nor the Communist Party exists prepared for such objectives. The combined aspect must be expressed in the development and progress of partial regeneration, and, in that, the ideas and structures of Posadism will intervene in a greater support to the world revolution and with the greater organic, political and democratic participation of the Soviet masses in the regeneration of the Workers State.

Cde My of the French Section undertook a report as representative of the EB, which was supplemented by Cde F of the Italian Section. They analysed the present crisis of the European parties which were by-passed by the influence of the changes impelled by the leadership of the

Soviet Union. They have not known how to be able to respond to the consequences of the previous errors expressed in the failure of the policy of 'euro-communism'. They are leaderships that have not been prepared to enter a self-critical phase in the historic political revision of the consequences of Stalinism in their existence. It was reaffirmed that the European masses are not paralysed, as in the vision offered by the petit bourgeois currents within and outside the Communist and Socialist parties, and the resistance of the masses finds expression in strikes and mobilisations. They are preparing much more mature interventions, politically and organisationally, and in this process the intervention of Posadism through concrete parties, publications and interventions will be a point of support. It is necessary to intervene in the perspective of the incapacity of European capitalism to stabilise its regime, and that further great mobilisations of the masses are approaching - impelled also by the progress of the USSR and the Workers States.

As tasks previous to the discussion on Latin America, reports of the Brazilian, Uruguayan, Peruvian and Argentinian Sections with a report by Cde F, delegate of the BLA, on the situation in Nicaragua, separately and together, helped to debate the Latin American process and the concrete intervention in Latin America. At this point the letter of the Cuban comrades was incorporated, who have re-taken organic, direct contact with the International, which was saluted with the resolution of the conference in support of the Cuban Workers State and the Cuban comrades. In the discussions and resolutions on Latin America the central points were the electoral campaign in Brasil, the entry of the Posadists into the PT of Lula in a public form to affirm the development towards a Workers Party based on the trade unions and in the unconditional defence of the Socialist camp. There was

also the electoral political intervention in Colombia, in the united front with the left and popular parties. Together with this, the progress of the Bolivian masses and the stage of re-organisation and construction of the new leaderships necessary for this phase which is reflected in the last elections and, in particular, of the political movement led by Cde Emma Torres, companion of General Torres. The progress of the Communist Party and the Frente Amplio, the PIT-CNT, and the 635 thousand signatures for the referendum against the fascist military right in Uruguay, and the continuity of the Uruguayan Section to continue at the head of the revolutionary process of the masses in Uruguay in spite of and after the blow which the death of Cde Milte Antonia meant, leader of the Section, is notable. A balance was made of the activity of the Party in the recent elections in Argentina, and the general activity in full national development of the POR(P) - the intervention as the central part of the progress of the FRAL, organism in a front with the Communist Party, IDEPO and other tendencies. The internal debates of the progress of the Peronist left, with our participation, are drawing the lessons of the world process and of the past stage - a process which will not be repeated in form or content. It requires an organised movement of all the sectors of the left towards the construction of the revolutionary leadership of the masses of a Workers Party based on the trade unions.

The conference discussed and resolved in relation to Brasil the necessity of supporting the Section, together with their public incorporation into the PT, the reinforcing of the independent action of the Party as a Posadist Party, of its periodical etc. In relation to Argentina, it is necessary to support as one of the most important independent tasks of the Party, the campaign for its legalisation already in progress.

In the analysis of the intervention of the social movements of the Latin American process, as Cde Posadas analysed, the ex-

periences and the re-animation of the revolutionary state of Peru, the progress of the Nicaraguan revolution, the necessity of the construction of the Party based on the elevation of the Sandinistas movement on the basis of the principles of Marxism in the most concentrated form of this stage of humanity, were discussed. Posadism and the work of J. Posadas are indispensable, as much in Peru as in Nicaragua and Cuba.

The organisational report of Cde H made a balance of the functioning of the International from the 13th Conference until now showed that in these four years the International has succeeded in developing the structural base to overcome the results of the historical blow which was made to the organism with the death of J. Posadas. It is the crisis which was posed to our movement and part of the world vanguard which is guided by the Posadist thought and action. It was analysed how to confront this next step with the confirmation and partial application of his important analyses and foresight, in particular the partial regeneration in the Workers States and the impulse to the world process and the new revolutions which are developing, re-taking the most valid and mature aspects produced in the history of the class struggle. The Posadist IV International, together with the work of J. Posadas, is the conscious instrument to give continuity to the structure, to the revolutionary world homogeneity, shortening the stages and rhythms of this process in which the crisis of the capitalist system develops, the partial regeneration in the USSR and the Workers States, in which imperialism in retreat has not succeeded in arming a counter-revolutionary phase and, at the same time, prepares the war with greater ferocity and desperation.

Resolutions called for the XII World Congress of the IV International and the election of a leadership responsible for the elaboration of preparatory documents to centralise the world functioning towards its realisation. Participation in book fairs

in Moscow, Cuba and Nicaragua were decided upon, with continuation of the activity of concrete political solidarity with the Nicaraguan revolution. A plan of publications was resolved, centralised as a function of intervention to co-ordinate the forces available, with an appeal to the Sections and sympathisers to re-double their financial efforts which affirm these world plans. Resolutions were adopted over the partial regeneration in the USSR and the crisis of the Communist parties and the Social democracy in Europe, the process in Brasil, on the incorporation of comrade in the PT, and the independent function of the Party; on Argentina and the campaign for the legality and improvement of Voz Proletaria, etc; on Ecuador and Colombia, Bolivia, Uruguay, Peru and Chile, there were public and internal resolutions.

The campaign was announced for the publication of the works of Cde Posadas which are indispensable for the understanding of Stalinism, and to debate the documents of this conference as a whole as a necessary part of a World United Anti-imperialist Front for the elimination of imperialism and capitalism in every country, in the solidarity and support for the masses of Gaza and Transjordan, which show in a concentrated form the decision of the masses of the world to advance to Socialism whatever the consequences; a task which united the social consciousness with the revolutionary political action of the masses of the world in terminating with every form of oppression in the struggle for a Communist society,

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POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

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States: otherwise one waits on the expectation of the possibility of the bureaucracy reasoning and becoming intelligent. Intelligence and reason are not the qualities of the bureaucracy. Intelligence and reason are the instruments of the progress of history. The rest is only defence of bureaucratic interests.

All these problems are fundamental and are going to be discussed in the next stages. The bureaucracy cannot formulate a revolutionary programme because it does not have a necessary

function in history. Breznev, who formulates a very advanced function in relation to what the bureaucracy did in the past, does it because it is faced with a capitalism which sends people to the moon to see how to liquidate the Soviet Union. That stimulates forces within the bureaucracy who see the danger and who seek to pass beyond a position of simple defence. But they are not going so far as to offer to the Soviet proletariat the revolutionary means, organisations, positions, a programme and functioning. The bureaucracy will never do it.

The bureaucracy changes its conduct, but not its historic nature. In this change of conduct the bureaucracy is brought to confront capitalism; for example, when it furnishes arms to Egypt or to Peru. It stimulates anyway forces which are opposed to the capitalist system. It frees itself from Solzenitsin, but it does not give independence to the workers' movement and it does not permit Soviet functioning. When it speaks of 'regenerating the Soviets' it does not refer to the functioning of Soviet democracy but to the functioning of the central organ,

such that new layers of the bureaucracy closer to the revolution have the possibility of being candidates in the elections.

It is certain that all this process stimulates and wins to the revolution sectors of the bureaucracy, above all the middle layers. It is no different in the superstructure of capitalism: the revolution disintegrates the Church; the bourgeois officers of the armies are won by the revolution - as with important sectors of capitalist institutions. It is the same in the bureaucracy and at the top.

J. POSADAS

27.8.71

## Editorial

# THE LABOUR LEFT MUST DEVELOP AS AN ORGANISED MARXIST TENDENCY.

The renewed bout of diplomatic negotiations in Moscow have not changed anything of consequence and imperialism will continue to perfect its armaments although it has been obliged to alter its public behaviour, because all the boastful perspective of intimidating the Workers States has failed. They have perceived that the Soviet bureaucracy is in considerable internal crisis, and they hope to use this to give themselves an ever more pitiful supply of oxygen. What is clear in all of this is that imperialism has lost all credibility as an historic force. It moves painfully. The conference brought out with even greater force that the Workers States determine history and, although perestroika has uneven and combined elements, the cleansing process that is occurring is decisive for the renewal of the Workers States and the development of a superior leadership that will terminate with the regime of private property.

There is no basis in the mess from the aspirations of the balance of world relations for any masses, led to a great abstention. meaningful concession by the The capitalist parties have opted bureaucracy to imperialism. In for a deal with the Le Pen group— practice the Soviet leadership can— ing, showing the true basis of not abandon Afghanistan. The their 'democratic' beliefs. It also worst aspect about the latter with— shows their desperation.

The final outcome of the elec— tions, will simply confirm that capitalism is in a state of rapid social decomposition and can only survive on the basis of the in— adequacy of the workers' parties and the inability of the Soviet leadership to develop a policy that corresponds to the needs of the Workers States to unite com— pletely with the world Socialist revolution. When the South African masses launch a massive general strike in front of the repression of the fascist government there, this demands a far superior response from the Soviet leadership. Such an activity by the masses of South Africa is a repudiation, in reality, of the Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan.

The Thatcher regime in Britain continues in its whirlpool of contradictions. The conflict over the pound between Thatcher and Lawson shows the fragility of capitalist policy — there is no solution in their terms between inflation or an overvalued pound. As the 'free' Common Market approaches, all the sharks are gathering for the spoils; which means an ever greater concentra— tion of banking and financial power and the liquidation of the small fry. This now takes place in an already savagely competitive arena of the imperialist powers, intensified. There is no possi— bility of capitalism overcoming this situation. It will further stimulate the process towards war with the Workers States. At the same time, it will intensify the need for a proletarian confronta— tion with capitalism, transcending

The French elections are tak— ing place in the middle of this process of rectification in the Soviet Union. We comment on the Presidential elections elsewhere, which already announced the im— mense social weakness of the forces of capitalism. In the first round of the general elections the obvious desire of the Mitterand leadership to make a deal with the capitalist centre, and its remote—

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Monthly organ of the

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

384 19th JUNE 1988

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national frontiers a polarisation of class forces on a continental scale.

All this is posing great problems for the apparatus in the Labour Party and the trade union bosses. The challenge of Benn over the policy of Kinnsok indicates the need for a policy of fundamental social transformations. The party apparatus, linked through tradition and careerist objectives to capitalism, seeks to contain the masses at all costs. The recent proposal of Kinnsok to abandon the Labour Party policy of unilateral disarmament is part of this. Partly, he has taken advantage of the diplomacy of the Soviet leadership, which did not give a social orientation to the mass anti-nuclear demonstrations of an earlier period.

The forces of the left are inevitably going to gain in this period. But the central problem remains that of structuring this left, in effect making it a coherent tendency with a Marxist class orientation. This means seeing Britain as part of a world process and orientating the left to see the Workers States, particularly the Soviet Union, as the centre of world history. The social democratic option, the view of changing capitalism by elections, evolving gently to Socialism and also seeing Socialism within a 'national' setting — re-stimulated by Stalinism — has failed utterly. It has not changed history one iota. Now that capitalism is threshing about in torment and preparing for war as its only solution, gradualism has no

perspective. The Mitterands and the Kinnsoks live in the twilight of electoral manoeuvre, but the problems generated by capitalism accumulate and accumulate. The traditional apparatus is caught between the desire of the masses for a fundamental social change and the inability of capitalism to offer anything to mitigate the impoverishment and degeneration caused by its system. The left must discuss more and systematically because, as in the case of Mitterand, the Kinnsok apparatus is seeking to limit support for the Labour Party because it feels if in government the total crisis of capitalism may force it into steps against the system it is not prepared to take.

11. 6. 88



SOVIET TROOPS IN ACTION IN AFGHANISTAN AGAINST THE CLASS ENEMY

# THE DEMONSTRATIONS IN ARMENIA

RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU.

## THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKERS STATE AND OF PARTIAL REGENERATION IN THE SOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL PROBLEM

The mobilisations of the Armenian masses are an elevated expression of the intervention of the Soviet masses to correct and regenerate the Workers State and will be an impulse to the leadership to resolve all the problems derived from the Stalinist past through the elevation of Soviet democracy and the Socialist structure. The mobilisations have an origin and are expressed in national forms and demands, but they have solid Soviet roots and contribute enormously to the progress of the Workers State and its influence in the world. The Armenian masses have made strikes, demonstrations of hundreds of thousands for national demands, but showing and agitating red banners and with the participation and direction of the Communist vanguard. The element that guided the general orientation was the Red Flag and not the national objective.

The masses felt and showed to the world, as Cde Posadas said, that they are increasing their confidence in the Workers State and in the Socialist future. While the Workers State shows the capacity to correct limitations, the capitalist system shows how it 'resolves' national problems in Ireland and Palestine with bullets. While in Jordan the masses lead their struggles to the questioning of capitalist and imperialist power in the region, the Armenian masses impel the cleansing of the bureaucratic apparatus at the same time that they integrate themselves with the Workers State. The masses of the world see that the Armenians in the USSR have a territory, while in Turkey they were dispersed and those who survive have no means of developing their religion, culture and language. The Armenian hierarchy in Rome declared that 'The Armenians do not dream of coming out of the Socialist state. In no period and at no other time in history, nor in any other place, has the Armenian people enjoyed the freedoms which it has today in the Soviet Union.'

The demands of the Armenian population tend in every way to affirm the Workers State and to develop Soviet democracy in facilitating the social relation and communication between the masses of the same nationality. The reply of the Soviet leadership was limited and bureaucratic, although they conceded the majority of the demands, with the exception of the demand for the annexation of Karabak to the Armenian Republic, rejecting with justification that a decision of this type would generate similar movements in other regions of the Soviet Union.' We believe that the problems are not resolved by modifying the existing frontiers, but it was necessary and the conditions exist to be based on popular support to open a debate on the responsibility of the bureaucracy in the disputes. This would not stimulate nationalist demands but anti-bureaucratic ones. It would regulate eventual new protests like those of Latvia and Estonia, where strong reactionary tendencies exist.

There is a great internal discussion in the Soviet leadership. At the same time that there is no preparation to resolve problems which were not on the agenda, a sector is not opposed to their appearing and to coping with them. It is for this reason that they have conceded a plan of investments of more than five hundred million roubles for teaching the Armenian language, books, use of the Armenian language on television, and also the creation of industries to stabilise a large seasonal manpower present in the region.

The intervention of the leadership of the Party sending leaders of the Central Committee and some police forces was not against the masses, but trying to control the reaction of the nationalist groups in the service of the local bureaucrats who came out to defend their privileged interests. These sectors were present, both on the Armenian side seeking to lead the struggle to impose the annexation of Karabak, sectors who were isolated as soon as the Soviet government resolved the programme of intervention; and, on the other side, there were the sectors of the Azerbaijani bureaucracy who are the most under fire and who reacted with the killings in Zungait. These assassinations have been the reaction of the apparatus which feels now that it is at its end. They assembled two thousand bandits of the type of the Pol Pot assassins from wherever they could, to kill, destroy houses and Armenian schools. The fact that they destroyed the portraits of Lenin in the Armenian houses shows the level of degradation developed in the bureaucratic apparatus.

It is necessary to point out fundamentally what the attitude of the masses has been in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. The Armenian masses utilised the national situation in the absence of the lack of organisms, of the political life of the Soviet and of the Party, and developed a movement which put in question bureaucratic power, impelling an important cleansing of the Party at the same time that they sought not to cause any damage to the Workers State. They realised the

strikes as an instrument of protest but afterwards resolved to work on Sundays to compensate for the economic results of the same action. The Azerbaijani masses risked their own lives to give refuge to the Armenian masses who fled from the attacks of the bandits who for three days had a free hand to terrorise in the region.

Such an attitude of the masses has demonstrated very well the analysis that Cde Posadas made on the problem of nationalities, posing that the problem had been solved by the Workers State. This does not mean that national sentiment and characteristics are not maintained on the part of the dozens of nationalities and religious groups which compose the Soviet Union, but that the body of the Soviet people - even in the most remote localities - have already developed the confidence and the consciousness that the nation in itself does not constitute any instrument for economic, cultural, intellectual and scientific progress. The Workers State has developed the understanding in the Soviet masses that centralised planning, stratification and the intervention of the population constitute the base of the economy and of science. Even with the bureaucracy the different nations have not developed with some crushing others, as in the system of private property, but with co-ordination and unification. It is for this reason that the Soviet masses have orientated their judgements and attitudes by Lenin and not by Allah or God, nor by the nation. This is one of the most beautiful conclusions of the first seven years of the Soviet Union. The intervention of the masses has been against the bureaucratic apparatus and against the use which this has made of the national divisions to sustain and manage its arbitrary power against the masses. The problem of nationalities was a problem inherited by the Workers State because capitalism was not able to provide a solution and was impotent. Even today it lives with these problems which exist even in the most developed countries. The most developed economic multi-national structures live side by side, as in Britain, with a struggle against the Irish, a divided Spain, and a Belgium divided into two. The bourgeoisie has been incapable historically of creating a political centre with authority to undertake the unification of these countries, and later at great cost have dedicated themselves to maintain national differences as a means to diminish the weight of the working class and of the masses, and thus to be able to dominate on the base of this division.

The October Revolution was faced with these problems at the same time as having to provide a solution to the innumerable problems of the economy, mass starvation, the capitalist encirclement and the forms with which to extend the Socialist revolution throughout the rest of the world. The loss of cadres was immense and the Bolsheviks had to answer all the problems, all the tasks. There were nations and republics which, for a whole period, passed from the hands of the Workers State to capitalism and vice versa. They were the matter of negotiations, as in Brest Litovsk. At the same time, the revolution was realised in the most complete form in Petrograd and in Moscow, and in the chief proletarian centres, with the task for the Bolsheviks and the young government of extending it to all Russia. The Bolshevik government had to resort to the art of manoeuvre and negotiations with layers of the most diverse origins which after centuries of exploitation under Tsarism came to life with the Socialist Revolution.

Stalin was the first commissar for nationalities. Lenin and Trotsky could not dedicate time to this because of other priorities and Stalin was given this task. Trotsky relates how in this task Stalin used his capacity as a manoeuvrer in front of the bourgeois, tribal, patriarchal and religious leaders. At first it was necessary to make concessions to these leaderships to win historic time necessary for the development of the Workers State, lessening the centrifugal pressures of national and religious interests. Afterwards, under the Stalinist regime, concessions were aimed to interest the leading regional leaders in the constitution and the support of the bureaucracy. Now there were no linguistic, cultural concessions for access to publications and for the most complete information of the masses in such a way that they could intervene in a leading way in the political life of the country; but concessions to affirm local bureaucratic groups or the creation of unjust disputes or situations for certain nationalities so as to increase the central power of the bureaucracy.

The bureaucracy made of the national problem a use similar to that of the capitalist system, utilising divisions in order to diminish the weight of the working class and of the Party, corrupting the life of the same. Hence now, after the Soviet of Karabak supported the proposal of the annexation to Armenia in the meeting of

the CC of the Party local, the Armenian leaders voted on one side and the Azerbaijanis on the other; and the general secretary of the Azerbaijan Party declared that before ceding the region to Armenia they would have to go over his dead body. It is the whole nationalist mentality with which this leadership was constructed, the mentality of 'Socialism in one country', 'in one region', i.e. a Socialism 'which above all things only takes account of bureaucratic privileges'. The Soviet masses have matured enormously beyond and against the power of the bureaucracy. Even in the most critical moments of Stalinism they intervened objectively, as against the nazi invasion when millions of Armenians and Azerbaijanis fought together in defence of the Soviet Workers State. In the present phase of the process of partial regeneration, the masses found conditions very favourable by which to intervene.

The recent events in the Soviet Republic of Armenia are of the greatest importance in history. In the middle of the preparation of the war on the part of imperialism the Soviet masses have the audacity to intervene to correct the bureaucratic deviations of the Workers State, feeling the security that they can count upon and impel the process of ascent in their leadership. The demonstrations occurred under the red banners and the portraits of Gorbachev. The process of changes in the Workers State has reached a very profound level, and in their progress all the problems emerge. As Trotsky, and later Posadas, analysed, the Workers State and Socialism cannot be constructed with lies. The truth constitutes the wind which reaches all the corners of the Soviet Union. It cleanses, opens the archives, exposes the old myths created by the bureaucracy, such as the 'Soviet man'.

The bureaucracy believes that, as now, all is registered in the constitution, any problem was resolved. With Andropov, the discussion was re-taken which now with the intervention of the masses and the solutions adopted by the leadership of Gorbachev - is represented at a superior level, breaking with the obstacles imposed by the bureaucratic apparatus. This discussion demands a great progress in life and the function of the Party as leader of society. Early or late, the problems see the light and the leadership has to confront them, defends itself, seeks to avoid them; but now it cannot dis-

Continued on page 3

## AFGHANISTAN – The Soviet withdrawal and discussion on the process in Afghanistan.

Imperialism has gained nothing from the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan because at this stage of the world process there are no means by which imperialism can change the balance of world forces in favour of itself. All that will continue through the military aid of the Yanks is a vicious and sanguinary war of rightist gangsters against progress; in other words, a continuation of what has been going on for some time.

Even with the withdrawal of Soviet troops, the Workers states cannot abandon Afghanistan, the reforms that the Soviet has brought to Afghanistan, land reform, education, literacy and removals of the enslavement of women.

However, we criticise the withdrawal of Soviet troops and the lack of initiatives by the Soviets over Afghanistan: that is, the inability to be concerned with the future development of Afghanistan. At the same time, we believe that the process of perestroika will, in its course, bring back issues like Afghanistan into discussion again, because they relate to the overall problems of the intervention of the Workers States in the world arena.

The Soviet retreat from Afghanistan can be seen as the reaction of the Soviet leadership to the internal crises of the bureaucracy as a result of perestroika. In the previous period with limited perestroika, the Soviet leadership of Breznev contained internal divergences in the bureaucracy through a more vigorous anti-imperialist policy, seen in the Cuban support to Angola and the intervention in Afghanistan, which – as Cde

Posadas analysed – risked, in fact, the final encounter: the nuclear response from imperialism.

But now, the absolute necessity of the Workers State to liquidate the excrescences of bureaucratic expropriation and corruption have opened a new phase in the internal crisis of the bureaucracy. This means an exacerbation of the internal struggles where one sector of the bureaucracy has more confidence to advance although this does not automatically mean the disappearance of bureaucratic interest or the limitations of bureaucratic thinking. In practice, this phase of perestroika has shown that there is a lack of a unified response to the needs of the Workers State. The fact that the discussion is vigorous means that issues such as Afghanistan are not going to go away but will re-appear as the process of perestroika deepens.

Najibullah, the leader who has been associated with the policy of reconciliation in Afghanistan, has made reference to the fact that the process there is a democratic revolution and not a workers' revolution; that it is not possible to leap stages and that, in any case, the Party in Afghanistan is not a Communist Party. All this is very revealing, because it shows the limitations of the present leadership in Afghanistan and the fact that the Soviets do not have a team with clear ideas on the subject. The original intervention in Afghanistan was an expression objectively of the needs of the Workers State to expand but it was never discussed in this way by the Soviet leadership.

Afghanistan and the speech of Najibullah raise all the issues of principle that the leadership finds itself at a loss to cope with. Why is it not possible to leap stages? Mongolia did, and the October Revolution is full of examples of this. The fact that old Stalinist and Menshevik ideas are brought out by Najibullah is precisely because there are currents opposed to the policy of reconciliation and who desire to construct a specific Communist Party not a nebulous general party

Soviet policy under Gorbachev has shown so far most conciliatory features in the realms of foreign policy – although nothing of substance has been given to imperialism, because there is no possibility of such Stalin deals as at Yalta. But even the policy of limited conciliation could change rapidly. The Workers State is being cleansed by perestroika and this strengthens and lays the basis for a more profound discussion on the need to terminate quite clearly with any theory of stages which impedes the construction of the Party and the development of Afghanistan from Revolutionary to a Workers State. The repudiation of Stalinism involves all this. Afghanistan should be discussed openly in the Soviet Union, not just in the closed enclaves of the Political Bureau. It should be discussed in public meetings and resolutions made without secret ballot, so that the population weighs, not just the functionaries of the Party.

From page 2

concert or crush opposition, above all as in the case of the recent Armenian mobilisations, when the factor of the open intervention of the masses is included in the process of partial regeneration opened in the Soviet Union.

The capitalist system cannot make any reactionary use for its own benefit of the recent events in the Soviet Union: first, because it has no authority insofar as it has demonstrated itself incapable of resolving its own national problems, and also because the attitude of the Armenian masses has been one of complete identification with the Soviet Workers State. The old reactionary layers of the bureaucracy have defended themselves by means of the assassin group who counted upon support in the central apparatus of Parry. It is the form in which the political revolution presents itself in the Soviet Union. Cde Posadas posed that it would not be a bloody insurrection in a general sense, but without excluding these partial explosions – which show the sinister intentions in defence of their interests which certain sectors have. But the solution has not been to the bene-

fit of those who repress, but of the masses who have thrown out dozens of leaders of the Party and of the local Soviet who represented very entrenched bureaucratic layers, and they have adopted means of progress in the region. The repression was not only against the Armenian masses, but also sought to intimidate the leadership of Gorbachev.

The process of partial regeneration thus advances as a result of the mobilisations and of the solutions to the demands of the Armenian masses. It has increased the security of the masses and also the security of the leadership of the Workers State, which is learning to elevate its relation with the masses and its confidence in the full Soviet democracy. The plans of the Soviet leadership have been leapt over. With the military agreements with imperialism they sought to gain time for a development of the economy and of Soviet society. The previous policy of the Soviet leadership, more concentrated in the preparation to confront capitalism, concentrated the internal preoccupation, submitting the particular and local interests of the lower layers of

the bureaucracy to anti-capitalist power of the central bureaucratic layer. The efforts to win time of co-existence with capitalism diminishes the internal pressure which also was exercised over the masses who feel a greater opportunity to intervene.

The Communist, Socialist and revolutionary movement must discuss these events in the Soviet Union as a means of elevating the Socialist consciousness. Humanity represented through the means of the Workers State, shows a very great level of progress; at the same time that the Soviet leadership selects layers internally which advance in the scientific understanding of the process of history.

EUROPEAN BUREAU OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

4. 4. 88.

J POSADAS

## INTRODUCTION

We publish periodically extracts by Cde Posadas on cultural matters because they are fundamental to the Marxist conception of history. Capitalism in its final stages is totally alien to culture.

Revolutionary culture means not the passive consumption of culture, like the bourgeoisie who convert culture into a decoration, but the understanding of culture within the context of the application of Marxist method in liquidating capitalism and constructing Communism.

## The Joy of Beethoven J. POSADAS

The overflowing joy of Beethoven is pure rejoicing with nature. The exultation is that of human relation, the organisation of human sentiments firmly outside the realm of private property. Beethoven felt human relations should be free from property, even though he had to create at a time of social development far removed from this conclusion! This is the function of the Artist.

It is just the same as the Revolutionary leader does when expressing necessity and existing conditions with Ideas. In the same way, the composer has the role of formulating in the abstract language of music precisely the same things. He is restricted in doing this by the abstract quality of music. To the extent in which humanity advances and human relations improve, music is further refined in the field of abstraction; it is rendered more easily accessible, felt and apprehended: one could almost say that it becomes more 'seen'.

The Symphony of Dvorak, "From The New World", is not at all a bad work. But it is quite limited. It reveals a composer influenced by grandeur, ie power – Kings, Tzars, etc. The "World" appears in his music in relation to power.

The critics of Beethoven say that he was living above reality. For these critics, 'reality' signifies Kings, Courts, wars and battles. But Music, develops sentiments to which only Socialism can respond. This is why Beethoven is the first centre of Socialism that – like Marx – will only be superceded when he becomes part of a new era, part of new conditions. Equally, Trotsky plays the same role. He dealt with the problems that arose in his epoch. Today these have changed. The "Old Trotskyists" do not understand this. The role which masters like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Beethoven – and the Bolsheviks – have played cannot be repeated over and over again. Each one of these masters, played, from the point of view of historic necessity, an irreplaceable and unrivalled role of a great depth, but they played it in a process of the development of history, each feat being superceded by the feat that followed. Marx will be superceded; this does not mean that he will become outdated, but that new conditions will arise which will require even more profound methods. Indeed, Trotsky explained this. He said that "dialectics will become the base of some new system of reasoning".

The music of Beethoven is a dialogue with objective love. This comes from thinking objectively with the mind firmly preoccupied by humanity and human relations of love. This is how Beethoven lived: otherwise he could not have composed such works as his. Beethoven had the talent and ability to have become an extremely rich man, but he lived in poverty. His music is utterly devoid of any thirst for power. Actually, he lived with very little, and he loved to go to the countryside. His music stimulates the organisation of the mind; a mind clearly organised sees the centres, the heart of matters, and turns the gaze and all intelligence in the direction of human love, human relations. The latter means the thirst for human relations and understanding their roots. It is not possible to invent 'human relations' but it is possible to see that 'human' relations can already exist.

Someone like Beethoven could not have appeared before him because there was not the necessary social development to promote such a degree of inspiration and capacity to interpret future human relations. Before Beethoven, this could not have existed, but today, we have all that he did. The way to take this further now, is Party and Programme. In the field of music, Beethoven is both Party and Programme. Beethoven is the symphonist of Humanity who created a music of pure joy in the midst of nature and sentiments.

J. POSADAS

29th August 1978

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AFGHANISTAN - SOVIET INTERVENTION AND THE CONCEPTION OF DEMOCRACY - EXTRACTS.

J. POSADAS

5. 1. 1980

INTRODUCTION

We re-publish extracts from Cde Posadas on Afghanistan because the Soviets have failed to give any statement of principle either for entering or leaving Afghanistan. The Red Army was not defeated and imperialism will gain nothing from this retreat.

The problems of democracy, of it's necessary to devote attention the Soviet troops, the people can democratic right, is determined by to this. This is used for the decide, because they can animate the course of the progress of his- dominion of the Yankee capitalist themselves to go against the tory. If the Soviets had not in- 'democracy' to assassinate people, landowners, which were those vaded Poland in 1939 they would 'Democracy' is just a name, who were supported by Amin. have left it to the Germans who because it does not exist there. would have got to the gates of Democracy is not the right to vote If the democratic movements, Moscow in no time. If the Soviets and elect but the right to live, to Socialist or Communist, do not respected the right of this small progress, to elevate the conditions understand this it is not through country, they would have given of life, and to be able to seek the ill-will or because they are allied strength to the power which was means for this. If it is necessary to capitalism, but they do not going to make history retreat. to occupy a country to elevate it, understand such a conception. Trotsky posed democracy as a this is not an occupation; it is not Thus they yield to the impression function of history, not democracy a retreat nor an invasion, but a of democratic abstraction. They as a Sunday suit but as a function technical, scientific and cultural do not see democracy as an of progress. means to elevate the country. Instrument of progress.

It is said that the democracy of time is the development of Soviet capitalism allows freedom so that democracy in Afghanistan. people decide, but it is the ruling

class which decides, not the This application of democracy people. It is different when, as in also applies to Afghanistan. Nicaragua, the people intervene Democracy is an instrument of the led by an anti-capitalist leader- progress of history. To respect ship: it is not possible to make an democratic rights of one country, abstraction - let the people if this serves at the same time as decide. In Afghanistan, the inter- an instrument for reaction and to vention of the Soviet troops has attack the USSR, is not democracy contributed to elevating the con- is not defending historic rights ditions of life of this country and necessary for the progress of life, eo eliminating the sectors which but respecting a power which is have to repress and assassinate going to make the rights of life the Afghan people. retreat. Thus, the interpretation and the application of democratic

The Yanks are militarily conclusions are determined by the occupying Puerto Rico. Why necessity of the progress of his- don't they leave Puerto Rico? tory in respect of Afghanistan, or All those who protest about Soviet of any other country.

Intervention, shy don't they push forward a campaign against the Yankee occupation of Puerto Rico? Thus there is a whole mystifi- Why don't they demand the expul- cation of democracy which the sion of imperialism from the zones groups of Trotskyist origin carry out when they say that 'the people they occupy, and which do not belong to them? For example, all have to decide'. What people? the South West of the United States In Afghanistan it was not the necessary to support this Soviet was Mexican, and the British still people who decided before. intervention, which is a necessary have colonies in Latin America. Recently, now with the support of instrument of progress.

For example, Afghanistan is a feudal country which in order to progress has no other solution than to do what it did. The USSR did not intervene only to defend its frontiers, but to make Afghan- istan also advance. For this reason there is no mass anti- Soviet movement in the world.

Not one. The Yanks could not organise any. All these leftist movements who pose the abstract defence of democracy represent intellectual circles of state em- ployees, of functionaries who live closed in on themselves and not in contact with the progress of the struggles and their significance. They do not see that in Afghani- stan the intervention of the Soviets tends to eliminate feudalism and to impel the Workers State. It is on this basis, then, that it is necessary to support this Soviet intervention, which is a necessary instrument of progress.

THE FRENCH PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AND THE SOCIAL DISINTEGRATION OF FRENCH CAPITALISM.

The result of the French Presidential elections show the immense fragility of French imperialism. With the ever greater need of the world capitalist economy to confront the Workers States and to modernise the productive apparatus, capitalism inevitably turns 'right', and the turn towards an authoritarian state becomes more marked. Logically, some form of fascism is the only way for capitalism to avoid its problems and, in this way, to prepare for the final encounter with the Workers States. But the masses do not turn right, although the bureaucratic apparatuses, the functionaries of the workers' parties and trade unions justify their passivity and adaptation to capitalism by cynically throwing up their hands and saying 'what can we do?'

as Prime Minister is an objective insult to the people of France.

Mitterand tried to gain support from sectors of capitalism and the petit bourgeoisie by suggesting a capitalism that was modified, i.e. with more for research and development, and he rallied support against the racist policies of Le Pen. The failure of the latter shows the insoluble crisis of French imperialism. It cannot rally its supporters on a programme of racism and repression.

No sooner is the election over than renewed crises face the parties of the right, the direct representatives of capitalism. Chirac, Barre, D'Estaing and Le Pen show the fragmentation within capitalism. In the period that is coming the super concentration of capital, accelerated by the 'liberalisation of the Common Market, will further accentuate the competition within the forces of capitalism and further accentuate political divisions. The appearance of the French Greens who got 3.77% of the votes in the first round shows the great potential that exists for a consistent programme of social transformations.

The masses do not have a genuine workers' centre which represents their desire for change. Thus the French elections finally centred around the rival candidature of Mitterand and Chirac. The former concentrated the forces of the left, while Chirac vainly tried to concentrate the forces of the right. In fact, Chirac lost some sectors of the original right wing vote to Mitterand because they felt he was too far to the right. (46% to Chirac as opposed to 54% to Mitterand) in his compromises with Le Pen.

The key to taking advantage of this political situation in France is an evolution and change in the Communist Party, basing itself much more on the progressive features of perestroika and re-evaluating the role of the Communist Party and shedding its confined perspectives influenced by Stalinism.

The brutality of French intervention in New Caledonia gained no new social support, such is the weakness of the position of imperialism.

It is the failure of the Communist Party in particular which gave the elections this peculiar form. The official Communist candidate only gained two million votes, i.e. under 7% of the votes. although the CP still holds the most decided sections of the vanguard.

In some sense Mitterand now tries to play the role of the 'national saviour' traditionally played by de Gaulle, i.e. standing above 'partisan interests'. But none of this can solve the problems which beset capitalism, the confrontation with the Workers States and the increasing inter-capitalist competition. The poorer regions of capitalist Europe, such as Portugal etc., will grow poorer and the inequalities throughout Europe will augment. Irrespective of the profound limitations of the leaderships in France, the masses intervene of themselves in the process that is coming. The militants of the Communist Party have to fill the political void in France. Elections are only a faint indication of the social forces that smoulder throughout Europe.

This was an election which could have taken full advantage of the social debility of capitalism, but the Communist Party has failed to use or understand the process of perestroika in the Soviet Union and to develop its programme and appeal on this basis. It has not known how to make an objective balance of its relations with the Socialist Party and, in this way, also the left in the Socialist Party has wandered without any guidance - so that the appearance of the careerist Rocard

From

J. POSADAS ON THE SOVIET BUREAUCRACY IN FRONT OF THE WAR

The policy of the soviet bureaucracy, to stimulate in every country local interest, the policy of limiting the support, aiding but limiting support to the world process of the revolution, is determined by the conception that it is possible to impede the war, that the war can be avoided. As they believe that the war can be avoided, they make this policy, but basically they know that it is not true. They do not believe that the war can be avoided. They believe that it is possible to constantly stretch out the process because they do not have a conception of history. If they believe that the war can be avoided, why do they arm? Why is it that the first thing that they do in Cuba is to provide arms?.....

If they believe that the war can be avoided, that it is possible to surpass or intimidate imperialism, so that it does not make war, it is because of the fear of the conception of the social historic mobilisation of capitalism and they fear that they will be liquidated.

Thus it is a timid, fearful, impotent caste which fears and in fear lies all the bases of the dissidents.

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**THE SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC  
CRISIS OF BRITISH  
IMPERIALISM ACCENTUATES  
THE NEED FOR THE PROG-  
RAMME OF SOCIAL TRANS-  
FORMATIONS**

The soviet leadership continues to hold the diplomatic initiative and in the course of the visit to Poland, Gorbachev again intervened to press for reductions in conventional weapons, thereby accentuating inter bourgeois dispute and showing up the ineptitude of capitalist leadership. It is important to see that whatever the forms of discussion and the agreements that have been signed, there is no diminution in the international class struggle. Yankee imperialism with characteristic brutality shot down the Iranian airplane and shrugged off the loss of life. When Yankee imperialism sent its plane to provoke the soviets and the soviets shot it down, the hacks of capitalism droned on about how terrible it was. But it is now much more difficult for capitalism to fool the petit bourgeois masses. This means that the social supports of capitalism diminish constantly and on a world scale the weight of the progress in the Soviet Union stimulates renewed opposition to imperialism. Thus the government of Nicaragua told the Yankee ambassador to clear off and he had to go. The Yanks launched a colossal campaign of lies to get rid of Noriega so as to interfere in Panama and it all came to naught.

The historic weakness of Yankee imperialism can be seen also in the results of the meeting there of the Democratic party. Although big business can contain people like Jackson, it proved impossible to prevent discussion of the proposal that America should not be the first to use nuclear weapons and finally the conference had to accept the use of sanctions against South Africa. This is an indication of the increase of anti capitalist forces in the heartland of imperialism which will continue to develop the more progress is registered in the workers states.

The world revolution combined with the changes in the workers states are preparing better conditions for the vanguard in Britain. The present capitalist regime is totally without perspective. Logically as with previous capitalist crises there is only one way out-war. If it is delayed that is no help to capitalism—its social ulcers fester and burst. Capitalism is very weak and has to conceal its true intentions. Thus Thatcher's dinosaur has to pretend to be pleased with the Gorbachev line. The world ambience is such that it is very difficult to denounce it and the dinosaurs hope to survive on the least dynamic aspects of soviet policy ie the "economic reforms". The British economy is now dominated by high interest rates, an imbecile housing situation because capitalism has prevented the expansion of house construction and very uncertain prospects. Industry has about reached the level of 1979. Smashing into the unions, oppressing the poor and strengthening the police has not solved one problem for capitalism. Big business has made a lot of money and speculators have thrived but that is no basis for historic survival. The Soviet Union is in process of removing excrescences, while imperialism is nothing but excrescences. All the stupidities of capitalism call for the programme of the expropriation of the banks and key industries and the application of workers control.

The course of the progress of the workers states is of the highest importance for Britain. As Trotsky and Posadas analysed one of the most devastating impediments to progress against British imperialism has been the role of Stalinism, its combination of conciliation with capitalism and thus brutal internal repression against the progress of the workers state. Now the great miasma is lifting and throughout the world the communist and revolutionary world vanguard is gradually going to weigh much more. Thus in France, not because the CP leadership has been prepared for this, the objective process has given

the CP a position in which its class and revolutionary role can be developed and the soviet perestroika will impel the workers parties and vanguard with new vigour. The fact that the Yugoslav proletariat more or less invaded Belgrade, reaffirmed the communist tradition with Tito, rejected the policies of the government and sought to overcome the bureaucratic regionalism in the country is another example, following shortly after the visit of Gorbachev, of the liberation of forces taking place following the progressive process in the Soviet Union.

In this very rich situation the labour vanguard is going to learn a great deal. The left in the LP still lacks homogeneity, with vain arguments between "hard" and "soft" lefts that lack theoretical clarity. This is exacerbated by the fact that they live in a party, the Labour party which is bourgeois in conception and with utterly anti-marxist traditions. Nonetheless the world revolution and perestroika is invading Britain. One of the best examples of this is the effect of the revolution in South Africa. Kinnock was obliged to come out strongly against the line of Thatcher and the Yanks and aligned himself with countries such as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. The massive demonstration in London on the birthday of Mandela shows the forces developing in Britain. We do not underestimate the weight of careerism in the Labour party and the pernicious function of many trade union functionaries, the EETPU being only the most notorious, but the objective process, the world wide social weakness of imperialism and the progress of the workers states allows a greater confidence to discuss ideas. But not only must the Labour left develop a greater theoretical clarity but must develop outside the parliamentary arena, develop a life outside the closed world of the electoral machine, so as to establish a superior communication with the population so that political activity is not just a question of complaining of the results of capitalism, but of giving a perspective of social transformations. 22 7 88.

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385 29 July 1988.

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**The Strikes and the Progress of the  
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**EUROPEAN BUREAU OF THE  
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The recent strikes represent a progress of the workers state, a great step forward in the process of learning to be a leadership which the working class and the POUP are making. They are a continuation at a superior level of the strike movement of the period of 1980. They did not reach the extent of that phase but they have had a similar effect in the party. The working class has intervened seeking to decide on the plans and the economic management of the government, criticising the application of the programme of reforms. The strikes have had as an objective to correct the injustice of an increase in the prices of basic necessities without this being compensated for with an increase in wages. After the referendum which has rejected the conception of the said programme, the working class—its communist vanguard inscribed in the new trade unions, are stimulating a discussion to correct it and place it at the service of the population.

These strikes are going to influence immensely in the internal struggle in the party. Even with the existence of sectors who wish to repress, the leadership has had to yield. They have made concessions and shown that they are ready to change. For much less in previous stages, they repressed and killed as in 1970, 1976 and 1977. Now they have to listen and correct. The reply is still bureaucratic but they cannot oppose the progress which the working class impels. They limit the rhythms and stages, and are slow to rectify but they cannot oppose. As Code Posadas analysed in 1980 the process of political revolution which includes the working class, the communist vanguard and part of the bureaucratic apparatus which accepts this progress is affirmed. The strike movement included a reduced number of factories in Cracow, Stalowa Wola and Danzig, but factories which represent the state of mind of the whole of the vanguard. The communist vanguard has communicated anyway to the party that it was supporting this strike movement. Thus the party had to accept this discussion and form immediately commissions of discussion which tried to resolve the demands of the workers. Where the trade unions supported and participated in the movement, they obtained important economic and democratic improvements and fundamentally secured means of participating during the application of the programme of economic reforms in process. The case of Danzig is different. Basing themselves on a legitimate demand of the working class there was a small nucleus of the aristocracy of labour, no more than 10% which together with a series of logical demands posed certain provocative points which not only did not gain the support of the rest of the working class but neither the church or Walesa supported them openly.

Code Posadas analysed in 1980 that because of the paralysis in the interior of the POUP, the communist vanguard had to support itself on Catholic leaders such as Walesa to break bureaucratic obstacles and impose a more logical discussion in the party. This process of discussion and rectification occurs at a slow rhythm, but its impulse does not require now indirect methods but that the working class, the communist base can influence more directly in the party. It is for this reason that now the vanguard did not see it necessary to support Danzig which was isolated and had degenerated. This happened through the weakness still of the communists in the dockyards, its lack of authority on some layers of the population and also because the party did not face up to the situation completely. The leadership does not have confidence in the working class and it fears it, otherwise the leaders of the POUP and of the

# The Policy of the USSR in Afghanistan, the defeat of Yankee imperialism and the perspectives of the revolution with the so-called retreat of the Soviet Army.

RESOLUTION OF THE  
EUROPEAN BUREAU.

The still very limited withdrawal of the soviet troops from some cities and some points of defence has been accompanied with the moving salutes of the Afghan people. Together with the withdrawal, the soviets have left behind the most modern arms and in profusion for the Afghan army and they have been replaced by soldiers of the Afghan revolution. Within the Soviet Union there was not a single demonstration of the masses against the soviet intervention in Afghanistan. On the contrary the committees of the young veterans which they have established propose with conviction that they have fulfilled a revolutionary duty in Afghanistan, defending the frontiers of their own country threatened by imperialism and defending socialist internationalism. What is being posed now in the USSR is that the population wishes to intervene, to give its judgements on the policy which it is necessary to push forward, while this was not discussed in 1979 and even so the soviet masses supported the intervention of the troops in Afghanistan. What is posed now is to see if there is or not a retreat in the revolution in Afghanistan with the conclusion of the peace agreement, if the principle of the withdrawal of the soviet troops can lead really to a containing of the counter revolutionary war plans of Yankee imperialism.

## ROLE OF THE RED ARMY.

The Afghan masses, its revolutionary vanguard will advance to a superior stage in their political experience. They have matured in a few years which in another stage and in other conditions would have required many, many years. In the recent first of May demonstration, as also in the last anniversary of the revolution hundreds of thousands of people had participated. In a few years they have incorporated actively in the political life of the country, thousands and thousands of people? How is it possible to ignore as do the Italian communists that this is one of the most elevated results of the soviet intervention? It is not a question of any retreat of the Vietnam type, as the capitalist press try to show (and indeed part of the communist leaders particularly in Italy). The Yankee soldiers did not withdraw from Vietnam, they were forced to flee like rats with the reactionary sectors of the vietnamese who were thrown out by the military and social strength of the Vietnamese masses and also by the millions of people who mobilised throughout the world, and fundamentally in the United States demanding that they cleared out. The Yankee troops were sent to Vietnam to impede and smash progress, but the soldiers of the Red Army went to intervene in Afghanistan to impel progress. They have contributed to the development of the country. They have constructed thousands of kilometres of aqueducts, given land to the peasants, guaranteed the plans to solve the problem of illiteracy and defended the democratic progress from the attacks of the feudal bands. It is for this that the Posadist international renders homage to the thousands of soviet soldiers fallen in Afghanistan. They have not been participants in any "mistaken war" but are soldiers conscious of the workers state who went to help a people with their example, with their experience and their resources.

## AN HISTORIC PROGRESS.

The return of the first soviet troops, together with the peace agreement signed in Geneva cannot be regarded as a triumph of imperialism. In signing these agreements imperialism is unmasked as the military support for the counter revolutionary Afghans, committed to stopping all military and financial help, that is sending mercenaries and maintaining these bandits, when until now imperialism wanted to pass off the "heroic" actions of the "freedom fighters" as the result of their



Soviet troops defend progress  
in Afghanistan

own capacity and of the support brought to them by the Afghan people. The retreat of a part of the Red Army forms part of a process in which the soviets are preparing or anyway have to prepare for a better political intervention. The original reason for the intervention remains valid: the soviet workers state cannot allow a counter revolutionary base to be established on its frontier and also it must continue contributing to the progress of Afghanistan, which is only possible by stimulating revolutionary transformations and closer relations between the two countries. This is an ineluctable necessity which does not depend only on Gorbachev, nor on his plan for an agreement with Reagan and it is a necessity which the soviets have not renounced in accepting the agreement. The soviet soldiers have given space to soviet political leaders without ceasing military preparation to respond to the provocations which imperialism will continue to organise.

The USSR continues developing the policy of compenetration as was defined by Comrade Posadas. They continue to seek to win time in front of the preparations for war of the capitalist system. They seek to try to divide and attract capitalist sectors of the world so as to separate them from a military coalition with Yankee imperialism. The soviets have made no retreat of importance from the military point of view. With the peace agreement in Afghanistan, the soviets are thinking to be able to neutralise or contain imperialism on a world scale and to succeed in other peace agreements in what they call "regional conflicts". But imperialism continues and is going to continue its war preparations, at the maximum level of its industrial and military capacity. On the other hand the peoples of the world continue their struggle for emancipation and see that to progress they need to advance towards the workers state. This necessarily places them in opposition to imperialism and leads them to ally with the system of the workers states. There is no possibility of new "Yaltas" in history. The struggle of the Palestinians, of the masses of South Africa, Angola, Mozambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua to give only some examples, shows this.

In Afghanistan this relation of forces is also expressed. Since 1979 the revolution has taken power and with the help of the Soviet Union has realised a very important development of the country in favour of the population. The soviet military participation was part of this development defending it and giving it security by impeding and defeating by force the counter revolutionary forces armed and financed with thousands of millions of dollars by Yankee imperialism and Pakistan essentially. In these eight years, the country has begun to emerge from

the backwardness of feudalism. Together with the military help of the soviets, the problems of illiteracy are being overcome, there is cultural and scientific elevation, agrarian reform, industry stimulated by the state and by the USSR and the country has been unified as never before in history. Human relations have been elevated giving dignity and equality to men and women, the right for schools and culture for the peasants and for the most isolated tribes of the country. What do the so called "guerilla" movements represent in all this? Only the interests of reactionary tribal and feudal castes, for which religion is only an instrument of oppression and a cover. Without doubt they represent a "part of the Afghan people" but the minimal part which only seeks to maintain the country in backwardness and under the domination of the feudal lords. It is these people that Yankee imperialism has supplied with arms and millions of dollars.

Thus it was not a matter of questioning as did the leadership of the communist and socialist parties in various parts of the world, the soviet military help in the name of non-intervention. There was no "non-intervention" in Afghanistan. The peace agreement itself between Afghanistan and Pakistan signed recently between the USSR and the United States confirms that there was this intervention by imperialism and declares that it had to cease. But it is not possible to think that the reactionary regimes from Pakistan to Saudi Arabia are going to stop intervening against the progress of Afghanistan towards a socialist experience. They did this in the past and they are going to continue doing it even signing the peace agreements. The element which can impose a retreat on these intentions is the very profound political crisis of the regime in Pakistan where general Zia has to propose elections and as a consequence the possibility of changes in the policy of Pakistan towards Afghanistan and the counter revolutionaries established on their territory. The USSR cannot in any case abandon Afghanistan to the counter revolutionaries and imperialism. It needs to continue the objectives which have determined the military participation in the defence of the Agrarian revolution in 1979. It is not a question of extending bureaucratic power but of extending the workers state and of throwing out the counter revolution as it did in Angola and in Ethiopia. It was a decision of the workers state in a process of regeneration and not of one or another leader.

Today the USSR discusses openly the overcoming of the bureaucratic structures and obstacles and seeks in particular to overcome the lack of participation of the population in the decisions of the government and of the leadership of the party, which had presided over the military intervention in Afghanistan. Today with perestroika, people have the possibility of expressing themselves and of intervening more. There has not been the slightest demonstration against the help of the USSR to Afghanistan, on the contrary. What is in preparation and discussion now in the Soviet Union is the search for superior forms of intervention with the Afghan revolution. The beginning of the military retreat is very limited and very scaled in time and also very conditional, so that at any moment the soviets can interrupt it and return if there is a danger for the Afghan revolutionary state. But it is also necessary to help the reinforcement of the party in Afghanistan, the formation of cadres, not only technicians or scientists but revolutionary cadres and soldiers to maintain the development of the revolutionary state, so as not to be diluted in the policy of "national reconciliation" and to deepen the measures of the social revolutionary transformations of the country towards socialism. The soviets have not left Afghanistan in the hands of the counter revolution and hence the Yanks have demanded "symmetry" between the cessation of help to the "contras" and the withdrawal of soviet troops. The soviets are not on this path. They can withdraw some of the troops but they remain unfailingly in the country, as the guarantee of its progress. No backward country has

been able to emancipate itself from the relations with the USSR and the workers states.

We invite the soviet comrades to impel the open discussion of these principles and the communist parties who have condemned the soviet military intervention in 1979 must make a balance of what Afghanistan was and what it has become with the revolution in this period. It is necessary to see that the Yanks do not intervene because their's is an intervention against history and against life and it is necessary to sustain the struggle of the Afghan revolutionaries who want the progress of their country and of the world and who want to advance towards socialism. European Bureau. 6, 6.88.

## **The Nineteenth Conference of the CPSU and the progress of partial regeneration.**

The 19th party conference of the CPSU is a continuation of the process of partial regeneration analysed by Cde Posadas and shows a continuation of the cleansing process whereby the workers state seeks to return to its revolutionary origins liberated from the mire of Stalinism. The leadership of this process is a reforming one rather than directly revolutionary and therefore the immense social power of the workers state acting as the totally conscious leadership of humanity is still limited, nonetheless the progress is evident and lays the basis for greater leaps in the future. The workers state is showing that in front of all the intimidation of imperialism and all the tenacity of the local and central bureaucrats, it has the capacity to rectify and renovate and to open the doors to a yet wider discussion.

A most striking feature of the conference was that in comparison with previous meetings of this sort ie Congresses of various types, there was actually an intervention of delegates who were not simply uttering platitudes or expressing agreement but openly critical of specific leaders and showing dissatisfaction with living conditions (delegates from the Urals for example). Gorbachev himself allowed Yeltsin to speak who directly asked for rehabilitation having received some support from delegates. One participant observed that it was difficult to say much on the issue because they had had no copy of the speech Yeltsin had originally made. Ligachev was obliged to intervene and attack directly the "Moscow News" one of the few means of judging discussions on perestroika published in the Soviet Union and distributed abroad. In other words the soviet masses could see even if discussion was still very limited, that the old bureaucracy is being shifted and that the process will enable them to intervene much more. There is no doubt that both leadership and population will be encouraged to advance further on what they have seen, because before the conference it was clear that the party caste of privileged functionaries had been doing everything possible to contain discussion and elect their own kind. This failed in its objectives, although their resistance will no doubt persist because corruption is not confined to those in Uzbekistan etc but is part of the whole Stalinist system now being dismantled.

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# A Homage to Trotsky and Posadas.

We make this homage to Trotsky on the forty eighth anniversary of his assassination (August 1940) and to Posadas in the seventh year since his death because their vision of the historic capacity of the workers state, its historic role in the elevation of humanity is being totally vindicated by the progress now being realised by the workers state. Trotsky foresaw that in the event of the resurgence of the world revolution the conditions for the decline of Stalinism and the bureaucracy would be laid and the workers state proceed to regenerate. Posadas elaborated this and in the teeth of those who persisted in the litany of confusing the workers state with an eternal state of Stalinism, he affirmed the application of the marxist method in relation to the workers state and the inevitability of the triumph of world communism. The bureaucracy still exists in the workers states—and there are some frightful ones in China and Rumania— but more and more they are placed on the defensive and the example of the progress in the Soviet Union is going to have global consequences.

The process in the Soviet Union will give an added stimulus to the world revolution and tends to undermine completely the conception of "Socialism in one country" which restricted the influence of the world communist movement in the period of Stalin. More and more the decisive source of movement in the workers states will be ideas, that is dynamic marxist ideas, which place the weight

on the social relations of the population, the role of the creative party which learns from the masses and the fact that this period has shown conclusively that the world is ready for communism. In this stage of history, all the classics of marxism gain in lustre and authority. But the troglodytes who have dedicated their worthless lives to doubting marxism and worshipping the fabrications of capitalism have nothing coherent to say about the progress of the Soviet Union. Only the marxist method mediated through the genius of Trotsky and Posadas is capable of grasping the process of partial, eventually leading to the full regeneration of the workers state. As Cde Posadas said it is rather like a film reel going backwards, in this case backwards to the spirit of 1917.

There will be delays and complications but the road of progress is in the ascendant, and there can be no retreat on this. This stage is the scientific proof of the predictions and analyses of Trotsky and Posadas. They both confronted the weight of repression and the physical resources of capitalism and the bureaucracy with superior ideas. It is the latter which govern history not missiles or banks. We salute these major figures of history with all our passion and joy and their continuity is to be found in the immense present and future progress of the workers state and thus of humanity as a whole.

From page 1

government would promote discussions and assemblies in the factories. The leadership is going to be stimulated by these strikes because once more it has been able to verify the maturity of the working class, its objective relation with the workers states. The Polish working class has given a new lesson to the world on how it feels capable of correcting the bureaucratic vices and deformations without causing any damage to the structure of the workers state. Hence they have demanded increases of wages and changes in the economic programme to be able to discuss democratically the measures that needed to be

applied. After having made the strikes they returned to work increasing the working days and working on Sundays for the necessary time to recover the production lost on strike days. The economic programme in process is a concession to the most backward sectors of the bureaucracy linked to private property and to the distribution of agricultural products. In front of the pressure of the debt with world capitalism, they yield to the demands of the IMF imposing a greater sacrifice on the masses without affecting the private interests which still possess 80% of the land and which control the most profitable aspects in the internal commerce. After the referendum which declared against this programme, an internal debate has developed which is leading to a questioning of its most backward elements. Hence among the best defenders of the programme of the government we find Walesa and the top layer of the church who defend this programme because they see that the critical discussion in process—and in which the working class wishes to participate and the base of the party—will lead to a deepening of the structure of the workers state, of the centralising function and programme of the workers state.

The decision to confer "special powers" on the government in the application of the programme is not to repress the working class. Evidently they want to limit their intervention, but the "special powers" are aimed fundamentally to control the empirical elements proposed in the economic programme such as the provision of food, the fulfilling of the plans of production on the part of the private producers, and the prices that they are establishing. It is for this reason that the world capitalist press which has shown itself in solidarity with the programme of the reforms denounced the decision over the "special powers" as distorting the essence itself of the programme which now passes from "more market and less state" to "less market and more state". But anyway the workers state cannot advance by means of "special powers" but only by the development of the power of the working class, that is rectifying the bases of the said programme and changing them through a development of the centralised plan within Poland and the other workers states gradually elevating the centralisation of agricultural production and overcoming in this way the backwardness which is meant by the existence still of agrarian private property. There is no possibility of developing the workers state by following the injunctions of the FMI, but on the contrary it is necessary to break this dependency as with the whole of the world capitalist system and to develop on the contrary, the relation and programme with the rest of the workers states.

The difficulty of the church and of Walesa to intervene is not because they have been "moderate" but because they have not had the space which they had in 1980. Then the absence of a greater initiative of the communists led to a situation where such a movement of great political significance also produced a series of empirical conclusions as in the whole peasant movement, the concern for a peasant trade union and the inclusion of the church in some aspects of the decisions. Now it is not the case. The working class, the communist workers and a part of the leadership has worked and reacted in harmony resolving problems on the basis of the most legitimate

From Page 3

The economic reforms were not really discussed at least on present information. On the other hand there were several references to the need to take into account the needs of the population although this tends to run counter to the great preoccupation with material incentives as opposed to communist moral incentives in running the economy. The need to pay attention to the social and living conditions in the agricultural sector was emphasised and it was also stated in Gorbachev's report that "any change in retail prices must on no account cause a drop in peoples standard of living". That is the area where the proletariat will have to educate its leadership—that is social relations have more role to play than the famous "economic levers". The soviet leadership has been at great pains to stress the need for greater participation of the masses in the running of the workers state and in this much has been made of the role of the soviets, but in one passage Gorbachev referred to the limitations of the soviets and said "we should also create favourable conditions for the broadest possible development of direct democracy—on the shop floor, in neighbourhoods, at public meetings and assemblies and in the course of discussing major all-Union and local issues" This is precisely where

the masses can directly make their voices felt instead of constantly being represented by others. But to be effective this requires the adequate policy and programme of the party, otherwise the bureaucracy can induce apathy. Another important intervention of Gorbachev was to suggest the revival of the tradition of the Workers and Peasants Inspection that existed under Lenin. If applied this could have revolutionary consequences because theoretically it would mean the direct intervention of the proletariat and strenuous resistance would be offered by the bureaucracy unless they found mean to control it.

The most positive aspect of the conference was the preoccupation to separate governmental from party functions. This is a fundamental aspect of partial regeneration because it means that the party is freed from a mountain of administrative and economic concerns so that it can concentrate on political and social leadership and develop ideas for the further advance of society. In the specific conditions of the workers state at present it tends to remove the party from the arena of economic corruption which has lowered its prestige with the population and the pressure will be to attract those who desire to serve the workers state selflessly and not with an eye to economic benefits—although in this respect the whole issue of party privileges has yet to be discussed properly. However the authority of the party is built basically on its living relation to the masses, how it responds to the wishes of the masses and how its ideas match the necessities of world history and in the realm of specific ideas and perspectives linking the soviet workers state to the rest of the world the conference was much more limited and discussion was very narrowly focused.

This conference of the CPSU has shown clearly the pressure of the process of partial regeneration, that is the pressure of the structure of the workers state to liquidate the parasitism of the bureaucracy and to open the way to the participation of the masses in the running of the workers state but democracy is not an end in itself but an instrument to further the advance of the workers state. The latter requires ideas and the constant discussion of ideas by the population. This is where the conference for all its important airing of the need to develop more democracy and separate party from state was still quite confined. There is still a feeling of remoteness from the concerns of the world revolutionary process which would have been utterly strange to the founders and leaders of the Bolshevik party. There was discussion about the internal problems of perestroika but no relation drawn between this and the immense historic events such as the insurrection of the Palestinian masses, the general strike in South Africa and the student marchers in South Korea demanding reunification with the North. In practice here we are faced with the limitations of the top bureaucracy in the Soviet Union. They are obliged to make changes because there is no other way out. The workers state is maturing and the pressure mounts to get rid of the Stalinist structure and the distortion of marxism by Stalinism. On the other hand as Cde Posadas has analysed the top bureaucracy desires to survive and thus the debate over ideas, and the strategy and tactics of the workers state in front of imperialism is still very limited and certainly not developed with the population. The limitations of the conference, the partial separation of the political from the economic are due indirectly to the pernicious effects of the theory of "Socialism in one country". So far the leadership has tried to limit the discussion of Stalin to the appalling crimes he committed and the rehabilitation of the victims but the basis of Stalinism was laid in the twenties and the turning away from the world process combined with the structuring of the bureaucracy. If the soviet leadership takes Lenin very seriously then they have to see the role of the Third International and the basis on which Stalinism destroyed the international perspectives of the workers state. The dynamism of the soviet economy is not an end in itself. It is not a question of developing a soviet "market" where sectors of the apparatus live very well and the mass of the world population starve. Even on the level of developing the soviet economy, social and political levers are much more important than purely economic.

It is in this area, the whole area of world perspectives that the experience of perestroika has to be developed. It is necessary to deepen the discussion on the origins of Stalinism not just for academic purposes but to comprehend the depth of its distortion of marxism. The workers state is seeking its origins and its future and although the nineteenth conference has helped to open some doors and raised as many questions as it has answered, the political life of the CPSU has to be transformed and the soviet proletariat has to be encouraged to intervene with all its experience. The ideas of Trotsky and Posadas are fundamental in this discussion. The words of Cde Posadas apply to this important nineteenth conference. "There is a bureaucracy, but the functioning of the bureaucracy is more linked to the objective need of the workers state... not the bureaucratic functioning which defends the workers state only to defend the bureaucracy".

Instruments of the workers state, fundamentally in the party. Thus the church moved cautiously, now that the initiative came from the party and not from a movement which it could impel away from the workers state, and also because the catholic base may go to the church and maintains the religious sentiment, but socially it identifies with the workers state and it sees that this is correcting itself on the path of progress. The strikes are going to be a very great contribution to the discussion and the struggle in the POUP elevating it in the quality of its function as leader of society.  
European Bureau. 6.6.1988..

The publication of the European bureau's resolution on the nineteenth conference of the CPSU has been delayed and will appear in the next issue of Red Flag.

## Editorial

# The programme of social transformations and the closure of nuclear bases is the only solution for Britain

After the Gorbachev-Reagan meeting and the agreement to dismantle the group of medium range missiles the relations between imperialism and the workers states have returned to the state of diplomatic unease. The soviets continue to retain the advantage in terms of initiatives for suggested negotiations. But the problem of Afghanistan has brought out the inevitable clashing between the two social systems. The yanks have continued to maximise direct aid to the Afghan whites despite the Geneva treaty and the soviets made their position quite clear, unless this aid stopped, they would be obliged to take other measures. They did and the yanks protested. This was summarily dismissed by the soviets, without any hesitation. That is the reality of the world situation. The workers state cannot cede to imperialism, whatever the nuclear blackmail the latter chooses to use. Some in the soviet leadership may talk about supra class hopes for international accord, but the workers states inevitably clash with imperialism because they represent different classes.

It is important to take account also of the speech of Ligachev which followed the nineteenth CPSU conference. It deserves a lengthier treatment, but most importantly it emphasised that a more rational conception of the market in the workers state did not mean any return to capitalist society and that the soviet Union stood for a class diplomacy. This statement indicates the type of discussions which followed the party conference and is aimed at the tendencies in the bureaucracy and outside who dream of a permanent peace with imperialism. The progress of the workers state requires a deepening of the discussions on all issues raised by the conference and above all issues on the international situation including problems in other workers states. For example why does the Polish government enter into negotiations with a wash out like Walesa who now is concerned only to contain the Polish workers? The CPSU has to learn to acquire the theoretical security to discuss with the masses over all fundamental internal and international issues.

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Whereas the Soviet Union registers progress and the will to eliminate abuses and re-enters the historic path set out by 1917, capitalism can only multiply its excesses and mendacity. Thus the spokesmen of capitalism entertain themselves about the prodigious economic performance which has meant that British capitalism has succeeded in reaching the production level of 1974. If the Soviet Union could only claim that, the sycophants of capitalism would be tireless in their denunciations. The Thatcher government hoped to permanently demoralise the population by unemployment and weakening the trade unions with the full compliance of sectors of the trade union bureaucracy who see their lives as totally linked to the survival of capitalism. However in spite of everything, the population continues to resist. Capitalism thought it had won a great victory over the miners which would flatten all resistance to capitalist measures in the future—but the confidence of nurses, ferry men, car workers, teachers and now postmen has shown the opposite. Moreover the return of the problem of inflation shows yet again that capitalism is destined to repeat itself—inflation will not go away partly because the massive world capitalist arms economy stimulates this, but also because the masses will not accept a lower level of subsistence.

The factor which limits the intervention of the population is the attitude adopted by the leadership of the Labour party who in face of the crisis of capitalism, seek to contain opposition under the pretext that policies of socialism will frighten the electorate. They justify this by emphasising the reduced numbers of the proletariat and the large number of well heeled petit bourgeoisie. However these are only manoeuvres. The problem with this leadership is that it belongs to a previous stage. It's an apparatus trained to accept all the bourgeois interpretation of democracy and when capitalism is hurt, they feel hurt with it. Thus as in Germany now or with Gonzalez in Spain or Rocard in France, they seek to cast doubt on the

need for a collectivised economy, put the weight on a collaboration with capital and refuse to conduct struggles against the arms budgets and nuclear arms of capitalism. This is not the stage of reforming the capitalist system and thus they refuse to wage a serious struggle against anything. It is a gross abuse of the democracy which the courtiers of capitalism are always prattling about, that the teachers union should be deprived of negotiating rights, but no campaign is made on this issue, and this is but one example. It has become a commonplace in Britain to say that there is no opposition. The Kinnock leadership is quite content to say that the left is the cause of all the trouble because they refuse to shut up and persist in talking about old fashioned socialism. All this is very cynical and shows that a leadership which answers to the situation will have to develop on a new basis, partly from the renewed study of marxism and associated with this a greater understanding of the process in the workers states. The present leadership of the Labour party is anxious to keep Britain separate from the rest of the world, which is becoming more and more difficult to do.

As the leadership of the Labour party claims that on the basis of the reduction in the numbers of the

proletariat, it is impossible to make gains on socialist policies, they show their fear of the more radicalised sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who have frequently voted liberal because they see the rotten apparatus in the Labour party. Capitalism does not only generate the opposition of the workers, it creates opposition in the petit bourgeoisie irrespective of the numbers of the working class. Moreover in this stage of history great cracks appear in the edifice of capitalism itself. The fact that the church of England can no longer be relied upon to sustain the vicious policies of capitalism is an indication of the crisis within the heart of the system. The monarchy is not untouched by this either. The crown prince shows a restlessness with the situation precisely because he feels what will there be to inherit? The criticisms which he made about the homeless and now about violence on television enter into conflict with the nature of capitalism. When Tebitt said all this would end up in socialism, it points to the massive crisis of the system where the monarchy begins to falter and the basis is laid for its disappearance. The labour party leadership and the trade union leaders who support the policies of Kinnock turn away from this, because they seek to keep the system going.

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The return of Soviet and Afghan cosmonauts

# THE INFLUENCE OF DIALECTICAL MATERIALISM ON THE CHURCH. J. POSADAS. NOVEMBER 1980.

(refers to the polemic of Hans Kung with the Vatican)

The most decisive aspect of life is the objective necessity of historic progress which has still not been satisfied, but has generated fundamental forces and theories like Marxism. Marxism contains and structures thought on the basis of the most advanced method of analysis, conclusion and application. Science in the system of private property means to observe, to understand, to resolve and to apply; all as separated functions but not extraneous to each other, in a process determined by the relation with private property which functions in this way.

In this system also the brain of the best scientist is in whatever way, educated in the idea of supply and demand. This makes him seek, even if he does not apply it personally, the way to pay less to gain more, which is the basis of every deception and every lie. This is not the behaviour of the human being at the beginning of its existence so that in front of necessity it sought to obtain with the least effort the best result possible. Today the social relations of production, of buying and selling are determinant and all the scientists who are not marxist are inevitably influenced by this conception of life.

The debate in the ecclesiastical and theological hierarchy involving people like Hans Kung is putting into discussion the need for the church on this earth. In reality the principles of the Pope and of the church are being examined and those of dialectical materialism are being put in their place, even if neither Kung in Germany nor the other theologians are proposing this. The experience of life leads to the consciousness of reality and these theologians are obliged to show this. Kung does not admit to having been one of those who had defended the apparatus and the line of the church, but only ten years ago he was defending what today he attacks. He was stimulated among

other things by Ethiopia and Vietnam which enlightened him. If the revolution has this effect it is because in these theologians doubt already exists, a doubt which grows with the years, that problems cannot be resolved with the ecclesiastical principles which they adopted before and towards which they have pragmatic sentiments. "To think as God wishes" means to accept the idealism and the power which sustains such a conception, that is the Papacy. Today many theologians help the progress of the revolution, of humanity and resolve their doubts.

Kung who is geographically far from Nicaragua is influenced by that country and in particular by priests such as Ernesto Cardenal. The latter was recently in Germany to speak of religion and the armed struggle, not of Christ and God. By affirming "it is necessary to take up arms, the problems are not resolved by invoking God" he expressed a dialectical materialist conception. Those like Kung who put in discussion the Pope and the principles of the church are the fruit of the development of the world class struggle. In Nicaragua they do not have enough to eat but they have ideas and these come to them from the Soviet Union. Nicaragua influences Kung who in his turn influences a very large sector.

The positions expressed by Kung indicate that the church is in ferment, even if this still does not appear on the surface. He has in fact put in discussion all the authority of the church and the Pope, certainly a question which has a long tradition. Now there is the beginning of a discussion even in the most impermeable churches such as the German and French. This shows how profound is the revolutionary process which in this case is not expressed with bullets, arms and material means but with intellectual persuasion. The pressure of the multitudes does not reach within the structure of the church, but the intellectual

influence which forces it to reason does. These theologians in their reasoning, but not yet in their conclusions adopt dialectical materialism. The growth of the intellectual influence of the revolution has already shattered the tripartite structure on which the church is based: God, the Pope and the principle ecclesiastics. Of this God remains, but alone without a structure on which to be based. This comes from the weight of the influence on the church, of the progressive course of history, concentrated in the workers state which teaches how to reason dialectically and not to be affirmed on the basis of person, power, nation or class.

Reasoning dialectically, the theologians must confront the contradictions between the living thought of material life and the conception of the heavenly life. What is being placed in discussion is above all the application of a heavenly conception on the earth but soon the nature of the heavenly conception will have to be confronted. Since, in order to think people have no need of Pope and church tomorrow it will be on the agenda to pose what need is there for God to exist. The presence of these theologians is extraordinarily important because thanks to them the church mirrors how much the necessity for social transformations is growing in the world, an uncontainable process. When this influence reaches such a well protected nest and succeeds in affecting the very top layers, it means that the church is falling. Only the skeleton will remain, as an organised falsehood, but on the way to a profound disintegration, in demonstration of

the disintegration of the whole capitalist apparatus. Certainly with all his limits, the extent of Kung's influence is much greater than the number of his supporters. Within the church he represents the sector most

sensitive to the revolution. Cardinal is another exponent of this clergy, whose most advanced point is however represented by the church leaders of Moscow who do not hesitate to put next to the icon, the portrait of Lenin, inviting the faithful to follow his example. The leaders of the church do not make a speech about this, but they don't say that any priest of the Orthodox church consciously thinks of avoiding the subject of Marx and Lenin and they find no contradiction in this.

This has occurred through the influence of the revolution and when it affects non-revolutionary countries like capitalist Germany, it means a sharp blow to the theoretical preparation of the servants of the capitalist regime. The church has been broken into two trunks, one sector is expressed by Kung and the other by Lefevre. For Lefevre "it's necessary to defend the little that we have by hanging on to the feet of Christ, of the Virgin Mary and of all the saints". On the other hand the left which is not limited to the parish priests, but includes also theologians places in discussion all the principles of the church. In the church doubt is diffused and thus the Papacy has had to re-evaluate Galileo and with this, even if involuntarily, the condemnation of the church by human intelligence. The mystical principles of the church are false, convoluted in mystery and in the past one considered them the fruit of ignorance, of spiritualism, of fear, of lack of understanding and of the empiricism of life.

The criticism of mysticism mirrors now the clarity of the revolutionary process and the capacity of the masses of the world, even when they come from the most backward conditions, to become protagonists of the construction of history. The theologians realise that in religious thought a space has opened which comes filled with marxism, from the workers states and above all from the Soviet Union. This influences them and determines in large measure their attitude. J. Posadas.

## A FAREWELL TO COMRADE EMILIO.

It is with great emotion that we record the death of Cde Emilio of the Argentinian section. As with Cde Miller who died last year, Cde Emilio was one of the last of the comrades of the original team which Cde Posadas created in 1945 to form the bases of both the Argentinian section and the Posadist International which developed from 1962. Thus Cde Posadas had a great affection for the comrades who had accompanied him in the earliest experiences. On the bases of these, Cde Posadas developed the essential basis of his thought—the inevitable regeneration of the workers states and the primacy of the development of thought in the future path of humanity, that is human consciousness prevails over the economy, not the other way about.

The cultivation of marxism, and the elaboration of ideas is the strength of Posadism. Cde Emilio and the others of his generation were a support for all this in maintaining the essential continuity of marxism.

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The left in the Labour party and in the trade unions has some difficulty in intervening with all the necessary force, because the experiences of Stalinism and the closed structure of British imperialism have created much theoretical confusion and issues of principle are rarely discussed. Immediate issues and immediate solutions to immediate issues have been the style. But the advance to socialism is a highly conscious activity and requires a firm theoretical grasp of the world process. It is that which determines the fate of Britain. At the last trade union congress, the EEUPTU was thrown out and the unions in a confused way abandoned the government schemes for disguising the unemployment issue. It was a

very limited blow at the right, because the real discussion is the way to develop a genuine trade union democracy and overthrow the leadership of the EEUPTU was avoided. But what will be necessary to develop an homogeneous left in the Labour party and the trade unions, is a stage in which the clarification of principles is linked to an activity outside the dominion of the apparatuses, outside the control of the electoral machines. The existing left in the Labour party and the unions can play a role in all this provided they see the role of the workers states, who represent the world proletariat and are the basis for a class policy and programme in Britain..

## THE FAILURE OF THE CAPITALIST ECONOMY

The permanent concern of world imperialism is how best to confront the workers states and to try to moderate the inter-capitalist conflicts. These are extremely severe and normally would have led to inter-capitalist war, but the need to maintain some form of precarious unity in front of the workers states prevents this. At various moments conferences are held by the major imperialist powers to try to limit their differences. However the immense contradictions of the world capitalist economy cannot be resolved and whatever the delays in the inevitable final settlement of accounts between the workers states, the world masses, and imperialism, the latter cannot mitigate its problems which tend to accumulate and socially decompose capitalist authority. The experience of the Thatcher government has to be placed within this context.

After the debacle of the Heath government in front of the miners, big business decided on a sharp change of front in Britain. This in itself corresponded to the end of a capitalist cycle of recovery after the end of the second world war and the growing aggravation of inter-capitalist competition. The Reagan administration was the equivalent process in the United States. All this intensified inter-capitalist competition, was and is vastly augmented by the narrowing space for capitalist development because of the existence of the workers states. In practice the experience of the Thatcher government has shown decisively that capitalism has failed in its objectives and instead of developing a new road as it has claimed, has simply prepared the way for profound economic disorder and crisis and an intensified class struggle impossible to contain. Attempts to build up Thatcher as the great leader are abject and inevitably empty posturing takes the place of solutions. The disastrous turn in the balance of payments is simply one expression of this. The growth of imports and the failure of exports to develop at the necessary rate is part of the continuing debacle of the capitalist economy.

Britain is an outstanding example of the tendency towards parasitism which characterises imperialism in its final stages. Although the Thatcherite argument was to make British industry more competitive, in reality British imperialism was much more concerned with the export of capital. Moreover such is its growing weakness that even in financial terms, British imperialism has now an undistinguished performance. The City of London famous in years gone by as a centre of British imperialist finance, has become a centre for world finance, with British banks having under 20% of the London banking market. Japanese imperialism is far more impressive, at least on the economic plane. Thus in electronics a fundamental area for an expanding economy, British imperialism falls behind through lack of investment. This is also the case in space research. Compared with other major competitors in the European Common Market, British imperialism is well down in the share of the world market. Of all

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## BRITISH IMPERIALISM HAS NO INTEREST IN SOLVING THE "IRISH PROBLEM".

The intensification of the war between British imperialism and the IRA draws attention again to the fact that the former has no interest in a solution to the "Irish question". The agreement with the Republic, that is the "Anglo-Irish" agreement was intended as a means ultimately, through "good relations" with the South to get the latter into Nato. But whatever plans imperialism has in that direction, it is not going to abandon the North nor develop a better social policy towards the oppressed catholic masses of that region. The policy of repression adopted in the north is also a permanent warning to the population of the rest of the British isles. The Gibraltar episode and the more recent shooting of IRA members in Ireland itself on the same principle, represent the mentality of British imperialism for every issue. The Malvinas war and the marionette following of every Yankee policy are no different from the repression in Northern Ireland.

The repression in Northern Ireland has to be seen in the context of the war preparations of imperialism against the workers states which means the preparation of internal repression against the population of whatever imperialist country. The military establishment of imperialism is maintained in a constant state of alert. But at the same time the persistence of the IRA tends to demoralise the military teams, which then further intensifies the blind and impotent hatred of imperialism which cannot stabilise its situation. The demand for the withdrawal of British troops is correct but it has to be accompanied by a much more positive programme and policy. It is thus of very great importance that the labour left and the leadership of the IRA give a social orientation to the "Irish problem". Neither Ireland nor Britain have a future under the regime of capitalism. Whole areas of both countries are being left to rot. Poverty, unemployment and the inability to develop an economy which serves the interest of the population are common to both countries. The dictatorship in Northern Ireland, the bourgeois regime in the south and the plutocracy in London all have the same mentality—war against the population.

More and more with the development of crises within the Common Market a socialist alternative will have to be proposed. The same principle applies to the British-Irish situation. A discussion has to be implemented which poses the perspective of a Socialist Federation of Britain and Ireland, within which a United Ireland would develop. This means the programme of social transformations and a united class struggle across both countries. At the very moment that the struggle over Ireland is accentuated, the Soviet Union in the actions over Armenia has shown the natural capacity of the workers state to overcome regional and national disputes. This is because the workers state has no special interests which hinder the solution of such issues. Imperialism and capitalism have a mountain of special interests, class interests which impede the solution of national problems. By exacerbating such problems, capitalism always hopes to diminish the weight of the proletariat, substituting artificial boundary issues for the reality which determines all, the class struggle.

## NAGORNO-KARABAKH AND THE NEED FOR THE PARTY

Both the handling of events in Nagorno-Karabakh and the proceedings of the nineteenth conference of the CPSU confirm the analysis of the European Bureau in its resolution over Armenia—that the process of partial regeneration in the workers states is advancing rapidly, totally on the lines predicted by Comrade Posadas in his texts on that subject. The soviet leadership made no concession to the local apparatuses in Armenia and Azerbaijan, who were roundly denounced for the policies which had led to the criminal outrages in Sumgait. The local bureaucracy in Nagorno-Karabakh attempted to defy the workers state by proclaiming independence in association with Armenia. This was then endorsed by the Armenian parliament. This gives some idea of the entrenched interests of the local apparatus. They are prepared to develop all manner of manoeuvres to defy the centre and conceal their rotten objectives by trying to utilise the legitimate social needs of the populations in these areas in the service of local interests. These bear no relation to the centralised functioning of the workers states, and are examples of the local Stalinism resulting from the conception of "Socialism in one country". In the hands of the local bureaucrats this means "bureaucracy for our region with freedom to pilfer the public resources to the maximum of our capacity".

The demonstrations in these regions were certainly profound and continued on page 4.

the main industrial countries, it has been estimated that only in Britain has the volume of manufacturing output risen less than total output over the last twenty five years. Despite the chatter of a great recovery organised by the spokesmen of capitalism, all that has happened is a form of the famous stagflation—that is a stagnant economy in terms of productive advance but with continuous inflation. The fundamental interests of British imperialism lie in foreign investment and arms production. Thatcher's most recent counter-revolutionary visit to Asia was closely connected with arms sales. But whatever the preparations to confront the Soviets, British imperialism no longer has the means to control anything, which is why the shouting and posturing of Thatcher has a comical element. Whatever the centralisation of capital or the attempt to crush trade union liberties, the world no longer obeys the fiat of British imperialism. Inter capitalist competition is augmenting, whatever the need to centralise against the workers states and this is particularly so with the "liberation" of the European Common Market in 1992.

This process is inevitable, but will only intensify the inter capitalist competition. British imperialism feels itself to be weak in front of the Franco-German block, hence the hostility of Thatcher in particular to the idea of a central European bank and entering the European monetary system. This is the expression of the clear weakness of the British economy in comparison with the rest of the major European industrial powers. As the ally of the Yanks in Europe, they also fear the intensification of European competition with Yankee imperialism. The propaganda for Thatcher has been to suggest that "Britain is great again". But reality is exactly the opposite. British imperialism is weaker than ever. Its prospects are bleak and all the problems are coalescing to define an image of total degeneration, far worse than when Thatcher came into office. The growing social and economic instability in capitalist Europe will reanimate the discussion for a European socialist perspective to be incorporated in the discussions of the Labour left. The "free market" of European capitalism demands the slogan of the Soviet Socialist Federation of Europe, to unify the class struggle against the dictatorship of capital.

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are not to be linked with nationalist sentiment but with the desire for social changes and improvements in the workers state. There were banners in support of Gorbachev which the local bureaucrats ordered to be removed. Demonstrations began in Nagorno-Karabakh over delays in improving social conditions in agriculture, insufficient water supplies etc. The Soviet leadership is now actively intervening to raise the standard of living of the area and in both Armenia and Azerbaijan. There is no doubt that the firm handling of this situation will increase enormously the confidence of the Soviet leadership, and increase at the same time the pressure of the population for social improvements and greater direct intervention in all political, social and economic issues. In their resolution over Nagorno Karabakh, the Soviet leadership spoke of the "principles of internationalism". It will be important to develop this theme further, not just in relation to the nationalities of the Soviet Union but to the whole world situation. It is necessary to discuss also how such a situation arose in the workers states and to share this experience directly with the Soviet population so that the level of everyone is raised and this must be done with the proper functioning of the party.

## THE BRITISH "HOOLIGANS" AND THEIR SOCIAL BASIS.

The violent encounters between so-called football fans in West Germany where British hooligans were particularly prominent, the gang wars between rival groups of again so-called football fans in Britain itself and various disorders in rural areas as well, can only be seen as part of a response of some sectors of the youthful population and not the majority to the conditions of life as lived under capitalism. Potentially they are the material for fascism. Some of the hoodlums speaking of their exploits abroad have spoken of their nationalist pride. The fascist groups should find material here but what is important is that organised fascism has made so little progress. After the stadium disaster in Brussels in which fascist participation was clear, no progress was made by the fascists nor has there been any since. It does not mean that these elements are going to disappear, simply that capitalism lacks the capacity to use them. Everywhere the fascist groups have failed to build anything which does not fall apart subsequently.

The British thugs are notorious in Europe and Steel the former Liberal leader was obliged at one moment to say in relation to these sectors that the British were regarded as the "barbarians" of

Europe". What is the origin of this behaviour? Basically this mentality is connected with the impotence of British imperialism in face of more powerful capitalisms. The thugs who boast of their "Britishness" are trying to assert a social weight and importance that British imperialism no longer has. The latter is extremely feeble in front of the expansion of the Common Market. The social composition of the groups who participate in the confrontations is not made up necessarily of unemployed sectors but layers who are employed but feel the vacuum in their lives, a lack of social importance of those who feel above the rest of the population, but have no means of asserting this. The clashes with other nationalities is analogous with the augmented competition between the European capitalist states, as there is no scope for a war between Britain and Germany because this is the stage of the final encounter between imperialism and the workers states, the antagonism between capitalist states finds expression in this form. It is a very backward phenomenon but just one symptom of the tensions that multiply to the level of insanity as the whole putrefying social order of capitalism begins to fall apart.

## THE ASSASSINATION OF ZIA

The assassination of general Zia and a sizeable proportion of the general staff of the Pakistani army can only have come about through an enormous internal struggle within the leading teams of Yankee imperialism. The new leaders of the army are inevitably seeking to maintain all the links with the Yanks as the reactionary regime in Pakistan has no other social support, but at the same time the regime under Zia himself had to propose elections in the autumn. The liquidation of Zia has to be placed in the context of the Afghan war and is a sign of the extreme despair which governs the actions of the agents and supporters of Yankee imperialism. There has been an attempt to place the assassination at the door of the Soviets. But that does not correspond to their policy or their needs. On the other hand the assassination could only be carried out by people very well informed about the movements of the Pakistani leadership, and this means the top echelons of the Yankee

military and security services.

The reasons for the assassination stem from the incapacity of imperialism to control the area. Although the Afghan government signed an agreement which in our view was quite unnecessary, nonetheless the Yanks have got involved in a war which they are not going to win and on which they have spent millions of dollars. The Yanks shift most of the money and support to those who want to destroy the regime in Afghanistan—basically invented people, and there are disagreements with other factions who do not find this line acceptable. Zia had supported the guerilla groups but may have been found wanting for whatever reason in the new process in Afghanistan. It is important to note that just prior to his liquidation, the Soviets had made it absolutely clear that they were not prepared to tolerate any more violations of the Geneva treaty by the Pakistan authorities.

Since then the Soviets have actively intervened against the counter revolutionary groups who retook Kunduz, by sending in their air force. The Yankee government has since accused them of violating the treaty which the Soviets have rejected without any conciliatory noises. All this recent experience has shown that there is no possibility of a serious truce with imperialism. Even if for a period there are adjustments between imperialism and the workers states, they cannot last long, because the very existence of the workers states provides a permanent example for humanity to follow against capitalism and imperialism. But what the Soviets have to discuss is not simply the continuation of military aid to Afghanistan against the Afghan whites, but how to develop Afghanistan as a workers state, and thus an example of Soviet capacity to all the oppressed masses of the Middle East and Asia.

# The intervention of the left in the LP conference reaffirms the anti capitalist programme

Statification of main industries and banks  
Unilateral nuclear disarmament

The internal changes in the workers states tend to release forces that have been contained hitherto by the bureaucracy and accentuate the attraction of the workers states externally as the organisers objectively of humanity. This further tilts the world balance of forces against imperialism, demoralising and paralysing its forces. It is only necessary to compare the recent conference of the CPSU which attracted the whole interest of the soviet people, and is developing their initiative and exposing the social evils of bureaucratic power with the fiasco of the North American Presidential elections. There such is the putrefying nature of the system, no honest discussion is possible. No real representation of the North American masses exists and the democrats are as afraid of developing a consistent communication with the mass of the population as are the republicans. Thus the Dukakis team have never developed a campaign likely to interest the broad masses of the population because they fear that such a discussion would imperil the capitalist system as a whole and hence they give Bush a lifeline. The electoral campaign has given the impression of a social system rejected by the mass of the population and with a siege mentality. The world and the American people are united against Yankee imperialism.

The recent conference of the Labour party has brought out yet again the clash between those sectors who seek to develop a consistent class orientation and those linked to the most backward layers of the trade union bureaucracy and the seekers after local and parliamentary careers who are dominated by links with capitalism and want at all costs to contain the masses. Capitalism is most pre-occupied with conferences of the Labour party because it is there that they see quite correctly the level of the leadership opposed to them. They desire to turn the LP away from its tendency to the left in the recent periods and return it to the consensus party of former days. Certainly the LP apparatus is very resistant to any consistent left orientation and it is notorious that conference decisions are to be put aside when faced with the "responsibilities of power" ie helping capitalism. It is possible for the leaderships to do this because they are not confronting a real party rooted firmly in the population but an electoral machine with little continuity of political life or discussion. But despite the profound links of the Labour party with bourgeois conceptions of society and the political "career", the world balance of forces favourable to the world socialist revolution will increasingly weigh in Britain even if not necessarily in a dramatic way in the immediate future. The world balance of forces means that the workers states

especially now with the decisive turn towards a greater soviet and proletarian democracy are going to act as a dynamic pole of attraction undermining the war and social policies of capitalism.

The most important aspect of the conference was the intervention of the left through Scargill in particular to assert a clear class policy against capitalism. Kinnock and his group have no faith in socialism and live in tow to capitalist conceptions. But they cannot ignore the famous clause 4 of the Labour party which specifically refers to the "common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange". Thus although the conference rejected Scargill's resolution for the statification of all the key industries and the banks, it supported the conception of public ownership without specifying details. Thus the apparatus cannot throw out public intervention but they hope to make it palatable to capitalism.

In order to justify a containmentment of mass public ownership, the apparatus says "we do not want the old Morrison type of nationalisation". This is total humbug because the conclusion is not diluting statification of industries by various forms of the "mixed economy" but the vigour of workers control. Naturally the apparatus cannot accept a revolutionary measure placing the emphasis on a genuine popular control.



From New Times

The soviet masses seek to influence Gorbachev

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387. 4 November. 1988.

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Linked to this discussion was the equally important intervention of the left on the issue of unilateral disarmament. There the TGWU defended the LP policy of unilateral disarmament, although at the same time they had supported the Kinnock-Hattersley leadership against the left candidates of Benn etc. Kinnock made light of this because it is typical of the LP leadership that democracy in their eyes is democracy for them and conference can thus be ignored. Nonetheless the resolution shows the numerical strength of the forces of the left which is then limited by their lack of homogeneity. Capitalism greatly bewails the "block" vote of the unions as they always seek to separate the unions from the LP, but they are particularly overcome when a vote for the left actually breaks through the bureaucratic thicket. However demands for a more genuine democracy will increase in the LP which must be linked to anti capitalist policies. At the same time there must be a genuine democratisation of the unions so that delegates represent directly workers in the factories and places of work and are open to recall so that the farce of a few delegates apparently speaking for millions who have never been asked is ended.

The Thatcher government is more and more a government of the besieged and the lost. In spite of the interested ineptitude of the Labour party and a great proportion of the trade union leadership, capitalism can no longer act with a minimum of intelligence but only with a maximum of brutal fiat and demented hatred of human progress. After continuous reports of a marvellous economy, the balance of payments problem underlines the fact that British capitalism is not the manufacturing power of former days. The government seeks to argue that it is all the result of a consumer boom and that inflation is the problem. The fact is that British capitalism cannot sustain the needs of the population and hence the rise in imports and it cannot construct enough houses for the population.

Its economy is totally distorted arising from the pattern of investment and its lack of interest in the objective needs of the population. Inflation is not the enemy. Capitalism is the enemy and when its apologists talk about the free market as the essential for economic advance what they mean is the market run according to those with private interests, not the market run according to the rational supply of human needs. The reality is that the British share of world trade has fallen in the past year from 7.5% to 6.9% of world trade. Thus the policy of capitalism is to reduce benefits to the population and impose unemployment so as to compete better with other capitalisms. The population is expected to pay for the shambles of the system. The Thatcher regime

## Triumph of the left in Swedish elections.

Based on a letter from a Swedish comrade.

The general elections in Sweden have meant a victory for the forces of the left and a total defeat for the bourgeois parties. Not since the second world war have the conservatives and liberal parties lost so many votes as now. At the same time the vote for the communist party has increased, as has the vote for the greens who now enter the riksdag for the first time with twenty MPs. The vote for the greens is very significant because it shows a fundamental radicalisation of the petit bourgeoisie which previously supported the non-socialist block but which now have moved to the left. The "green" vote is basically anti-capitalist, even though they do not have this perspective. Nevertheless it is capitalism that is poisoning the environment and to stop this means to change the system, to plan the environment. There is a great deal of pollution in the workers states also, as a result of the stalinist heritage of bureaucratic industrialisation, but the system has all the necessary pre-requisites to overcome this because it can plan the exploitation of resources for the benefit of the population. This is a crucial difference. Cleaning up the environment in the workers states is also part of the regeneration, and it is being done! The greens do not have this systematic perspective, but they are objectively against the whole rotten cesspit of capitalism. That is why this is a blow to the bourgeois parties.

The vote was as follows		
Social Democrats	43.6%	156MPs
Communists	5.9%	20MPs
Greens	5.5%	20MPs
Conservatives	18.3%	66MPs
Liberals	12.2%	44MPs
Centre	11.4%	42MPs

Thus the SDP and the communists have a safe majority in the riksdag and the government also has to rely on communist support although there is no communist member of the government. The result of the SDP vote shows the absolute dominance of the SDP in Swedish politics. Almost half the population vote for this one party, although the total SDP vote was somewhat reduced this year. Since the assassination of Olaf Palme there have been a whole series of scandals—smuggling arms to Iran, the role of the police in the "investigation" of the Olaf Palme murder and corruption among ministers which has shaken the Carlsson government. The bourgeois parties have tried to take advantage of this but their low prestige has failed to benefit from the exposure of social democratic corruption. The latter which arises from the long collaboration of the social democracy with capitalism is only going to be shifted on the basis of a greater discussion in the Swedish left on the perspectives for socialism in Sweden, that is, breaking from reformism and its capitalist basis of thinking. These elections, as was also the case of the French elections, show that now such is the social weakness of capitalism that even confronting workers leaderships which are feeble, capitalism is inert and lacks the capacity to appear as a dynamic force. Our comrade continues

# THE CONFERENCE OF THE CPSU AND THE CHANGES IN THE USSR AFFIRM THE COMMUNIST OBJECTIVE OF THE WORKERS STATE.

## RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU ON THE XIX CONFERENCE OF THE CPSU.

The preparation and realisation of the recent conference of the CPSU is an event of great importance in the future development of the political revolution and partial regeneration in the workers state. The democratic soviet base of the CPSU is extending, with the elimination of the most corrupt sectors of the leading apparatus of the party and of the state. In this way the function of the workers state and of its leadership is elevating, increasing its influence in the world, the confidence of the masses of the world, of the petit bourgeoisie and of the North American masses in the communist future.

The life of discussion with which the soviet masses have anticipated, accompanied and continued the realisation of the conference, shows the great maturity which has been reached. The conference centralised a series of progressive measures made in the workers states in the last period, as regards the political participation of the population and the cleansing of the most corrupt layers of the political apparatus and in turn stimulated a most profound extension of this rich process of internal changes. The conference of the CPSU has been a world event. The eyes of the world were fixed on the USSR to see what, how and how much was discussed in the Communist party. It is the Soviet Union which determines the steps and the direction of history. The capitalist system has lost all initiative, is cornered, preparing a war in which every day that passes feels like a defeat. The declarations of Bush and Thatcher on the changes in the Soviet Union, that they are insufficient or are the results of the pressure and the political strength of imperialism are aimed at the sectors of capitalism who see no future in the confrontation with the workers states. They are declarations to contain the disintegration of the capitalist front which increases as a consequence of the progress of the USSR.

Capitalism hoped vainly for retreats in the workers state, retreats to forms which would undermine its authority in the world. But the workers state has been strengthened from this conference, much more linked to its roots in the first seven years of the Russian revolution, to the objectives outlined by the Bolsheviks, by Lenin and Trotsky. The world centre of capitalism, in the voices of Bush and Thatcher do not deceive themselves and know very well where the Soviet Union is going, but cannot do anything to impede it.

The soviet masses have lived intensively the preparation, the realisation and the conclusions of the recent conference. They have seen that they are imposing a relationship with their leadership in which they can express their maturity, their capacity and intelligence constructed in the last seventy one years of the workers state. They feel fresh and capable of correcting the bureaucratic deformations in the economy and society, to eliminate the injustices and the arrogance of power. They mobilised in various places seeking to decide on the character of the delegates to the conference, trying to incorporate the most honest communists. The population followed the debates in the squares, in the workers areas, in

the factories and the leadership contributed to this, arranging the maximum diffusion of the proceedings of the conference throughout the country via the television screens. Millions of the soviet citizens for the first time saw how their leaders discussed and even the most acerbic discussions like those of Yeltsin and Ligachov or the criticisms of Gromyko had a public character.

The influence of the conference on the deepening of the democratic process has been immediate. Only a few days after, a great purge occurred in Siberia where they threw out dozens of party bureaucrats and transformed the private reservations of the bureaucrats into social centres. The same also happened in Moscow where private swimming pools were handed over to public use. The leadership which is not remote from the process is impelled by it and makes strides for which their legs are not prepared. Gorbachev himself changes en route and speaks not only of "perestroika" but of "revolution and perestroika", of "more socialism" and "we must return to Lenin".

The present process in the USSR is a very profound stage of the process of partial regeneration foreseen and analysed by Cde Posadas. The process, begun with the liquidation of Stalin and the continuous disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatuses which succeeded him, has been the result

of the development of the structure of the workers state transcending the obstacles posed by the bureaucratic leadership. The workers state needs to extend itself, to extend planning beyond national frontiers, stimulating in this way the world revolution and the confrontation with the capitalist system.

Such a necessity of the workers state requires a more prepared leadership which adapts itself to a programme and a policy of the workers state. This cannot be the same as in the period of Stalin. Hence constantly selections of these leaderships take place and within each leading group, modifications of policy are necessary. They are obliged to change their original intentions, in order to respond to the socialist progress of the workers state and the confrontation with the capitalist system. In this selection and fight in the bureaucratic apparatus, sectors advance who need new and closer links with the soviet masses to have the strength and the influence with which to overcome the most backward and powerful layers of the bureaucracy of the party and of the state. The process has reached a level of struggle and of cleansing in which displacing and replacement of functionaries is not sufficient, but requires the most active participation of the masses. The leadership wants to control and contain the levels, but the soviet masses go beyond this with their maturity and enthusiasm. The masses have not demonstrated in order to shout in despair because they have had to be quiet for so long, but they have demonstrated so as to put order in the workers state and for that they have before them the memory and the teaching of how the Bolsheviks acted and the organisation of Lenin.

The present leadership promoted the conference with such an objective and the conference combined the best of its intentions—the cleansing of powerful bureaucratic sectors—with the need for the workers state to develop two fundamental pillars of its

structure; the democratic intervention of the masses and the leading function of the party. It is in this way that the conference attained an importance superior both to the expectations of the leadership and to the resolutions finally adopted.

The masses have verified once more that their intervention has an effect and that the objective of their intervention is correct: to impel the changes in the party. Hence the interpretation of the bourgeois press is mistaken because of their class interest and the Italian communists have echoed this when they say that the conference has resolved "less party and more democracy", posing these elements as though they were antagonistic. In the CPSU there is an increase of confidence that it is possible to find support in the masses, and these in turn—see that they can intervene without being repressed.

World capitalism exerted a pressure with the same hopes that Hitler had in 1941. As Posadas analysed, Hitler hoped that the hatred of the masses for the Stalinist regime would facilitate the success of his invasion of the USSR; but "the soviet masses were fused with the workers state, liquidated Hitler and afterwards settled accounts with Stalin". Today capitalism plays with the illusion that the dismantling of the apparatus of power created by Stalin makes possible cracks and retreats in the workers state. But the outcome is a greater communist progress which will influence immensely the whole world.

The discussion which occurred during the conference was very limited from the political point of view. The principal problems and experiences of the world class struggle and of the construction of the workers states were not discussed. The conference had to respond to a powerful pressure coming from soviet society, to the urgent necessity of the workers state to cleanse the bureaucratic apparatus. The whole of the discussion, of the initiatives and proposals centred upon this concern and these proposals are the ones that are going to have transcendent value in the immediate future of the Soviet Union. The resolutions on the soviets and glasnost express the need to return to the experience of the first seven years of the revolution. These are the resolutions which are going to determine the immediate course of the changes in the USSR and which are going to serve to correct the most limited and mistaken initiatives relating to the economy. There was no delegate who defended self management of the factories or private stimulus for the development of the economy; but

all the interventions were against the arrogance of bureaucratic power as the principal obstacle for the development of soviet society.

The present process, as Cde Posadas analysed is not led by a revolutionary leadership, but there are layers of the leadership who advance in their function over the rest of the stalinist apparatus. These form part of and stimulate anyway a process which is outside the possibilities of control within the bureaucratic sphere, a process which destroys the bases of the existence and reproduction of the bureaucracy. In the leadership of this process layers of this same bureaucracy participate; the leadership presents a combination of

necessary proposals for the extension of the democratic life of the masses and for transparency in the exercise of power, with others which in the terrain of economic matters are aimed to prop up sectors of the bureaucracy and to establish relations which serve to contain the level of this intervention of the masses. With the measures in the economic sphere they want to contain in part the effect of the measures in the democratic field. The measures which they want to apply in the economy are limited and include a small area of the soviet economy. This is not going to be able to distract or contain the concern of the masses to participate more in the managing and leadership of the workers state.

The resolutions on the soviets and "glasnost" are of great importance now that they are retaking principles of functioning which come from the epoch of Lenin. The power of the soviet is elevated through the decentralisation of a series of functions which the central power possessed and through the affirmation of democratic principles in the election of the delegates, in the application of the secret and universal vote and the limitation in the duration of the mandate. It is the programme which Lenin outlined for the soviets in 1905 and which he affirmed in 1917. Following the insurrection as the political instrument of the centralisation of the strikes of 1905, the soviets were of great concern to Lenin and Trotsky, the latter of whom presided over the first and most important of them, the Petrograd Soviet.

Lenin accompanied the evolution of the soviets and the advance of the struggles of the masses from when they served to establish the political alliances in the struggle against Tzarism,

until when constituted in the seat of power, they passed from being successively "organs of the insurrection", "embryos of the dictatorship" to "the most democratic state form, more democratic than any parliamentary bourgeois republic". The continuity of the thought of Lenin today is present in the new levels which Cde Posadas foresaw for the soviets where he analysed the possibility of elevating the function of the soviets in soviet society. This is in a stage in which he himself considered the possibility of developing in the USSR distribution "to each one according to need" and not "according to ability".

This is a marxist vision of the soviets as instruments of a more elevated stage of the workers state advancing to socialism, in which the population participates in and directs the course of production and of the economy, simplifying the administration of society and elevating its social participation, the development of human relations and communist artistic and cultural life. In this sense the conditions are mature in the workers state so that such social participation is a step forward and leads in practice towards the "extinction of the state", of which Marx, Lenin and Engels spoke. This does not mean to eliminate the state now but yes to elevate the social management of the economy and of social relations, giving predominance to the development of social consciousness, of science over empiricism in relations which still influence in the workers state. Thus there is no reason to decide a list of rights. The soviets must return completely to the leninist conception in assuming

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## STALIN—HITLER'S QUARTERMASTER.

EXTRACTS.

LEON TROTSKY. 2.9.1939.

administrative, judicial, and police functions basing themselves on the maturity reached by the soviet people to eliminate in a short stage the coercive character of the state over the population. The present leadership proposes the necessity to regulate the function of the state on the basis of laws which eliminate the arbitrary conduct of the most backward sectors of the bureaucracy but which in turn contain the level of soviet functioning which is impelling the process.

To extend soviet democracy is an inevitable necessity of the workers state, just as air is necessary; and the party is learning to have confidence in soviet functioning. In a region of Siberia (Omsk) the communist cadres mobilised to question various bureaucratic

leaders who constituted the delegation to the conference. Those interviewed by Unita (paper of the Italian CP) said "we did things as they were always done" or "we did not expect that people would be interested in electing delegates to the Conference". But they accepted the reasons for people questioning their privileges and were in agreement with the control of their mandates. These are the declarations of people who do not aspire always to be bureaucrats but who in their construction and in the life of the party have learnt to believe that this was the way to lead. They are the lower layers of the bureaucracy and certainly this would not occur with all the bureaucratic apparatus—there is a layer which resists ferociously its liquidation—but disintegration is growing within this apparatus which now can no longer answer with total homogeneity. Such a situation facilitates the advance of leading layers who are more linked to socialist objectives. This is reflected in some of the measures adopted by this leadership as also in the open discussion, where Gorbachev together with stimulating measures opposed to bureaucratic functioning polemicalised with a current in the leadership which wanted to go further. Thus in a conference which was still within a bureaucratic framework, the pressure for profound changes was reflected. Of the five thousand delegates, two hundred voted according to the principles of Lenin: proposing an amendment against the combined function of position of local secretary of the communist party and president of the soviet. The combination of posts is utilised temporarily by the leadership, as was analysed by Cde Posadas to make the party prevail over the technocratic and administrative apparatus; but now the security of the party is mature and allows the possibility of returning fully to the principle of Lenin. The leader of the party cannot be at the same time the leader of the state, which can lead to a perversion of his function in the party by submitting it to the possibilities and advantages of the state apparatus. The leader in the party needs the mind to be free of every secondary preoccupation because he has to achieve the highest objectivity allowing him to contribute to the communist development of the soviet people.

The role of the party has not been discussed but the resolution over the transparency of its

functioning and the possibility of electing members of the Soviets from elements outside the party, although applied in a limited way at this moment will be a stimulus to the best forces within and outside the party—fundamentally in the working class—to retake the authentic leading function of the party. This not only comes like an article of the constitution but as a consequence of a daily and constant and intense cultural and political life dealing with all the problems. On the trade unions there was a great silence in the conference. The leadership of Gorbachev fears and postpones an open clash with the bureaucracy of the trade unions. At the same time he

Continued on page 4

We are publishing this article of Trotsky on the Soviet-Nazi non-aggression pact as a means of animating discussion in the world communist, socialist and revolutionary movements to draw conclusions on the dynamic process now taking place in the USSR with the liquidation of the Stalinist functionaries and the beginning of the liquidation of the Stalinist heritage in matters theoretical. Periodically in the Soviet Union there has surfaced discussion over the significance of the Hitler-Stalin pact. But even with the admission of the massacres organised by Stalin there is still a reluctance on the part of layers of the bureaucracy to deal with the fundamental issues such as why did Stalin and his clique succeed in taking control of the leadership of the workers state and what effect did all this have on the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. The reluctance of the bureaucracy to probe into these problems too closely is that with Trotsky they face the revolutionary and they are still concerned with reforming.

However the growing pressure of the soviet population for democratic changes in the workers state and the pressure for a party that leads and is not simply an instrument of despotic power is going to sharpen political discussion. This will occur in spite

It is not that the Kremlin feels closer to the totalitarian states than to the democratic. This does not determine the choice of orientation in international affairs. Despite all his aversion for the Soviet regime, the conservative parliamentarian Chamberlain tried with all his might to gain an alliance with Stalin. The alliance was not realised because Stalin fears Hitler. And it is not by accident that he fears him. The Red Army is decapitated. This is not phraseology but a tragic fact. Voroshilov is a fabrication. His authority is created artificially through totalitarian propaganda. On his dizzy pinnacle he remains what he always was, a hidebound backwoodsman, without vision, without culture, without military ability, and even without talent as an administrator. The whole country knows that. In the "purged" military staff not a single name remains in which the army could place confidence. The Kremlin fears the army and fears Hitler. Stalin requires peace at any price.

Before Hohenzollern Germany toppled under the blows of the war coalition, it dealt a mortal blow to the czarist regime; furthermore the Western Allies egged on the Russian liberal bourgeoisie and even supported the plans for a palace revolution. The present incumbents of the Kremlin asked themselves anxiously: may not this historical incident repeat itself in a new way? Had the Soviet oligarchy been capable of self sacrifice or at least the slightest degree of self denial in the military interests of the USSR, it would not have decapitated and demoralised the army.

The simpletons who are "pro-soviet" deem it self evident that the Kremlin hopes to overthrow Hitler. The case is otherwise. Without revolution the overthrow of Hitler is inconceivable. A victorious revolution in Germany would raise the class-consciousness of the broad masses in the USSR to a very high level and render impossible the further existence of the Moscow tyranny. The Kremlin prefers the status quo, with Hitler as its ally.

Caught off guard by the pact, the Kremlin's professional apologists now attempt to argue that our former prognoses contemplated an aggressive military alliance between Moscow and Berlin, whereas in reality only a pacifist agreement of "non-aggression" was concluded. Miserable sophistry! We never spoke of an aggressive military alliance in the direct sense of the word. On the contrary, we always started from the fact that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's interests in preserving itself, by its dread of the people, by its incapacity to conduct a war. Any international combination has some value for the Soviet bureaucracy insofar as it liberates it from the necessity of resorting to the force of armed workers and peasants. And yet the German-Russian pact is a military alliance in the full sense of the word, for it serves the aims of aggressive imperialist war.

In the last war Germany was defeated primarily because of the lack of raw materials of the USSR. It is not accidental that the concluding of the political pact was preceded by the concluding of a trade agreement. Moscow is far from any thought of renouncing it. On the contrary, in his speech yesterday before the Supreme Council, Molotov stressed above all the exceptional economic advantages of the friendship with Hitler. The pact of non-aggression that is a passive attitude towards German aggression, is thus rounded out by a treaty of economic collaboration in the interests of the aggression. The pact assures Hitler the possibility of utilising Soviet raw materials exactly as Italy in its attack on Ethiopia utilised Russian oil. While the military experts of England and France in Moscow studied the Baltic map from the point of view of military operations between the USSR and Germany, the German and Soviet experts at the very same time were considering what measures to take in order to safeguard maritime routes in the Baltic sea for continuous trade relations during wartime.

Occupation of Poland will assure contiguous boundaries with the Soviet Union and a further development of economic relations. Such is the essence of the pact. In Mein Kampf Hitler declares that an alliance between two states which does not have as its aim the prosecution of war "is absurd and sterile"—it is a military alliance

of obstacles and also lack of experience in the understanding and application of marxist method due to the break in marxist continuity within the workers state brought about by Stalinism. It is necessary to diffuse the ideas of Trotsky on the experiences of Stalinism because they are grounded in marxist method. They call a spade a spade. The analysis is not based on exhortations and turning away from the class structure of human history. Stalinism was not just criminal, it was counter revolutionary; repression of the workers state internally and conciliation with capitalism.

The workers state is now in process of going back to the principles of 1917. Returning to Lenin means to return to Trotsky. In the period of the revolution, they were seen as one. Indeed we know that in some cases peasants thought there was just one called "Lenin Trotsky". The political revolution as was analysed by Cde Posadas is taking different forms now that Stalinism and all its works are in process of being erased from history, but the works of Trotsky remain as a constant source of training in the marxist method and the immense human passion which is present in all his writings gives them still an extraordinary immediacy rare in political writing.

with a division of roles: Hitler conducts the military operations, Stalin acts as his quartermaster. And still there are people who seriously assert that the objective of the Kremlin today is world revolution!

With Chicherin as minister of foreign affairs in Lenin's government, Soviet foreign policy considered its real task to be the international triumph of socialism, and sought incidentally, to utilise the antagonisms among the great powers with the aim of defending the Soviet Republic. With Litvinov, the programme of world revolution was supplanted by a concern for the maintenance of the status quo through a system of "collective security". But when the idea of "collective security" neared partial realisation, the Kremlin became alarmed at the military obligations which were entailed. Litvinov was replaced by Molotov, who knows no obligation other than that of preserving unimpaired the interests of the ruling caste. Chicherin's policy, that is, Lenin's essentially was long ago decreed a policy of romanticism. For a certain time Litvinov's policy was considered the policy of realism. The policy of Stalin-Molotov is a policy of unadulterated cynicism.

"In a united front of peace-loving nations which are really opposed to aggression the Soviet Union cannot fail to participate in the front ranks", Molotov declared at the Supreme Council three months ago. What appalling irony in those words now! The Soviet Union has taken its place in the rear ranks of those states which upto yesterday the Kremlin persistently denounced as the aggressors.

The immediate advantages the Kremlin government receives from the alliance with Hitler are quite tangible. The USSR remains out of war. Hitler removes from the immediate agenda his campaign for a "greater Ukraine". Japan remains isolated. With the postponement of the war danger on the Western frontiers, one can envisage at the same time, as a consequence, a weakening of the pressure on the Eastern front, perhaps even the conclusion of an agreement with Japan. It is quite likely moreover, that in exchange for Poland, Hitler will give freedom of action in regard to the Baltic states bordering the USSR. However although the "advantages" may be great, they are at best of an episodic nature and their sole guarantee is Ribbentrop's signature to a "scrap of paper".

Meanwhile the war places questions of life and death on the order of the day for peoples, states, regimes, ruling classes. Germany is carrying out in stages her programme of domination by war. With the help of England, she rearmes despite the opposition of France. With the help of Poland she isolates Czechoslovakia. With the help of the Soviet Union she not only wishes to enslave Poland but to destroy the old colonial empires. If Germany succeeds with the Kremlin's help in emerging victorious from the present war, that will signify mortal danger for the Soviet Union. Let us recall that directly after the Munich agreement, Dimitrov, secretary of the Comintern, made public—undoubtedly on Stalin's order—an explicit calendar of Hitler's future conquests. The occupation of Poland is scheduled in that calendar for the fall of 1939. Next in order follow: Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, France, Belgium.... And then, at the bottom, in the fall of 1941, the offensive is to begin against the Soviet Union.

These revelations must undoubtedly be based upon information obtained by the soviet espionage service. It is impossible of course, to take this blueprint literally—the march of events introduces modifications into all such calculations. Nevertheless the first link of the plan—occupation of Poland in the fall of 1939—is now being consummated. It is very likely that the brief delay of two years between the destruction of Poland according to the plan, and the offensive against the soviet Union is approximately correct. In the Kremlin they cannot help understanding this. It is not for nothing that they have proclaimed many times: "peace is indivisible". If Stalin notwithstanding becomes Hitler's quartermaster, it signifies that the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: "after us the deluge".

yields to a sector which in the economy supports salary differentiation as a stimulant in production. They cannot stimulate such benefits or "distribution according to ability" without at the same time the working class having the possibility of intervening openly with the recognised right to strike. This is a principle which cannot be avoided in the "return to Lenin". A greater political life of the trade unions is necessary to intervene in the functioning of the soviet and in the work collectives. In this way the working class will feel stimulated in production. Already in three years there have been important increases in production without recourse to "incentives".

The economic measures, the promotion of private interest—whether in the kolkhoz or in the form of the co-operatives—or those of self management of state enterprises have still not had a great application. Thus the successes in production which Gorbachev has announced are not the result of these measures, but of the climate of the greater existing social participation which stimulates a greater contribution to the economic development and the social progress of the workers state. On the contrary such measures have no perspective. It is not the first time that these proposals have appeared in the workers states. In the USSR the last time was in 1965. They have always been in the desk or served to justify an area of small property already existing, which is useful to and is protected by the bureaucracy. In the formulation of these measures the desire of part of the bureaucratic apparatus to maintain itself is expressed as they seek to counteract the democratic measures. Who decides in the economy, the soviet or the market? the soviet or the kolkhoz? They cannot contain the progress of the masses nor exclude them completely from the management of the workers state but with these measures they seek to partialise their intervention.

It is evident that all the old technocratic apparatus of economic management developed by Stalin from the bureaucrats of Gosplan to the economic sections of the CPSU, have entered into open collision with the development of the workers state and the existing leading group. It is necessary to consider then that among the agreements in the leading group there are sectors who have no ideas, nor experience of better measures and believe that with measures of private stimulus, it is possible to dismantle a great source of bureaucratic power. We are as a question of principle opposed to every measure of private stimulus, or decentralised private management of statified property because it is a source of empiricism which does not resolve problems and prevents the masses advancing in the control of the economy. The planning of the statified economy and the monopoly of foreign trade are the essential pillars of the progress which has been attained and the future of the Soviet Union. It has been bureaucratic management which has undermined and limited the level of this structure and which has made possible the enrichment of groups in power like those who are being condemned in Uzbekistan.

Between the existing bureaucratic planning and socialist planning there is a whole process which will combine measures and interests of a different character and this is so because the bureaucracy for a whole stage is present in the leadership of the changes in the workers state. The structure of the workers state imposes on the leadership measures which serve the development of planning and its extension. In the structure of the USSR it is necessary to consider the maturity of people which already expresses a certain resistance to the economic measures. There has not been regularisation of many small owners, many prefer to continue operating in the black market because the Supreme Soviet has imposed high taxes and there is a rejection generalised among the population of those who seek to

enrich themselves instead of working in a collective style. In the great factories there have been open displays of contempt for the contract workers involved in extra production tasks.

These measures of private stimulus are going to be corrected en route and will take in application a different route from that which has been proposed. For example the proposal for a greater integration between sovkhos and kolkhoz which is correct. Now this means to increase the support to the kolkhoz, but a superior democratic functioning and a progress in centralised planning is going to serve to attract the members of the kolkhoz. As regards the market in the workers state it is not possible and will not be possible for it to play the same function as in the capitalist system. The prices in the capitalist market are imposed by the great consortiums who dominate the economy. Argentina could sell meat in Europe ten times lower than present prices which are decided for the benefit of the German and French producers.

As for capitalist "productivity" one factory may be very productive but as a whole, as a system it is very unproductive. It is enough to think that capitalism has excluded from production, in the principle capitalist countries alone around fifty million unemployed. And the cost of production? To produce, capitalism ruins rivers, seas, the air, the water and food supplies; this does not appear in the particular costs of one enterprise or another but as a whole it certainly is a

cost, an immense social cost. No solution to resolve the problems of the workers state can come from capitalism. The evils in the workers state are the result of the bureaucratic planning which impedes the participation of the masses.

Productivity in the workers state must orientate itself to elevate the life of the soviets, the socialist culture of the masses. Production and distribution must make possible the participation of the masses in the leadership of society, placing the economy in the service of the needs of society, to plan to elevate the quality and diminish the time dedicated to production. Extending the time dedicated to culture, to science and to the soviet will concentrate for a whole stage the most elevated aspects of culture, science and politics. The soviet as an instrument of communist culture, this is the objective of the economy of the workers state. With the elimination of the bureaucracy the social cost of production is immensely reduced and with a greater integration of the masses with the workers state, both the quantity and the quality of production would be increased a thousand fold. All this cannot be realised without centralised planning. Planning is centralised but the application is decentralised. Decentralised power must develop the means by which people participate in the planning of the economy. The trade unions, the work collectives, the soviets decide what to produce, how to do it, how to co-ordinate supplies, production, and distribution. In this process the communist party co-ordinates all the spheres of activity so that production serves the development of human relations and relations with nature and the universe.

This activity in the USSR will influence the rest of the world communist movement which is far from understanding the profundity of what is happening there. The programme of the so-called reforms is being rejected in Poland and China and, shows its total failure in Yugoslavia where it has led to very great decomposition in the party and in the state. In none of the workers states where the "reforms" have been applied has there been talk of putting into practice the democratic programme of the USSR nor do those who polemicise like F. Castro make concrete reference to this; it is the bureaucratic apparatuses which resist. In all this process it is the soviet leadership which has more consciousness of what to do.

like the thugs who rule South Africa like the regime in Chile and the bumbling Presidency of the United States is now tormented with contradictions. There is constant disaffection in its own ranks over its brutal social policy, whether over child benefit, housing, the health service etc and there is a split over the attitude towards the Common Market.

Such are the differences within capitalism that the government is above all pre-occupied as much as possible to intimidate opposition within the organs of information. The decree imposing censorship over news of the IRA and the proposed liquidation of the right to silence are aimed to silence opposition in Britain ie the "enemy within" which includes now sectors of the bourgeoisie who do not accept the Thatcher dictatorship. The latter is

very sick and when Thatcher has to speak of continuing to lead the party because of problems of political succession this is an admission of great weakness. The fact that she has to intervene personally to encourage the local conservatives in Bradford to embark on their policies of privatisation is because she seeks to act as a centre of decision when all around is falling apart. The imposition of the poll tax, the attack on trade unionists at Cheltenham which has obliged even the appalling leadership of the EPTU to react—and the reckless disregard of human life in such disasters as those in Kings Cross and the Piper Alpha episode are not experiences which strengthen the social support of capitalism.

Appropriately the last

conservative conference was held in an atmosphere of alarms and excursions.

The left in the Labour party has objectively a better basis on which to intervene than ever before. Everywhere world capitalism is in disarray. Bastions of imperialism like Israel, West Germany and South Africa all show elements of disintegration in front of the advance of the Soviet Union. In the workers states all the capitalist methods of "self management" and "factory autonomy" are showing their failure, China and Yugoslavia being but two examples. But it is necessary that the Labour left bases itself directly on consistent communication with the population not simply on the electoral machine of the Labour party. It has to learn directly from the recent experiences of the Soviet Union. 28 10. 88.

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"whatever the actions of the new SDP government which continues to be basically a constellation of right wing ministers, the pressure from the base and outside from the communists and the greens will continue to increase. This is the fundamental conclusion. It explodes the myth of the mass media that the 1980's is supposed to be a reactionary decade. The youth in particular, it has been shown have moved to the left, and the issues of the environment—the death of the seals in the North Sea, the pollution of the forests, the rivers and the sea bed—are all important issues which raise a consciousness of the need to change the system."

## The Burma Crisis

The massive and persistent mobilisations against the present regime are a reflection of the elevation of the whole world revolutionary process, linked to the course of partial regeneration in the workers states. For years the Burmese masses seemed to be isolated from the rest of the world, but now they appear with demands for the termination of the military regime and have placed the emphasis on the need for democratisation. Burma has belonged to what Cde Posadas defined as the category of revolutionary states, that is states who have left the orbit of strictly capitalist states, in that the state has expropriated various industries and or in part collectivised the land, thus impeding the usual formation and reproduction of capital. They are a transitory form and have arisen because of the prior failures of the international communist movement to construct workers states. Their leaderships have developed empirically and if there is no elevation in their theoretical understanding or appropriate initiatives from the communist leaderships in time, such leaderships can degenerate, as has been clearly the case with the military leadership of Burma. Such a leadership had seen that capitalism was giving no solutions to Burma, but after that they were lost for ideas and withdrew into the life of cliques and camarillas. The examples set by the counter-revolutionary leadership in China were also the worst possible. The "Burmese way to Socialism" proved that cut off

from the rest of the world, it could not work. A one party system can work provided that it allows full rights of discussion and is based on the full independent intervention of the masses. But the one party state in Burma became a vehicle for bureaucracy.

In face of the mass opposition the government made concessions to private businesses. Thus it abandoned state control of nine principal agricultural crops and actually allowed private traders to export rice. Naturally prices rose. The masses have shown no desire to return to capitalism. The brutality of the ruling group places them close to the bureaucratic castes in Iran or Iraq—terrified of the masses and without ideas. Imperialism will try to intervene but has no scope because of its own enfeebled condition. The problems of Burma can only find a solution in the development of a party which acts in the interests of the masses. This lesson is being more and more diffused through the world on the basis of the experiences of the Soviet Union. The revolutionary state can only go forward on the basis of the functioning of the party and the free, independent intervention of the masses, otherwise it falls back as in the case of the "Burmese road". But even with this bad experience, the masses of Burma are living in a stage of history which more and more confines and undermines imperialism and all forms of bureaucratic imposition.

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**ARMENIA**

We share the profound grief of the soviet people over the disaster in Armenia. There has been a great wave of sympathy for the soviet people throughout the world. The criminals promoting disturbances in this area are the same breed responsible for the rotten construction of buildings in Kirovakan etc. Even this terrible experience will be turned to good use by the invincible strength of the workers state.

**Editorial**

**The Labour left must act as a leadership against capitalism**

The latest intervention of the soviet leadership on a host of problems ranging from arms reductions to debt deferral for those countries oppressed by the imperialist banks, has again demonstrated the total incapacity of imperialism to take initiatives apart that is from its usual practices of killing large numbers of people throughout the globe and keeping them in poverty. The Yankee leaders took no notice of Gorbachev's speech when it was originally made and since then with Thatcher have been obliged to wear their most sanctimonious expressions and make it appear that they too desire the well being of mankind—although the opposite is the case. The soviet leadership is hoping to further widen the differences in the Nato countries by causing problems in West Germany over modernisation of nuclear weapons and generally creating discontent over the monstrous arms budgets, at the same time that unemployment, inflation and social oppression increase in all the capitalist countries. They know that the weaker sectors of capitalism desperately seek to escape the embrace of the central layers of the system dedicated to the preparation of war against the Soviet Union and the rest of humanity.

There is no doubt that this policy does exacerbate the tensions within capitalism and the masses of the world see the progressive intentions of the workers state, in the same way although in a different form when Khrushchev said "we will bury you" to the forces of capitalism, the masses also felt the progressive role of the workers state. However the policy of manoeuvre has its limits, when it comes to liquidating the capitalist system as opposed to weakening it, it is not possible to dispose of the problem of the capitalist system on the basis of putting forward schemes of world co-operation. Imperialism is beleaguered, but to be overthrown requires the organised world anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist front and that means organising a Communist International. Lenin was quite clear on the point, so long as the capitalist system exists, there will be war. The workers state requires as in the time of Lenin and Trotsky a dual policy of utilising the divergences within capitalism and at the same time a perspective of its revolutionary overthrow. This may be a disagreeable point of view to some sectors of the soviet bureaucracy who would like problems of reality to float away, but they will not and the workers state in order to develop towards socialism has to link up directly with the world revolution.

The workers states are in process, as defined by Posadas of crises of growth seeking a leadership which corresponds to the needs of the world revolution and the need of the workers state to expand. Imperialism on the other hand is in a crisis of disintegration and inter-capitalist competition constantly undermines its capacity to cope with the soviets. The recent confrontation of Thatcher with the Belgian and Irish governments over the Ryan case reflects the tensions in NATO and the desire of the Yankee

—Thatcher alliance to impose its will and centralise military and police controls in western Europe.

The fact that forty left labour MPs voted against the "anti-terrorist" bill and ignored the instructions of the leadership has importance. It shows that the Labour left can develop much more its audacity on the basis of the world situation. Although the Thatcher government acts in authoritarian style, its forces are weak and have to be measured in a world context not just on the basis of the parliamentary game. Thus on the issue of the refusal to allow Yasser Arafat into the United States, Thatcher stood in abject isolation with the Yanks in the United Nations. That in a very limited form expresses the world relation of forces. Israel shoots young people on the West Bank, but the Palestinians organise yet again a general strike and Israel with all its military might is impotent. When Thatcher recently visited the Polish workers state she tried to act as a counter-revolutionary centre intervening to stimulate anti workers state elements, but despite the Warsaw government being in debt to the IMF, her intervention provoked much mirth in Britain because pleas for "freedom" in Poland are quite remote from the reality of shouting and raving to impose dictatorship in Britain.

The brutality of the present government is undermining the whole basis of the consensus which gave stability to British imperialism. But that arises logically from the extremes of competition on the world capitalist market and the war preparations against the workers states. It is the terminal condition of the capitalist system. The attacks on education and the health service, the feverish programme of privatisation which is a piratical exercise to subsidise capitalism,

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and the clear fact that a minority of the population exercises a dictatorship over the rest, all this lays the bases for a labour left to develop in a marxist direction. The Soviet Union is in process of elevating all its human rights and the soviet leadership is gaining in confidence to turn the light of investigation on lack of human rights in Britain and Northern Ireland. This is a most important example where the workers states are intervening against a centre of world imperialism and helping to inject defeatism in its structures. When a whole group of intellectuals linked to capitalism come out with the charter 88 demanding changes in the electoral system and showing the fragility of human rights in Britain, this shows the fragmentation of the system and the need for the labour left to lose its fear of the LP apparatus and intervene outside the apparatus directly to the masses. When Kinnock and his group act so spinelessly, it

is because they are part of the crisis of capitalism which is losing its capacity to control the masses as the workers state elevates in stature. The world capitalist economy is unstable and Britain is now facing the recrudescence of old problems— inflation and a weak economic base. The bankers taking their very large cut have to come to the rescue. The government is relying on the Labour party leadership to contain the opposition, but the possibilities for a powerful mass movement are growing. There is no contradiction between winning support for the Labour party and defying the apparatus of the LP which has no ideas and is being undermined just as the bases of Stalinist thinking are being eroded in the workers states. Privatisation must be confronted with the counter programme—expropriation of all the main industries and banks under workers control, 10.12.88.

**End the atrocities against left militants in Iran**

The end of the war with Iraq has been a blow at the forces of the Islamic right in Iran, who are now faced with all the consequences of their policy of attempting to exhaust the revolution by a protracted war. The economy is in chaos, large sectors of the population have been impoverished and a leading group are now seeking to collaborate with imperialism on a commercial basis. These people, usually referred to as "moderate" by imperialism, have embarked on a policy of exterminating their opponents in the Tudeh and other left sectors because they fear the development of a leadership prepared to advance the Iranian revolution towards agrarian reform and a workers state.

We express our complete solidarity with the left forces in Iran, particularly the Tudeh party and appeal to the world communist and socialist movement to denounce these atrocities and particularly to the workers states to use maximum pressure and publicity to contain further assassinations by the homicidal clique in Tehran.

## GARCIA MARQUEZ AND THE FUNCTION OF WRITERS. J. POSADAS. 19.7.1977.

Literature such as it has existed has no longer themes of today, because it does not have a public to which it can address itself. It has had importance when there were no social struggles, no parties, no examples and there was no concentrated progress of history. Today the workers states are the concentrated progress of history. The story can no longer influence as before. What function can the story, literature play?

It has value when it contributes to knowledge, to the deepening of the knowledge of social reality. But when the parties, the working class and the workers states act in the way they do, it is not that they reject literature but it is literature which does not find the way to develop. The proof is the marked fall of literature.

It is not a question today of denouncing the crimes of imperialism in one country or another. When one speaks of that, it is an accusation against the regime, the capitalist system, the government and an expression of sympathy for the workers. Thus the political effect is very limited. But on the contrary every good writer—because the story or the novel is still necessary—should militate politically in an open way, and thus the novel is an organisational tendency, otherwise the novel is a commentary.

The level of knowledge and of human relations today is superior to the representation of the story tellers. The novel was born in inequality, with social disputes and struggles. To the extent that the struggle is concentrated, it needs another type of literature, necessary until socialism. But it becomes less and less necessary and it changes form. It is a literature which is combined with the progress already attained by humanity. For example the problem of "I" and "you", the problem of a woman with a lover or vice-versa. What interest has that? What problems does it resolve? Or the

We are publishing this article by Posadas on Garcia Marquez because it exemplifies the use of marxism in dealing with artistic creation and its contemporary setting. Today art no longer plays the role it once played as in the Renaissance or even the Nineteenth Century, that is as an instrument partially explaining or harmonising experience. It has exhausted its properties as mere protest. This is basically because the problem is no longer to draw attention to reality but more and more as Marx indicated to change it ie to get rid of the oppressive system of private property. There are still enormous themes for the artist but a more powerful art requires more powerful, revolutionary parties and that again is a political issue.

case of the poor man with six children and who is exploited and killed. The trade union says to the writer "We see all this in the trade union. But what you must write is how we can resolve this problem and how we take power. It is not simply a matter of making a denunciation but of showing how we take power".

Today there are the conditions for "The Ten Days that shook the World" of John Reed to be written every day, because this corresponds to the relation which exists in this stage of history. Before the novelist had a whole field to denounce, to show the social inequality, the empirical state of human relations and how brutal they were and to describe the human being with all the faults that existed. This was an aspect of literature which the French particularly developed. The most profound in this respect was Balzac. The most satirical had been Moliere who basically would have been a communist if he had been in this epoch. Marx recommended "The Human Comedy" of Balzac which is one of the most complete works because it is a class analysis and characterisation. He characterised the king, the nobility and the bourgeoisie. Although he was a writer who defended aristocratic relations, he described very well these relations showing their putrefaction. He aspired to aristocratic relations, something which could not exist. It was bourgeois values which decided. He

wrote very well and "The Human Comedy" is a very profound work and no writer has surpassed Balzac.

The novel of Garcia Marquez did not appear out of the blue. The "Hundred Years of Solitude" and "The Autumn of the Patriarchy" arise from a country in which the working class has not had a preponderant role. Hence the Patriarchy exists. No one would have the idea that in France or Germany or Argentina such a situation could occur. There is no place for it. It is necessary then to measure the situation in the country and to see what gives rise to all these apparitions which means social backwardness, very backward in relation to the historic stage in which we live. But that shows at the same time that the resolution of problems is made in a concentrated fashion which is the permanent revolution. The problems of the "Hundred Years of Solitude" will be resolved with the "Two days of Proletarian power". This is not a reproach that we make to this comrade or others who accomplish a very important task. Garcia Marquez tries to contribute, but the problem is the programme and the policy so that Colombia can emerge from backwardness.

In Colombia there is no weight of the working class and that effects the intellectual and the worker. However there are numerous themes upon which to write on how to put Colombia at the level of its

period. It is not Colombia which characterises the period but Angola. It is for that reason that Garcia went to Angola (referring to an article on the Angolan revolution) in order to see and to feel the character of the country. It is necessary to write about all that to represent this phase. The essential quality of the writer of this stage, is to love humanity. Normally, the writer only loves himself, writes for himself. In addition he feels the need to see and to reflect constantly, otherwise his capacity of interpretation and of observation declines. The essential quality of the writer must be to love humanity and the same for the musician, for all those of whom one used to say that they had "talent".

Before the musician of talent was one who played something which the public loved and they paid him. Now, the musician, the writer, the scientist, must create works which respond to the necessity of this stage of history—on the basis of the Russian revolution—to experience love for humanity. This is the source of every type of theme and of all efforts to deepen the theme, the inexhaustible and limitless road to make all sorts of creativeness. In the struggle for the programme of social transformations and for the immediate tasks, in the united fronts and the alliances to make humanity progress, a worker, student and artistic avant-garde is in process of educating itself. The education which has existed did not come from the intervention of the communist parties, but from the presence of the workers states which show the road to follow.

Art is not exhausted. Those who are exhausted are the artists. There exist good artists but what they lack is a theme which has a bearing on events. But the revolutionary life of the party would provide a thousand motifs. 19 July, 1977.

### *The Progress of the Left in Brazil.*

The recent municipal elections in Brasil reflect the advance of the left forces and a new stage in the crisis of Brazilian capitalism. The Workers Party gained twenty nine percent of the votes in Sao Paulo, while the conservative candidate won twenty five percent. This represents a sharp polarisation of class forces. Brizola who leads the Brazilian socialist party increased his votes in Rio de Janeiro. These elections were preceded by a ruthless military intervention against striking steel workers just outside Rio when three workers were shot. Such an event highlights the impotence of capitalism in Brasil to solve the enormous problems of the country. Mario Amato, the head of the industrialists' Federation may call for "understanding between capital and labour" but that is a cry of

alarm of the property owning classes, rather than a serious perspective.

This move to the left in Brazil corresponds both to internal and external conditions. The failure of the military dictatorships and the incapacity of world imperialism to do anything save to extract massive interest from the peoples of Latin America has stimulated popular movements throughout the continent. The defeat of Pinochet in the recent referendum, the continuous intervention of the proletariat in Argentina, the coming to government of the Borja social democrats in Ecuador, the growth of the left forces in Mexico with the crisis of the PRI and the complete incapacity of the Yankee hoodlums to liquidate either the Noriega government in Panama or the Ortega government in

Nicaragua have given an enormous encouragement to the Brazilian masses. The examples of progress in the Soviet Union give a renewed socialist perspective to the masses of Brasil.

There is no doubt that sectors of the military right may hazard more attempts at a coup in Brazil but the situation is not favourable to them. On the other hand left wing current will also develop much more in the army than in the past and the weaker links between the military and Yankee imperialism because of changed world circumstances do not give capitalism much security. All that is happening in Brasil confirms the analysis of Cde Posadas that capitalism in Latin America can only have a superficial and distorted development. It cannot compete with the Yankee, Japanese

and European capitalisms. It lacks the resources and the capital to go beyond a certain level of production. Hence the tactics of capitalism in Latin America oscillate from repression to phases of "democracy" but have no historic depth. The Sarnay government which came to office on the basis of the electoral success of the Democratic Movement Party which was an extremely mixed grouping, put forward in the beginning of its regime policies to control prices and gain a popular support but recently it has gone in reverse where wages are frozen but prices are not. Inflation is raging and the incapacity of Brazilian capitalism to answer any of the needs of the population has led to the disintegration of the DMP.

Continued on page 4



## TROTSKY AND THE PROGRESS OF THE SOVIET UNION

The report that some of Trotsky's works are to be published in the Soviet Union to mark the centenary of his birth is very important and shows how inexorably the workers state reclaims its own. In short with whatever slowness, the return to Lenin means the return to Trotsky. Sedov, Trotsky's son who remained in the Soviet Union and was shot on Stalin's orders has been totally rehabilitated. In the present phase of partial regeneration however Trotsky's ideas present some problems to the bureaucracy not least as one of the Soviet historians said recently, because Trotsky was the Bolshevik leader who wrote the most extensive analysis of Stalinism. As yet the present leadership of the CPSU have not presented their positions in relation to Trotsky, although it is clear that the delays in totally rehabilitating the principle opponent of Stalin is due to the problems he poses for their own ideological positions. Gorbachev for example has criticised him for his excessive confidence, rejected the idea of a Communist International and even recently regarded the Stalin Hitler pact of August 1939 as inevitable. However whatever the attitudes the leadership of this moment adopts towards Trotsky, there is no doubt that the discussions opened upon his positions and all the discussions on the new policies of the CPSU will gather momentum and help to bring forth attention to the ideas of Posadas the logical continuator of Trotsky in this period. The fact that Trotsky's works will be published in the Soviet Union now is part of the historic re-encounter with marxism foreseen by comrade Posadas.

The present phase of the process of partial regeneration is dominated by the increasing world authority of the workers state and the measures of democratisation within the Soviet Union in particular. In the smaller workers states there is much more confusion and in some communist parties such as the Serbian, there is very great degeneration into nationalism and respect for capitalist norms. However the presence of the Soviet Union and the needs of the workers states to maintain a front against world imperialism limit the effect of the worst elements in such workers states. This is also true of China. The diplomacy of the Soviet leadership has taken advantage of the senile debility of world imperialism. Moscow is a constant source of meetings and discussions. Kohl pays a visit, da Mita went there recently and also Mitterand. The world masses are greatly encouraged by all this because they see that imperialism is unable to expand and acts like a hunted creature, making excuses for itself, impotent to contain the world revolution. Soviet policy is not revolutionary and does not take full advantage of the weakness of the counter revolution, nonetheless the masses of the world see a workers state in full development and capable of confronting imperialism without making the revolution retreat.

The brutal reaction of the most backward layers in Armenia and Azerbaijan who see in the process of changes in the Soviet Union a threat to the mafia of cliques, resulting from Stalinism, will not limit the influence of the workers state because the principle of the latter is to harmonise ethnic groups, not put one against the other which is the principle of imperialism whether in Ireland or the United States itself.

As the main workers state, the Soviet Union through Gorbachev has been concerned to unify the workers states. Visits to Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have been oriented to stimulate a better democracy in the workers states and the improvement of relations with China is whatever the specific limitations in the discussions, part of an objective and necessary coming together of the workers states.

The most fundamental need in the process in the Soviet Union is the need to elevate the role of the party. This is understood in general terms by the existing leadership, particularly in the sense of freeing the party from entanglements with administration and trying to link the party much more with the activity of the masses. But a most fundamental task is the need for a profound political discussion including with the population. For this to be successful involves a genuine understanding of the phenomenon of Stalinism and the function of the workers state as a function of the world socialist revolution. It involves returning to basic marxism that a workers state is antagonistic to the capitalist system and the latter cannot endure its existence and necessarily to continue to exist, plans to destroy it. The Soviet leadership sees that capitalism is in a very bad condition, that it is putrefying and full of despair, that it cannot unify its own forces and it hopes to take full advantage of this, which is correct, but beyond this it works empirically, hoping to avoid war but not convinced of this either. Thus Slyunkov in his speech on the anniversary of the October revolution speaks of Lenin's conception of peaceful co-existence but fails to link this with Lenin's conception of the Third International, that is an organisation concerned to organise the communist parties with the unconcealed objective of liquidating the capitalist system. He persists in speaking of the economy as the "be-all and end-all of social change"—but it is not! Social and political relations are primary in a workers state, particularly one as advanced as the Soviet Union. Socialism is a social relation, not just a higher level of production. It is precisely because of empiricism of ideas and the break in continuity with marxism within the Soviet Union through Stalinism, that the Soviets have delayed in the preoccupation to develop the Communist party in Afghanistan. Partly they are hoping to "de-fuse" a centre of tension with imperialism and then hope to advance the revolution "by stages" and partly they are none too sure on the best way to solve the problems of the Afghan party—some elements of which are very left. These are the inevitable complications resulting from absence of theoretical clarity.

The process of partial regeneration has affected the Red Army. There are efforts to improve the functioning of the Red Army, removing corrupted elements, paying more attention to the conditions of life of military personnel and developing better relations with the population, but there is a deeper problem which needs attention, the need to totally fuse the Red Army with the political leadership. When there are persistent differences, it is because the Red Army feels a lack of sufficient orientation to deal with the threat of imperialism. It is not just disputes of how much resources the army should receive but what is its function in relation to the world revolution. This may not find a direct expression at the moment, but any discussion of Trotsky brings the Red Army and its role directly into consideration. Trotsky was its founder and it is not possible to keep telling lies about his contribution. The objective pressures from the Soviet people and the objective course of world events are going to require clearer policies. When Slyunkov has to state quite clearly "The international situation remains ambiguous....the arms race continues", then they have to prepare for the contingency of war and what are the best ways to meet it? Posadas said it was necessary to gain time, certainly, but so as to develop discussions with the world

## Soviet Agriculture and the necessity for superior social objectives.

J. Posadas.

Already seven years ago on the problem of agriculture, I argued that in the USSR and also in China there was a process towards overcoming the present forms of production. This tends to go beyond the forms of sovkhoz and kolkhoz. Thus 1,350,000 kolkhoz have been reduced to a third of their former number. The result is the increase and diversification of production together with the reduction of costs. This sector is managed by a clique as in a private form and with the increase of production, this will be reinforced, even if at the same time the weight of the agricultural proletariat increases.

The increase of agricultural production is not only a technical problem, one of co-ordination and the

mechanical organisation of work. This, on the basis of the improvement of the technical level, demands also superior objectives and the basis of this is that everyone must feel they are delegate, inspector, director, worker, mother, son, and father. Everyone is necessary and this is the prerogative of the human condition; it is not the machine which can substitute for or surpass the human being.

The machine depends particularly on the mind but also on the hand. Indeed it is the hand which has made technology advance. The latter has made the intellectual capacity advance and this has taught the hand to move on the instrument board which in turn co-ordinates thousands of other things. In agricultural work it is important not only to improve the technical capacity, but also the social objectives of production. In great part Soviet production is still destined to satisfy the layers linked to the top bureaucracy, from the local and territorial sectors to the leading layer which governs the republic and the entire country. A very high percentage of production, according to my calculations from twenty to thirty percent ends in the hands of these layers, in the so-called black market not as before but it continues to exist.

This introduces divisions in the form of production because necessary supplies are produced only by a part of the structure while the most important part is dedicated to clandestine production. Unity is lacking and that leads to social tensions between the needs of the worker and the needs of these layers which is reflected on the plane of production. There is also the difference between the worker of the sovkhoz and the worker of the kolkhoz. If the latter sees that with the trade union he does not succeed in confronting the problems, he tends to adapt himself to the situation. If the trade union does not offer political life, does not provide for regular weekly meetings, the kolkhoz worker does not find an arena where it is possible to make criticisms and proposals for change. This becomes an area of discontent and moves the tensions outside the trade union and the factory; in this case outside agricultural production which is none other than an open factory. Agriculture today is indeed an agricultural factory and the worker in the field no longer corresponds to the old peasant worker. He is simply a worker on the land hardly any different from the factory hand. The party and the trade union has to intervene towards both to guarantee the same level.

In the Soviet Union the situation is changing. Hence among the various measures proposed by Breznev, he has

## The Angola-South Africa Agreement.

The agreement between Angola, Cuba and South Africa which means that the Cuban troops withdraw from Angola whilst the South Africans withdraw from Namibia is a defeat for imperialism, although it has to be seen how far Yankee imperialism continues to prop up the assassin forces of Unita. The agreement is not the best solution and in some aspects is a retreat of the workers states in its direct support for the African revolution, just as in our view the agreement to withdraw soviet troops from Afghanistan was not necessary. But what is notable in this agreement is that it is South Africa and world imperialism which basically has to concede, ie clear out of Namibia. It is true as was argued by the Organisation of African states and the non aligned movement that the illegal occupation of Namibia was not to be compared with the presence of Cuban troops in Angola acting in support of that government. Nonetheless the reality is that the Soviet Union continues to sustain Angola and the South Africans have to get out of Namibia. The soviets cannot allow Unita to triumph in Angola-if any

such process occurred there would be convulsions in the Soviet union.

Prior to this agreement the South Africans had suffered military reverses in Angola. They had lost control of the air and the Cubans pressed then very hard in Southern Angola to the extent that the South African army was faced with a bloody outcome in extricating themselves. Also the internal situation in South Africa shows a massive decomposition in the ruling cliques-white South Africans reject military service, the ruling class is split over policies, the black masses make no reduction in their opposition and the economic situation is deteriorating fast. All this has made the Botha regime interested in an agreement. After the failure of the Reagan-Thatcher policy to develop a successful process of confronting the workers states and the elevation of the world revolutionary process, world imperialism now desires oxygen and is glad of some relief, while it continues its plans for counter revolutionary war against the workers states in clandestine ways..

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insisted on the need to develop the trade union life of the kolkhoz and sovkhos; development of the trade union life, led by the factory delegates, to intervene in the technical problems of production. It is evident that he wants to get rid of a bundle of powers which are extraordinarily diffuse. Hence the caution of the present bureaucracy which in smashing this sector would smash a part of itself. This process has not yet reached the main body but only the extremities of the bureaucratic apparatus. It remains anyway a problem which they must confront very quickly.

In China the problem is a thousand times worse. The communes created by Mao were an invention in function against Khrushchev but without a party life and proletarian base, there remained only a structure. The soviets have succeeded in overcoming the limits imposed by Stalin simply because they have a proletarian base and can count on the army. In China also the cadres of the army are communist but they do not have a proletarian base; they have communist ideas, but they do not have the experience of the life and practice of the party.

It is thus a situation which at the maximum must be overcome in the next five years. This does not mean that there will be a total change but that there has to be an advance; the communes of Mao will return not only as the recall of a name but as the fruit of all the matured richness and experience of the Chinese masses. J.POSADAS. 14 March 1981.

## J. Posadas

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SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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The Posadist Trotskyist comrades are well integrated with the PT, participate in electoral struggles with them and seek to develop the PT as a unifying centre in the anti capitalist struggle in Brasil, in alliance with other left forces such as those of Brizola.

## The Presidential Elections in the United States and the social weakness of imperialism.

The Presidential and other elections in the United States have shown convincingly the derelict nature of the capitalist system and the utter sham of its so-called democracy. The bourgeois commentators were obliged to write of the stupefying emptiness of the campaigns, but careful not to probe too deeply as to the reasons for the bland avoidance of serious issues—such as where is the United States actually going?

It is particularly important to register this unusually desolate performance, because it occurs when the process of change in the workers states is gathering force and when there is an immense effort to cleanse soviet society of its shortcomings. Although the soviet leadership has adopted many conciliatory poses, it is clear that the reactionary leaderships of imperialism led by Thatcher and now Bush see little permanent benefit to them from soviet policy, indeed they sense danger ahead and no historic opportunity to regain social initiatives. Thus the more open the progress of the Soviet Union, the more wary the leaders of Yankee imperialism.

Capitalism has tried to play down the most interesting aspect of the Yankee elections, that is, the phenomenal amount of abstention. It has been reckoned that Bush received about twenty eight percent of the actual eligible vote in the United States. Although there can be dispute over the figures, it has been reckoned that eighty nine million voted but the electorate amounts to about 183 million. Thus less than half voted—millions fail to register having no interest in voting. In 1984 only fifty three percent voted and even that has now fallen. Thus the vote for Bush was a class vote of the American bourgeoisie for their candidate. They all know the precariousness of Yankee imperialism and want continuity with the class policies of Reagan and the absence of a real struggle over a programme was because both Republicans and Democrats need ample margins of manoeuvre and dare not open a serious discussion for fear of stimulating sectors of the population intervening. The increased votes for democrats in the Senate and the House of Representatives reflects the desire for a balance of class interests and sufficient room for bargaining over the various shares in the common trough.

It is certain that Bush represents the centres of Yankee imperialism most involved in the arms industries and that Dukakis those sectors most interested in the development of the internal market but the Democrats know that the situation of the United States is different from the time of Roosevelt and that to make a forceful campaign on social issues would endanger the whole system because Yankee imperialism does not have the margins to afford concessions to the masses. Hence the distancing of Jesse Jackson who could have mobilised the black masses. Indeed the problem for Dukakis was that such masses would have gone beyond the control of Jackson. Any campaign on social issues would have mobilised the millions of Americans who are oppressed by capitalism and Dukakis preferred a class peace with Bush.

If there had been a serious intention to discuss issues the massive deficits, both trade and budget would have been central but as neither side wishes such a dangerous problem to be aired, it was tacitly ignored. Bush actually claimed no great action was necessary and Dukakis made no objection. Yankee imperialism has "solved" its problems, its vast military expenditures by high interest rates absorbing vast quantities of foreign capital ie blackmailing its allies. The American elections have brought out the way that capitalism is beleaguered. Yankee imperialism can no longer control the organisation of American states for example, it cannot reduce Cuba or Nicaragua, it cannot shore up Pinochet. It can only prepare for war with the workers states—the hidden programme not talked about in the elections save through being "firm" with the soviets. Bush acts like the system acts—without initiative— "after us the deluge".

The American masses still lack a political centre and the slogan of a workers party based upon the trade unions is still necessary. But in all this the activity of the Soviet Union is decisive—the more the soviets develop a genuine proletarian democracy and liquidate the privileged castes which damage the view, the more will the American masses find their own initiatives

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communist and revolutionary movement on the best ways to confront and disrupt capitalism, to state quite clearly that imperialism is preparing for a counter revolutionary war and that a co-ordinated strategy can inflict enormous damage on the capitalist system, disrupt its war teams and enable humanity to advance from the nuclear war to construct communism. Imperialism has failed in its efforts to intimidate humanity by nuclear blackmail, it is necessary to organise the overwhelming world forces against the decomposing capitalist system. The Soviet Union is the necessary centre for all this. Socialism in one country does not exist. Socialism is a world system.