

The policies of the government increase its isolation and open the way for an anti capitalist united front

The imperialist powers are now wearing the mask of universal benevolence, having been forced to stop talking about the "evil empire" of communism because the diplomacy of the soviets has forced them onto the defensive. Nonetheless NATO is fully occupied with modernising its forces and the character of capitalist society cannot be changed by a few treaties which in no way, as the soviets admit, have diminished the arms race. Capitalism and the workers state have nothing in common. The latter is the progress of civilisation and has to expand. In order to develop into socialism, it has to sustain all the movements which seek to terminate with capitalism. The stalinist conception of socialism in one country apart from being an intrinsic violation of marxism, was simply a justification for the pretensions of the soviet bureaucracy of a former period to justify its abandonment of the world revolution. Now such is the power of the workers state, even if imperfectly represented by its present leadership, that imperialism is obliged to hang onto its coat tails, hoping the soviets will allow a margin so that private property can continue breathing. Humanity has been sustaining a period of even more unctuous garbage than normal in capitalist publications, but the class struggle is not to be diverted either nationally or internationally.

The continuing change in the world balance of forces to the detriment of capitalism has been evident in the disastrous situation for the Israelis, following on from the upsurge of the Palestinian masses in the occupied zones. This has continued in spite of the repression of the Israeli authorities who have shown an especial dedication for killing the young. The fact that the Palestinian claim for a separate state has been discussed at the UNO meeting in Geneva, a direct blow at the Yanks and that then the Yanks have been obliged to criticise the Israelis for their brutal policies towards the Arabs (however hypocritical the statement) is a defeat for world imperialism as it has been obliged to concede to the world revolution. Efforts are being made to make it appear that the soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan is a military defeat. This shows how desperate imperialism is to appear strong. The soviets have adopted another policy, that is all, one which in our view is insufficient, but already the feudal and tribal forces sustained by the Yanks show their impotence and no progress can be expected for Afghanistan from these outdated reactionaries.

The main capitalist states are now busily "restructuring" their economies. Mergers and competition exacerbate the insecurity of capitalism, although the vast accumulations of wealth doubtless provoke euphoria in individuals. The multi nationals increase their

concentrations of capital and technological capacity, but capitalism cannot transcend the national state whatever their efforts and cannot achieve real unity in front of the workers states however much they try. The prospects for the European Common market will be a reproduction of what has occurred already - the richer areas will get richer and the poorer, poorer. There is no possibility of capitalism stabilising its position in front of the masses.

British capitalism has already produced a sharp north-south divide in which large areas of the country, particularly the north and Scotland are reduced to dereliction, whilst wealth balloons in the south east. This will continue with the Common market because capitalism has no social responsibility, only the iron law of maximum profit to decide everything. At the same time the row over public health indicates the inevitable course of economies dominated by interests which are not accountable to the population but only to the investors. The government may pass a few laws, but the monopolies can always avoid them. The problems of food poisoning were kept quiet for a whole period and when Curry appeared before a parliamentary commission on the salmonella crisis she practically ignored it. Such is the real meaning of parliament-capitalism pushes it aside when that institution is inconvenient. British imperialism is now reduced to

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vandalising everything. The health service is being "economised", more roads are to be built to sustain private transport although the country is so congested that London is reduced to a standstill.

Education is being led further along into social differentiation. The housing crisis is worsening because capitalism refuses to build enough cheap housing to satisfy the needs of the population. All the problems of the environment increase and the legislation of capitalism will be a facade to permit private property to continue on its blind path. The lesson will not be lost on those who think. The Soviet Union is pre-occupied to improve the conditions of life, whilst all that capitalism can do is advance more schemes to make life worse. There is no solution to this situation on the basis of the traditional social democratic perspectives. They have had most of the twentieth century to change capitalism and the result has been - Thatcher and dictatorship. Now the pious Kinnock is proposing to abandon unilateral disarmament in the hopes of gaining bourgeois electoral support and containing the left. The apparatus hopes to win office and moderate capitalism, on the basis that Thatcher will be discredited and the old parliamentary crassness can continue undisturbed. They hope to use the more limited aspects of soviet

policy "pluralism" and peaceful co-existence to achieve a modus vivendi. However this is the pipe dream of the labour bureaucracy - capitalism is deteriorating and its contradictions deepen. Only a policy of social transformations can change society - statification of the economy, accountable to the needs of the population, trade unions in the army and the police, workers control in industry, closing of all nuclear bases etc.

The policy of the Soviet leadership has thrown imperialism onto the defensive in terms of diplomacy but imperialism will not be tamed by diplomacy. Its objectives remain the same - the destruction of the workers states, but it is in a very fine mess as to how to do it. Thatcher seeks to maintain prestige in Britain by associating with Gorbachev and the progress of the workers state. When the soviets speak of returning to Lenin, that must mean Lenin complete - the organiser of Bolshevism, the organiser of the taking of power, the man who had no illusions about the character of capitalism. The Leninist path is the overthrow of world capitalism, which is now living on borrowed time. All this is fundamental for the organisation of the Labour left for whom there is no perspective save the experience of the Soviet Union. 10.2.1989.



Palestinians celebrate the anniversary of the Uprising.

THE CHARACTER OF THE COMPETITION BETWEEN CAPITALISM AND THE WORKERS STATES. J. POSADAS

The crisis of capitalism from the economic and organisational point of view has no solution. The system has to make war as it did in 1914 and 1939. War is the outcome of inter capitalist competition and crisis, hence the two wars. Now there are more pressing reasons than in 1939 to make another war. Imperialism has not launched this one because it will give advantage to the workers states. But at the same time inter-capitalist competition increases and the economic competition with the workers states. But in addition to the economic competition, there is the historic-social competition with the workers states.

Inter-capitalist competition is very important, but it is inferior to the social-historic competition of capitalism with the workers states. Inter-capitalist competition lies in production, in the organisation of production, in the economy and in commerce; but with the workers states besides the economic competition there is the social competition which has a very great influence over all the capitalist countries. The competition is dual; among themselves the capitalists compete in production, in commerce; but with the workers states there is the commercial competition plus the social antagonism which has no solution. The people of the capitalist countries, the workers, peasants, petit bourgeoisie see the superiority of the workers state. This world competition is expressed much more acutely in social aspects, rather than in economic competition. In the capitalist countries the form of living is determined more and more by peroccupation with work, and employment and this generates all sorts of mental and family disturbances. In the workers states it is not like this. That is where it is possible to measure the standard of living! The capitalist countries in order to compete among themselves have to proceed by eliminating workers, petit bourgeois, and technicians in order to concentrate production in fewer hands. Capitalism has developed a layer

of petit bourgeois who are technicians and in which capitalism hopes to support itself against the workers states. This has failed. The influence of the workers state has been a determining factor in the political and social evolution of all the technicians because it wins them over. Even in very developed countries such as Germany and Japan where there is an immense number of technicians, these are influenced by the workers. The technician is influenced not by the struggle of the working class of each country, but by the workers states which develop and give example, an influence, a social vision of how to live. This affects the technicians and instead of being absorbed by capitalism, they are won by the workers states and relate to the workers. This is the social structure which dominates the world and does not have the necessary conclusions.

Capitalism has no solution: thus in a factory of one thousand workers, they dismiss six hundred and with the remaining four hundred, they produce twice what they did before. This is a great technical progress, but at the cost of peoples lives. The workers, the petit bourgeoisie of the world see that in the workers states, there is no unemployment, no sackings. Outside Yugoslavia, there is no workers state where workers emigrate to other countries in order to work. This is because Yugoslavia has self management. In all the other workers states, they are short of people. Czechoslovakia "invaded and destroyed by the soviet intervention" asks that everyone comes to work there because they do not have sufficient workers. Even Hungary and Roumania which were primarily peasant countries ask for workers to go there and with good wages.

In the workers states the most backward country is Yugoslavia which has self management. The reason for this is not because before taking power, it was the most backward country. Hungary was the most backward and today there is an immense progress. Yugoslavia is the only workers state which sends workers abroad

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THE PROCESS IN GREECE (EXTRACTS FROM KOMMUNISTIKI PALI, ORGAN OF THE SECTION)

The bourgeoisie is not directly threatened at this moment, because the government has not decided to break with the system, but this does not diminish the panic of the bourgeoisie. The annual budget which the government has presented is helping the bourgeoisie, because it leaves the economic situation unaffected and increases the foreign debt, even though it is doing this so as not to make more acute the class confrontation. But the rapid decomposition of the government is showing that there is no space for such postponements. This is not only because the symptoms of decomposition are increasing, but also because the government is losing continuously the points of social, economic and political support which it sought to maintain throughout these years. The

elimination of important sectors and cadres of PASOK follows the political and social tendency towards the left. It is a reflection of sectors who seek to maintain contact with the workers, with petit bourgeois layers, with the professional sectors and the intellectuals in the city and the countryside who are experiencing the lack of a solution of the crisis and seeking a solution to the left. Although still this differentiation in PASOK does not have the character of differences on the programmatic bases— and this is because of its limited life and discussion and of the empiricism of these sectors—the fact that this is influenced by the inclination of the objective process, is an important element which makes it possible to draw useful conclusions on what has

to be done to impel the left in this stage and above all the communist left.

Layers who for a long time have supported the policy of Papandreou now see that the country has not been able to secure any progress. But

none place in doubt the large public sector of the economy and also the control which the state can have over the private economy.... but it places doubt over the weak policy of the government in controlling more decisively the private sector i.e the scandal over the swindles associated with the Bank of Crete and also in impeding the corruption in the state enterprises linked to private contractors and the bases for the illegal arms trade. All this has shown the need for a popular intervention in the economy through

workers control with a programme of development for the country. Already the deteriorating economic situation is leading to zones of poverty and of the impoverishment of the population.

The slogan which the leadership of the KKP (Greek Communist Party) proposes today of simply resisting and stopping the attacks on the masses, shows that they underestimate the maturing of the conditions and of the consciousness of people. The masses of the country do not remain quiet, but they see that on the part of the leadership of the left there is still not a complete reply and decision to assume historic responsibilities as a leadership of the country. Hence they have a critical attitude not only in front of the leadership of

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THE DEFENCE OF THE ENVIRONMENT, AND HEALTH AND SAFETY CONDITIONS AT WORK IS INTEGRAL WITH THE CLASS STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM.

The capitalist system is in the final stages of its agony, but it is also obvious that the more prolonged its stay, the more disastrous its effects on the whole quality of life. The standard of living cannot be measured by narrowly economic criteria. Even on this basis capitalism in the most developed countries, quite apart from the most backward capitalist countries, in Africa etc, is impoverishing whole layers of the population. Capitalism has reached a stage in which it can only offer humanity, catastrophe and ruin. The capitalist statisticians in Britain for example hold forth on the glories of home ownership, the large number of people who have cars, and the interminable number of credit cards. What they cannot hold forth on is the more and more noxious progress of pollution and the general degeneration of the environment. The incidence of acid rain, the fact that the Irish sea is the most radioactively contaminated sea in the world—where it is openly admitted that radio active waste has been systematically dumped—and the atrocious condition of the waters around many bathing resorts in Britain, with the high levels of sea and beach pollution, are merely some examples of the hazardous situation now developing. These conditions arise not because they are inevitable with technological progress, but because capitalism has no social interest in human beings whatsoever. It has been reported that the Thatcher believes that there is no such thing as society and that people are only interested in the welfare of their families. Such a statement can only emanate from a citadel of barbaric ignorance, but one most attuned to the present condition of capitalism whose only perspective is preparing war and maximising profit from the small areas left to it to exploit. The profoundly parasitic and anti environmental nature of capitalism can be seen in the various statements relating to the discussions over water privatisation. There it is acknowledged that prices will have to rise so that the expropriators of public property can enjoy their profits and that they will have to rise even more because the public will have to sustain the costs of environmental protection. This is a direct admission of the utterly predatory character of the system. The population has to pay for a vital commodity at a higher price so that the exploiters can collect more for their investment and also to pay more so that the said predators do not damage the environment. Capitalism cannot pretend anymore. All the rubbish about doing a service for the public is curtly dismissed. Capitalism is quite clear as if it were saying "we are here to exploit you into the ground but will not poison you directly, provided you pay us not to".

Suddenly the great leader has also turned "green"—on the basis that the population pays capitalism vast anti pollution sums, while a handful of capitalists take all the profits from whatever enterprise is involved. This is desperate stuff and brings out the hopeless condition of capitalism. It cannot maintain links with the population. More and more it retires into its narrow class cantonment, making efforts to appear decisive but only showing itself to be anti social, and anti human progress, fit only for erasure from human history. At one time it was possible to argue—without great conviction by the defenders of capitalism—that incidents like

Seveso where chemicals killed many people in Italy, were somehow not typical of the system and measures would undoubtedly be taken to see that such incidents did not occur again. But now that position is unsustainable. The capitalist system in its inexorable decline is totally and inevitably reckless with human lives. The Greeks believed that the human being and thought were the most important concerns, but for the imbeciles who run capitalism, the only important matters are how to get rid of human beings who get in the way of private property and how to stop people thinking about anything but material objects and how to acquire them.

Imperialism so far has not launched the nuclear war, but this in no way prevents its horrendous nature amply revealing itself prior to that war. The capitalist economy is devoured by internal competition which is constantly augmenting. There is savage competition in each country and between each capitalist country. On top of that there is the social competition with the workers states and the need to devote enormous sums to military expenditure for the war which is to come. As there are no new areas in the world to exploit—capitalism has no capacity to develop Asia, Africa or Latin America—the competition becomes more ferocious for what remains. Thus to reduce costs, rivers and seas are polluted with industrial waste, hazards from nuclear energy increase, food is adulterated—quite apart from other casualties of the system—the congestion of cities and the inability to maintain public services. As yet we may not have quite reached the level of Mexico city where it is regarded as dangerous

THE ROLE OF THOUGHT AND THE ECONOMY IN HISTORY.

J. POSADAS

In their time, the Greeks were able to concentrate intelligence and the concern for thought, but they did not possess sufficient economic resources to go any further. For that to happen another stage of history was necessary. The most advanced thought, that of the Greeks was put on one side by the progress of the economy which was accomplished under slavery and feudalism. But this economic progress did not correspond to the ability already acquired by thought. The Greeks developed the ability to think, the concern for the human being as the essential centre and from that developed the concern for nature, the cosmos, the universe. They developed intelligence and were specifically preoccupied with it. They did not do this as a function of an economic necessity, but it was a need that arose from the development of human thought. The economy, their military strength did not correspond to this elevation of thought. The disproportion which existed between the material resources and the development of thought did not allow the flourishing of the latter but that of material improvements. Society developed but the thought which answered to a necessity and expressed the concern of humanity for the relations between it, nature and the whole of the universe, was retaken afterwards by marxism.

The workers state supports itself today on these experiences. It can do what the Greeks were not able to do

in their epoch, because now the historic, economic, political and social conditions are unified. The workers state represents under its present form, the thought of the Greeks. What they thought was possible through the intermediary of a limited layer of the population is universalised today; thought shows itself to be historically necessary. The need to introduce and to develop in society this form of thought, this intellectual concern as an essential activity of the human being was just and came in its time. They considered the activity of thinking as more important than war, the economy and power; war, power and the economy are an objective, human thought expands to the infinite.

The last of the Greeks communicates today with all humanity. The first of the great gladiators communicates with no one. He remains there as a statue, a symbol of material power, of war but nothing else. What unites the Greeks to the history of the world, is the fact that they sought to give an answer which humanity needs. From where do we come? How do we understand where we are? Then marxism develops the concern where are we going? It is a question that the Greeks still had not posed. At that time there only existed the premises for this concern. That was the function of the Greeks. J. Posadas. 12. 8. 1978.

to breathe too deeply because the atmosphere is considered to be lethal, but the longer the system continues, the greater the possibilities for a more dangerous environment, the destruction of nature and epidemics arising from malpractice. It is enough in this context to consider the controversy in Britain over eggs and salmonella poisoning. The issue reflects the need for popular controls in the context of public health. There is a measurable increase in food poisoning and it is certain that there is insufficient control of the food producing and distribution market. The farming interests tried to play down the problem and were more interested in compensation for eggs destroyed, than a thoroughgoing investigation. As regards yield increasing hormones, even conservative members of parliament have suggested that the multi national drug companies seem to operate as they please with a complaisant ministry of agriculture. The cuts induced by capitalism mean that food inspection is not at the necessary level. Similarly deficits in the control of industrial and constructional undertakings mean increase in industrial injuries. The well heeled bourgeois can escape most of the hazards of living under capitalism because they can live in healthier areas, have the best food and go away for expensive holidays, quite apart from having access to the best health care. Alright for some, but not so good for others ie the working population. Capitalism may try to "modify" its conduct but without the intervention of the population laws can be passed but will be evaded. In the same way that capitalism has another state which exists well outside any parliamentary control.

The recent remarks of the new chief executive for the privatised electricity industry are as clear a statement as could be wished on

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Pasok, but also in front of the leaderships of the left. ... Today the communist left has the historic opportunity to enter on the scene of history. It is a question of a stage of preparation of the only solution which the country has—government of the left, communist-socialist, with an anti capitalist programme....

the blind stupidity of the system."The job is not about shouldering national responsibilities but about meeting contracts, improving profitability, seeking out opportunities but exploiting them only if it pays to do so".He goes on with that reckless abandon typical of uncontrolled satraps "our task will not be to keep the lights on whatever the cost ".The Greeks were greatly in advance of this mentality which would have excited their scorn for its rapacity. It is certain that there is a deterioration in the conditions of life for the population, whatever the conclusions of the statisticians of capitalism who paint a picture of life pleasing to their masters. Even bourgeois sectors are affronted by the demented greed and lack of perspective of the leading centres of capitalism. The fact is that capitalism is a structure of relations based on the individual appropriation of socially produced wealth and it has no interest outside private advantage. The period when it could hand on crumbs to some socially privileged layers of the general population has ceased. The appearance of the "Greens " has shown that sectors of the bourgeoisie itself feel increasingly menaced by the destructive nature of the system. The labour left has to relate to all these social forces that as yet find no centre. It is necessary to take the struggle outside parliament, to develop a consistent trade union intervention on the issues of the environment which increasingly merge with all the usual issues of the class struggle. Workers control in all the main industries, workers control in all the "privatised" industries to prevent the poisoning of the population. Make the capitalists pay all the costs to protect the environment. Cost effective means let the exploiters pay and not the population! The reply to the electricity bosses and all the others of their ilk is the programme of social transformations which incorporates popular control over environmental protection and sees that capitalism does not pass its own crisis onto the backs of the population.

THE EARTHQUAKE IN ARMENIA AND ITS RESULTS

In expressing our solidarity with the people and government of the USSR on the earthquake in Armenia, it is important to emphasise that there was an immense unified response of the soviet people and government in confronting the results of the natural catastrophe. The sectors of the bureaucracy resisting change and resorting to pseudo nationalist agitation had nothing to contribute in this process. In front of the disaster the sentiment of the people whether in Armenia or Azerbaijan was one of solidarity. Thousands of people in Azerbaijan returned towards the areas hit by the catastrophe to help, to save people and to reconstruct. That was the sentiment of the soviet people. The gangs who had previously attacked soviet troops were the sectors linked to the most backward layers of the bureaucracy who see their private interests going to the wall. The removal of the premier of Azerbaijan is part of the great and continuing clearance in the Soviet Union, getting rid of the mafia bureaucracy which made use of tribal and clan relationships to cement its power.

Without question the earthquake disclosed serious shortcomings in the actual administration of the republic, that is lack of preparation typical of the empiricism of the stalinist bureaucracy. All this experience will be assimilated in the progress of the political revolution. For example a nuclear plant had been constructed taking into account the possible impact of seismic disturbances and was intact, schools, hospitals, people's quarters were not built in this way and collapsed. The soviet premier Ryzkov denounced the limitations and the slowness of the relief work, the lack of co-ordination and urgency, even if the natural communist

solidarity and sentiment of people compensated in part for the inadequacy. The workers state has shown its capacity to cope with natural disasters, even in countries such as China and Rumania, blighted with monstrous bureaucracies. There the earthquakes of 1976 and 1977 respectively were soon overcome and the areas reconstructed. As regards Armenia, the inhabitants without homes have been rapidly accommodated in the dwellings of other soviet citizens with particular attention to the women, children and old people who for a period will stay in other regions of the Soviet Union. This has to be compared with the treatment of the population after the earthquake in Italy who still live in bad conditions whilst public monies disappear into the pockets of private interests. Such is now the prestige of the Soviet Union that the big capitalist countries sent technical aid to Armenia and their leaders had to adopt poses of concern for the Armenian people. Capitalism attempted to use criticisms made by the soviet leaders to suggest that the disaster was made worse by gross inefficiency and that the soviets could not cope. This was specifically denied by British doctors who on returning to Manchester said that the soviets had coped well and that reports of utter chaos were unfounded and not objective.

The workers state as a centralised organ came to the help of the Armenians and the latter experienced no sense of separation from the rest of the soviet people. The Armenian people as much as all the peoples of the Soviet Union are behind the policies to democratise soviet society, even if the full power of the soviet proletariat is not expressed sufficiently at this moment.

to find work. In the workers states even if they do not have the standard of living of the capitalist countries, compared with the masses of the capitalist countries, consumption is wholesome and of reasonable quality. There is nothing like the same poisoning of the water and pollution in the atmosphere. This is the balance of forces. This is how the standard of life is to be measured. This must be discussed to show the superiority of the workers state.

Another aspect is the concrete progress of the workers state, the immense progress of the socialist countries. There is a bureaucracy and the planning is bureaucratic - the social effects are the reduction of the capacity of production, of productivity and of the cultural and scientific development of the workers state. All this exists, the bureaucracy is an apparatus which reasons taking into account its own bureaucratic interest and this limits the capacity for reasoning, for thinking and for admitting, attracting and accepting scientific, technical and artistic progress that may come even from the capitalist countries. But as the confrontation with the capitalist system advances, more and more the bureaucracy has to see objectively and is not prepared with all the necessary strength for this. Hence the crisis in Roumania, in Poland and in the German workers state. In the German workers state there are the inter-shops which are commercial organisations, large businesses which sell to the bureaucracy because it alone can buy with foreign exchange and the workers do not have this - only the bureaucracy and the tourists.

Capitalism advances in its crisis; as it cannot make the war at this moment, it has to increase the means of competition with the workers states and between the capitalist countries. With the workers states the competition is; economic competition and social antagonism. The capitalist countries compete between themselves on the economic plane, but socially not at all. As the process develops acutely and conclusively, the capitalist system has no possibility of finding an economic or social solution to its problems. Economically it cannot find a solution because it cannot unite itself to the workers states and socially it is equally impossible. Thus for what is capitalism preparing? If it cannot reach any conclusion of agreements, alliances, integration with the workers state, for what is it preparing? Capitalism seeks to preserve itself, seeks to continue by means of arms and hence it prepares the war. It has not launched the war upto now because it is afraid. It is afraid because it feels that the war is the end of its existence, but it has no other solution to competition than war. Hence the main economic strength of capitalism is the production of arms. Together with this, there are the revolutionary states which in greater part are the natural allies of the workers states. Every progress in the world, whether in Africa, Asia or Latin America, any type of progress is going to seek allies in the world and to seek identification with progress. And with what social regime is progress to be identified? Any type of progress finds no relation with the capitalist system. The workers state is the centre of human progress. 2 12 1978.

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Editorial

**The visit of Gorbachev
 and the stagnation
 of British capitalism**

The visit of Gorbachev to Britain is the continuation of the attempts of the soviet leadership to limit the confrontation between the two social systems of imperialism and the workers states, on the basis of a series of proposals on nuclear arms which imperialism has found it difficult to counter. This policy allied to the programme of internal changes in the Soviet Union, designed to destroy the stalinist bureaucracy and allow a greater intervention of the soviet masses has unquestionably weakened imperialism and placed it on the defensive. These policies of the soviet leaders reflect the underlying balance of world forces in favour of the workers states against capitalism. However this policy cannot solve the profound tensions between the two opposed blocks. Even in the midst of diplomatic euphoria, it is perfectly clear that the US-Thatcher axis is dedicated to nuclear "modernisation" and Howe, the foreign secretary criticised the soviets in the usual way. Khrushchev also made a whole period of "peaceful co-existence" and even capitulated over Cuba, but the confrontation continued because two social systems are at stake and truces can never make a peace. The British people gave Gorbachev a welcome because they see the efforts of the workers state to advance and that the workers state means peace.

The visit did not present any new important initiatives by the soviets who affirmed that they cannot continue to produce more rabbits out of hats. Gorbachev in Dublin used the opportunity to speak about the problem of unjust trials of Irish people in Britain thus pre-empting all the usual capitalist hypocrisy about human rights in the Soviet Union. He invited the Queen to the Soviet Union as part of the policy of influencing sectors of capitalism, seeing also that Thatcher and monarchy are not perfectly aligned.

Imperialism cannot be corrected, only contained and it is sufficient to see its responses on a world scale to human progress to see that the policy of the soviets will in due course end in

impasse, whatever their efforts at "reducing tension". On the other hand the success of the elections in the Soviet Union encourages the world masses who see some limitations at least being placed on the bureaucracy and a more fluid situation allowing greater discussion in the Soviet Union. The defeat for many party functionaries means a shake up for the party and raises questions over its policy and functioning. We do not idealise these elections which in content and form are a long way from the intentions of Lenin's "State and Revolution"—nonetheless they bode ill for imperialism and help destroy the prejudices of the world petit bourgeoisie which imperialism used to be able to use against the function of the workers state in the past. To compare the soviet elections with the stupidity and fraud of elections in the United States, especially noting the last fiasco in the Bush-Dukakis contest is just one index of the superiority of the workers state over imperialism.

Despite soviet policies designed to limit regional disputes, the natural viciousness of imperialism constantly shows itself. The support given to the most reactionary elements fighting the government in Kabul by the United States and the Pakistan army, the violent attack on SWAPO by the South African fascists and the savage response by the Israelis to the Palestinian Intifada are examples of the fact that although it is possible to contain imperialism both by force and by diplomatic means, the system is not going to accept defeat at the behest of "new thinking" and it is prepared to confront the soviets in the final encounter by war. It may be obliged to conceal its intentions rather more than in the past and people like Thatcher because the system is weakening, have to appear to want to discuss with the soviets—but the intentions of capitalism are as sinister as ever and it seeks to wipe out socialism.

After ten years of oppressing the population, the present government continues to rush through legislation designed to reduce the gains of the population from a past period of the "welfare

state". Now the attack is on medicine and the new proposals are a form of privatisation which as the doctors understand, place the patient at the mercy of financial considerations. Conditions in any case are constantly deteriorating in the medical service because capitalism has no interest in providing the resources to sustain it. The "privatisation" of the polytechnics is also part of the process of reducing state aid and determining education by profitability. Such are the consequences fundamentally of the fact that British imperialism has no interest in a highly developed industrial economy. For them it does not pay far better to accumulate capital for investment abroad and let Britain sink. With this perspective it is necessary to keep the pound as strong as possible. London remains a powerful world financial centre and that is the main concern. On the plane of foreign policy, British imperialism finds it better to

maintain the links with the Yanks, in competition with the Franco-German axis, and is the Yankee arm in NATO.

The "success" of Thatcher could only be obtained on the basis of the connivance of the bulk of the LP apparatus and their allies in the Unions. There is no need to elaborate more on this because it corresponds to the general history of the social democracy in Britain, which has always been one of running to the rescue of capitalism when it is in difficulties. Kinnock follows in this tradition, but even so they cannot get rid of clause four and even at this stage are obliged to think in terms of renationalising water. The LP apparatus hopes to develop a new industrial capitalism in face of the decisive groups of capitalism who are not interested. Sectors like Walker and Heath represent a layer who would prefer to see more money spent on infrastructure to help the manufacturing base. Thus the

gigantic budget surplus could contribute to this, whilst the financial interests simply want government debt to be repaid. On the plane of foreign policy the LP apparatus is concerned to terminate the line of unilateral nuclear disarmament and thus gain votes from bourgeois and petit bourgeois layers. They are concerned to control the left—as in Birmingham—so as to effect a smooth entry into government and then introduce a number of palliatives so that the present system of social and political relations can continue. Thus in face of the governmental decree over the ending of the dock labour scheme, they are concerned to limit any intervention of the proletariat; as in collusion with the reactionary trade union functionaries they isolated the miners. Recently in a very

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THE NATIONALITY PROBLEM (EXTRACTS) J. POSADAS

7 MAY, 1981

The Yugoslav process on the other hand is more complicated. From the historical point of view, Tito was not responsible for the way in which Yugoslavia was formed. The process was already in motion. It was a question of a contrivance of capitalism which the Yugoslav leadership extended and to which it gave at the beginning forms of the workers state. The incapacity of the workers state due to its bureaucratic forms and to an inappropriate economic conception of its structure, means that Yugoslavia is not strictly capitalist, but has a greater number of bases linked to this system than to a workers state. Thus the country has degenerated to its present form which has led to the fomenting of local and regional interests. The federal structure of Yugoslavia has blockaded the function of the workers state which would otherwise have unified all the regions and the federations proposing then to incorporate Albania and form a single workers state.

It is a problem similar to that of Northern Ireland. We are in favour of independence but not to make of every region a little country—that is a stupidity. There already exists an historic and economic structure and it is necessary to be based on this and to see how to make the old Great Britain coincide with the modern process, to give to all, independence but with unification. It is possible also to maintain a federal structure but after some years, gradually every region will be integrated, given that development tends to unify culture, science, art and as a consequence to supersede national thought. Thus the latter gives way to the logical thought of the economy and of the human being which was the objective of the communists when they formed the Soviet Union.

The USSR has unified nationalities much more divergent from one another than Great Britain and it is thanks to the fact that the old Tzarism had already unified a series of regions within the great Tzarist

state which were extremely different. Hence the great military ambitions of the Tzar and the conflicts with Prussia. The Tzar would have fallen anyway even without the Russian revolution.

The problem between Yugoslavia and Albania shows different aspects of a process of socialist development of two countries which are both going towards socialism, even if one is perhaps more complete than the other. In the historic sense Albania has elements which are much better than Yugoslavia. It would be necessary thus to amalgamate and unite the progress of both countries. But for this the party is necessary, the life of the party, the intervention of the masses, the scientific life which develops through that policy and not through the university because the party makes the true university.

This has been the great error of Yugoslavia which with self management has impeded the development of this process. In a similar situation, it is

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THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN AFGHANISTAN AND THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT. EUROPEAN BUREAU

The most important aspect to consider in the recent soviet decision to withdraw military forces from Afghanistan is how this is related to the world balance of forces between world imperialism and capitalism on the one hand and the progressive forces and the communist camp on the other. In this sense the withdrawal of the contingent of the Red Army does not mean any soviet abandonment of the Afghan revolutionary process nor any "regret" as regards the objectives for which the soviets had intervened in 1980. The soviets are maintaining all the political and economic support which has increased throughout the last period. They withdrew their troops because they estimated that world capitalism did not have the strength to be able to recover Afghanistan and moreover by withdrawing the military forces from Afghanistan, the influence of the workers state in other parts of the world could increase. Shevardnadze visits China and the meeting of the Soviet and Chinese leaderships will mean a leap in the progress of the International Communist Movement. At the same time the function of the Soviet Union is increasing in the Middle East and with Khomeini and Shevardnadze discusses anti imperialist agreements. With India a plan of aid has been arranged for Afghanistan.

It is necessary to reaffirm the fundamental conclusion posed by Comrade J. Posadas at the moment of the soviet intervention in Afghanistan: the soviets have acted in accordance with the historic necessity to defend and extend the frontiers of the workers state. Even if such a decision could have unleashed the counter revolutionary reaction of imperialism, the soviets intervened beyond the fears and vacillations of the soviet bureaucracy. The present decision to withdraw only the military contingent, now that the rest of the assistance is fully maintained, is not in contradiction with the intentions and objectives present at the moment of intervention in 1980. The actual withdrawal is the continuation of the intervention of ten years ago undertaken with and by other means.

The soviets have withdrawn the Red Army in conditions in which imperialism appears more impotent than at any time in history. All the initial arrogance of Reagan has failed. American imperialism has not abandoned its idea of launching the war and the constant support to the counter revolutionary Afghans is testimony to this, but they have to prepare for this even more clandestinely than ever. It is in the middle of this world situation that the soviets decided to withdraw their soldiers from Afghanistan and they did this with an intense internal discussion. The soviets have measured—constituting part of the scientific capacity which the leadership of the workers state is developing—that world capitalism does not have the strength to reestablish itself in Afghanistan. It will be able to create provocations and attempts at destabilisation, but it will never recover economic and political control of the country.

The soviets withdrew their soldiers seeking a breathing space, in a situation where a purely military solution was neither possible or sufficient. In spite of all the military support which was intensified in the last period, they were not able to defeat the counter revolutionaries paid by imperialism. This is not because they lack military capacity in comparison with that possessed by the feudal layers. These have limited possibilities of success, but in a backward country like Afghanistan, with a great deal of geographical and social fragmentation, it is relatively easy to create difficulties in the life of the country through armed incursions, provocations, sabotage or criminal attacks, counting—as they do—with the support of imperialism. For the soviets it is not only a question of defeating the feudal bands, but the issue of intensifying the frontal clash with imperialism, the final settlement of accounts of system against system—capitalism versus the workers state. This is not the policy which the soviets follow in a conscious form; the soviets do not abandon the conquests achieved in the terrain of the class struggle on a world level, trying to use other new ways, but they fear and are not prepared for the results of the final crisis of the capitalist system. The capitalist crisis will also get much worse through the very fact that with the soviet soldiers taken out of Afghanistan, capitalism will be impotent to determine the future policy of Afghanistan.

The area where the limitations and difficulties of the soviets have been expressed, lie in the policy adopted to the Afghan left where they have not been able to consolidate a solid structure of the communist party. Even while developing important political and economic initiatives as with agrarian reform—where they have been able to apply it—they have been shown to be slow in the affirmation of a marxist party in front of the process. They have not believed completely, through their bureaucratic outlook in the revolutionary perspective and they have tried to replace it with the policy of alliances of "national reconciliation". The PDPA is still a party in formation, which combines some correct proposals with references to the Koran etc. In the last stage following the policy of alliance, they silenced and also imprisoned leaders who expressed positions more to the left. For the PDPA the present situation will

be a decisive test; all the last social mobilisations have shown that the party has an important support in the population and that a communist vanguard is resolved to defend and increase the gains of the revolution. The soviet intervention of 1980 gave confidence, sustained the communist vanguard, at the same time that it contained it at certain levels, in accordance with the perspectives of the soviets in the struggle against imperialism. This revolutionary nucleus in Afghanistan will have to develop much more and now the withdrawal of soviet troops means also a reduction in the bureaucratic pressure to contain the levels of the revolutionary Afghan movement. Thus the PDPA, the Afghan communists will be able to liberate forces and energies and make experiences in political progress which will influence immensely the whole region, Pakistan, India and Iran.

All the forces of the Afghan guerrilla groups have been shown to be a massive deception and the Afghan question has disappeared from the front pages of the world press. Jalalabad maintains its normal life and is still connected with Kabul. The world capitalist press spent millions and millions of dollars to gain exclusive rights on the surrender of Kabul; thousands of journalists, including dozens of agents of the CIA expected the triumphal arrival of the "guerrillas". They were speculating whether this would be verified before, during or after the withdrawal of the soviets.

The Italian Communist party also associated itself with the mendacity of capitalist propaganda which gave credit to the social representation of the forces of the opposition. Most recently they have changed and have accentuated the criticism of the constant provocation and aggression on the part of imperialism. Anyway they reached the point of describing Afghanistan in chorus with world capitalism as "the Vietnam of the Soviets", although such positions do not receive support in the base or among the middle cadres of the ICP. There is nothing similar between Vietnam and Afghanistan and it is necessary to reject such positions, aimed to diminish the world authority of the soviets. These have intervened in Afghanistan to help progress whilst the Americans were in opposition to progress. The soviets left by the same route that they had entered Afghanistan. The Americans in Saigon escaped in the middle of a desperate confusion. In Afghanistan about fifteen thousand soviet soldiers have died. They went with the intention not to smash a people, but with the will and the intention to impel the social transformation of the country. The IV International renders homage to them, saluting the soviet workers state which is the structure capable of generating such social and human consciousness.

Imperialism has not been able to create an anti-soviet movement in front of the soviet intervention in Afghanistan. All their boycotts failed and were partly undermined by the capitalist countries themselves. Thus Carter decided on a wheat boycott which the soviets countered by buying grain from other countries and at cheaper prices. Imperialism had to pay out to recompense the agricultural producers and lost an important client in the Soviet Union. The boycott of the Olympic games allowed the soviets to make a great athletic, cultural, and social demonstration as never before and delegations from the whole world participated. But with the struggle for the liberation of Vietnam, an immense world wide movement developed. Vietnam was the "triumph of humanity" as Comrade Posadas called it. In support of Vietnam, millions of people mobilised throughout the world and the fall of Saigon was celebrated in the remotest parts of the planet. But with Afghanistan what demonstration has occurred?

The Vietnamese communists convinced the world of the legitimacy of their struggle through their programme of socialist transformation which was declared and put into practice in the liberated zones under the NLF. This was supported by hundreds of demonstrations and assemblies throughout the world. The Vietnamese children and women represented the most complete human integration made possible through the unity established by the socialist construction of society. But these Afghan "guerrillas" present a puppet government, the product of a division of stones in small areas controlled by religious obscurantists. They are assassins who are apportioning a booty which is not in their hands. The human relations within these bands are worse than feudalism, the women are enslaved and hidden away.

While the Yanks inundated Vietnam with napalm and chemical products which eliminate all forms of natural life, there are zones which still have not returned to production because of the damage which they received. But the soviets have contributed immensely with the development of agrarian reform and the incorporation of new zones in production. They have increased the electrical power network and the provision of running water; they have established the bases of an economic and social structure close to that of the workers state.

The only way for the progress of Afghanistan is the workers state
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THE RUSHDIE AFFAIR

The death sentence against Rushdie for his book "The Satanic Verses" reflects efforts by sectors of the leadership in Iran to rally support for themselves on the basis of "Islam" against the West. It reflects the inability to develop a programme and a policy for the Iranian revolution. Imperialism tried to utilise the situation to develop an anti Iranian campaign. We

have not read the book, but the furor in imperialist countries who have suddenly become aware of "justice", "tolerance", "liberalism" and so forth carries no conviction as imperialism is so overtaken in its sympathies, as to be totally unconcerned over the massacre of Tudeh militants in Iran and supports the murderous "guerrillas" in Afghanistan. Moreover for British imperialism to speak about tolerance for Rushdie's book, when they are trying to impose control of information in Britain is a vast casuistry, possible only for dedicated twisters.

This episode over the Rushdie book arises within the present balance of relations within the Iranian revolution. Some sectors in the present leadership in Iran desire a collaboration on the commercial plane with imperialist states, but other sectors reject this and wish to develop an "Iranian" path. Fundamentally the form which the present crisis has taken is due to the lack of a genuine revolutionary leadership of the process in Iran. This is because of the delay in the construction of the Tudeh party from a previous period, further complicated by violent persecution. The soviet leadership is still preoccupied with attempts to weigh against imperialism on the diplomatic plane and has given little thought from present information to the reconstruction of the world communist movement and the need to develop communist parties with consistent programmes for the taking of power in their respective countries.

The result of this lack of preparation is the present situation in Iran where various cliques come to the fore under the banner of Islam, which disguises all manner of particular interests. The leadership, whether that of Rafsanjani or other sectors has been an unqualified disaster for Iran. The way in which the war with Iraq, was continued—whatever the crimes of the odious gang in Bagdad—represented in its vicious brutality sectors who were terrified of the further development of the revolution towards socialism.

Khomeini continues to condemn the west and communism, although his approaches to the Soviet union recently show that he is not and cannot be immune to the existence of the workers states which contains many muslims who are not engaged in ferocious disputes with each other and work towards socialism. Iran like other countries has no perspective save a socialist

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VENEZUELA AND THE CRISIS OF THE PEREZ GOVERNMENT

The rebellion of the masses in Caracas in Venezuela is an expression of the urgent course of the world revolution which has no stopping place and renews itself at every moment. The masses have not rebelled from desperation but because they see that the capitalist system is totally parasitic and they also see an alternative system in the world, that is the workers states. Hundreds of people have been killed in the response of the ruling class, but not in vain because this experience will also weigh in the Soviet Union to develop a leadership with a superior conception of the world process.

Imperialism enforces its "control" over the economies of the weaker capitalist states (known as the "third world") through the IMF. This effectively prevents these economies developing and competing with the big imperialist states. In 1988, Venezuela paid 47% of its foreign earnings in debt servicing and now as oil revenues have fallen by fifty percent in the last five years, the Venezuelan economy is at the mercy of the imperialist predators. It is the classic case of the economy which depends on raw materials being inevitably submitted to the more powerful developed economies.

For the moment the government has been obliged to concede to the masses and allow a wage increase across the board and a number of price freezes. But all this is an expedient which cannot solve the

underlying problems. There is no solution to the difficulties of countries such as Venezuela outside a socialised economy in federation with other countries in Latin America and developing trade relations with the workers states. All the capitalist economies of Latin and Central America are in parlous crises and in hock economically to imperialism. At the same time imperialism is losing its grip over the whole area and the failure of the military dictatorships is part of the crumbling of the capitalist structure throughout Latin America; the latest to go being the Stroessner dictatorship in Paraguay.

In Venezuela the bourgeois leaderships are now in complete disarray and the social democracy is in particular agony. During the elections Perez, the leader of the AD the social democratic party, had specifically attacked the capitalist system and yankee imperialism. The elections resulted in the incoming President being without a majority in either house. The Movement towards Socialism made sizeable gains and called on the government to reverse its policy of squeezing the masses in return for IMF loans. All this shows the course of a process towards a communist solution in Latin America. The sectors like Perez and Alain Garcia in Peru have social bases

which can be won to the revolution, that is the petit bourgeoisie who respond to anti capitalist policies but become quickly disillusioned with social democrat reformism. The latter only reflects the weakness of capitalism in Latin America, not the will to terminate with it. Perez in an earlier phase had nationalised the iron and oil industries, gave money to the Sandinistas and spoke during the election campaign of the need to diversify the economy. But in order to validate his criticisms, it would be necessary for him to abandon the parliamentary arena and associate directly with the masses not only to condemn capitalism but overthrow it. The

Cuban workers state and the continued strength of the Nicaraguan revolutionary state are living criticisms of the stagnation and weakness of capitalism in Latin America. The Yanks for all their immense military power are reduced to being helpless spectators. All this activity of the world masses as shown in the rebellion of the poor of Venezuela will weigh on the most sensitive layers in the Soviet Union. It will help correct the myopia which only sees the economic advance of the workers states and not the historic necessity of the workers states to link up directly with the masses of the world to liquidate capitalism as a world system.



The Red Army, defender of the Afghan Revolution.

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and this is not as the communists say an imposition by trying to leap over stages and pass from backwardness to socialism—as in fact the most important revolutions in Asia, Africa and Latin America have done. The process of permanent revolution is not the fruit of the will of the soviets, nor of the "hardline" Afghans, just as it is not an invention of Trotsky and Posadas. It is a necessity of the progress of history. The backwardness of Afghanistan is the only way in which the capitalist system can lead the country. The countries in which imperialism dominates live in miserable conditions and are governed by groups of assassins. For example in Pakistan, where the election of Benazir Bhutto has been important, the army has the real power and it works in accordance with the plans of the Pentagon and they impose internal social relations worse than feudalism. They have had to concede some power to Bhutto, because this has been determined by the relation of world forces and through the influence of the Afghan revolutionary process. The fury of imperialism against Afghanistan is because it has seen that the soviets are resolved to

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PROBLEMS OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN

(EXTRACTS) J. POSADAS.

Iran is a revolutionary process influenced by the world, without leadership, without previous programmatic organisation of the revolution. The revolution has more strength than and faster legs than the Muslim leaders. Thus as we have written the duty of revolutionaries was to associate themselves and to make a united front with the religious people—in Algeria this is very important and for the other comrades of the African countries—to accompany them in the progress which, even in a short stage, they have to make and do make, but dissociating from them in the total organisational agreements.

Now there is no leadership to do this. In not having a leadership, the tactical aspects are modified because there is no leadership to make the united front with the Muslims. The workers movement is very weak and the peasant movement almost non-existent. The petit bourgeoisie is hardly organised and the workers very little organised. There is no political party, no political life, neither does the bourgeoisie have any strength.

The more the process of the revolution elevates, the more the social weight of the capitalist system is weakened and the more it permits the influence of the workers state. This present leadership does not base itself on a social programme but on the principles of Mahomet and the Koran—some aspects of which coincide with progress. The muslim masses believe in the social programme; but the leadership of this process is in the hands of the Muslim leaders. Thus it is necessary to seek how to move, how to elevate the organisms, so that they can weigh and influence the muslim movement itself.

It is necessary to see that there is a camarilla in which not all have the same position including Khomeini. Within this there are a series of very reactionary Muslims and there are others which are intermediary and still others to the left. There is nothing defined in Iran. Even though they shoot and kill there is nothing defined, because there is not a stable leadership and to return to capitalism is the death of them all. It is stupidity to believe that these types have power because they give orders. They can give orders but they do not have power. Power exists when they have social and political authority, and they do not have authority over the muslim movements. They do not have a social authority to make people accept what they want.

Thus the movement in Iran which is in process of development has no leadership and lacks the world influence of the revolution, because neither the communist or socialist parties transmit it and adapt themselves to this process.....for example neither the Communist or the Soviet Union have said a word on the process in Iran. But now they criticise in order to contain the right of the Khomeini movement. But still they do not give an idea of what to do. And why not? The soviet workers state cannot intervene, but the Soviet Communist party can, the trade unions can, the Italian communist party can and so can the Bulgarian and Hungarian Communist parties. But they do not. They let themselves be determined by the idea that each country does what it wants. 10.9.1979.

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inevitable that there arise small sectors which encourage the nationalist movement, which finds an answer in the population because in the country there is no social, economic and political development. When this is absent, these sectors of which we speak can justify their opposition in the name of nationalism.

These are the problems which the old leaderships of the communist parties were not at the level of understanding not because it was not possible to intervene, but because they were not prepared in accordance with marxist method. In their time the Bolsheviks had to confront much worse conditions than those now, given that in the old Russia there were countries who did not know each other, some

of whom spoke slavonic languages and others utterly different languages. In spite of this the Bolsheviks succeeded in uniting these countries and it was done through the party. They undertook the unification of the first seven years after the Revolution in which Stalin had to maintain it in spite of the strong pressures for a new dismemberment with Georgia where some sectors wanted independence.

In the workers states formed after the second world war the programme was missing and the parties were totally inexperienced; that is a revolutionary marxist programme of social transformations and not simply of anti capitalist

progress.... Belgrade is a very attractive city, very developed and dynamic, but it also has a tremendous hierarchical structure, owing to the federative structure and to the party itself.

Hence the Polish process will influence very much all these countries including Hungary where there exists a frightful apparatus, an inheritance of the Stalinist period. Accompanying the soviet process, it has changed quite a lot but an hierarchical structure remains. In Bulgaria on the other hand the influence of the Polish process will be directly positive.....

J. Posadas. Published May 1981.

develop an experience which is going to have repercussions throughout the region. Its a complete lie that the soviets "fear" the influence of the muslims outside the Soviet Union on the muslims in the workers state. The real fear is that of imperialism and the heads of the tribal clans who are frightened of the influence of the Soviet Union and of Afghan revolutionary progress. This is represented by the Afghan peasant who benefits from agrarian reform and today hangs on the wall of his cottage the portrait of Lenin. Soviet Muslims as partly happens with the other muslims who are integrated with the Afghan revolution, still dedicate a day of prayer to Allah, but on the other days they read and are dedicated to Lenin.

Part of the PDPA, with the support of the soviets has tried and still persist in the policy of alliance with the bourgeoisie who exist in Afghanistan and are opposed to the feudal bands, but they have no political or economic importance. It is for this reason that the world bourgeoisie instead of supporting such sectors which would be closer to them from the class point of view, give all their financial, military and political support to the feudal layers. This in itself makes clear the impossibility of a capitalist solution for Afghanistan. A bourgeois sector may exist, but it is not possible to create a substantial bourgeois class, to create the social and economic relations for its existence. To ally with such a layer is not bad, but it is not possible to depend on them or claim that they have a social representation which may persuade the counter revolutionaries to make a pact with the government. The organisation of the country passes through stratification, the centralised programming of the economy and the purchase of peasant production which must be based on the co-operation between small properties and in the distribution of commodities under the control of the masses. It is also necessary to link even closer the Afghan economy with the soviet. All the economic proposals must count upon the active support and participation of the population, which is going to determine the cultural and political growth of the Afghan masses, as also the progress in the establishment of the Communist party in the leadership of the country.

There is a part of the Afghan communists who have already acquired the idea of pushing forward, whatever the consequences, the programme of the social transformation of the country, and its centralisation. The control of the principle cities shows the influence of the communists over an important part of the population. Now it is necessary to overcome the previous stage in which, with the agreement of the soviets, leaderships were changed constantly in an unstable process due to the absence of a more resolved programme of socialist transformation. It is necessary to support with all available forces the Afghan revolutionary process both through the workers and revolutionary states and the communist and socialist parties and the trade union centres of the world. The progress of Afghanistan will have a great repercussion throughout the whole region. It is necessary to take into account that among the reasons which have led to the withdrawal of the soviet soldiers, one has been the absence of a more intense support on the part of the world communist movement. Partly this has been because the Communist Parties like the Italian, have not understood the process, but also because of the insecurity of the soviets in developing in a superior way the Afghan revolution. Only in Belgium was there established an important committee of support to the Afghan revolution formed by the Posadists and a part of the Communists. Such a lack of world support has not been the basic reason for the withdrawal of the soviets, but yes it has contributed to their vacillations. The Communist parties did not support the Afghan revolution, as they supported the other processes in the period when the soviets supported militarily Vietnam, Angola or even Nicaragua. On this occasion they were afraid of the perspective of a reaction on the part of imperialism, the fear of the possibility of war. But in reality all the incapacity of imperialism has been demonstrated. The soviets entered Afghanistan, established important bases for its progress and now they withdraw their soldiers. Imperialism has not been able to impede the process, before, during or after the event. Hence the conclusions of this situation will be contrary to imperialism and a stimulus to the revolutionary process throughout the world. The results of the important trip of Shevardnadze show this.

The experience of Afghanistan constitutes an education on the means and the instruments for progress and the concept of democracy is put to the test of reality. The Italian communists, after insisting on the withdrawal of the soviet troops—proposing various points such as the soviets should go and then the Afghans can decide in "free elections"—now find that they have no policy and Occhetto declares in Moscow that "unfortunately the withdrawal of soviet troops has not led to the peace which we want so much". Whatever the course which events take, they escape the predictions of the communists—which in reality are not predictions but expressions of what they hope will happen. In the hypothetical case in which the counter revolutionaries won, they would never convoke free and democratic elections. They have sworn death not only to the communists but also to the king who is exiled in Rome. These

barbarians would simply divide the country through wars between themselves. And if the communists affirm themselves in government, this will unmask the absence of social representation of the "guerrillas". The interests which guide these bandits have already been expressed in the division of offices in the puppet government and this is not as the position is presented by the capitalist press which says that internal disputes impede final victory. Although these divisions exist, the reality is that these internal disputes are intensified as a result of the impossibility of obtaining important military successes. The only possibility for the counter revolutionaries would be a massive invasion by the Pakistan army with the open support of imperialism and the soviets are not going to allow this.

Today it is possible to say that democracy has developed in Afghanistan as the result of the intervention of the soviets and this can be confirmed through the existence of the PDPA, a Communist Party in formation and with a communist vanguard decided to lead the country, with the military and political means with which to confront the military aggression of the "guerrillas". The idea is absurd that "only the Afghans should decide" and what if one has a pistol and the other only hunger, who decides then? What sort of a democracy is this? It was like this before. Now there has been an increase in democratic conditions, there is a PDPA which is developing the consciousness in programme and policy for the progress of the country and the masses can intervene without being assassinated. All this shows that the soviet intervention has been necessary, that it has not been possible to advance by other measures and thus the Afghans can count upon more instruments with which to decide. This is so even if the soviets do not have full consciousness nor complete homogeneity and it is not possible to speak of "regret" or of "correction of the Breznevian policy" in the decision to withdraw soviet troops from Afghanistan. The internal discussion is whether the Afghans could or could not have resolved by themselves the struggle against the mercenaries coming from Pakistan. They do not question the objectives for which the soviets have intervened, even if the decision was adopted by two or three leaders of the Political Bureau. The present process of partial regeneration is the result of the political, social and economic growth of the workers state and in this process, the progress of soviet democracy constitutes an important part. It is for this reason, quite opposite to the analysis of the Italian communists who argue that the present process of democratisation rectifies the errors committed in the Breznev epoch, for example the intervention in Afghanistan. In reality this democratic process is happening because previously the intervention was made in Afghanistan. Without the most complete consciousness, the leadership of Breznev, in measures like those in Afghanistan, centralised the soviet leadership in a more elevated confrontation with the world capitalist system.

It is necessary to extend the World United Front in support of the Afghan revolutionary process, on the basis of the workers states, the communist and socialist parties, the trade unions, the revolutionary nationalist movements and the "non-aligned". They must discuss the Afghan experience as their own and support all the effort of the soviets to maintain Afghanistan within the camp of the revolution.

26 March 1989. European Bureau.

The "Afghan issue", as politicians and journalists call it, has become part of my life. If I have done anything in my life, the main thing is the bit I have contributed to the defence of the Afghan people's revolutionary gains. Without the assistance of international fighters, the revolution's soldiers would have found it difficult to deal with their enemies." Gennady Boriskin, soldier of the Red Army on returning from Afghanistan.

development. Already much of the economy is statified. There are some very rich people in Iran, Rafsanjani is one of them, but Iran lacks a powerful, structured bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie is in many ways "factionalised". Leaders like Bani Sadr, Barzagan, Montazari all represent different groupings and none with a powerful social base. In the absence of popular organs which allow the masses to intervene directly, the existing state sector can be submitted to private property. The problems of agriculture have not been confronted. The leaderships hope to develop an Iran which has a "place in the sun" on the basis of private interest. But it is all illusion because Iran like other countries such as those in Latin America has no perspective to compete on the world market with world imperialism.

Soviet policy is based on the undoubted weakness of imperialism in this area. The soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan among other things has been designed to improve relations with the Arab bourgeoisie. Thus they hope to influence sectors in Iran, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan etc. The recent sudden communication of the Iranian government with the soviets is an example of how the group in Tehran cannot ignore however much they try the weight of the workers state. The soviets have taken inevitably the side of the Iranian revolution in the Rusdiz affair, pointing out that imperialism has gone out of its way to develop an anti-muslim campaign. Imperialism has tried to intimidate the Iranian revolution by its great imperialist "unity" of the Common Market countries against Iran. There will be no solution to the problems of Iran outside the development of a programme of socialised industry and land reform enabling the masses to intervene in all aspects of life. Imperialism has tried to deride the Iranian revolution by sneering at Islam, but the fact is that the Iranian revolution is firmly anti-imperialist whatever the complications arising from the lack of a leadership to represent it.

Imperialism has failed in its attempted bullying of the Iranian revolution and yet again the workers states will gain. This is the ineluctable course of human history in spite of the lack of a leadership on a world scale which represents this process. Thatcher and the rest have had to modify their language, yet another imperialist fiasco has been perpetrated.

controlled way, the LP has campaigned against the "Poll Tax" and the economic policy of the government has been subjected to more systematic attack. A leader of the left, Plunkett expressed dissatisfaction with the purely parliamentary concern of the labour party opposition, but in effect the Labour party left remains a prisoner of the parliamentary approach and there is little communication with the masses. In time the process in the

Soviet Union will weigh in Britain, but the limitations in the discussion within the CPSU also contain advances in Britain ie the effects of Stalinism on the process in Britain and the perspectives on how to finish with capitalism.

The government is now in difficulties facing as it does mounting inflation and inevitable malaise in its electoral base. The recent election in Richmond one of its centres showed a great turn out for the SDP. On the other hand

the opposition is divided and in a period of polarised class struggle particularly acute in Britain, the conservative electoral base tends to concentrate itself whatever differences may exist within it. The labour left can make great gains in the coming period, but only on the basis of seeking to develop a better life with the masses and improving the level of discussion to take into account marxism and the experience of the workers states. 14.4.89.

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Editorial

FOR THE PROGRAMME OF A SOCIALIST EUROPE IN THE EURO ELECTIONS

The visit of Bush to Europe was part of the attempt of the NATO powers to confront the diplomatic offensive of the Soviets and contain its effects particularly on the German bourgeoisie. The Yanks exerted a great deal of pressure on the latter to modify their positions and the sudden increase in the power of the dollar which has no real equivalent in the Yankee economy was part of the effort to contain their wishes to negotiate the withdrawal of short range nuclear missiles. At the same time Bush to appease German capitalism has placed the emphasis on developing a "United Europe". Imperialism seeks to utilise the empiricism of the communist parties in Eastern Europe to complicate the advance of the workers states by developing links with the various schemes of "profitability" in those countries. Even so this is all mere adaptation to the present situation, a policy deprived of force because imperialism lacks strength and moves like a snail.

Nothing has altered on the plane of confrontation between the systems of imperialism versus the workers states, except that imperialism is obliged to dissemble rather more than in the past and is unable to develop powerful and consistent actions which lead anywhere. Thus a great deal of noise was made over Panama, much sanctimonious garbage about the need for free elections and the sending of troops to intimidate Noriega. Once imperialism only had to whisper and it triumphed, now they are told to shove off and have to put up with it. Their intervention in Afghanistan via Pakistan has proved to be a disaster, with no end of inter factional disputes among the whites and a massive soviet aid continuing to Kabul. The

blind despair of imperialism showed itself recently in the violent offensive launched by Aoun in Lebanon which killed many and achieved nothing—as with the Israeli attacks on Lebanon in the past. The only lesson which comes from such experiences is that imperialism is not going to leave the arena of human history quietly and it is necessary that the leaderships of the workers states discuss this publicly and with their populations. When NATO is

persistently updating its arsenal with new nuclear bombs for its fighter bombers and new charges for its nuclear artillery, it is quite clear it intends to attack the workers states. Its weakness as Cde Posadas analysed is that as it has lost control of the historic situation, it cannot determine the process or co-ordinate or centralise and is at the mercy of events. The visit of Bush to Britain affirmed the submission of British imperialism to the Yanks as a base against the Soviets and was an orientation on Germany, to facilitate the NATO alliance in new conditions. When Gorbachev came to Britain he was welcomed by the masses, Bush was ignored.

British capitalism continues on its downward course, overloaded with problems of inflation and its demise as a world power. Confronted with the ECM, Thatcher zealously seeks to maintain "British independence" as a political ploy in its antagonism to the other European capitalisms and for domestic consumption. It fears the weakening of the NATO set up with the tendencies in German capitalism who seek a new *modus vivendi* with the Soviets, but that is the position and it will have to live with it. The various disputes between Thatcher and Heath and the tensions in the cabinet itself over the ECM point to the weakness of British

capitalism, politically and economically. The great glow about the new market in 1992 offers no solution to the problems of British or the rest of European capitalism, on the contrary they will all be exacerbated. Sectors of big business will gain economically but the progressive weakening of capitalism as a system socially, politically and economically will continue.

The Labour party apparatus seeks to replace Thatcher with a minimum of fuss and without making any concessions to the left. Thus the apparatus seeks to terminate with the unilateral abandonment of nuclear weapons and in social policy to oppose any programme of socialist planning and expropriation of key industries and banks. It talks of "socialisation" and intervention to modify the "excesses" of capitalism, without altering its structure. It enters into

parliamentary dispute over the attitude to the Common market by Thatcher and goes along with a "European" perspective, without proposing a socialist alternative. Thus in the Euro elections its perspective is to "help build strong European industries able to compete with the Japanese and the Americans". Capitalism in this country is in immense dispute with the doctors and teachers and cannot contain the problems of inflation. The proletariat through the dockers, engineers and railway workers seeks to accelerate the movement against capitalism in spite of the autocratic trade union laws which impede class functioning. But the LP apparatus distances itself from any profound association with popular discontent and as at Vauxhall imposes its candidates to limit more radical discussions. In the Glamorgan by election the LP won a seat from the conservatives and this showed the destruction of the SDP, as the process tends towards a polarisation of class forces and a diminution in the forces of the centre. Even so the refusal of the Labour party to develop systematic mass campaigning on social issues contains its successes. Benn seeks now to develop discussions of ideas and better links outside the authoritarian apparatus of the LP and this at least shows that sectors of the Labour left realise the need for a theoretical clarification of what to do.

In spite of the lack of a sufficient leadership, the Soviet workers state acts as a centre for the progress of humanity and this systematically weakens the ability of capitalism to maintain itself. The process in the Soviet Union undermines all the bureaucratic castes in the other workers states. In China the counter revolutionary intervention against the masses in Peking is part of the exit of Stalinism, because such actions refract only the desperate effort of the privileged caste to maintain its position, when the world conditions and the maturity of the masses in China itself isolate such a caste.

The major general strikes in Italy and Spain and the inability of capitalism to offer any

possibility of solving all the growing problems of deteriorating social and environmental conditions in Europe mean that in the European elections, without having any illusions in the leaderships of the workers parties, it is necessary to support the relevant Socialist and Communist parties on an anti capitalist programme. Thus we call for a vote for the Labour party, to centralise the class vote on the programme of a United Soviet

Socialist States of Europe, for workers states in Western Europe on the basis of expropriating all the main industries and banks under workers control with a planned economy throughout Europe, the end of all nuclear bases in Europe, the end of NATO and for soviet councils throughout Europe to determine the functioning of society, the economy and the environment.
3. 6. 89.

The Peronist Victory

The electoral victory of Menem of the Peronistas in the Argentinian elections is a powerful blow at capitalism and the continuation of its crisis, its total lack of stability in front of the specific social and economic problems of Argentina and the overall effect of the progress of the masses in Latin America. The world capitalist press has always expressed a huge contempt for Peronism, but this is because it has in reality an intense fear of its popular base. The leaders of Peronism have been great players with anti imperialist demagoguery and populist phrases, precisely because they do confront popular forces constantly in danger of going beyond their control. Peronism as was long ago analysed by Comrade Posadas is the result of the prior failures of the world communist movement to construct a genuine mass workers party in Argentina. The vacuum was filled after the second world war by the revolutionary nationalist movement of Peronism whose leadership in its earliest beginnings was not immune even to socialist objectives—but the attitudes of the communists who were hostile to Peronism closed that chapter. Thus Peronism attracts workers and petit bourgeois who see in it a means of concentrating pressure not only against imperialism but also against capitalism. The position of Menem is shifting on many issues. He has spoken of "productive revolution" the full nature of which is not clear. He began the campaign advocating total repudiation of Argentina's foreign debt and then this was

modified into a moratorium. He has made considerable play with the Malvinas problem and then leaves it. Menem tries to suggest he is a new Peron, but the world will not repeat past experiences because the balance of forces is much weightier now in favour of the popular forces.

The role of the trade unions resumes its importance in this phase and with this the programme of Huerte Grande and La Falda, wherein are contained many anti capitalist and anti imperialist objectives. Ubaldini, a prominent trade union leader was obliged to propose that "the workers must intervene in the control of enterprises because they are the only ones who guarantee their productive continuity". The victory of the Peronistas poses many problems for the bourgeois leadership of the movement and also the army. The latter lacks the strength of a former phase to impose its reactionary will and the left military sectors will be greatly affected by the world climate. The masses of Argentina are going to expect gains from their victory and will not accept measures to their detriment from the bourgeoisie of Argentina who live from day to day in the shadow of the IMF and its noose and have no historic perspective before them.

The last measures taken by Alfonsín which means inflation at the cost of the masses have provoked riots, and capitalism is using this to mutter about the danger of the left "extremists". The previous provocations of La Tablada, showed

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391 June 9 1989.

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This accelerates the political life which will be stimulated as a result of the process of changes in the Soviet Union. At the same time we consider fundamental the publication in the USSR of the works of Trotsky later than 1924 and after his expulsion from the USSR through Stalinism, especially the History of the Russian Revolution and The Revolution Betrayed. The "Return to Lenin" proposed by the leadership of the CPSU means logically the return to Trotsky because they were the essential leaders of the October Revolution with the Bolshevik Party and their orientations were fundamental for the course of the revolution in the years immediately following.

The policy of "The Return to Lenin", the republication of the works of Trotsky and the condemnation of the crimes of Stalinism is a logical expression of the immense progress of the USSR which affects all the other workers states whether in Eastern Europe or China, whatever the resistance encountered on the way. On the world scale the effects of the changes in the Soviet Union are going to work as a general orientation to the world revolution and will open a new stage in the political renovation of the world communist movement with profound effects on the socialist and nationalist revolutionary currents.

The return to Lenin and Trotsky which is now developing is the result of the process which developed during and after the second world war, when the soviet workers state buried the nazi counter revolution and fused with the expansion of the revolutionary world process. Many new workers states were established from East Germany to China. Effectively this undermined and weakened the old Stalinist conception of "Socialism in a single country". Objectively the road for the liquidation of the bureaucracy was being prepared.

The process of changes in the Soviet Union has been held back not through the limitation of the workers state in itself, but because effectively marxism had been expelled from the USSR. The type of functioning which Lenin and Trotsky had developed with the Bolshevik party was systematically destroyed by the bureaucracy which replaced the political life with the masses by the control of functionaries who did not

represent marxism but the appetite of the bureaucracy for privileges and power.

Thus there was a delay in the changes in the workers states to correspond to the objective change in the relations between the workers states and the world process. The regime of Khrushchev for example attacked the crimes of Stalin, but this was very limited in level and profundity. It did not lead to a serious discussion on the functioning of the bureaucracy. The period of Breznev, in respect of this was not the period of "stagnation" as is today suggested. During this period there began a serious effort to liquidate the most pernicious and corrupt layers of the bureaucracy, for example in the trade unions and the party. Since then the process has acquired force. In the period of Gorbachev, especially after the 19th Conference of the CPSU not only has there been a massive offensive against the bureaucratic and corrupt elements but also the beginning of efforts to develop the functioning of the workers state on the basis of the intervention of the masses.

Much has been done but at the same time there is much to do. Thus the discussion on Stalinism must be developed much more profoundly, and not as an academic question; the full discussion of this phenomenon on the basis of marxist method will accelerate enormously the capacity of the CPSU and of the world communist movement to apply marxism in the present and in the future. It would increase the confidence in the method and in the role of the party throughout the world. Stalinism perverted marxism. The cleansing of marxism from all the Stalinist incrustation is an indispensable base for the future progress of humanity.

For example the recent discussion over NEP has been obscured by analogies with the present situation in the USSR which are not applicable. The USSR today does not need an NEP which means making concessions to capitalism as some people argue in the Soviet Union. The attitude of Lenin towards the NEP was that he considered it necessary in a very difficult moment in the USSR after the immense damage done to the soviet economy because of the war against the whites. But he saw this as a policy of a short stage which demanded constant vigilance by the party and the soviets to prevent the excessive weight of the petit bourgeois layers in the country and even influencing the party. The contribution of Trotsky to this discussion was important and has been ignored, because he foresaw and demonstrated that allowing the development of the rich peasants was creating a serious danger. This was shown to be correct and Stalin was obliged to change course abruptly towards

a violent collectivisation and without preparation. The Left Opposition supported the centralisation of the economy but on the basis of the functioning of the soviets and a fully active political life in the party.

At the same time the decision of the soviet leadership to see that prices truly reflect the relations of exchange in the workers state, to terminate with prices arbitrarily decided by the bureaucracy is an example of a great confidence in the functioning of the soviet economy. This corresponds to the objective need to liquidate waste and to develop quality and not only quantity of production. The limitation in the present discussion is the tendency to see the economy as the most important factor in the development of the Soviet Union—at least the discussion is frequently posed in this way, placing emphasis on the extension of trade with the most advanced capitalist economies and on material incentives to overcome economic deficiencies. Also in agriculture in front of the fraud of the bureaucratic management of the land emphasis is now placed on the leasing of the land. These measures cannot give a solution to such problems but reflect only the limitations in the functioning of the party in confronting the difficulties which stem from the bureaucracy.

The most important conclusion which comes from the slogan "The Return to Lenin" and the publication of the works of Trotsky is the need to elevate the political life of the CPSU. This is a logical result of all the recent progress of the USSR and the opening to a much greater political participation of the population in the process of the government of the workers state. From the October revolution until today there has been a fundamental change in the relation

of world forces. The objective situation is enormously more favourable to socialism than the period of Lenin and Trotsky. The workers state is in full development and world capitalism as an historic system is in irreversible decomposition. The advantage is totally on the side of the workers state, but at the same time that we welcome the publication of the works of Trotsky in the USSR, it is very necessary to incorporate the works of Posadas in this discussion.

The world of today is not the world of Lenin and Trotsky; their works from the point of view of principle have lost nothing; the conditions have changed and demand understanding of the situation as it exists today. Posadas foresaw the process which is developing in the USSR, referring to it as the process of partial regeneration. In relation to this Posadas took into account the new conditions and developed the analysis of Trotsky on the political revolution, posing that this will not develop now in a violent form. On the basis of the new situation with the end of Stalinism and the inevitable re-encounter of the workers states with marxism, it is thus necessary to consider that the world is "ready for communism".

The function of the IV International organised by Posadas is not to compete with the leaderships of the workers states but to stimulate the political life and develop the orientation of the world communist movement. Thus it is necessary to consider as a unity all the rich experiences of the first seven years of the soviet workers state, the profound experiences of the progress of the Russian and world revolution with the work realised by Posadas.

It is not possible to measure the elevation of the workers state only on the base of economic

success. Khrushchev presented the world with "goulash communism" with the pretentious promise of overtaking the Yankee economy in thirty years. It is not possible to measure the elevation of the workers state solely on the economic plane, although the capacity of the Soviet Union in the sphere of space investigation shows a great economic and technical ability. It is also necessary to measure the workers state on the plane of the superiority of human and cultural relations; the capacity to establish a superior human communication, to develop a society in which the young and the old participate without the policy of exclusion which is the life of private property.

The USSR has entered on a new historic phase as the leadership of humanity. It is necessary that Moscow should act as a centre of revolutionary ideas which strengthen the confidence of the workers and revolutionary vanguard in the application of the marxist method. It is necessary to reanimate the world communist movement with the sentiment of an internationalism which transcends national frontiers, with the understanding that the construction of socialism is an international task which excludes national solutions. The party is not only necessary to overthrow capitalism but for the construction of communism. This latter is not a blind process as was the development of class society, but a process of scientific construction based on human sentiments. It is necessary also that the USSR may be seen as a constant centre of communist and cultural discussion, impregnated with a revolutionary culture not submitted in any way to bourgeois norms of culture as a symbol of social status. Both Trotsky and Posadas have provided elements for such a revolutionary culture which must form part of the education of the world revolutionary vanguard.

26 3 89

The Hillsborough Disaster

The disaster of the Hillsborough football stadium is a further horrific example of the callous attitude towards human beings expressed by the capitalist system. Scarcely was the disaster over than the police were already blaming drunks and hooliganism for what had occurred. The head of UEFA rushed to denounce the football fans as beasts. Hillsborough follows the Bradford fire disaster where again many fans died.

What is very clear is the relationship this disaster has to other disaster elsewhere i.e. at King's Cross or Clapham. British capitalism tries to run public

services in the cheapest way possible regardless of the lives involved. It reflects the decline of the system and they expect the population to carry the cost including with their lives. Football crowds are regarded as trash by the authorities who make no distinction between them and the semi fascist groups who have intervened in football gatherings in a desperate effort to draw attention to their miserable selves and provoke social disorder.

No stadiums have been built in Britain since the 1920's and the result is that if there are

emergency situations through overcrowding then there is no provision for this contingency. With a simple exercise of intelligence in which capitalism has no interest, it is obvious that in certain conditions the inner fencing to prevent fans charging onto the pitch would be a death trap. On this occasion the police did not even have the means to see what was occurring when they allowed more and more people into the stadium which is insufficient in size for such a crowd.

After such a disaster there was a

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The Manifesto of the First of May

The Posadist IV International

On this First of May, the masses of the world celebrate having achieved a very elevated level of development in the struggles for progress and social transformations. A much more objective relation has developed between all the progressive, revolutionary, communist and socialist movements and the workers states and in particular with the Soviet Union. It is not an organic relation through meetings and congresses, but it is a relation which the masses of the world, fundamentally those of the workers states establish as a result of the development of social intelligence; there is a total integration between the smallest country or movement with the Soviet Union and the other workers states to work objectively, impelling progress in all forms, in all spheres in science, art, culture and human relations. The thought of Cde Posadas finds expression; humanity elevates itself to work as a unified entity and is ready now to live communism.

All the events show that now humanity is concentrated more and more through the progress of the workers states. Everything which is being discussed, every event in the workers states is discussed by the masses of the world. This integration is the characterisation of the intelligence already achieved by humanity, which feels in this way that it is overcoming the oppression of capitalist life to achieve the highest level in the world which is represented by the constant economic, social, political, scientific and athletic progress of the workers states. On the other hand no one discusses the conferences and measures of NATO, of the IMF, of the ECM or of the Church and the Papacy; despite the fact that the capitalist press exerts a pressure on the masses to submit them to these events. When the masses discuss the problems of life and the experiences of the capitalist system, they do it with the objective of increasing their will to struggle and to organise the activity to overthrow it. But when Gorbachev speaks, whether in UNO, in a meeting of the CPSU or in a Congress like that of the ICP, everybody takes notice and discusses; not because they believe that everything being applied now in the USSR is a scientific remedy, but because it is convinced that what is happening is the expression of a necessary discussion in a society which is led by the objective of progress and that now the problems of Stalinist backwardness are being resolved. The process is attracting at the same time the whole world to a common progress, to a common human conduct in front of the fundamental problems of the life of humanity. This is the level which the maturity of the world and the relations of world forces express and which favour the anti capitalist struggle.

Capitalism concentrated all its energies to smash Afghanistan. With the intervention of the Soviets in 1979, the Soviets contained the most reactionary intentions of imperialism, at the same time that with limitations and difficulties, they affirmed a revolutionary process which until now has developed empirically. They have created an important social base of support for the revolution and have linked this to the world. The Soviets withdraw today the military assistance and world capitalism is unable to impose itself because of the resistance of the masses who armed by the government and the Soviets are convinced that it is necessary to continue with the revolutionary process. Afghanistan already constitutes a part of the camp of the world revolution and as such is defended by the masses of the world. It is for this reason that imperialism cannot work or invade or create any important movement to defeat the process developed with the contribution of the Soviets.

The Soviet intervention in 1979 has been fundamental to establish relations which today decide in the world and in the Soviet Union. Without this intervention, the present policy of internal democratisation would not exist, the "revolutionary perestroika". It is for this reason that on the

First of May we salute the international Soviet combatants who intervened in Afghanistan and we express all our love and fraternal homage to the fifteen thousand Soviet soldiers who gave their lives struggling to impel the progress for socialism.

The elections in the USSR have constituted an experience for the whole of humanity and have shown to the world the maturity of the Soviet people; they are not the "first stages of democracy" but they are the firm steps of a people who have full consciousness that the Soviet Union represents a superior social regime which is the guide and inspiration of millions and millions throughout the world. The role of the party has been affirmed in the leadership of the country and the masses have sought to give new impulse to the process of cleansing in the bureaucratic apparatus. These elections are still not an important instrument which allows all the creative capacity and intelligence of the Soviet masses to be expressed as they have been limited to the election of representatives for organisms which do not have much life or political functioning. In any case the masses have utilised them to express their most complete integration with the workers state and with the party, at the same time that they condemn the most aberrant leaders and bureaucratic practices. They have voted for communists who most identify with the policy of changes or those who may represent transitory points of support for the opposition to the most corrupt layers of the bureaucracy like Yeltsin; or also some nationalist leaders who have been voted not as nationalists but as instruments to condemn bureaucratic control.

The Soviet people participated massively in the elections. World capitalism speaks of the "first steps of democracy in the Soviet Union" and hides because of its class interests what democracy means for the North American people. Bush went to the Presidency of the first capitalist country with less than twenty percent of the electorate. The American people is not remote from the destinies of their country, but declares clearly against the objectives given to it by the political leadership, republican or democratic. That the population is concerned finds expression in the demonstration of 600,000 women in Washington in defence of the right to abortion.

The demonstration in the United States like the development of the struggles throughout the world is the result of the process which the workers states are living through. The USSR is at the head of this process but at the same time it moves all the socialist countries, accelerating the stages towards the unification of the workers states and of the whole of the world communist movement. The trip of Sheverdnazde, his meeting with the Chinese communist leaders as part of the future meeting of the Soviet and Chinese leaders and the visit of Gorbachev to Cuba are events of vital importance in this stage of history. Capitalism has been able to count as a means of prolonging its stay on the divisions and polemics between the workers states, a result of the clash of interests between ruling bureaucratic camarillas. Today this process is in reverse. The progress of history, represented by the progress of science, culture and of the experience of the masses, imposes unification. Even the most backward bureaucratic camarillas, like the Chinese cannot oppose this process of centralisation of the socialist camp which is a heavy blow at the capitalist system.

The visit of Gorbachev to Cuba concentrates all the latest progress of the changes in the Soviet Union. The differences in positions between Castro and the Soviet leadership are public, but even so and without the most complete understanding Gorbachev went to discuss. In the epoch of Stalin a difference of this type would have meant that the bureaucracy would have crushed and imposed as Stalin did with some workers states in Europe, or that he would abandon them to the capitalist market as with Yugoslavia and in part China. Now this is

not the case. The factor determining the Soviet leadership is not the inter-bureaucratic competition, but the fact that both countries form part of a system, the system of the workers states and it is for this reason that they make a thirty years agreement which has as an objective to help Cuba to develop to the level of the most developed countries of COMECON. While Castro considered that in the USSR they were putting into operation a series of capitalist measures in the economy, and that these could be determinant, the Soviet Union proposes and resolves an agreement with Cuba with criteria which have nothing to do with capitalism. If the economic proposals on the part of the Soviet leadership, of incorporation of market forms and prices, self management and renting the land were determinant in the USSR it would not be possible to conclude an agreement like that signed with Cuba which in purely economic terms is a total loss on the part of the Soviet Union. The agreement does not have the objective of investing to make profit but of sustaining Cuba as a workers state. The hundreds of thousands of Cubans who received and accompanied the visit of Gorbachev, wanted to express all their adhesion to the Soviet workers state and to impel the process of democratisation also in Cuba. At the same time there is a hiatus between this objective process and the preparation and the development of the leaderships which have been constructed in the period of Stalinism and which continue then with all the vices of bureaucratic practice together with the absence of political understanding which is the result of the caricature to which the Marxist method was reduced in that period.

The criticism of Stalin in the USSR takes the form of the "return to Lenin" and the republication of the works of Trotsky, which means already practically a rehabilitation. The Posadist IV International asks of the Soviet comrades the rehabilitation of Trotsky. This is not our vindication as a movement but we consider the rehabilitation to be a necessity that the workers state cannot avoid while it moves on the road of progress.

The conclusions of the Round Table in Poland between the opposition and the leadership of the POUJ still represent an agreement in the spheres of the bureaucracy. A sector of the communist leadership seeks support in the working class to impel democratic changes and believes that this is the way, which shows the lack of theoretical and political preparation of the Polish leadership. "Solidarity" does not represent the working class. It has been changed into a centre of intellectuals and privileged layers of the workers movement and layers who defend private interests like the small landed proprietors, all sectors protected historically by the bureaucracy. It is for this reason that this agreement cannot be an instrument to overcome the power of the bureaucracy. There are no proposals for the intervention of the working class, of the masses or for the creation of Soviet organs, but they are all initiatives which tend to contain the effects of the critical intervention of the proletariat and the communist base.

Pluralism is not an instrument of progress of the workers state. On the contrary it represents the intention to preserve the interest of diverse layers of society on which bureaucratic power supports itself. As a result of the political perversion which reigned in the communist movement, during the period of Stalin, the existence of different positions is legitimate and these can remain as a result of different experiences and conclusions, but it is necessary to discuss at the same time that the struggle is for the common objective which is socialism. But the "pluralism" of which capitalism conceives and in part some communist parties is that of the political representation of different interests. The workers state is a transitional state which has as its

objective the elimination of classes and class interests. The leadership is the working class through its function in the economy and in society. The existence of private or sectional interests does not correspond with the objectives of the workers state. If these exist and are maintained through pluralism, it is with the objective of containing the effects of the independent intervention of the working class and of the party. The construction of socialism is an objective process, determined by the search to elevate the human relation and not the mediation between different layers. This is a rational and scientific construction which requires the party as instrument in which the sectors with the greater understanding of society participate. Within the party there can co-exist different evaluations and interpretations, but there is a unity in the objective of the construction of socialism.

The problems of nationalism appear in various forms in the different workers states, and also they have different origins. Yugoslavia is affected through the policy of self management which has created regional bureaucratic layers who base their power on dispute and separation between regions. In the USSR they arise as an historical legacy of the policy of Stalin and as a result of the continuation, even with the progress realised, of an insufficient democratic life of the masses. The rising in Georgia includes an important questioning by the Georgian masses of the bureaucratic apparatus of the party, together with the existence of reactionary forces. The demand for independence does not correspond to any necessity of the economy or of society, but is the ultimate defence of the bureaucratic layers developed in the shelter of the regime of Stalin which now enter in open collision with the process of increasing democratisation. The repression mounted by a part of the sector of the army has been a precipitate action which pre-empted a solution taking into account the participation and opinion of the masses - which was brought into application afterwards. A sector of the leadership proposed to go to discuss and to make the intervention of the working class weigh in the discussion. The latter decides objectively and not in accordance with national interests. Now, anyway the situation is returning to normality and the control of the cities is being made through committees of workers and militia.

The capitalist system wants to place the national problems as evidence of the failure of the workers state, when the said problems are the inheritance of the regime of private property which the bourgeoisie was and is incapable of solving. The USSR has allowed the progress of nationalities to develop from the greatest backwardness to the greatest possibilities afforded by the workers state. Meanwhile capitalism maintains repression over nations like Ireland or Corsica, where the socialist government gives a lower status to the French citizens of the island. But the most evident demonstration of the incapacity of capitalism as a world system to resolve the national problem is the issue of the Palestinians.



The Struggle of the Palestinians continues.

The struggle of the Palestinian masses is the Vietnam of this stage. The leadership does not represent the same programme with which the NLF mobilised, but the will to struggle contained in the persistence of the Intifada - with the active participation of the women and children - concentrates the fervent desire of humanity to transform society. Such a continuity of struggle with so much security to confront one of the most armed and murderous regimes in history can only be based on the consciousness of the historic transcendence of this struggle.

The Palestinian people do not feel like beggars who ask for a piece of land, but legitimate representatives of humanity in the progress to socialism. They feel themselves to be supported by the whole world, by the Latin American masses who have overthrown the dictatorships of Stroessner and Pinochet, imposed the legitimate existence of Nicaragua in spite of the siege of the Yanks and have stimulated and led to the triumph of the Workers Party of Brazil - with the support and the participation of the Posadist comrades and are preparing in Argentina new and more profound revolutionary results in the future electoral triumph of Peronism. The triumph of the party of Lula in Brazil is the triumph of a party which based on the trade unions develops the capacity and programme to lead and attract the rest of the popular social sectors.

The process of the unification in the International communist movement affects also the communist parties like the Italian whose recent Congress reaffirmed its central role in the process of the socialist transformation of Italy. The tendency which wants to transform the party into the social democracy has not been able to impose itself and has lost positions in the leading organisms of the party. The socialist and social democratic parties have been accomplices of the process of the restructuring of industry which has had disastrous results for the standard of living of the masses and leaderships like those of Gonzalez of Spain have been confronted by the masses and their own party base. If the German social democrats do not accept completely the programme of capitalism and its restructuring, it is because they are in opposition. It is correct to appeal to the youth and to the base, to the left of the Socialist parties, but it is impossible to depend on the bourgeois leadership. Now at this moment there is an important opposition in the leadership of the German SPD on the part of the young socialists (Jusos) who in their recent congress decided upon the alliance with the Greens and the guaranteed wage for youth and also on the part of the trade unions who demanded the reduction of the working day to thirty five hours with no reduction of salary, while the leadership of Lafontaine does not agree with this. Thus it is necessary to appeal for a United Front of communists, socialists and of the trade union centres and of the rest of the forces of progress to homogenise the social and trade union gains of all Europe, to mobilise all the progressive social

forces as part of the political campaign of the European elections.

Capitalism does not have any other perspective than to reduce the conquests made by the masses in a previous period. The trade union struggle has been shown to be insufficient by itself alone to contain the plans of capitalism. More and more a political development is demanded of the trade unions, the political struggle with the objective of liquidating the capitalist system. The struggle of the working class in Europe, the general strike in Spain and France which have seen as never before the unification of the socialist and communist centres, the present strikes in Italy are of a profound political content putting into question capitalist power.

The capitalist system is going through the most profound crisis of its history. It has developed an unparalleled world power concentrated in few hands, but such a power in the economy finds no corresponding political representation. The leadership of Bush lacks any initiative; Nixon, Kissinger and the centre which works through the CIA and the Pentagon stimulate him to confront the soviets in a harder way and draw attention to the effect which the policy of Gorbachev is having on the centralisation of the totality of the forces of capitalism. With the policy of agreements begun by Reagan, the soviets seek to influence those forces of capitalism fearful of a final confrontation with the workers states. Capitalism does not resist this type of "co-existence" on the part of the soviets who sign arms agreements at the same time that they renew relations with the Chinese, defend Afghanistan, sustain Cuba and Nicaragua, develop political initiatives and weigh with authority in the Middle East. That is to say they develop agreements with capitalism at the same time that they apply a policy which corners it on a world scale, while the process of soviet democratisation stimulates immense forces in the capitalist countries, even in the United States.

The capitalist system has developed all its present power, all its great productive and competitive capacity, creating the worst conditions of life and of existence in the whole history of humanity. Technology placed at the service of capitalist production and of its war preparations not only generates every type of contamination and of ecological disaster, but shows itself incapable of resolving and intervening to diminish the damage of "incidents" like that of Alaska. The ecological movements which have developed in the last stage develop towards anti-capitalist conclusions, some of them empirical, but anyway they correspond to solutions which cannot be achieved within the margins of capitalist production; as now in Italy where they pose the the abolition of the use of chemical products in agriculture. It is necessary that the greens participate together with the working class, the communists and the socialists, centralising the struggles of the masses with a programme of anti capitalist measures.

17.4.89.

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great wave of human sentiment expressing the grief, particularly for the many young people who had died. The ruling class was obliged to join in. But it is exactly their system of lack of investment and lack of interest in peoples lives which led to this situation. For them the life of the population is cheap, for the ruling class nothing but the best will do.

The football bureaucracy comes out of it badly. Always ready to take the money of the fans, they are not so keen to shell out for safety; big transfer fees but not much money for the safety of supporters who apparently have no

representation in the clubs. That would interfere with business decisions.

The cult of competitive sport and the excitement generated by it still shows the limitation in the political and social life of Britain. The more the population was involved in the running of society, the less would be the interest in passive spectator sport. The Hillsborough disaster has emphasised yet again that capitalism constantly generates macabre situations because it has no interest in human capital, only in profits for the use of a tiny minority without perspective and geared to making the population pay for its own parasitism.

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the strategy of the bourgeoisie who seek to contain social changes by evoking the dangers of "leftism", associated with terrorism.

The example of the success of the Workers Party in Brazil is going to weigh in the process in Argentina. The activity of the Posadist forces in the elections was to sustain the centralisation of the class around Peronism, while at the same time developing the formation of a conscious class current to stimulate the application of anti capitalist measures and counter the manoeuvres of the bourgeois layers of the Peronist apparatus.

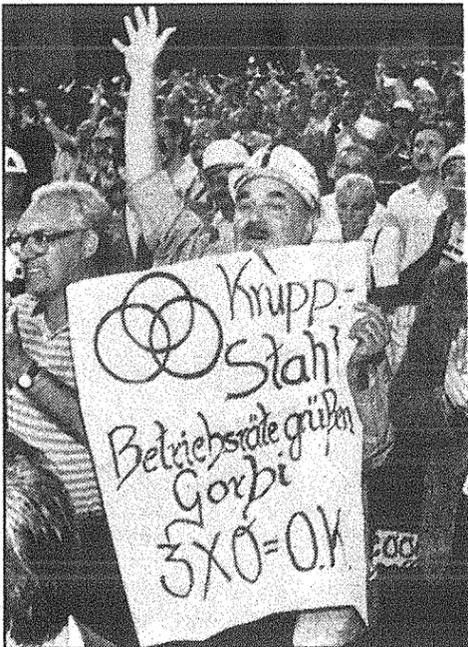
THE PROBLEMS OF THE ECONOMY AND THE ENVIRONMENT HAVE NO SOLUTION OUTSIDE THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The Euro-elections were of little interest to the masses of the ECM countries. Capitalism tries to give the impression that a new world is at hand with 1992. The population knows differently. It will be more of the same that is, more swindles, more euphoria for money bags, more and more polarisation of the classes. Capitalism has no new perspective in 1992. The parliamentarians who have been elected may feel themselves to be of the highest importance but the Euro Parliament is a facade for the big commercial and industrial interests, a centre of national quarrels, nothing more. The serious business resides with the corporations and NATO.

Nearly fifty percent of the electorate abstained. But in spite of this the parties that gained were those of the left and the greens. The greater strength of the greens is a reflection of tensions within the bourgeoisie itself. Sectors of the latter feel as threatened as the rest of the population by the monomaniac pursuit of wealth at the expense of humanity and the environment, by the central forces of capitalism. The fact that Thatcher is obliged to appear green shows the effects of this. In all, these Euro elections demonstrate the immense social and political debility of capitalism. Its perspectives engender only scepticism. The fact that the masses cannot take full advantage of this situation is the

result of the ineptitude and lack of preparation of the workers parties which in general are hitched to reformism and live ensconced in national preoccupations, the results of the legacy of stalinism and the outdated social democracy.

French imperialism utilised the anniversary of the revolution to give some cover for the meeting of the international gang of thieves, the "Group of Seven Summit". The marginalisation of British imperialism provoked Thatcher into various insults about the French revolution, now that Mitterand and Kohl have become more central in relations of capitalism with the Soviet Union and that British imperialism in its relation to the Common Market is not in the most competitive of positions. The outcome of the meeting of the gang of thieves presented nothing new at all. It showed world imperialism without any new ideas, simply reiterating that the so called "developing countries" must obey the banks and attract foreign capital by the right policies. Pollution and drugs were condemned with talk of "international" co-operation, but as these problems stem from the very heart of capitalism, it was simply a case of the polluters proceeding as usual. Gorbachev pushed at the gates on the line of trying to influence some sectors of capitalism to trade more with the Soviet Union, but whatever verbal responses capitalism may



German workers greet Gorbachev.

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

392. July 21. 1989.

make to these proposals the only line in which imperialism would be interested would be to impose semi colonial status on the workers states. Hence the possibilities of economic collaboration between capitalism and the Workers States are limited.

The dictatorship in Britain flounders in more and more difficulties. The Euro-Elections were a disaster for it and showed its marked political weakness. The advance of the Greens is especially disturbing for them, as it represents a sizeable bourgeois current who see that capitalism has no interest in settling the issues of pollution and this takes

away from the electoral base of capitalism. The direct intervention of the proletariat in the docks, the railways and strike of the local government workers is part of the greater confidence of the population to intervene against the enfeebled capitalist regime. Objectively there is a form of united front of workers, teachers, doctors, greens, against the capitalist regime. It would be possible to turn this into a catastrophe for capitalism but the LP apparatus hopes to help capitalism survive its decomposition. Thus when the NUR turned down the offer, Kinnock was most put out. To support the proletariat is a crime for these people. Nonetheless the crisis for

the capitalist system is immense and the Labour party apparatus can no longer block the effects of the world process in Britain. Stalinism was their best ally and that is going. When the soviet proletariat intervenes on the scale that is has, the effects are going to be world wide, not least in Britain giving confidence that it is possible to develop a programme of social transformations, for an economy that serves the needs of the population and not a narrow swindling oligarchy, and throw out the Thatcher dictatorship. 17.7.89.

The Greek Elections and the Advance of the Coalition of the Left.

We salute the intervention of the Greek Section of the IV International in the recent elections, in which the Papandreu government was defeated, but in which the Coalition of the Left holds the parliamentary balance. Although the right wing New Democracy gained in seats, the election was much more a defeat of the opportunist policies of Papandreu, than a gain for capitalism. The Left Coalition stood on a programme of democratising the economy and making it function for the benefit of the population. In the effort to communicate with the world, the programme of the coalition was translated into English for the first time.

The agreement between the incoming government and the Coalition is not an opportunist manoeuvre but represents the reality of Greece—a precarious situation for capitalism, where the left has gained in influence. The agreement between the two parties is for strictly limited objectives as a prelude for new elections

later on. Fiorakis the leader of the coalition rejected any idea that the arrangement was an "historic compromise". The objective is to clean up the immediate financial scandals (katharsis) and to have an all party supervision of the state broadcasting system and strict scrutiny of state contracts by parliamentary committees. In other words the immediate miasma of corruption associated with the last days of Papandreu's putrefying regime can be cleared out of the way so that the next campaigns of the left can develop in a more limpid atmosphere. Mitsotakis the head of the New Democracy was obliged to accept Tsannetakis as transitional Prime Minister—who opposed the previous military dictatorship—and was also obliged to accept the proposal of the communists that this transitional government was "open to all political forces without exception". Thus the way was open to Pasok to participate—but the leadership is so covered in filth that it repudiated the

invitation.

The Greek section intervened on the electoral slate of the Coalition, speaking at meetings and distributing leaflets and publications of Cde Posadas and the International, with a great welcome. The ideas of the section are well known to the leaders of the communist parties. During the election various publications of the left gave considerable coverage to the ideas of the International. Thus the periodicals "The First" and "The Nation" published articles of the section on support for the Coalition, the attitude of the Posadists to the events in China etc. The intervention of the comrades in Greece confirmed the original analysis of Cde Posadas that the feeble nature of Greek capitalism and the strong forces of the left there, give great opportunity to the section to intervene. At the same time the intervention also shows the necessity of Posadism in the reorganisation of the world communist movement, in its re-encounter with marxism.

The Discussion about China in the World Communist Movement. 21.1.81. J. Posadas

The fact that the "Cultural Revolution" is discussed in itself rather than for its results shows the lack of theoretical formation in all the Communist parties. Neither do they discuss the Workers States as a process, nor with a programmatic conception. The Communists have no idea of this stage of the construction of the Workers State. For them, it is a gradual process out of capitalism and carried out in such a way that capitalism does not realise what is happening. It is a conception which visualises the problem of the economy as if it were a matter of will, rather than related to the conception of history. Although we criticised the limitations of the "Cultural Revolution" at the time, we were the only ones that showed that it had to be defended, even if it could not reach its historic objectives. These objectives could not be reached because "cultural revolutions" are not the instrument for the progress of the Workers States. But the "Cultural Revolution" as it took place, demonstrated that the leadership wanted to advance; the problem was that it had no idea how to set about it. It tried to progress through the "Cultural Revolution". The Chinese Communist Party was built with cadres who had no solid marxist basis. They came straight from the war into the leadership of the party. At the time of the Bolsheviks, this did not occur. Trotsky, for example was a theoretical and practical organiser of the party who came into the army with all the qualities of intelligence; these qualities did not develop in this way in the Chinese leaders. This is why Trotsky is in the company of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This was the result of qualities and abilities which had developed in the Russia of that time.

The Cultural Revolution was carried out by the Chinese leadership of the period in order to gain historic time; it was effected in conditions when the necessary party did not exist and this absence of the party relates to everything that happens in China. The Cultural Revolution was something that took place mainly in the sphere of the leadership. This is why Mao Tse Tung acted as a centre, with Chou En Lai on the right and Lin Biao on the left. Chou was not a rightist outside communism; he made quite a few good proposals, but he lacked understanding. He limited his perspectives to a weak party and an immense uncultured and unprepared people and did not see the necessity for a party. There are many fine things in the life of Chou which show that he was a dedicated communist. Originally he had been in France and in the French Communist party.

The main problem in the construction of China is the fact that the party leadership did not

manage to compensate for the lack of proletarian support from which it suffered. It did not compensate for this by theoretical and political understanding. On top of this there was the brutal weight and enormous influence exerted against China by Stalin. Stalin and the bureaucracy he represented were petrified with fear that if China developed it would begin to compete with them.

The current situation in China has to be studied and the Cultural Revolution has to be appraised as part of the whole process. It has to be seen as part of the issue of the formation of the Workers State, in such cases as China, Yugoslavia and Rumania. It is necessary to point out that various workers states have not advanced to socialism via different roads or with different methods and they did not discover a "new road to socialism". Far from it! What these different countries illustrate however is the various defects from the lack of marxist formation in the communist parties. The communists use marxism to analyse one or other aspect of capitalism and even then not all the aspects, but they do not develop or apply the marxist method to the problem of the construction of the party. This has resulted in weak and superficial parties.

Also they all inherited parties with an origin in Stalinism; this is not the responsibility of the present leadership in China historically speaking. The most conscious leaders of the communist parties had been killed; this was also the case with the communist parties of Europe. Thus various communist parties developed an orientation and structure with an emasculated notion of marxism, with a national interest, which was strictly speaking, Stalinist

. Together with this, the newly formed workers states (after 1945) were forced to defer to the Soviet bureaucracy led by Stalin. It was in this period that the first big conflicts between the newly formed Workers States and Stalin arose. But it was not possible to transform the Soviet Union into a gendarme to prevent the development of Workers States. The end of Stalin was when he tried to do this. Even in the eyes of the bureaucratic apparatus that surrounded him, he became a block to the development of the Soviet Union. People like Solzhenitsyn, writers and poets of his type are not the strict expression of the apparatus of Stalin, even though they come from the period of the beginning of the creation of that apparatus. These people could not be a pure expression of that apparatus because even then it was beginning to clash with the USSR in an historic sense. In order to advance the USSR could not remain enclosed just within itself. The apparatus

of that period had begun to be an obstacle in the path of the Soviet Union. The USSR had to expand or be liquidated. It was the inexorable process of history that killed Stalin. It is quite true to say in a figurative sense that even if the bullets and the trigger finger that finished him off were human, it was the bullets of history that killed him. Stalin had to be eliminated and in the event it was a bureaucratic apparatus that accomplished this. They did not write, give explanations, carry out a political struggle or hold a discussion to justify doing it. It was not done in a way which would have left history an experience from which to learn. It was the case of an apparatus having to dispose of an old, useless object. It is from this process that all subsequent events unfold.

The Chinese leaders who lived under Stalin were subject to the full weight of the Soviet bureaucratic apparatus. The one overwhelming fear of this apparatus was that China would develop. It dreaded the development of China because this would produce, or so they feared a type of political experience that would begin to have an influence inside the Soviet Union itself. This explains Stalin's policy of trying to dominate both the political and economic spheres in China in order to prevent an independent development there. After the war, the soviet leadership and Stalin pressured Mao Tse Tung in particular to compromise and share power with Chiang Kai Shek. It has to be remembered that the Chinese leadership then refused to make a government with the bourgeoisie as advised by Stalin. Stalin followed this by trying to impose on Tito an alliance with the King of Yugoslavia. The refusal of both Mao and Tito led the soviet bureaucracy to break with Yugoslavia and then with China. This resulted in the Soviet Union withdrawing the support, the technicians and the aid which it had hitherto sent to China. A whole batch of leaders like this Deng Xiaoping who were confirmed in their nationalistic tendencies, came out of this strengthened in their ideas of a half way house between the Workers State and the bourgeoisie. In the final analysis this tendency of Deng defends the Workers State but with bourgeois policies. It is not possible to construct Workers States with bourgeois policies. On the contrary the Workers State dispenses with bourgeois policies.

Aims of the

Cultural Revolution.

It is necessary to remember whatever the necessary criticisms, the Cultural Revolution and its aims. Its aim was to further the process of the revolution in China. Even though we have criticised the the Cultural Revolution in our texts of that

epoch, and we criticised the Dazibaos, we never joked about all this. What we said was that it was absurd to be forced to stick papers on walls in a Workers State in order to put forward a position. We use walls to announce party policies on posters, or to publicise information, but walls cannot be used as a clandestine means of developing thought. The Party has to be the means of discussion, but it is quite reasonable to put the results of discussion on walls for everyone to see. But such posters cannot be a correct medium for internal Party polemics.

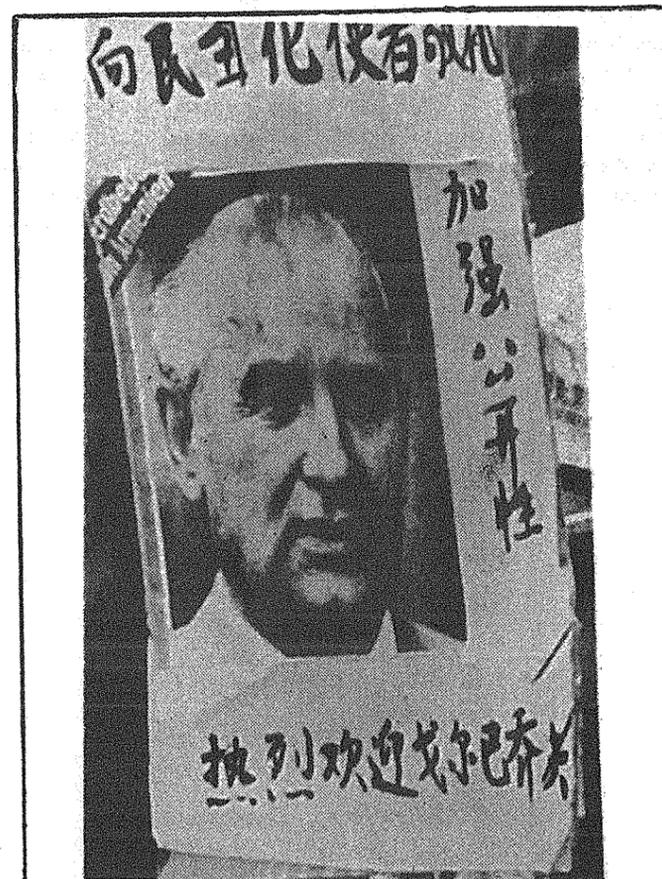
The underlying fact of the policies of the present counter revolutionary Chinese leadership is that it is creating a situation which cannot last for very much longer. The world is not going in the direction of their aspirations. Stalin is a decisive proof of this. Stalin had more power than ten countries like China put together. This did not prevent his liquidation, because he did not coincide with the process of history. This present Chinese leadership is in a similar position because it tries to confine China within nationalist sentiments mixed with a fair quantity of national bourgeois interests which go counter to the process in the whole world. The world is going to Communism. The most backward countries in the world in such places as Hong Kong which is geographically part of China are ripe for the time when they will rise to construct the Workers State. The conditions for this present Chinese leadership to prevail do not exist. It cannot call the tune of history.

The attitude of the Soviets is one of waiting for matters to sort themselves out in China. But it is an error of the Soviets not

to intervene more in China than they do. The reason for this failure to intervene more often is their own bureaucratic apparatus which fears that it will be shattered if they shake up the existing Chinese set up. True such an activity would shake up the soviet bureaucracy, and this all stems from the lack of marxist formation. Mao Tse Tung had the marxist intention of developing China and making it a functioning workers state, but he tried to do it in competition with the USSR and that isolated him from the Soviet Union and he continued to maintain the same distance when Stalin was gone.

The current process in China shows a complete absence of co-ordination between the deepening crisis of capitalism, the growth of soviet world influence even among the intellectuals, scientists and workers of the capitalist countries and the lack of preparation of communist parties without a marxist conception. All the communist parties come from the epoch of Stalin. The communist parties are like a body whose head is not strictly speaking that of Stalin because already they have more advanced ideas than him, but whose organism is still what it was under Stalin. These problems have not been put into discussion in the Communist parties but we do. This is why we are so convinced that no movement which goes against the marxist progress of history can possibly develop. None of these movements can possibly develop because they do not correspond to the level of intelligence now reached by humanity and neither do they correspond to the material and military relations already

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"A greeting to the democratic ally"

established. In order to exist the Soviet Union has to develop; it has to stimulate revolution in the world. The present Chinese leadership on the contrary, in order to develop has to stop revolutions and hope for capitalism to prosper and to destroy the USSR in war.

Leaderships such as the present one in China, go towards nationalism because they lack marxist preparation. They interpret, organise and plan according to concrete nationalist ways rather than marxist ones. In a country as oppressed and backward as China nationalism came close to marxism. This is not because it has anything to do with marxism or that it forms part of marxist thought, it is because in such countries any progress has to take place within a struggle with imperialism. Nationalism can seem like marxism because a struggle has to be waged against the exploiters in order to develop the country.

The policy of Deng Xiaoping and the group around him is based on the idea which is pure illusion—that they can take advantage of both capitalism and the Soviet Union to contain the world revolution and further their interests on that basis. This is all wishful thinking and delusion. It is the dream of an ancient mandarin and shows the lack of marxist preparation which is a result of the Stalin period and creates rifts among the communists. Many communist leaderships in Europe—Poland is an example—are left over from the Stalin period. About half the Polish leadership comes from that time. The Polish leadership is no longer Stalinist, but their political and programmatic conceptions remain in fact Stalinist. That is to say, they seek a policy of agreements, of arrangements and combinations with capitalism in order to stimulate individual interest. They plan according to individual interest. They think that they can develop a better economy than capitalism in this way. They hope that as a consequence people will be attracted, but this is false. The USSR has come from conditions of absolute scarcity and poverty, but has managed to extend its authority throughout the world. At the same time, capitalism which has plenty and destroys food no longer has any authority anywhere. The Soviet Union produces more and more children, that is the twenty workers states and capitalism has lost all its children which were the colonies.

The "Great Leap Forward".

The communist parties have to discuss all this. It should be discussed how was it possible for the Chinese leadership to go from Mao Tse Tung who was a revolutionary to the present leadership of Deng Xiaoping which is criminal. How has this happened? How has China managed to have a whole string of currents in the leadership in a very short time after Mao? Liu Shao Shi, Chou en Lai, Lin Piao etc. It was the

tendency which made the Communes which managed to take China forwards. The Communes were the medium through which China developed and they gave the country a tremendous economic and social impulse.

The mistakes of the "Great Leap Forward" were in the accounting (invented figures). When they made such errors it was not because they were unable to count but because they based themselves on an erroneous conception. The leadership was in such a hurry to supersede the soviet bureaucracy, so anxious not to depend on the soviets that they invented figures and embarked on grandiose plans which led to many errors. This shows that the leadership was already very weak. They did not have any criminal motives in planning the "Great Leap Forward" but they were certainly mistaken. Today however this tendency of Deng in another thing, it killed Lin Piao and this indicates the development of a murderous clique; as murderous as Stalin. The death of Lin Piao was akin to the murder of Bukharin in the USSR.

The objective development of the workers state is uncontainable. It can be delayed and complicated, but it cannot be prevented because the workers state is a necessity for the progress of history. It is like science in the sense that all the scientists can be killed, but the base established by science generates in turn new scientists; they appear in better conditions and in such conditions learn the importance of human love and objectivity. This allows science to base itself on the decisive centres which are human love and love for the objective of placing science in the service of humanity. In other words, the birth of scientists who are superior to what went before. It is like this because the progress of human relations is not determined by the whims of leaderships, but by objective humanity. The progress of human relations is an objective necessity.

At the time of Stalin this necessity was hindered. The impediment came from the party and from the relations in the world; there was only one workers state, the USSR and the development of the revolutionary process was slower. However the revolutionary process was being prepared and very well because it was only a few years later that new revolutions followed the six years of the war. Clearly the war would not have generated revolutions had there not been previous preparations within the masses. If the populations had been submitted to individual anguish or fear for their lives, had they been submitted to individual interests, individual economic and sexual pressures and conceptions—such as those limited to the love between parents and children—there would not have been such preparation. These limited experiences did not prevail and this is the reason why it was the

revolution that triumphed in the war. The vanguard had a base of support in the Soviet Union and it used this as a corner stone for the advance of the conditions of the masses of the world. The masses of the world lived the experiences of the Soviet Union. They could not make this evident immediately, but they made it evident in the course of the war. Today the process is immeasurably more advanced than then. It is for that reason that the calculations of the present Chinese leadership are stupid. They make stupid calculations based on individual interest and egotism which is raised to a kind of national egotism, rooted in wishes rather than historic analysis. This Chinese leadership has no future at all.

The development of the workers state is a necessity of life. It is the objective necessity of the development of the economy, science, art, technology and human relations. It is a necessity of progress, and there is enough maturity in the world to give form to this necessity.

That the world is mature could already be seen in the fact that there were twelve countries engaged in revolution even before the last war was finished, before 1945. The most important guerrilla struggle against nazism in those days was not the process which occurred in Italy. The most important mass struggles were those in Czechoslovakia, Poland and Germany because these countries became workers states. Italy did not. The guerrilla struggle in Italy did not destroy capitalist power but in Poland they did and constructed the workers state. This is why it is necessary to discuss in depth the social objectives of the guerrilla movements of that period. The Italian resistance movement had a bourgeois programmatic character and limited itself to supporting one bourgeois sector against another. In Poland, on the other hand, the Polish masses constructed the workers state in conditions of having to make incalculable sacrifices. Their communist party won in spite of being a tiny minority because it represented the interests of the people and based itself on the Soviet Union. History laid the bases for the truth to triumph even if it is going to be delayed. Truth signifies policy, programme and experience. It signifies all the necessary aspects for the objective development of mankind. Capitalism visualises the truth as in the case of the Dreyfus Trial. The rehabilitation of Dreyfus was demanded with demonstrations for the restoration of "truth and justice". However there is something much more important in history than the Dreyfus case and that is the case of Trotsky. The capitalists as much as the communists do not give any importance to this, but the trial of Trotsky signifies all the same a debate on the norms of a new society. Capitalism is not

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The process in the USSR and the need for a renewed Communist Party.

The effects of the process of partial regeneration in the Soviet Union are the centre of human history in this stage. The chorus of capitalist commentators speak of a crisis of communism. It is not a crisis of communism, but a crisis of growth in the workers states which can only find a solution on the basis of a return to marxism, a re-encounter with marxism. The attempts at a partial democratisation in the Soviet Union are only the beginning of a process which objectively passes the capacity of the leadership. It has already posed a multitude of problems which are going to demand much more complete answers than have been posed hitherto. But there is no going back and it is precisely the concentration of the soviet masses around their leadership which has re-opened the dissident problem with Sakharov.

The political life in the CPSU and the life with the population is still very limited. Whereas the Bolsheviks had a dynamic life with the population, the political communication is still very sluggish in the Soviet Union. But Sakharov in his recent outbursts senses that communism is going to be reaffirmed, that the centralisation of the Soviet Union is going to develop and despite empirical elements in the workers state is not going to degenerate into the pluralism dearly beloved of all those who do not believe in communism and want to submit democracy to individual objectives. Sakharov openly clashed with the Red Army over Afghanistan and now proceeds to denigrate the Soviet Union over the nationalities issue and attack the centralisation of the CPSU. When such a type squeals so loudly and acts as a traitor to the workers state, actually advising the "west" not to weaken its criticisms of the Soviet Union, it is because elements are advancing that do not correspond to the interests of the Sakharov grouping and destroy all their dreams of "congruence" with the west.

The recent outbreaks of violence in Kazakstan and Uzbekistan have arisen again from the interested negligence of the local bureaucracy who have had no objective concern with the conditions of the population. The type of Stalinist "planning" has led to economic disharmonies which have found expression in ethnic disorders. The local bureaucracy let things happen, part of their reaction to perestroika. The fact that the campaign against the Turks and the various slogans against Lenin was carefully prepared, shows the degree of backwardness stemming from the indifference and mafia policies of the local bureaucracy. The tremendous blast on the line between Ulu Telyak and Asha in the Urals bears all the hallmarks of the irresponsibility of a local apparatus which has no concern with the population and has made a usufruct of the workers state. Sakharov does not denounce Stalinism as a phenomenon alien to the workers state but simply denigrates the Soviet Union. All these dissident types as Posadas analysed are the results of Stalinism and will die with it. Gorbachev appeared to make an alliance with these sectors in the fight against the Stalinists, but the maturing of the situation will demand objectively a far greater reliance on the masses, for the scientific solution to the problems of the Soviet Union. Gorbachev has now made an appeal to the Soviet people on the issue of the ethnic disputes. But in the Soviet Union today such issues conceal other interests, regional interests of bureaucratic layers, of all those who resist the centralising character of the workers state. Gorbachev is making an appeal which is good, but what is required is a much greater animation of the party, the principles of marxism and the direct intervention of the working class. Instead of discussion being confined to the very limited soviet parliaments. There are many issues not only concerning the Soviet Union, but the problems of other workers states which need airing for example what is the position and intervention of the CPSU on the disorder in Yugoslavia? It is correct to impel the democratisation process but on the basis of the objectives of socialism. What is socialist about Solidarity in Poland? The basis of socialism is the Polish working class which will eventually put an end to the petit bourgeois pluralism of the bureaucracy. The lack of a real communist party in Poland has led to democracy being interpreted in bourgeois forms. It is absurd and will be resisted by the Polish masses who have no intention of going cap in hand to the IMF.

The intervention of the miners in Siberia and the Ukraine in the middle of all these discussions is the logical expression of this process of partial regeneration analysed

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The repression in Beijing and the crisis of the counter revolutionary leadership

The suppression of the mass demonstrations in Beijing which were demanding the democratisation of the Chinese Workers state is a desperate effort by a discredited clique to retain power in China for their caste. The brutal intervention by a part of the army was in line with the policies of the group which took power in China after the failure of the "Cultural Revolution". They murdered Lin Biao, put on trial some of the leaders of the Cultural Revolution, and launched a policy of association with Western capitalism and encouraging capitalist methods in industry and agriculture. All this policy is now in acute crisis which is now made infinitely more profound following on the process of partial regeneration in the Soviet Union, where the Stalinist apparatus is being dismantled and some effort made to develop a better democracy in the Soviet Union.

The visit of Gorbachev corresponds to the objective need for a greater unification of the workers states as a world system against imperialism. The irruption of the Chinese students increasingly supported by the workers in the main centres corresponds to the maturing of conditions in China for a superior regime and the great influence of the Soviet Union.

The weak justifications made by the ruling clique for the repression, that the movement was counter revolutionary are palpably false. The people involved in the demonstrations sang the International and the Beethoven 9 Symphony was also played. The real counter revolutionaries were the sectors who launched a sector of the army against the population. However tragic these events and criminal the creatures who launched this attack, it has to be seen as part of the downfall of this caste which claims to be

"communist" when it is nothing of the sort.

Although the process is totally favourable to the world socialist revolution, problems such as those of China and many others in the Workers States are made difficult to resolve because of the lack of real functioning communist parties. The article we are publishing by Cde Posadas on the origins of this leadership in China is particularly important, because the reality is that the CCP was never Bolshevik and the fact incorporated within it not only elements which wanted communism but sectors which might be termed revolutionary nationalist but not communist.

The Soviet leadership was placed on the spot by the demonstration. It is certain the soviets were against the armed attack on the population but fear that by saying too much, their position with the Chinese leadership will be complicated. In the policy of the "Return to Lenin" the experience which has to be relived is the ability to combine tactical capacity with the ability to maintain principle, all of which Stalinism threw out of the window.

Imperialism which murders people on a colossal scale in one form or another has been particularly hypocritical over the events in Beijing. The ECM has gone to great lengths to condemn what happened, although not so long ago they were consorting with this rotten Chinese clique and congratulating them on their economic reforms. Imperialism is impotent to gain anything from all this. The Chinese workers state can push imperialism aside, even with the corrupt gang now in power. The progress in the Soviet Union is going to undermine constantly the objectives of the Deng usurpers.

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interested and the bureaucracy of both workers states and communist parties ignore it almost completely.

In spite of this, however Trotsky keeps coming to the front of the stage. His books are sold the world over, in spite of the fact that quite a lot of what he wrote is not a great deal of use for organisational application today. But all his books are of importance in the forming of the didactic, dialectical marxist thought. Again and again when anyone wants to make an informed judgement and needs profound points of reference, they refer to Trotsky.

All the developments like those of China, all the advances and retreats are due to the lack of leadership. The process of history is favourable for an advance in a linear form, but there is no leadership to carry it forward. The absence of a leadership to answer this historic process is expressed in a series of frauds which are committed by both large and small parties. A whole series of elements of degeneration, perverted and erroneous policies can be observed in the small parties. They feel small and this leads them to think as small parties and not in the name of humanity. This is the difference between our party and other small parties. We think in the name of humanity and with the knowledge of how to think in humanity's name. This is why our texts are not the defence of a group or a fraction, but are texts of a world leadership and this is why they have a weight in the whole world, China included.

The body of the International is our organisation, but we walk with feet guided by our global vision and not by our size. This is our strength. We are a small number which carries out this task in such a way as to develop conceptions and to apply them. History has gone this way, because it was not possible to follow the path of continuity with Lenin directly. Lenin was a necessity of history, even if they threw him out in Stalin's time. But

in spite of this, all his works are still in the Soviet Union. They have not been thrown out of the Soviet Union nor out of the world either. Lenin is necessary and so are we. We do not have the capacity of Lenin but we are his disciples. In this stage the tactic of Lenin cannot be applied just as he did, but all the principles upon which he based himself and some of the tactics must be applied still. The tactic must be re-appraised, on the basis of his principles so that it corresponds to this stage. The foundation of permanent revolution was not simply valid in Trotsky's day, but it is the principle of today. It is necessary to apply this principle today, even if the organisational conclusions which flow from it have to be adjusted.

The present Chinese leadership wants to fool history. But it will not succeed. There is no longer any room for another Dreyfus case or another process like that of Trotsky. The experience of the assassination of Trotsky cannot be repeated. It is enough to look at Italy for instance to see this. In Italy, the capitalists have to slaughter each other, rather than the communists in order to survive. They used to murder communists but today, they kill each other under the cover of a fake, anti capitalist struggle carried out by this so-called Red Brigade.

The world sees these trials in Peking and does not feel intimidated. This shows that the conditions of the Moscow Trials against the Bolshevik leadership are not going to be repeated. The activity of constructing better leaderships is difficult at the moment because it is concurrent with war preparations. It is also combined with the fact that we are reaching the end of both the capitalist system and the bureaucracy, that is the present form of bureaucracy which still exists in the Communist Parties. The Communist Parties are limited in their ability to receive experiences because they

have an insufficient preparation and have an apparatus which impedes and crushes logical thought. That apparatus is Stalinist. The conduct of these parties and their conception of policy are Stalinist. This means that they are based on the egotism of the interests of a small layer of people. This is the depth of what Stalinism was. This is why Stalinism used every means to kill those who jeopardised these interests.

The present Chinese leaders cannot employ the methods of Stalin anymore because they cannot just assassinate, but they do assassinate people politically in the sense of an individual liquidation of cadres. The individual liquidation of cadres is another form which assassination takes. Killing is not always a physical matter. What some of the Communist leaders do is to destroy the spirits of Communist cadres and stimulate them into thinking as egotistical and selfish individuals. It drives them towards the attraction of sex for instance which negates

intellectual and political life; it drives them towards the inclination to care only about their own party apparatus. Indeed some of them go so far as to seek to control everything, acquire money and apply all these conceptions in their conduct in the party. The result of all this is to isolate people from the realm of ideas.

The present Chinese leadership wants to trick history. But they will not manage this. There are neither the conditions for another Dreyfus Trial nor another Trotsky trial, nor those for another murder of Trotsky. In Italy the capitalists have to kill each other in order to live and they cannot kill the Communists. Before it was the Communists they used to murder, but now they kill each other - under the scare of the Red Brigade - a pretended anti-capitalist organisation. The whole world witnesses the Peking Trials without feeling intimidated because it understands its assassin character. It shows that we are no longer living in the epoch of the Moscow Trials against the Bolshevik leadership. J. Posadas. 2.1.1981.

From page 3

by Cde Posadas. The proletariat has intervened to impel all the changes towards greater soviet democracy. There was no attack on the role of the party as such, but they were concerned to intervene to impel much more the process, because the bureaucracy, everywhere including the trade unions, is still frustrating the legitimate demands of the population. The soviet proletariat imposed a discussion with a representative of the political Bureau and gave him the works. The proletariat acted with firmness, but also with responsibility.

Pravda and the soviet leadership supported all the demands of the workers. This in itself shows how far the process has advanced in the Soviet Union. In practice the soviet proletariat was giving support to its leadership and stimulating a more profound struggle against the privileged groups who continue to try to sabotage perestroika and as in the last meeting of the congress of Peoples Deputies declaim against "street corner" democracy on the basis of the

intervention of the proletariat, Gorbachev has spoken of the need to purge the party from top to bottom. This is an immense progress. But what is similarly needed is the intervention of the masses on all issues. The conclusions of the intervention of the proletariat are not the economic reforms, but the mass control of the economy, not the will of the economists, but the will of the proletariat. All this dynamic process within the Soviet Union is reacting in the need for a greater political life. The important discussions on the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and the comparing of the experiences of the French and Russian revolutions, all show the importance of the reanimation of political life. Above all the process in the Soviet Union is going to pose more and more insistently how is there any possibility of advancing towards socialism in the Soviet Union without world socialism as a perspective? Imperialism remains the obstacle to the socialist planning of the world economy. What then is the policy necessary to liquidate that obstacle?

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Despite the air of mutual accord between the rival social systems, the world socialist revolution continues because all the problems brought about by capitalism are worsening, poverty, famine, lack of economic development and ecological disaster. The majority of countries outside the main capitalist economies and the workers states are being prevented from progressing. Imperialism updates its arms, and its spy satellites over the Soviet Union.

It is events in the Soviet Union which are the most decisive for the future progress of humanity. The partial regeneration of the workers states, principally in the Soviet Union has resulted in a reconsideration of the functioning of the workers states, efforts to improve the relations between population and leadership and the beginning of a reflection on the origins of Stalinism. As Posadas predicted, the soviet leadership has developed a greater capacity to deal with imperialism, to develop superior tactics. On internal issues, the conceding to the miners and the statement of the soviet leadership on the so called "ethnic" problems, that it is necessary to develop political rather than repressive conclusions are examples of the progress being made. Stalinism has gone, but it has left in its wake a great deal of theoretical confusion. It has muddled the discussion on the relation between planning and the participation of the population, has developed a

pre-occupation with the economy at the expense of social relations and tried to separate the development of the Soviet Union from that of the world revolution. At the same time the "Return to Lenin" can only mean the return to Bolshevism, whatever the detours on the way.

On the world plane, imperialism is trying to forget the Intifadeh and the soviets have not drawn the lessons from it, at least officially. Its continuation shows the elevated level of the world socialist revolution. The Israelis who are simply henchmen of imperialism have conducted a nazi type repression against the Arab peoples which have involved mass arrests, killing of young people, raising of houses, curfews and continuous intimidation. Yet they have not broken the spirit of the Palestinians and will not, sustained as they are by the balance of forces favourable to the world revolution. The yankee ambassador has had to take flight from Lebanon and this in spite of the previous Israeli invasion and continued bombing in the area.

Similarly the recent elections in South Africa, which were a bloody affair, involving the shooting of children have brought out the disunity in the ranks of the ruling class and the invincible defiance of the black population. The defeat for the contras shown by the decisions of the recent central American states to dissolve them are further examples of the progress of the world revolution and how



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

393. 15 September. 1989

more and more, imperialism is isolated.

Britain is ripe for the speedy dispatch of the Thatcher government. But neither the labour party nor the trade union leadership are over anxious to precipitate this by massive popular campaigns. They want to keep everything in the safekeeping of parliamentary careerists and office seekers. They are hoping to creep into government on a minimum programme, containing popular pressure. They would prefer to lose the elections than inject anything into the programme and policy which might provoke problems for the capitalist system.

The speech of Skinner to the TUC conference showed that sectors of the labour left see the possibilities of finishing with Thatcher and his conclusion was the need for a collectivised economy, and that elections cannot be won by leaving everything to the last few weeks, which in effect is what the apparatus wants. The speech was well received, but the structure of the trade unions prevents such a speech being discussed widely and applied in action. Such conferences are attended by delegates who apparently represent millions, but in fact represent small groups. They are a law unto themselves and of course the most backward layers in their cynical and sceptical observations are reminiscent of the functionaries of the Czarist Empire-devotees of everything of the established order. That brings out the problem facing the left in the unions and the party, the need for an organised marxist current which develops a life with the population outside the control of the apparatus.

All the social problems are being exacerbated in Britain. The "free market" of 1992 is not going to lighten such problems. On the contrary, the polarisation of

the classes will be intensified, because inter capitalist competition is going to eliminate both small and big fry who cannot find the resources to compete. The labour party and trade union leaders seek to give a shining face to the future in Europe, much as the city bosses in places such as Birmingham paint a marvellous picture of coming joys. By making a great song about Europe, the apparatus hopes to dispose of difficult issues, a phoney perspective for them is better than none at all. European capitalism outside Thatcher, because it is economically stronger is theoretically more disposed to a "collaborative" vision between capital and labour, so the LP apparatus prefers that. But whatever its superficial gloss "European capitalism" is no better than "British". If Thatcher is interested in outlawing strikes in the utility sector- to complete aspects of the dictatorship- the rest of capitalist Europe is not alien to such views, if it were possible to impose them.

The TUC at least passed a motion condemning the prevention of terrorism act, although its attitude over the solution for Ireland remained as cloudy as ever. In line with the behaviour of the Kinnock leadership, it tried to modify the demand for unilateral nuclear disarmament. It called for a campaign to throw out the anti trade union legislation of the conservative government. How that campaign will actually be waged remains to be seen. Having collaborated with Thatcherism most devoutly over several years, including isolating the miners, the TUC leadership now feels it must shift with the wind a little and say matters are getting better. With that unctuous pomposity which characterises "realistic" gentlemen, they have suddenly thought that it looks good to have more women in

union positions. But to use the force of women in trade union matters is beyond them. They think a few more female functionaries shows how progressive they are.

In the preparations for the next election, it is necessary that the labour left seeks to campaign directly towards the population. It is necessary to seek united fronts with the "greens", to establish principles of popular control on all environmental issues. Capitalism is saying that the population must pay it, to clean up the mess which capitalism has caused. All this must be developed in discussion because the system, as on the water issue is demanding that private ownership be subsidised. All this stupid argumentation by capitalism shows how senile it is. It is necessary also to use the events in the USSR showing how a workers state can cleanse itself of the rubbish of the past, but that there is no way that capitalism be permanently "improved" so that it can serve the population. Whereas the Soviet Union is prepared to subsidise Cuba, imperialism can only strangle Africa.

In spite of the inertia of the LP and the trade unions, the prospects for ending the Thatcher government are good. The "Greens" whatever their social origins are a force which tends to undermine capitalism. Their struggle has to be linked with the programme of social transformations- statification under workers control. The Thatcher regime has shown what Karl Marx demonstrated a long time ago, that the so-called "free" market forces inevitably augment monopoly. But that also capitalism is a most indefatigable not to say lunatic grave digger of its own system. Having expropriated everything, the expropriators are themselves to be expropriated. 11.9.89

THE MOBILISATIONS OF THE MASSES IN CHINA FOR THE PROGRESS OF THE WORKERS STATE AND THE PRESENT COURSE OF PARTIAL REGENERATION.

RESOLUTION OF THE EB OF THE POSADIST
IV INTERNATIONAL 15.7.89

The mobilisations of students, workers and great layers of the population in China were seeking the progress of the Chinese workers state and not a capitalist restoration as the leadership of Deng Xiaoping claimed in order to justify the repression. The policy of the opening to world capitalism and particularly to North American capitalism was begun by the Chinese leadership more than ten years ago, after the reaction against the cultural revolution and the elimination of the left of the Chinese Communist Party. It is this same leadership of Deng Xiaoping which developed a counter revolutionary policy throughout the world, supporting Pinochet and the counter revolutionaries in Angola, Mozambique, Pol Pot in Cambodia and the reactionaries in Afghanistan. It was this clique also which supported the invasion of Vietnam. This Chinese leadership proposed the national development of China, basing itself on Yankee imperialism against the USSR. This policy has led to the great growth of social inequality in China, to the creation of economic zones outside the control of the state, to the creation of millions of unemployed among young people and to a profound corruption within the apparatus of the bureaucracy most linked to world capitalism.

The masses who have mobilised in China do not demand an extension of these reforms, and have now been able to measure their harmful character for the majority of the population. They had the concern to do nothing which might damage the workers state and supported themselves on the process of Perestroika and the changes towards socialist democracy in the USSR, showing that they wanted to do the same in China. The attempts at the reconciliation of the USSR and China by the leadership of Gorbachev found a profound welcome in China and it is this which gave the great impulse to the Chinese masses with the confidence and security to effect these mobilisations.

The capitalist countries were taken unawares by these events and try to respond in the same manner as they did with Poland in 1980. Thus just as they supported Solidarnosc and the

most backward layers, now they support in China the groups who tried to insert themselves in these movements to give them a capitalist orientation. They put in relief the demands of these groups while they leave in the shadows the most essential point of these mobilisations; the demand for socialist democracy, the will to apply in China the same changes as in the Soviet Union and to transform the CCP, to construct organisms where the population could express opinions and participate in the leadership of the country. These demands determined the course of the mobilisations and were accompanied by the singing of the International, red flags, the portrait of Gorbachev and the defence of Mao Tse Tung and discussions with the army to convince it of the need to support the demonstrations.

This movement has caused a great upheaval in the CCP. The counter revolutionary leadership of Deng Xiaoping was paralysed for several weeks because it lost its authority over the army. Zao Zing and the other leaders who showed that they were ready to conciliate with the movement of the masses did not represent a sector of the left in the party, but sought an opportunity to win strength in the struggle between the different factions which divide power in China.

The crisis in the Chinese leadership is the consequence of the failure of its policy of opening to capitalism and of its rejection by the Chinese masses. Such a policy of reforms can only be sustained by a bureaucratic dictatorship which is incompatible with socialist democracy. Hence the leading Chinese apparatus reacted with such violence against the demonstrators. It cannot change its policy but at the same time it must endure the fact that it has failed because it has not developed China.

The events in China have a repercussion throughout the world as has every process which occurs in the workers states. Capitalism is incapable of making initiatives to show itself as a factor of progress in the world. It runs behind every event. Its the same with China. It tried to utilise the bloody suppression of the masses by the Chinese leadership to show to the

masses of the world that the capitalist regime is "the least evil". But this line gets nowhere. At the same time as these events in China, the European elections took place. The great majority of the population of capitalist Europe gave no weight to these elections or to the next European parliament. There was a great number of abstentions, more than fifty percent. Among the voters, it was the left which progressed through the socialists and the ecologists. The population have not abandoned their anti capitalist sentiment and consciousness. In spite of the counter revolutionary Chinese leadership, in spite of all the forces of the capitalists, because it sees that the masses in China and in the other workers states mobilise to make the workers state progress and not to return to the capitalist system.

On the other hand Gorbachev is welcomed by the population in France and Germany. By these visits the soviet leadership seeks to continue the policy of "interpenetration" and to utilise all the contradictions of the capitalist system to draw some countries in western Europe closer to the USSR and distance them from the United States. But at the same time Gorbachev affirms his defence of the socialist system, his conviction that socialism is the solution for the progress of humanity and that the October revolution is the event which has continued most profoundly the French revolution, and that it is absurd to believe that the bourgeoisie can present a model of development for the peoples of the world. In his visit to China, Gorbachev took as central the vital necessity for humanity that the two most important socialist countries unite and made apologies to the Chinese people over the responsibility of the previous soviet leaders for the rupture with China. At no time has the soviet leadership expressed support for the actions of Deng Xiaoping, but on the contrary posed that the mobilisations of the young and of the population were in no way counter revolutionary. But the leaders of Czechoslovakia, of the DDR and of Cuba expressed support to Deng Xiaoping and considered these mobilisations as a danger for socialism. In reality they were and are a danger for the bureaucracy of the workers states who are

afraid of every change and feel dislodged by the present process in the USSR. These bureaucratic sectors see that this process stimulates the Chinese masses and are afraid that this will be generalised throughout the workers states.

In Cuba the execution and the condemnation of Ochoa and the other important leaders of the Communist party and of the government, also express a crisis in the leadership of the Cuban workers state and in the bureaucratic apparatus, together with the fact of justifying the repression of Deng Xiaoping and of resisting the changes in the USSR. If these people who participated in the revolutionary struggle for power and in all the actions of Cuba for the construction of the workers state and to help the revolution in Ethiopia, in Mozambique and Angola, have really taken part in the drugs traffic, it is necessary to ask how it is possible that revolutionary cadres have reached the stage of entering the most sinister of the death dealing commerce of capitalism and what has allowed such a commerce for years. If the accusations against them are only a pretext to eliminate competitors in the heart of the bureaucratic apparatus, in this case also the crisis of the Cuban leadership is expressed in front of the need for socialist democracy and its resistance to accepting and participating in the process of the world perestroika; it is necessary that the Cuban masses intervene in the life and the leadership of the workers state to prevent the leaders escaping popular control, to discuss fully the orientations which the Cuban revolution must take.

The weakness of the soviet leadership is because it does not have sufficient points of support in the other communist parties and in the rest of the world, because there is no communist movement to push forward a public discussion with the participation of all the masses, on the necessary forms and the organisms for the progress of the workers state and socialist democracy.

The partial regeneration whose centre is the USSR is developing in all the workers states, but with unequal and

combined conditions and forces. The bureaucratic apparatuses defend themselves furiously. This can also be seen in the USSR with the so-called "ethnic" conflicts which have broken out in the different soviet republics. These conflicts are promoted by the local bureaucracies who resist perestroika and socialist democracy and provoke incidents, utilising real problems of the population at the same time that they make use of the barbarities inherited from Stalinism in the field of nationalities.

The formidable impulse towards soviet democracy in all the workers states has as an objective leadership the process in the Soviet Union, but does not have a conscious or prepared leadership to intervene with a world programme and policy of the unification of the workers states. It is an unequal process as can be seen in Poland.

The recent elections in Poland on the one hand have expressed a deep criticism and social and political rejection of the present situation on the part of the sectors of the population who voted and even more from the great number who have abstained. But the votes for the candidates of Solidarity cannot be represented as votes against socialism. Hence the leaders of Solidarity have many doubts and do not know what to propose nor what programme to have. They have called upon Bush to help Poland, but not to restore capitalism. Imperialism gave a relatively weak support, because it has no security as to where this situation is heading. It remains very far from a new Marshall Plan for Poland; capitalism has no confidence to make Poland return to capitalism.

It is the same in China. Besides capitalism is afraid of the development of the unification between China and the USSR. Hence Kissinger proposed that links should not be broken at any cost with the Chinese leadership, because otherwise China would fall into the arms of the USSR.

It is necessary to discuss all this process in the world communist movement and in the left organisations. It is necessary to discuss the

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SWEDEN — THE PALME TRIAL

Based on information from a Swedish Cde.

The recent trial and decision to convict in the case of Olaf Palme's assassination is a judicial farce. Even the bourgeois press admit it. The man they have convicted is an alcoholic, a drug addict, well known to the police. He had no motive whatsoever for such a crime—he was himself an admirer of Palme and he completely denies the charge having in fact an alibi for the time of the murder. The police have no actual technical proof to bind him, but base their case purely on circumstantial evidence: several witnesses, including Palme's wife, claim they saw someone like him at the scene of the crime. On this basis alone, he has been convicted. It is an act of judicial desperation to try to remove the assassination out of the way and to avoid having to delve any further in its obvious political implications. The latter have already thoroughly compromised the Swedish political establishment, the police, the secret service and the arms industry. Palme's assassination and the subsequent revelations connected with it have exposed the whole rotting structure of Swedish bourgeois society.

After the verdict it was revealed that two of the jurors wanted to throw the whole case out as nonsense, but the six political representatives on the jury voted to convict. Clearly they see the Palme murder as a running sore and this latest suspect (there have been several) as the perfect scapegoat—a semi criminal with no political connections. Nevertheless most bourgeois press commentators have had to agree that when he appeals to the high court, he will be found not guilty and released. At the same time the so-called "police lead" in the murder continues to be ignored. The police themselves involved in the investigation refuse even to discuss the existence of it. On the evening of Palme's assassination, the whole area where he was killed was inundated with secret service men, off duty policemen in parked police cars and members of well known extreme anti communist and fascist cells within the police force itself. None of these were distinguished by alacrity in arriving at the scene of the crime and most are still unaccounted for. The three left wing papers who have published details of this obvious conspiracy have all been taken to court and given heavy fines. The "police lead" which has clear links with the CIA, remains officially banned from the line of investigation. The clear connivance of the state apparatus with the cover up of this assassination casts a sinister light on the so-called social "democracy". Caught up in scandals involving the police and corrupt arms deals, the social democracy shares the political crisis and decomposition of the class with which it is intimately associated. As with Greece, a new class leadership has to be constructed on the basis of association with the masses and an anti capitalist programme rooted in their struggles.

THE THEATRE OF DELPHI, EXTRACTS.

The theatre of Delphi like other such Greek constructions shows the outlook that the ruling caste had reached at that stage of human development. It was both mystical and logical. That is while it was logical, there was not yet the necessary knowledge of the world in order to explain phenomena. There was an aspect of mysticism due to the lack of understanding. Thus they had a logical, mystical conception. The ruling caste organised as it knew how and with the power that it had. Constructions like Delphi show to what degree society had developed and the very elevated relation between material means and human intelligence. Private property played little role at that time and had no influence in such a theatre. Afterwards with the consolidation of private property, a dark cloud spread over the bright star of intelligence.

Delphi is completely at odds with private property and its concepts. The latter would never have dreamed and would never dream now of making such constructions. But in that time, social castes were only in formation, even though they did exist. There was an undefined and diffuse relationship between the ruling social layers and production. Scientific knowledge was considered all important for its own sake and not so much for its application and use. In harmony with nature, the human being developed all the bases for a great intelligence, but later on as social classes developed, these bases were

increasingly undermined.

Ancient Greece is the recognised foundation of present day society, but capitalism does not want to know this. It explains Greece by saying that societies like countries and epochs come and go. They say "they are born, flower, decline and die". But this is not so, not even in private property, for which there will be certain death. But as for particular societies, they never die because they become integrated in other societies and their achievements are passed on. In the case of Ancient Greece was it not in some form continued by capitalism? The latter would be hard pressed to explain this succession which so greatly indicts it. Thus capitalism keeps quiet on the subject.

The Greeks choose for their theatre sites without abruptness, suited to the evoking of intelligence. As there was not a corresponding military and economic development in Greece, this intelligence was defeated militarily. Civilisation far from being universalised was pushed aside, isolated and forgotten. Ancient Greece was locked up. But Karl Marx found the key and unlocked the door. Capitalism is not at all interested in Ancient Greece which it had hoped had gone under a long time ago. Much to its dismay the Delphi Theatre was rediscovered in 1959, but it has been ignored ever since. If capitalism ignores it, it is because Ancient Greece—unlike gold mines and material goods does not serve its aims of exploitation.

Culture is of no use to

capitalism except when it can be used for exploitation. Ancient Greece is thus no use at all. There are no proper records of how exactly Greece came to disappear, even though there are many references in the universities. But the fact that Greece—which produced intellectual titans like Aristotle—enunciated the principles of the dialectical method of thought is only one more fact in those references.

The people who visit Delphi often journey thousands of miles. They are moved by a true cultural interest, feeling the progress of the world and the enormous influence of the Workers States, of marxism and of Socialism. All these impulses sharpen their interest and they seek out places like Delphi, which they see as a pointer to socialism.

Capitalism represents no more than a particular stage in the development of social classes. It is not interested in the past nor in the future, because these are outside the domain of exploitation. We for our part want to reclaim completely the jewel of human experience which is buried at the present moment. This is an act of objectivity, no less than is due to the equally objective development of human civilisation. We visit such monuments of the splendour of human history because intelligence draws us there. Humanity is returning to the level of the Ancient Greeks via Communism.

J. Posadas. 24.8.78

COLOMBIA — THE DECOMPOSITION OF CAPITALISM

The murder of Galan in Colombia has brought the drugs racket into a high political profile. But essentially a struggle is occurring which reflects the political decomposition of capitalist authority. Unfortunately that country lacks a powerful progressive centre which can effect a policy of social transformations, hence the continuation of the guerrilla struggles. The drugs traffic is sustained by powerful political and financial circles who wish to keep Colombia in a permanent state of backwardness. All they can do is organise a drugs traffic. They are incapable of developing Colombia and at the same time these dealers in drugs are intimately connected with the repression of the workers and peasant movement in that country. World imperialism has its hands in this business in its use of

Israeli agents to train right wing death squads.

Bush has intervened to try to "control" the conflict in Colombia under the guise of offering financial aid against the "dealers", but in reality it is simply a device for more yankee intervention to "supervise" capitalism in Colombia and contain the advance of the forces of the revolution in Latin America. There is no possibility of overcoming the sinister drugs traffic, without the liquidation of the capitalist system. Similarly in the USA or in Italy or anywhere else it is impossible to liquidate the Mafia because it is sustained in the very heart of the capitalist system and the more putrefying that becomes, the more the mafiosi flourish. Colombia is no exception. Galan had showed the desire of some sectors of the bourgeoisie to

contain the mounting viciousness of the right in Colombia with their great investment in drugs and thus he was liquidated. The massive development of the drugs traffic is part of the social putrefaction of capitalism. It is not surprising that it has grown just as capitalism has no function in history and actively seeks to destroy life. It is one of the substitutes for fascism. As capitalism cannot confront the workers states with a development of society, it seeks to destroy human beings in other ways. As the social relations in capitalism reach new levels of debasement, some layers of the population are demoralised and are open to drugs. Capitalism has made a high drama out of the Bush initiative" on drugs, but the

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of the aristocracy of labour. The Polish communist vanguard led by the example of the process in the Soviet Union will reconstruct its party and defend the integrity of the Polish workers state—statified property under centralised planning of industry and a modernised, collectivised agriculture with the full participation of the masses in popular organisms. The Soviet Union is engaged in reanimating the soviets, but the leadership of the Polish Communist party made no effort to develop organisms by which the masses could weigh and decide.

On the theoretical plane, the attitudes of the PUPP provoke reflection on the nature of Stalinism and its origins in Menshevism. The murderous finale of Stalinism was the consequence of its conservatism and lack of international perspectives which had always governed the line of Lenin and Trotsky. The PUPP is certainly not Stalinist in the sense of being homicidal in the most counter revolutionary manifestations of Stalinism, but it remains with a Stalinist heritage of conciliation and fear of the masses. Hence the quite unnecessary agreements with Solidarity. Nonetheless such is the progressive course of history that these errors will be taken in their stride by the forces of progress in Poland and the workers states as a whole. Menshevist gradualism will be replaced by the security of Bolshevism.

THE NEW GOVERNMENT IN POLAND CANNOT CONTAIN THE PROGRESS

OF THE POLISH WORKERS STATE.

The new government in Poland led by Solidarity with a communist presence is objectively an absurd denouement for the Polish workers state. But undoubtedly the great marxists from Marx to Posadas would enjoy the cunning of history displayed in these events. Here we have a movement in office containing a mass of varied opinions including very reactionary ones, who have now registered the need for "economic reforms". In this they have been abetted by the communists who have no marxist conception of developing the economy on a centralised but non-bureaucratic way. This is in the face of a working class which has gained in confidence and had the security to break the official trade unions and form independent ones. The working class has also delivered a blow at the communist party by its low electoral turn out, not because it has lost faith in socialism, but it sees no point in sustaining a dead apparatus. The great abstention in the elections showed the repudiation by whole sectors of the population of this new pseudo "democracy". The Solidarity leadership does not shine with overwhelming confidence. They have to accept that Poland remains in the Warsaw Pact and communists in the government. Objectively in the face of the structure of history, Solidarity has no future. The army correctly blocked the counter revolutionary efforts of the Solidarity leadership, but it is not possible to expect the army to substitute for the party. It does not have the life constituted for this. In a properly functioning workers state it receives its political life in collaboration with the party.

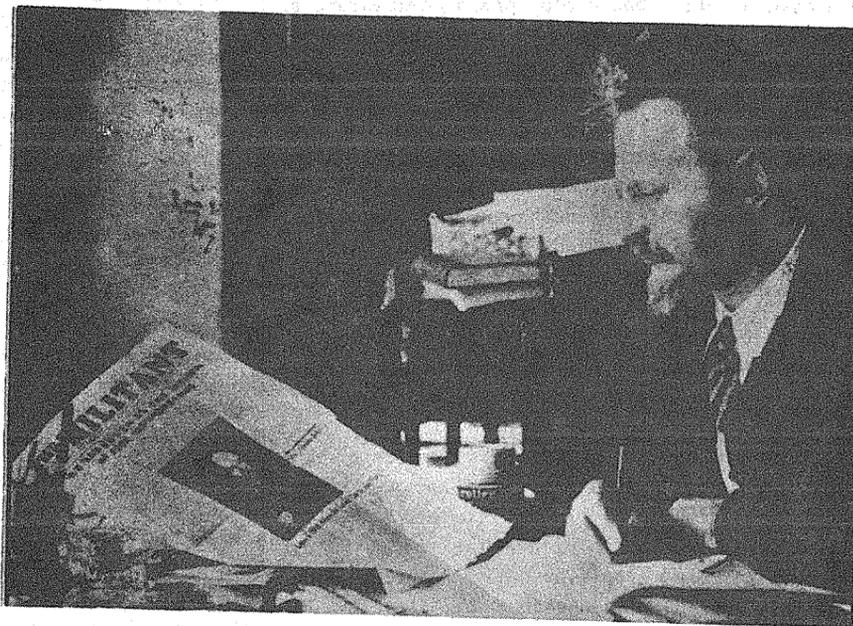
The buffoons who interpret for capitalism are at a loss to say anything. Bush went over to bask in some tepid political sunshine to receive the support of the most backward elements in Poland like Walewsa. World imperialism is very dubious of a happy outcome for itself in Poland. It has no intention and cannot develop Poland with the objective capacity to elevate the country economically and socially. Its sole interest is to create layers that will form barriers to the genuine functioning of the workers state i.e. at most it tries to create complications for Poland and the socialist bloc in general. But even so it shows no great enthusiasm for the task—there is no prospect of a new colonialism in Eastern Europe although capitalism has gone quite far with its IMF policies to try to do this. When world capitalism now invests less in Latin America than used to be the case and is incapable of stemming the world revolution, it is in no position to effect a capitalist restoration in Poland.

Gorbachev in his message to the Polish Communist Party stressed that Poland could not go to socialism without the Communist Party and sectors in the party realise that to advance it will have to go left i.e. become a genuine communist party as opposed to the invention perpetrated by stalinism. The apparatchniki may grieve, but the workers

vanguard no. The message to the Polish Communist party brings out a factor that increasingly the soviet leadership will be obliged to confront—the need for the Soviet Union to act as a world leadership in a more direct form, eventually leading to the reconstitution of a new mass communist international. The message to Poland shows considerable confidence on the part of the soviet leadership. But theoretical clarity is still required on the subject of "pluralism". The Polish masses could do without the "pluralism" it has been given, on the basis that any opinions are as good as any other opinions. No, they are not. There must be plenty of scope for discussions on the path to socialism, but allowing scope for anti socialist flatulence is a waste of time and gives space to discussions irrelevant to socialism. The leadership of the Polish Communist party has been geared to "pluralism" as part of its efforts to contain the proletariat and it opened the way for Solidarity. As the leader of the independent trade unions said the relationship between the leadership of the communist party and the solidarity group was between two "elites" standing above the masses. The Polish Communist party despite the Stalinist functionaries which were foisted on it, has a noble history of defiance to Pilsudski, the defence of Trotsky and participation in the rout of the nazis and the establishment of the Polish workers state. In comparison Solidarity is a jumble of petit bourgeois conservatives, nationalists, careerists, linked to sectors

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THE PUBLICATION OF "THE NEW COURSE" BY TROTSKY IN THE SOVIET UNION



Trotsky in exile.

The decision to publish "The New Course" of Trotsky by the Komsomol—which means approval by top sectors of the soviet leadership is an indication of the profound process of political discussion and re-orientation within the Soviet Union. It is in line with the powerful intervention of leading sectors of the soviet proletariat which was designed to impel the process of renovation in the Soviet Union and was a major blow at both the conservative layers of the party apparatus and the parasitic functionaries of the trade unions.

"The New Course" is of particular importance in understanding the origins of Stalinism and shows Trotsky's ability to weigh up his opponents on the level of appraising the sources of political decay which finally led to the smashing of the Bolshevik conception of the party and its replacement by a conservative self seeking bureaucracy remote from the world revolution. In many respects the "New Course" anticipates "The Revolution Betrayed" where Trotsky elaborated the themes already developed in the previous book.

Trotsky was particularly concerned with the need to elevate the political life of the Communist Party. He demonstrated that the leadership has to take account of the opinions of the party membership and that to elaborate a political line cannot be done only behind

the closed doors of the top leadership. It is true that Bolshevism does not favour democratic anarchy and factionalism, but nor does it propitiate bureaucratic fiat which tends to develop a party of robotic functionaries with no ideas save the latest instruction from on top. Trotsky showed the close connection in practice between factionalism and bureaucratic inertia—they feed each other. In some communist parties the total absence of political life has led to forms of political death.

Trotsky had the great historic sense to be able to stand back from the immediate political situation of his time and discern the deeper causes which were promoting the new bureaucratic regime, revolutionary only in name. In particular he saw the way in which the administration was taking cadres away from the party and the latter instead of influencing the government apparatus was becoming submitted to that apparatus, so that everything became determined by "precedent" and initiatives were not welcome. He made no bones about comparing what was happening in the Bolshevik party to what happened to the social democracy before 1914—what had begun with good intentions became handed over to parliamentary corruption in the absence of a real political life with the population.

The text also makes clear

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nature of this leadership of the Chinese workers state, why and how it degenerated. This leadership tried to make a Stalinist policy but does not have the historic conditions to sustain it and hence it has failed. This is going to produce new movements and

great changes in China to go further on the same road of mobilisations towards socialist democracy and the unification with the USSR and the rest of the socialist system. 15 7.89.

From page 3

resources available for curing addicts is notoriously

Trotsky's views on the need for the planned economy, that the theory of the permanent revolution was realised in the October Revolution and that his famous "under-estimation" of the peasantry was a bureaucratic invention. The decision to republish this work of Trotsky corresponds to the need of the workers states to advance in its apprehension of marxist method. It is a repudiation of the bureaucratic distortion of marxism and is part of the re-encounter with marxism. It corresponds to the need to reconstruct the CPSU on the basis of marxism and to elevate the relation between the party and the population. In the "New Course" Trotsky was particularly eloquent on the subject of mobilising the communist youth and taking account of their initiatives. This again in present context shows the effort of the soviet leadership, indeed it has no other option, to mobilise new resources against the sclerotic layers of the party bureaucracy. At the same time the texts of Trotsky cannot answer to all the questions of now, which is why we urge the CPSU to publish the works of Posadas which like Trotsky show the marxist capacity of foresight. Posadas foresaw the present development in the workers states and has much to say on all the problems of the party, the planned economy and the inevitable confrontation with imperialism.

insufficient and capitalism has no interest in solving the problem, after all that would mean limitations on a highly profitable "industry" second only to arms. The workers states are only marginally affected by this problem and what has developed is the result of the incompetence of the bureaucracy.

THE CONSERVATIVE DICTATORSHIP MUST BE CONFRONTED BY EXTRA PARLIAMENTARY MEETINGS AND MOBILISATIONS

The visit of Gorbachev to East Germany coinciding with the celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the foundation of the German Workers State, has had immediate consequences. The stalinist leadership has had to effect changes. The population greeted Gorbachev as the representative of the Soviet Workers state which is facilitating the greater participation of the masses in its functioning, that is the process of political revolution. Although the present soviet leadership still uses terms about not interfering in the internal affairs of countries, the Soviet Union has to extend into the world in order to develop towards socialism. Thus it has to "export" the political revolution directly and indirectly. The bureaucracies in the other workers states are an obstacle to this. The present foreign policy of the soviets is determined by the objective of trying to influence layers of capitalism seeking to escape the despotism of the decisive

sectors wedded to nuclear arms. Thus they try to extend trade links with the world capitalist economy, which is at the mercy of ever greater competition. The inevitable down turns of the capitalist economy offers possibilities to effect this strategy and the essentially artificial problem of consumer shortages in the Soviet Union is utilised in part for this purpose. The changes in the DDR are necessary from the point of view of developing a better relationship of the masses with the workers state and at the same time the soviets try to use these changes to attract the interest of German capitalism and thus weaken the links of the NATO alliance. The Soviet Union is now involved in profound internal discussions on the way forward. As the party is not prepared, indeed is lumbered with an army of functionaries out of touch with the population, the process is tortuous and sectors can intervene with egotistic and regional interests which do not

correspond to the needs of the workers state. But that is the way things are and the most decisive force is the structure of the workers state which impedes the activity of the most noxious elements. The proletariat is still contained in its expression by the limits of the democratisation process in the Soviet Union - the actual self administration by the masses has still to be secured. Soviet parliamentarianism, although a great advance is only a transitory stage to a much more powerful participation of the masses in soviet society. The law to contain strikes is of limited significance - what the soviet leadership is concerned about is the need to contain strikes brought about by reactionary layers as in Azerbaijan who seek to continue the life of the stalinist mafia outside the control of the centre and

develop pseudo nationalist sentiment to provoke disorder. The discussions over the co-operatives is in reality a discussion over the black market which caters for those with privileges and the soviet masses are showing their resistance to any "reforms" which give weight to old or new privileged layers. The process in the Soviet Union constantly feeds the world socialist revolution. The diplomacy of the soviets has momentarily reduced "tension" but only superficially - and none of this has been done at the expense of the world socialist revolution. There cannot be any Yaltas and Imperialism has been forced back. The Afghan whites have been contained, the contras in Nicaragua sell their arms to rebels in El Salvador and the war continues in Cambodia. In the Middle East the rebellion

of the Palestinians creates splits within the Israeli leadership. As the soviet is a reformist and not a revolutionary leadership, they offer no direct socialist perspectives for these countries. But the soviet Workers State as a structure gives a programme and an example indirectly. Even when the soviets suspend arms deals with Nicaragua, this has only occurred because the contras are enfeebled and Nicaragua is sufficiently armed. But the soviets provide Nicaragua with extensive economic aid, thus maintaining the revolution in Central America. The policy of world imperialism tries to adapt itself to the changes in the workers states without much enthusiasm or capacity. The splits between Yankee and European imperialism led by

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The Release of the Anti-Apartheid leaders.

The release of leaders of the ANC, including Sisulu the Secretary of the movement is a defeat for South African fascism and its imperialist backers. Like the black population of South Africa and the leaders of the ANC, we have no illusion in the white leadership and its intention to hang onto power, but at the same time when the new government of de Klerk is obliged to make such a move and Botha had to be thrown out, it is because for the moment they see no alternative. No doubt de Klerk hopes to give an extra argument to Thatcher to resist further economic sanctions, but when such a concession is given, it is because objective conditions impose it and there is no other exit.

For the first time flags of the ANC and the Communist party flew in Cape Town and were not ripped down. Weeks

before huge black demonstrations were held and the police did not intervene. The logic of the process would be to release Mandela.

It is not the ANC which has made concessions, but the fascist government. Sisulu repeated the need to overthrow Apartheid and to end all the emergency laws and the regime of political repression. The extreme right are in a state of apoplexy, denouncing the opening to a marxist government. When there is such a crisis in a country like South Africa, it is the result of political forces which are irresistible.

Imperialism has been obliged to concede over elections in Namibia. It spent resources on systematically ruining Angola and Mozambique and it has failed to dislodge these governments, inflicting enormous damage on

them. Although the workers states have limited their intervention in this area, nonetheless the world relation of forces acts against South Africa. It is downhill for Apartheid whatever murderous efforts are made to retain it. That is not only the result of the immense efforts of the people and children of South Africa, but of the world process led by the workers states which has confronted imperialism and confronts it, depriving it of the power of manoeuvre and the ability to impose its will. It has been suggested that de Klerk is speculating on possible differences in the black leaderships. That in itself shows the devastating weakness of these washed out fascists. They have to keep going in the hopes that the other side may give them a little reprieve.

Triumph for the ANC.



On "Socialism in One Country"

Extracts From "The Historic Balance of the Soviet Union Since The October Revolution" (1967). J. Posadas

At the same time as Stalin expelled Trotsky in 1927, the liquidation of the Communist International began. In the epoch of Lenin and Trotsky, there was a Congress every year. Between 1919 and 1924, there were four congresses which presented the most important texts in the whole of human history since Marx and Engels. The main texts were written by Trotsky and fully approved by Lenin. These are the texts which organise the world revolution, the economy, the struggle of the masses which analyse the problems of the nationalist movement, of the world united front of the revolution, the problems of the permanent revolution, the advance from the nationalist struggle to the struggle for workers power. All these historic documents are still integrally valuable. At the same time as he eliminated Trotsky and the Trotskyists, Stalin emptied the Communist International of its life and engaged openly in the policy of conciliation and of opportunism determined by "Socialism in a single country".

The latter phrase meant the rupture with proletarian internationalism, the loss of confidence in the world character of the revolution and the turning inwards of the Soviet Union. This policy stimulated the participation of all the opportunist and arriviste elements who saw the possibility of making a career without risk and who found an identity between nationalist and socialist interests. The workers state had already demonstrated its historic power and it was able to attract a whole layer of careerists. The Chinese avoid the discussion of this stage of history. They avoid discussing among other things the failure of the Chinese revolution of 1927 which was a very important event for the world experience in the workers movement. This failure was one of the most evident conclusions of the noxious policy of "Socialism in one country". The Chinese Communist Party was led by Stalin, the Trotskyists were never involved in this policy and there was never an organised Trotskyist movement in China.

In 1925-27 the Chinese Revolution broke out and the Chinese Communist party oriented by Stalin decided to make a united front with Chiang Kai Shek and to eliminate the independent life of the Communist Party giving

the leadership of the movement to Chiang Kai Shek. Trotsky fought for an agreement for a United Front with Chiang Kai Shek, but to maintain the independence of the party and appealed to the masses to take power. He did not wish to give the leadership to Chiang Kai Shek. It was necessary to foresee the treachery of that bourgeois leader and to utilise his movement to address the nationalist petit bourgeois masses still influenced by the Kuomintang so that they would be able to advance towards the socialist revolution. Stalin delivered the power to Chiang Kai Shek and the latter turned on the masses and caused a bloodbath by assassinating all the militants of the Chinese Communist party.

The Chinese hide this historic truth. Let them show a document showing that events occurred in any other way. It is possible to compare the texts of Trotsky of that epoch with those of Stalin and of the Stalinists who spoke of Chang Kai Shek as a "dear friend" and placed confidence in him. Trotsky said "He is not our friend but a circumstantial ally who awaits the smallest opportunity to turn against us. If he allies with us, it is because the nationalist petit bourgeoisie wants to struggle to smash feudalism and imperialism in China. Chiang Kai Shek had to put himself at the head of the movement so as not to be bypassed. It is necessary to seek an alliance while maintaining the programme, the revolutionary objectives and the independent functioning of the Chinese Communist party and to call upon the masses to take power in spite of and against Chiang Kai Shek". That was the position of the Trotskyists.

The policy of Stalin allowed Chiang Kai Shek to contain the revolution, to turn against the Communist party and to assassinate half a million workers, peasants and petit bourgeois revolutionaries. But the Chinese revolution of 1925 demonstrated also that the Russian Revolution had developed its historic influence. In 1925-27 soviets were established in Shanghai and in Canton. The Long March had its roots in that. Similarly the movement of Fidel Castro did not come out of nothing as there were soviets in Cuba in 1930. The Mao Tse Tung movement was the result of the Soviets of 1925-

27 and of those of 1933-36 in Canton. In the centres where the revolution was organised most rapidly, tradition and experience were never forgotten. All that is part of the historic balance of the fiftieth anniversary the Russian Revolution.

The world is going towards the final settlement of accounts. The oppressed masses of the world have already acquired the historic consciousness that socialism is necessary and possible. They show this in giving a socialist character to each of their important movements. In Mali as in Syria, they tend to form communes to collectivise production. It is a crime that the Socialists, the Chinese and the Cubans did not help the masses of Syria, Iraq, Algeria and of Egypt to organise soviets, did not call for meetings, mobilisations, declarations of support to the Arab masses, do not call for the overthrow of all the monarchies of these regions, to take the land, to statify oil, the banks, to impose workers control and to plan production, to develop the socialist unification of the Middle East.

The Soviet Union is composed of a multitude of nationalities, of different ways of living. In the heart of the Soviet Union, there are differences as great as those between a country of black Africa and a country of Europe. There are immense differences of economic, cultural and social development and a great diversity of languages. The programme of the socialist revolution has unified all in the Soviet Socialist Federation. All that serves as an experience today for the middle East, Africa and Latin America, as for the rest of the world which must resolve the same problems as the Soviet Union.

We reiterate our appeal to the conscious revolutionaries to study "The History of the Russian Revolution" by Trotsky and that they study the texts of Lenin. All that is analysed there, Russia is a veritable world of the most diverse nationalities. Lenin with the support of Trotsky and afterwards with his direct participation, resolved the problems which the backwardness of the feudal system, of feudal and capitalist slavery had installed by developing a system allowing all the nationalities to live in the same country, self determination having the effect of attracting peoples

who had different traditions of language and culture and incorporating them in a common economic structure.

But in 1917 there was only one workers state, very poor without economic, material or military resources, and it had to make historic concessions which are not necessary today. In this epoch there was neither the authority, nor the tradition nor the historic perspectives of the world development of the revolution. Today it is no longer a question of making concessions to the nationalities as before, but it is necessary to consider that the problem exists.

It can be resolved within the shortest historic delays and rhythms, but it cannot be avoided. It is the problem of the Middle East, of Israel, of India, Burma, Laos, Indonesia all of very different cultural, religious, economic, linguistic and revolutionary traditions. In all these, it is the revolutionary traditions which are the most valid. It is thus that the problems of Indonesia or of India can be resolved in a simple way. There exists the historic experience of China and the Soviet Union. The problem of nationalities is resolved through the soviets. The soviet is the unifying centre because self determination which is not done under a soviet form has no chance of being accomplished. It is not a question of a commercial agreement in which the one with the greatest economic power is going to determine. This cannot happen with the soviets because the population feels that it is integrated, because the problems of language, of ethnic origin and of religion are the inheritance of capitalism which weigh more than the inheritance of the economic structure.

The development of socialist consciousness abbreviates historic delays and simplifies the solution of historic problems. For example the self determination of nationalities demanded previously historic delays and immense concessions which signified obstacles for centralisation. Today on the contrary, it is possible to centralise from the beginning. This is the experience which arises from the fifty years of the existence of the Russian revolution which cannot be applied in the same fashion today nor with the same rhythm

or the same timing. If the objectives are the same, the rhythms and the stages are reduced.

All these historic problems have been analysed by Marx and Engels and their Marxism was applied by Lenin and Trotsky who have left the experience for history. Today the Chinese, the Cubans and the Soviets have no right of analysis on their historic experience. The bureaucracy has eliminated the marxist socialist cultural development of the USSR and it is for that reason that no texts exist on any of the great problems of humanity.

One of the greatest problems of humanity is why is it that there are fifteen workers states and why does each of them have nationalist interests? The logical necessity of the development of the workers states which was already included in the Communist International is the unified planning of all the workers states. What is the reason for the lack of planning of the different workers states? The explanation is immediate and simple. It is because the bureaucracy has developed in each of them, instead of the revolutionary proletariat in power. The bureaucracy has developed nationalist interests not because history is so, but because there exists a discordance in the rhythms and stages of history. The development of the revolution has been more rapid than the possibility of constructing revolutionary political organisms.

That is the experience which the Russian revolution has given to us and which is expressed on an historic scale. In Europe after the 1939-45 war, the possibility of the development of the revolution advanced more rapidly than the possibility of organising the revolutionary leadership. All the leaderships which existed and which would have been able to take power in these conditions received the influence of the soviet bureaucracy. This influenced the rest of the world, including China. That is the result of an empirical policy, of the absence of programme and the annulling of the soviets. The Chinese do not speak at all of soviets. The seven years of the Soviet Union from 1917-1924, have allowed the establishment, the stabilising and the

The Prince and Modernist Architecture

The recent intervention of the Crown Prince on the subject of "modernist" Architecture and its appalling expression today particularly in the big urban conurbations has aroused much interest. The Prince realises that such is the catastrophic social crisis of capitalism that to try to save itself in the fall out, the monarchy must make some intervention to differentiate itself from the fiasco of Thatcherism. It is the logical expression of the capitalist system in this stage.

Inevitably the Prince makes an effort to present a reformist perspective, but such was his concern with social problems that it prompted Tebbit to warn against further steps in the direction of "Socialism". In its final stages of multi-nationals, massive flows of capital seeking high interest and concentrations of financial power in fewer and fewer hands, international capitalism has produced its own hideous architectural expression—megalomaniac sky scrapers. These express its true spirit, the attempt to intimidate humanity through high altitudes and massive structures. All the latest technology is used to increase height and tower over human beings. It is infantile but then the mentality of big business is infantile. Their altitude is not the altitude of thought, the immense perspectives of human intelligence but the heavy weight of power and money, made at the expense of crushing human beings and enslaving millions. So-called "late modern" architecture in whatever country is in general an orgy of weight and volume—nothing light or human as with earlier architectural systems such as for example Islamic architecture, only enormities of size proclaiming not harmony or variety but bombast—"we are the great masters and you are nothing, because we are the great money bags". In the avalanche of capitalist decay, what elements of harmony existed from the past are thrown aside. The skyline of London now represents a grotesque carnage, an appropriate expression of the era of deregulation and cuts in social

expenditures. It is not to be expected that the Prince will probe too far into the roots of the present capitalist anarchy, because that would really lay bare the impossibility of social change without revolution. He has grazed the enemy without "going too far" and tended to shift the problem onto the problem of the architects of modernism. Certainly this is the easier target, but not the real one. The Prince seeks a reform of the present architecture by returning to past styles. There are indeed many architects who are quite prepared to become the servants of the system, adopt its ideology but in themselves the architects are only the functionaries of the system. It is the social relations which decide the architecture and the latter demonstrates the particular features of the social order. Within the terms of that system, one client may be more capable than another, but the social relations determine and the monstrosities of decaying capitalism represent that system, not the will of any particular architect; although some architects are quite happy to be the architects of capitalism. The architect is frequently constrained by financial and other problems and cannot be the main target of criticism. The reason capitalism took an interest in "modernism" in architecture was that it offered the possibilities of cutting costs. As capitalism in its final stages has abandoned the ideological fantasy of emulating the ancients, it showed itself in all its brutish banality. It has to provide some comfort within buildings to function at all, but otherwise the population has to put up with bleak, empty vastness—singularly appropriate for the vast, emptiness of capitalism. The Prince can only afford to go so far with his criticism—although objectively it is quite a blow at capitalism and brings out its deteriorating authority. He tries to retreat to more architecturally pleasant ages when capitalism was still preserved in some aspects a human scale. Nonetheless it is not for us to countenance any support for the Houses of Parliament which express in

their Gothicism the absurd conservatism of the Victorian capitalist class. In a more indirect form the Prince has shown some interest in low cost housing, but too many pronouncements on this would lead to a very marked collision with the interests of private property.

It is revealing that it took the Prince to raise an issue which many people under capitalism are concerned about. The Labour Party never made an issue of this. That in itself shows the fear of the apparatus to rock the boat by raising larger cultural issues that cannot be resolved by some resolution in controlled conferences. The fact that this intervention caused such a disturbance in the capitalist community and outside shows that Britain is ripe for profound social changes. The Prince hopes to sustain the monarchy, but in a limited form he delivered a blow at the very system which sustains it. Such is the turmoil of the decomposition of capitalism.

There can be no solution to the problems of housing and architecture within the framework of capitalism. The miserable story of the homeless and the mountain of interest rates for more or less enforced home buying is all that the phoney "enterprise" culture of capitalism is capable of doing. Capitalism cannot stop people complaining about the present situation, but it has no means and no interest in solving any of these issues. Everything is committed to competition and destroying other competitors. There is no room for anything else. The planning of the economy on the basis of the mass participation of the population is the only guarantee that the housing issue can be solved and that the environment is considered in relation with human needs. The days of the architectural monument are over and the mystique of the all-seeing architectural genius. Only on the basis of a new mass culture incorporating as Lenin said the best of previous culture will a new human environment be constructed.

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Imperialism who seek to maintain an intransigent policy towards the world revolution and the workers states. Only United States Imperialism supported Thatchers position.

The conditions thus for the labour left are very favourable. The world process is not diminishing the confrontation with the workers states, but capitalist authority is being undermined and they have to prepare for war in very clandestine

conditions where their social and political authority is deteriorating rapidly. As the labour leadership cannot help but bewail, Thatchers policies have finally weakened not strengthened capitalism and brought the system closer to the abyss. 13.11.89.

The Labour Party conference and the paralysis of the apparatus.

The Labour conference epitomised the crisis of both capitalism and its representatives in the workers movement. All the capitalist countries are now functioning on borrowed time. There is enormous competition between them and more to come. The only element which prevents far worse conflicts among them is the fear of the workers states led by the Soviet Union. The United States runs deficits at the expense of everyone else. Britain is faced with vastly superior competitors in Germany and Japan. So decrepit is the ancient carcass of British imperialism that it welcomes capital from the Japanese once despised as mere imitators. Britain is constantly being ticked off by its European rivals for backwardness in water supplies or other social norms. Britain used to be very "superior" to the continent, now and especially with its notorious thugs, it is very much a noisy but inferior relation. Handed over to the financial manipulators, it has produced some very distinguished fraudsters. Thatcherism, after unseemly ambitions to "make Britain great again"—but only in tow to the Yanks—has demonstrated for all to see with even greater clarity than Wilson and Callaghan, that capitalism in Britain is simply vegetating with no creative capacity whatsoever. It is a block to progress and nothing can be expected from it save violence, mendacity, cultural barbarism and stupidity.

Clearly the present government has failed to solve any of the problems of capitalism even when shifting the burden of its crisis onto the population, and the problems are all worse than before. But it is not surprising if the labour party leadership reacts to this crisis not with a swing to the left, but a swing to capitalism. Although broadly speaking the world process undoubtedly favours the Labour left and is undermining the bases for the pro capitalist sectors, the structure of this Labour party has not been broken. It remains a bourgeois party with a worker and popular base. The left has not developed a constant dialectical relation with the population outside the control of the electoral apparatus. This is not to diminish this left which has many historical problems, related to the fact that the experiences of Stalinism have held it within the orbit of purely parliamentary politics without a base in the factories or the workers areas. On the other hand, there is still an illusion that the Labour party is in some way socialist and that the right wing are traitors. They are not traitors to socialism, but simply the representatives of capitalism in the workers movement. Their idea of socialism is reforming capitalism, like a member of Gladstones cabinet who said "we are all socialists now". On the other hand it is not excluded that under powerful pressures as after the last war, the leadership may be obliged to go further than they intended, but as a party and leadership it can never be expected to construct socialism.

Thus the "turn to the right" is not the surprise it may appear to be. On the contrary it is a measure of the crisis of the capitalist system. The apparatus of the party and that of the trade unions responds not to the masses, but to the need to accommodate to the new process in capitalism, a capitalism which is weak, lacks authority and is sinking into a morass. As an electoral machine attracting support on this basis to reform capitalism, it is comparatively easy for the leadership to get the support they need. There is a left in the LP because the latter even as an apparatus has to respond albeit distantly to the demands of the masses, but without a real close and regular attachment to the masses outside parliament the left can be distanced or reduced by the apparatus. Much is being made of a future elimination of the block vote. But in reality as we are dealing with a bourgeois party, whatever brand of "democracy" prevails is adjusted to that simple fact. Some on the left complain of the smooth admen that have appeared, but that is nothing new. The Labour party sprouted Healy, Callaghan, Gunter, Owen and until there is a powerful organised marxist current within and outside the LP to confront and ultimately destroy this structure, the LP will continue to produce the careerists who try to front for capitalism when the latter is in difficulties. At the same time as seeing the limitations of this conference, it is far more necessary to see also the very severe crisis that is going to confront the apparatus before the elections and after. Conference votes may temporarily buoy up the

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apparatus, but more and more like capitalism itself, it is dwarfed by history. It wanders around in a fog, aware that things are not what they used to be and the future from their point of view is somewhat opaque. Thus the final speech of Kinnock was a grand survey of everything, but very short on conclusions or programme. His world view amounted to peering into a very long tunnel with not the remotest sign of light—very much the image of capitalism. Naturally it was a speech geared to assure capitalism that labourism would behave properly if elected. He had no desire to inspire the population with a perspective, that would make capitalism suspicious and at the same time increase pressures on the apparatus. Thus the LP leadership is caught in a vice, because the situation is abnormal, the system is in manifest crisis and bolsterous electioneering is dangerous for it. Wilson could mystify with talk of technological change, but British capitalism was not as decrepit then as it is now.

The apparatus managed to reject the argument for unilateral nuclear disarmament, although the proletariat found some form of indirect representation in the continued support given by the TGWU to this demand, and Benn remade the point that the Soviet Union posed no military threat. The leadership could not separate itself from demands for the restitution of trade union rights, but rejected immunity for secondary picketing which is the basic issue in proletarian solidarity. But even in this carefully prepared conference—a sort of pallid stalinism—the apparatus was faced with embarrassing moments in cheerfulness kept on breaking through. Thus the proposal of Bruce Kent that defence spending should be cut and the money saved used to meet the social needs of the population was passed. Kinnock in his speech said the Labour would tackle the problems of education, transport etc. But the fact that these problems cannot be resolved without fundamental social transformations was naturally ignored. Without question the most progressive sectors of the population, the proletariat and its allies in the petit bourgeoisie are concentrating around the Labour party, whatever the disposition of the leadership. The left has no reason for disappointment. History has never been decided by numbers, particularly the ludicrous numbers in LP and TUC conferences where the famous millions have never been consulted. In the process that is coming, the labour left is inevitably going to act as a centre against capitalism, but it must also establish links with the population on a permanent basis with links in the factories and workers areas beyond the life of the electoral machine. The world process favours it as never before.

Germany continue, whether in ambulance men are examples of Nato or elsewhere. The struggle over the fuller participation of Britain in the rest of the European economy is linked to political issues in the policy towards the soviets. The constant crisis in the British ruling class over the attitude towards Europe is the contradiction between pressures for economic participation, but resistance to the rest of the European bourgeoisie who are not so enthusiastic over super centralisation with the Yanks against the soviets. The agony of the capitalist system is evident in every aspect of the decay of the Thatcher regime. Its spokesmen continue to hail its great "successes" to maintain their class unity, but the polarisation of class forces brings out the complete impotence of capitalism. The interventions of the engineering workers demanding higher wages and a reduction in hours and the resolute struggle of the

confirmation of the historic right of the workers state on the basis of soviets. The functioning of proletarian democracy during these seven years, allowed the Soviet Union to endure the civil war, the capitalist encirclement of two years plus economic sabotage with the immense mortality caused by the various hardships, which no other state would have been able to tolerate.

If Vietnam has endured five years of imperialist invasion, it is because it had China by its side, that there were fifteen workers states and that the Vietnamese population had already lived through the stage of the construction of the workers state. It felt that it was strong and that it had already confirmed itself in expelling Japanese and French imperialism from Indochina.

The world development of the revolution has given historic assurance to the masses in attracting the peasantry. In other stages of history, capitalism was based on the utilisation of the peasantry against the town, against the proletariat. That is no longer possible. In China and in Vietnam, ninety percent of the population is peasant, in Cuba seventy percent. However capitalism has failed, because the world influence of the revolution has attracted the peasantry which has supported the proletariat in sustaining the programme of the socialist revolution.

There has been no planning of the economy, not because it cannot be done, but because the bureaucracy has no interest in planning. In the same way as on a national scale the bureaucracy has not utilised the forces of the population, it has prevented them from any participation, excludes and intimidates them, makes them afraid, so also it has not utilised them on a world scale. Stalin was the first great organiser of the concentration camps. Before Hitler, Stalin organised concentration camps for

from the speculative fever of money which finds no productive outlet. The crisis was curbed by the collaboration of the various world capitalist institutions who try to moderate these problems because of their joint need to confront the workers states. But the inter capitalist antagonism remains and in practice the world capitalist economy is very precarious as it sustains a vast yankee debt which the Japanese largely

millions of people who were in opposition, peasants, workers, and militants of the Bolshevik party. Stalin liquidated all the revolutionary proletarian vanguard which led, organised and sustained the Russian revolution. But he was not able to eliminate the structural base of the workers state. That demonstrated the historic power of statified property, of the planning of the economy and the monopoly of foreign trade. These new forms of history showed their legitimate right to exist in spite of the bureaucracy. The population has already understood this superiority and defended the workers state. The bureaucracy was not able to destroy these structures without destroying itself. This is the contradictory character of the bureaucracy. It supports itself on statified property, but it cannot tolerate either the soviets or the world revolution which is fundamental to develop the planning of the economy.

An essential element of economic planning consists in the unconditional support to the world revolution, to revolutionary movements.

Otherwise we stay at the level of economic agreements like Comecon. Such agreements are arranged as a function of the economic identity of the different workers states, but the different economic interests of whatever bureaucracy hinder the extension of planning. But on the other hand the Communist International brings the masses of the world closer to the workers state. The masses of the capitalist countries, of the colonial and semi-colonial countries are united to the Russian Revolution through the Communist International. The latter was the organising arm of all the experience, the power and the capacity of the workers state to extend the world revolution. It organised the export of revolution. To export the revolution means to aid the masses of a country under whatever form it may be—military, economic, propagandist financial—so that the masses take and organise power. The international solidarity of

the masses is a form of the export of the revolution. The struggles of the North American masses against the war in Vietnam are an export of the revolution, because they defend the masses of Vietnam against their own country. They do not intervene directly in Vietnam with men or with money, but if this way of exporting the revolution has less capacity of historic importance, it has the same objective.

The planning of the economy of the workers states is an essential condition of the world development of socialism. However the Soviet Union has not advanced on this path. In relation to the original planning, the bureaucracy has retreated towards autonomy of enterprises, the market economy and the introduction of capitalist relations. The bureaucracy by its nature cannot have its own programme or objectives. Everything which it plans is short term. The bureaucracy expresses no necessary social function in the workers state. It is a usurpation. The social classes justify their position in history by the progress that they bring to the economy. Capitalism showed its value in front of feudalism. When it no longer shows its historic capacity for progress, its life is an agony. Before being attacked by the Russian Revolution capitalism was already dead in the historic consciousness of humanity. The workers state demonstrated that a regime superior to capitalism was being born.

The leadership of the Bolshevik party and of the soviet workers state showed themselves capable of responding to the historic will and aspiration of the Russian people and of developing the economy. The soviet Workers State has continued to develop, but the rhythm of this development is infinitely inferior to its historic capacity. The historic function of the workers state does not consist only in the development of the economy but in the most advanced social development in the world.

finance. Whatever measures they take cannot provide capitalism with a recession free world.

The decrepitude of the Thatcher regime is evident in every aspect of policy. The release of the Guildford Four and the associated investigations of corrupt police practice in the West Midlands point to the putrefaction of the police in line with the putrefaction of capitalism. It is not of course just policemen who were

involved in the Guildford frameup, but the very summit of the system, however much that may be protected. At the same time in the sphere of foreign policy Thatcher is obliged to blight the Commonwealth conference by defending the policy of condoning and supporting the South African regime when everyone else is obliged to condemn it. All this shows the desperation of the most reactionary sectors of

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