

## Editorial

### FOR THE TRADE UNIONS TO INTERVENE ON ALL ISSUES WITH AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The situation in Britain takes place against the background of increasing confrontation between the workers states and capitalism. Brezhnev has made a speech which shows the confidence that the leadership in the workers states feel. He said that if the United States was aggressive, it would disappear. They do not worry any longer about what imperialism can do, they feel that the workers states decide history. This is a very changed situation than the time of Stalin. Capitalism feels hemmed in by the revolution and constantly has to take into account the attitude of the Soviet Union. In Goudaloupe, the main leaders of the world capitalist system met, fundamentally in an attempt to organise the counter-revolution, particularly to discuss how to deal with the Soviet Union, which is what hampers them from intervening in countries that previously they would have just invaded and massacred the population. Castro has also made a speech which pointed the finger at imperialism having been responsible for all the massacres in Latin America and said, 'Who told imperialism that the people of Latin America should not choose Socialism?' These attitudes of the workers states leaderships are precisely what limits the perspectives for capitalism on a world scale. There is an alternative system which questions everything capitalism does, and British capitalism is part of that system which feels that it has no perspective.

There has been an increase in the combativity of the British working class over the last period, which has led to the continuous confrontation of the government by the trade unions, including petty-bourgeois unions. Britain is in dispute, from one end to the other, with all sectors of society involved in the turbulence. The Times journalists are firm and resolute, the lorry drivers call for 20% and the 35 hour week, the social workers remain on strike, television broadcasting has been affected. Such a turmoil in society cannot just be put down to a problem of wages, a much deeper social phenomenon determines such actions. The workers have been giving their opinion on the capitalist system, and they have said, we are against this system; it cannot advance living standards, it cuts back welfare spending, it adulterates the bread, it supports the Shah. All these actions are very deep struggles against the capitalist system. The government wants to maintain the competition of British capitalism against other capitalist countries, thus demanding that the workers increase productivity and have lower wages. Other workers are just thrown out of work. But there is a tremendous resistance to these plans of capitalism. The workers have another opinion. Thus the German steel workers have similarly demanded the 35 hour week. The workers are refusing to pay for the crisis of capitalism. Instead they are struggling against capitalism. It is contained on the level of wages by the apparatuses of the trade unions. There is an absolute necessity for a leadership which gives a political expression to the discontent of the population. The trade unions must formulate a programme which besides defending the living standards of the population, puts forward a political programme to struggle against capitalism. Nationalise all basic industries, banks and insurance companies under workers control! All wages to rise with the cost of living! For the 35 hour week now! What is at stake is that British capitalism cannot develop the economy, everything has stagnated. Only a programme for the benefit of the population is going to be able to change this. An anti-capitalist programme provides the basis to take Britain from stagnation to progress.

Capitalism has no interest whatsoever for the benefit of the population. This has been abundantly clear in the death, from smallpox, of a scientific worker. The trade unions intervened to protect the interests of the people, they closed down the laboratory and have now called for a public enquiry. Capitalism has waved aside the outbreak as an accident, or a misfortune. But here is a case where the trade unions have intervened on behalf of the population. It must be done in all industries by stating that if capitalism has no interests in the welfare of the workers and the population, then the factory will be run by the workers under workers control. The smallpox case was a particularly sinister one because it is not for scientific reasons that this research is carried on. Smallpox has now been eradicated in Britain and it is not necessary that research with live virus is continued. Capitalism has different intentions than those of medicine. They are to be used quite directly in biological warfare against the population. It is quite logical that it should be so. In Iran, the Shah is backed by world capitalism. He stands for nothing except the destruction and massacre of the population, when they threaten his riches and wealth. Biological warfare is a continuation of the type of mentality which invents the neutron bomb, it is solely to kill people. World capitalism feels that it is threatened by the existence and expansion of the workers states and is preparing to give a global response, in war.

What is the motive force behind a system like capitalism? It functions so as to gain profits for its own interest. Anything

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## Viva the 20th anniversary of the Cuban Workers State!

## THE PROBLEMS OF BELGIUM AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM: SYNTHESIS OF THE WORLD PROBLEMS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

(Inside)

21-11-78

J. Posadas.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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## THE MEETING OF THE SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL IN VANCOUVER

7-11-78

J. POSADAS

The Socialists have to speak in a language more to the left, not much, because they do not like it, but they have to speak more to the left. Craxi himself makes the declaration, saying, 'We want to see if effectively there are changes in the Communist Party, it is necessary to follow them closely to keep at their heels, so that they do not escape, to force them to go on to complete the changes.' But why not see what changes they themselves have to make? It's the same with the declarations of Felipe Gonzalez which show the void of a leadership which feels that it has to do something, but does not know how to satisfy the needs. Hence he says, 'Changes are necessary...more democracy...', but he does not attack the Soviet Union.

The basis of all this is that they see that they have to compete socially, not electorally, with the Communist Party, with the USSR and with social transformations. This is the depth of the situation. It is a splendid situation in which to intervene, because neither Carrillo with his position nor the Socialists can answer to what is needed.

At the same time, this meeting of the Socialists expresses the struggle which has been concealed between Mitterand and Brandt because the Germans want to be masters of Europe in the name of the bourgeoisie, with some improvements and some progress but they do not push forward any programme. They do not attack the Workers States nor the Communists because they expect to make a pact with them against the Yanks. This is the depth of the lot of them. They speak in generalities which are absurd in 1978 — 'greater democracy, more freedom, better development' — and what happens concretely is that they see they have to intervene in Africa, Asia and Latin America, otherwise they stay in the air. Then they appear as competitors with the Workers States. Now to do this they cannot be mere simple representatives of capitalism. Because the countries which have to develop are to the left of all of them, less the French Socialist Party. Craxi is not to the left because his programme is a capitalist programme. Hence the declarations of Craxi are a step back from the rest of the other declarations, when he says, 'Keep on the heels of the Communist Party so they complete their break with the USSR'. Mitterand says, 'Yes, it's good, but that is another thing'. Sectors see that there cannot be a break with the USSR, and that they have to advance and

have the Yanks on top of them. Brandt has the Yanks behind him and the USSR, and he has to navigate, in principle, with the Pope who is placed so as not to go against the USSR, which is very significant of the nature of the crisis of the Socialists. They do not base themselves on the proletariat against the USSR but, yes, against the Yanks. But, in their turn, they fix the line against the Yanks but beware of not going to the Soviet camp. Hence they shout, 'aid, improvements, progress', but what? Not one line on historic transformations and social transformations. Progress? And, how is progress to come about?

It is very important to see what is happening in the Socialist International. They are going to continue to speak as an international but independent of each other. That is to say, they are going to make a European Community in which the Germans and the French are going to dominate. This was not a meeting of an International, but a meeting of Socialist parties of various parts of the world. It was not an international meeting because they have not discussed or resolved international problems, but according to taste they make generalisations which do not involve anything and sanction the abstractions of the Socialist Party. But it is now a determining explicit fact that there is the need of a world political centre to compete with the Workers States and to be a centre of mediation between the Workers State and capitalism. Thus they believe that they have opportunity for this. It is absurd, it is a calculation without bases and without experience. Hence they rush out like this. They are forced any way, even maintaining themselves in the camp of capitalism to encourage in words, in declarations, improvements without saying what, as though from the epoch of Kautsky.

They proceed to propose improvements. But not one word on social transformations in the world, on the progress of the world and, above all, like Angola, Cuba, Mozambique and Vietnam who pass from nothing to being countries with a great perspective of development, of a great coherent and disciplined structure in the object of progress. Not one word on this, which shows the void of this Socialist International.

The Socialist International that they want to extend and create and extend to the rest of the world, is simply a world meeting of the Socialist parties, the Social Democratic parties or bourgeois parties, to free them to compete with the

Workers States, because they see the need to replace capitalism that now does not have the authority to exist. Various Socialist parties are in government, but they do not have the programme of change. They are feeling the influence of the Workers States, in which the masses — to advance, like the trade unions of capitalist Germany — propose social transformations and the nationalisation of the principle centres of production, something which in Italy the trade unions do not propose. On the other hand, the German Social Democratic trade unions propose reduction to 35 hours of work and then to 30, and the combatting of unemployment, crisis and the lack of development of the standard of life, with the nationalisation of the principal centres of production. That is to say that the trade unions of Germany register and accept the experience of the progress of the world, which means that it is necessary to nationalise. While the Socialist International does not say one word on this, and they decide in 'fear of the programme'. These Socialist leaders give the impression that Mitterand and Brandt are the most decided, because they are the ones who want to go a little further, while the rest want to be heroes without progress.

Together with this the development of the Communist parties is expressed, especially the Italian Communist Party and also the French. Soon the Spanish will show changes and also, like the rest of the Communist parties of the world, they are going to have to go more to the left and to develop the confidence in the objective programme of revolutionary development; that is to say, there cannot be progress without revolutionary development. Even with eurocommunism and pluralism the base of pluralism is social transformations, thus leaving little room for plurality. Now it is plurality on the basis of social transformations, and not many accept this.

This meeting of the Socialist parties has not said one word over the world situation, for example over China, on the miserable war of the Chinese and the Cambodians against Vietnam, which is a miserable war to detain the progress of history and to defend the interests of a layer. Stalin betrayed the Spanish Revolution, so the Chinese are making war in Vietnam. To impel Vietnam is to shorten the process of at least thirty years of struggle, because Vietnam influences the rest — such as Burma and Thailand, where there is a

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# THE PROBLEMS OF BELGIUM AND THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM: SYNTHESIS OF THE WORLD PROBLEMS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM

21-11-78

J. POSADAS

The elections in Belgium do not now have the same sense as before; it is not the same situation. The elections have a completely superior meaning. These are not normal elections, because there is a crisis in a cabinet or a new Tindemans is going to turn up. It is much more profound than this. It's on this basis that the Party has to intervene to form a current in the Communist Party, in the left groups and in the Socialist Party.

These elections express a profound crisis of capitalism. They are not just more elections. It's a question of the crisis of capitalism. It is an election in the middle of the very profound crisis of the capitalist system. This could be seen before in the division and the conflicts between the Walloons and Flemings. The crisis of Belgian capitalism shows that it is in semi-liquidation. Belgium was an invention in the past century. Capitalism now says, 'And that is how we want it'.

It is fundamental for the elections to pose our objective. We have to influence, to organise a current, a tendency, or to impel in the Communist parties and the Socialist Party and in the workers movement, an approach to the need to elevate the discussion towards a programmatic character, and to place this as a centre. At the same time, the more votes we win the better, because it shows the weight of a current to exert an influence. It is necessary to show that capitalism has resolved no problem and that, on the contrary, a very great basis exists for a deepening of the crisis of production, of the increase of prices and of unemployment. The unification, the centralisation achieved by capitalism in organising nations and countries, allowed development. Now the partialisation and division means a retreat which is inevitably expressed or is going to be expressed in the economic, social, artistic and scientific fields.

One of the conditions which allowed capitalism to develop was that it represented a progress in relation to feudalism, essentially in production, in the organisation of the capacity of thinking and of reasoning, and with the means to develop it. Capitalism limited this to national levels and to structures. Now they make a division between Flemings and Walloons. This does not obey any cultural, scientific or sporting necessity but a need of fractions of the capitalist system which express the crisis of the capitalist system and try to impose local interest by making use of nationality or language. We have to show that this is not necessary and is no programme. It is a necessity for capitalism. To resolve its crisis, each sector withdraws to local and partial interest and seeks the way to confront the crisis of the capitalist system and to confront the masses of the country.

This division of the country, what is it in a precise and concrete form? Does it advance the economy or develop the economy? It increases the interest of some types - Walloons or Flemings or people in Brussels - but the population, no. The whole of science and experience show that the centralisation of the country allows the co-ordination of production, planning, and the orientation of plan-

ning; thus the economy develops. But in the way they are attempting, unemployment increases, prices increase, the bad conditions of the population increase, and the bad conditions of work increase. The division of the country has to be discussed in this way. This division is not going to benefit any sector of the population, neither Flemings, Walloons or the people of Brussels. We are against the division and we propose the unity of the country. The workers movement - the Trotskyists-Posadists - are the principal defenders of democratic conquest which have been achieved and which capitalism wants to throw out.

Capitalism makes a division of the country to establish inter petit bourgeois confrontations and to create artificially an antagonism to divert the social and economic concerns of the masses, and to provide a linguistic, national and patriotic programme - meantime the bourgeoisie does not act like this and continues all its business as always, through banking and financial communications. The division is a blow given to the development of culture. One of the greatest progress of humanity was the establishment of states in the capitalist system against feudalism and the progress of science and technology showed that such unification was necessary. Now the form of independent states leads to an obstacle for this progress. But meanwhile it is necessary to maintain this form of pro-

gress, and the progress of the country can only establish the unity between the programme of the economy, of culture, of science and of art. Without the intervention of the masses it is not possible to do this. But capitalism does not have anymore interest in culture, in science nor in art. Now it has no interest because they are not united to the development, to the life of capitalism. Capitalism is an obstacle. Now the interest for culture and science does not develop in the well-off bourgeoisie or petit bourgeois sectors, but only for technology and culture for production, war or killing.

Regionalisation is a retreat which capitalism is making at the same time that it expresses inter-capitalist contradictions. These contradictions do not lead to any progress but to stagnation. A country like Angola, for example, is a thousand times more backward than Belgium, but it does not have contradictions between production and the objective of the economy, and the needs of the population.

The economy acts for the interest of the population while, in Belgium, it is the interest of profit which determines. Thus, they invest in accordance with profit. Profit is determined by the world competition of capitalism. Federalisation intensifies such contradictions and, as a consequence, perverse attitudes against the population for the benefit only of the capitalists.

These elections are to resolve a crisis between the leaderships of the capitalist system. It is a new crisis made for strictly capitalist reasons, of investment, profit and development of the different capitalist sectors. There is no scientific, cultural or economic reason. None! The economic

reasons which they give are totally false. They are the same arguments of ten, twenty or a hundred years ago to justify the crisis. But there is no reason nor programme nor policy which shows that they are going to improve what they were doing until yesterday. Hence the scepticism of the population who see that the same people who led to the crisis, and for dozens of years, are still there. Thus it is necessary to take the scepticism of the population not as a lack of interest or giving up. For example, the preoccupation with struggle exists. When there is no attraction to intervene in the political crisis, it is because they do not believe in any of the parties. This is the basis of the scepticism. It is not giving up, but a lack of belief in the parties. At the same time it is because people do not see any of the parties or the trade unions with a policy and a programme to confront the problems. It is necessary to appeal to the trade unions to make a programme against the crisis. It is not a political crisis. The crisis is social and economic, which is expressed in a political way because the bourgeoisie are the ones who are resolving it. The trade unions have not answered to this need. They have not planned. They have accepted sackings and the closing of factories. This is a decline in the level of life of the population. The payment to the unemployed is done partially by capitalism - and less and less - but it does it to contain the intensification of the class struggle.

The trade unions and the workers parties, Socialist and Communist, do not present themselves nor do the left groups with an explanation, with a development of explanations to push forward the struggle for the change of programme towards a policy and a programme of employment, wages and elevation of the standard of life. Thus they say there is no work because there is no market. Isn't this a market? The trade unions have to make a programme in which they propose the programme to develop production for the country. Then all the steel, coal and iron which they do not use, the industries which they are closing, have an enormous field in which to develop production. It is necessary to produce hospitals, means of transport, running water, good transport roads, baths; they must propose that all this should be done. The workers parties and the trade unions have not discussed this problem. They remain as if the problem of capital, of investment, of money, of the factory, is a problem of the owners or of the parties. No, it's a problem of the trade unions.

More and more the problems of wages, of work, of the conditions of work, unify with the problems of the political leadership of the country. There is no division between the trade unions, the political leadership, the political life and the parties. There are different spheres of activity, but the objective is the same. The activity is different because the trade union is concerned particularly, not exclusively, with wages and with the conditions of life of the population. The conditions of life mean that there are no hospitals, no means of transport and no drains. The trade unions have to be concerned with this.

There is a struggle at the top in which they are posing that world problems prevent Belgium coming out of the crisis. It's not like this. It's the situation of the country, the lack of political resolution of the parties in this country to resolve these problems. Thus it is necessary to make a programme so that they discuss all these problems and that they discuss in all the factories and the homes, beginning by affirming an obligatory payment of 100% wages to the unemployed while they make a programme of production, to create employment in the country and to create the conditions of commercial exchange which allow the development of economic relations with countries like the Workers States, countries of Latin America or even with capitalist countries. It is the interest of profit which prevents Belgian capitalism from having this policy.

It's on this basis that it is necessary to develop the electoral campaign and, at the same time, to make an appeal to the unions to discuss, not making attacks but it is necessary to make a criticism, showing that there is a lack of attention by the trade union leadership and one must make an appeal for a unification, a united front of all the workers parties and of the Christian Democracy, with a programme which expresses this necessity and leads to the fulfilling of this programme.

It is necessary to create and to develop a whole current which is concerned with these problems, showing that this crisis is going to continue, showing the necessity to centralise the life of the country through a programme and a policy which leads to the objective to develop the country. The country should develop in this way. The division between Walloons, Flemings and the people of Brussels is aimed to defend the interests of the different capitalist layers and to confront the workers and petit bourgeoisie of the Walloon, Flemish and Brussels regions, to make them clash, to intensify or develop disputes, creating racial problems - because this corresponds to racial problems - when these are non-existent problems. Culture can overcome all this. It is the impotence of capitalism which seizes hold of these problems. The Workers States have overcome all this, as with the newest countries like Angola or Indochina, because what determines is the necessity to live and science, which determine the need to unify in the interest of every one. It is the scientific process which shows this need to unify.

It is necessary to make an appeal to discuss the necessity of a united front of the trade unions with a programme of employment, of the development of industry and plans of production; means of transport, houses, roads, drains, hospitals, running water, gas. It is necessary to elevate security and hygiene for the coal workers, iron and steel workers, of all the factories against pollution and the poisoning of the water. There are a thousand problems on which to make a united front! It is necessary to demand also an increase in wages on the basis of the minimum level of the standard of living.

The division of the country into

Flemings, Walloons and the people of Brussels is a capitalist measure to confront the population with internal fights, and at the same time, a demonstration of the impotence and of the incapacity of capitalism which is against the progress of humanity and of life. Capitalism tends to separate languages, to develop the interest of each capitalist sector in a more intense competition, sustaining the most capable sectors who are the Flemings in the struggle against all the other financial, commercial and industrial sectors. It is an intensification of the crisis of competition between them which is intensified in the population in the form of an increase of prices, lowering of the standard of living and the conditions of life.

It is necessary to make an appeal for a united front with the intervention in assemblies, in the homes and in the workers areas, in the places of worker concentration, and to hold meetings and discussions to deal with all these problems. One must propose as an objective that the working class intervenes in meetings with an increase of democratic rights in the factory and trade unions, with the democratic right to discuss, to be a tendency, with the right to oppose, to formulate principles, proposals and initiatives, the right to discuss openly in the working class, the right to discuss the parties among themselves. It is necessary to facilitate the discussion within the parties, the discussion of the trade unions of different currents with the population; to make an activity in which the population may see initiative on the part of the leadership of the working class. Then passivity is overcome.

There is no inertia in the population. The lack of interest and of intervention is not through inertia of apathy. They do not see a leadership, nor an activity. They do not see a policy, and thus they do not feel attracted.

It is necessary to establish a discussion to pose the necessity for the intervention of the masses with the fullest democratic liberty everywhere with an anti-capitalist programme of anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to unite this programme to anti-capitalist measures, including nationalisations under workers control and planning of production. It is necessary to nationalise the principal industries now or later, but to propose in the programme the need for nationalisations to plan the country and through the development of the economy, science and culture develops.

In the Workers States the level of consumption can be inferior to that of the capitalist countries, but the quality of living and of science are immensely superior. Food is not polluted nor poisoned. One has only to see the few illnesses which exist in the Workers States: there are no endemic illnesses, whilst these continue in the capitalist system. There are others which appear, advance or continue, and enormous numbers of children die before reaching one year old. There are a mass of people who die through accidents, bad conditions of work, malnutrition, heart illness and assassinations - like the 900 they killed in Guyana.

The ecologists are right in their demands, in their quest, in their social protest against pollution, but, at the same time, it is necessary to fight for social transformations because there cannot be a cleansing without changing the social regime. Within the capitalist system there cannot be a cleansing and purging of production, in attitude to animals, fish etc. because all the waste which they spread about is part of the existence of

the capitalist system. They chuck waste in the water, bury it underground, or put it into the atmosphere. By eliminating the capitalist system, the preoccupation will be for humanity, not for production but production to produce, to reproduce and to elevate humanity culturally and scientifically. While capitalism cannot do this. This is how it is necessary to pose it.

We propose the perspective of a democratic and Socialist republic. But immediately in the campaign we propose 'democratic republic'. It is a slogan of the united front to unify Communists, Socialists, the left groups and the Christian Democratic left. It is a slogan for this. Meanwhile it is necessary to propose a series of measures which are necessary for the economy.

It is necessary to develop a campaign to show that the monarchy is an institution which has no value, no significance, which is not representative of party, of tendency, but is an instrument to maintain authority over the petit bourgeoisie and the backward layers in the town and country. It has no value. It is not a party but an instrument to maintain authority and exercise social pressure over the layers of the petit bourgeoisie and a centre of unification of the bourgeoisie.

In Belgium, as in Germany and in France, the proletariat faces a factor hostile to it, which is the lack of political and trade union rights of the foreign workers. The foreign workers, like the native workers - the Belgian ones - are

those who produce the wealth of the country, all the wealth of the country; but they have no political rights. They weigh socially, but they do not weigh politically or scientifically. It is necessary to propose that the workers have the right to participate in the trade union and political elections and to be candidates also. From the single fact of intervening in the activity of the country they have to have the same right. Thus the social weight of the working class is increased. The non-existence of social and political rights of the foreign workers is an alliance between the trade union bureaucracy, the management, and the bourgeoisie to prevent a greater social weight favouring the social weight of the working class. It is necessary to pose this and then to elect trade union delegates who struggle for the programme of social transformations, taking as a base of social progress the raising of the living standards of the population. For this, it is necessary to develop the economy, to develop productive employment. The bourgeoisie cannot do it. One measures the progress of the country in accordance with the standard of living, of the intervention of the population and the health of the population. This is getting worse culturally, scientifically and economically. The working class lowers its possibility of social intervention through lack of weight of the foreign workers. Capital, on the other hand, has full rights to enter through the multinationals.

The division of the Belgian Socialist Party is the product of a lack of political and programmatic life, of an objective programme,

of the objective progress of Belgium which can only be reached through social transformations based on the interests of the exploited population. It is this which has allowed the development of the current in the party which is interested in the maintenance of the capitalist structure. Hence such a division. If there were a Party which responded in its structure to the interests of historic progress of Belgium, which is the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle, there would be no such division. In the workers parties, as in the trade unions, there is the same problem. It is not a necessary consequence of the development of the country, but an expression of the political, social and cultural backwardness of the organisms, of the leadership which represents the working class. This progress poses the necessity for the unification of the country through a programme of immediate demands to develop the economy of the country, to impede unemployment and the workers being subject to unemployment, to the low level of life, to pollution and to the poisoning of water. It is necessary to maintain the demand for the sliding scale of wages and hours, which means reduction of the hours of work with the same salary, and the sliding scale of wages with workers control.

The unemployed form part of the trade unions, of the parties, as a normal movement of the working class. But, at the same time, it is necessary to make a movement of the unemployed in which they exert a pressure against the capitalist system so that they continue with full salary, and saying

that they want work, to eliminate this dependence of going every day to put a stamp in the unemployment exchange, which is a kimono - there are very striking examples that the class wants to work. It wants to work! All this is the result of the impotence of the capitalist system. At the same time, it is necessary to show the weakness of the capitalists so that now they have to pay subsidies when before they paid nothing. Before, they used them to develop competition between the workers: but now the elevation of the class struggle and the existence of twenty Socialist countries and of the Revolutionary States gives an immense strength to the working class, which sees that the crisis is resolved by overthrowing the capitalist system. Hence capitalism subsidises the workers. The workers have to realise the strength which they have, and not only to demand that capitalism pays full compensation but demand that work is made available, that they are given work. They want work! Hence it is necessary to make a programme to bring Belgium out of the backwardness which capitalism cannot do. Belgium must be brought out of backwardness, and the backward ones thrown out of Belgium.

The workers want to live and to work. They feel that they are creators. They want to create, to be participants in the development of the life of the country, of creation in every sense; then they feel that they are participating, and feel that they live because they undertake this participation. But, without work, they feel they are not participating in life. Capitalism

has no interest in giving work. This means a retreat in the standard of living which is not measured because workers eat more meat, but by the fact that they do not participate in life. Thus this is a retreat in the standard of living. It eliminates the creative capacity of human beings.

Also the students want to work. They study, they receive education and they do not have employment. It is the incapacity of the capitalist system to satisfy creative capacity that they themselves must maintain study, but afterwards they cannot give employment to the students. But the Workers States can do it. This forms part of the crisis of the capitalist system. It is necessary to appeal for a united front of students, of young people, of workers, of trade unions, a united front to take Belgium out of backwardness and to throw out all the backward people. All this shows the retreat in the standard of living and the height of the crisis. The fall in the standard of living is expressed in this, that it is necessary to spend most time in finding work, in seeking how to live, etc. How can one say that there is a high standard of living! It is a brutal retreat. There are more family rows than ever because there is a paralysis of life. It is necessary to show also all the increases in the accidents at work, the death of children, sicknesses. It is necessary to make a programme to intervene to protect Belgium and to protect Belgium is to defend the life of the people who work, who are the basis of Belgium. The concern with the crisis of the government is how to concentrate to make capital function. As if this was life! It's a lie! In the Workers States there is no capital, there are no capitalists, and there is an immense progress in all of them.

Our Party has to intervene in this crisis to impel the formation of a current in the Communist Party, in the Socialist Party and within the left groups. It is not necessary to intervene in these elections as if they were the same as before. One must be joyful to see that it is an election of the crisis of capitalism. Belgium is not paralysed. It was never paralysed, it always continued. The left movements that formed and which were an expression of this, were lefts who walked without shoes. They did not walk firmly on their feet. It is a slightly poetic expression, but it is a very clear image. They want to advance, but without programmatic shoes. One does not ignore the importance of the formation of left movements. From their beginning these left movements which are formed express in turn a certain unease and irregularity. There is a desire for progress, but they still lack the preparation to make it. It is not done in Belgium, but, yes, in Ethiopia. This is not a centralised process and, on the contrary, there is a process of bifurcation, of

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## Socialist International . . .

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very great influence. Teng Peng went to contain the revolution in Thailand, although he only goes to small countries.

The meeting of the Socialist International anyway shows the crisis of the capitalist system because imperialism has to sustain Germany and, at the same time, Germany gets up and, through Brandt, makes salutes to the Soviets. It is not only shown in this meeting but before also, including the fact that Schmidt was more to the left than the Italian Socialists.

J. POSADAS 17 November 1978

## THE CHARACTER OF THE WORKERS STATE IS NOT DECIDED BY THE BUREAUCRACY

The depth, extent and scope of the complete crisis of the capitalist system is not the consequence of the internal functioning of the capitalist system but arises from the existence of the alternative social system - the workers states in alliance with the revolutionary states on a world scale. In the confrontation between statified property and the private property of capitalism, the latter runs into a type of competition totally different from the competition with another capitalist state. World imperialism and capitalism now have to confront a system which transcends private property in the means of production, distribution and exchange. This competition is not confined to the economic or military spheres but touches the roots of society - social relations and the objectives of society.

Capitalism is faced with the situation that it can no longer expand. On the contrary the expansion of the workers states intensifies the savagery of the competition between the capitalist countries and on the other hand comparisons can now be made between the two systems in toto. There is no need here to elaborate on the crisis of the capitalist system. In every sphere there is stagnation and retrogression. Culture disappears, the environment is destroyed, huge military expenditures waste the capacity of the masses and the standard of life is lowered. This is evidently not the case with the workers states and capitalism is forced to try to utilise limitations of the workers states as the only means to try to contain the weight of the workers states directly within the remaining capitalist countries.

Certainly there is a bureaucracy in the Soviet Union but what actually determines the behaviour of the workers states? Is it the limitations of the leadership or the underlying structure of the state, that is statified property and its need to expand and associate with all the progressive world movements for socialism? The workers state is doubtless contradictory because in it although production is statified, distribution is determined by bourgeois norms - although again the application of Leninist norms can modify this enormously. But again taking the general character of the Soviet Union, it is quite clear that it is one of advance and progress and not of stagnation and limitation. The Soviet Union was founded as a result of the revolution of 1917 and the impact of that revolution continues irrespective of the limitations of leaderships.

The bourgeois economists, the apologists of the capitalist system are obliged to spend a good deal of their time trying to demonstrate the inadequacies of the system of the workers states - although Pravda makes a type of criticism which capitalist society could not endure from its own press - but such criticisms lose all significance because the workers states go through crisis of growth, crisis of expansion hampered certainly by bureaucratic mismanagement - but crisis of expansion, the lack of co-ordination and usufruct of bureaucrats with interests of their own, takes place within the framework of a constantly expanding and developing economy, whose interests whatever the appropriations of bureaucrats, are to raise the social, economic and cultural level of the population. World capitalism and all the countries still suffer from capitalism go from trauma to trauma with millions and millions unemployed and impoverished and no solution within the system. The crisis of capitalism is a crisis of decomposition.

And in the realm of foreign policy what determines, the "manoeuvres" of the bureaucrats or the objective need of the workers state to unify with all the progressive forces in the world to advance socialism as a world system? The aid given by the workers states to Vietnam, Ethiopia, Angola etc is the

logical consequence of the need of the workers state to advance towards socialism. The latter is a world system. It cannot develop the economy to a sufficient level without being world wide. The workers states in giving aid to Ethiopia are not extracting a material benefit in the form of exploiting the wealth of Ethiopia, but express the necessity for their unification with the rest of the world in the struggle for socialism. Does the bureaucracy decide this or has it foreseen it - no. They are submitted to it. Moreover the results of this intervention weighs in the workers states and weakens all the bureaucratic sectors who would like to continue to conciliate with capitalism. In all this the "dissidents" are useless and opposed to the progress of the workers states. Bahro of East Germany who is beloved of some "left" people actually calls into question the character of the Soviet Union and plays about with all the old reactionary rubbish that links nationalised property with ancient oriental despotisms! These mutterings are expressions of the weight of the worker state steadily eliminating bureaucratic escrescences.

Doubtless the full and complete advance of the workers states is limited by the existence of a bureaucracy. On the other hand such is the growing power of the proletariat of the workers states and the weight of the structure that constantly the top leadership has to raise struggles to cleanse the economy of waste, to conduct struggles against local and regional interests ie Brezhnev recent trip to Siberia, and proceed, in order to solve the problems of agriculture, to limit and control the weight of private property (Poland) and the collective farms (Soviet Union). There are differences in the various workers states and degrees of conciliation with private interests, but the overall picture is one of progress.

All the bourgeoisie's campaigns against the Soviet Union that it is a "police state" and that it is anti democratic are of course totally mendacious and bear no relation to reality. The police forces of the workers state are to defend the structure of the workers state and the police state of Britain and Germany for example with their millions of dossiers and their phone tapping and their laws which give immense powers of arrest and detention are to defend private property. In the real world it is British and American imperialism which give their full support to the Shah and Savak and the Soviet Union which has spoken of the need for social transformations in Iran. The last refuge of Stalinism is not in the workers states, it lies in Britain, West Germany, not least in their social democratic parties which try to prevent the discussion of ideas and contain the pressure of the masses for social change.

It is objectively absurd to try to argue that the Soviet Union is like the United States, simply another super power. It is a superior social system, limited but not governed by the bureaucracy. Its cultural and social weight would be immensely magnified by the existence of soviet democracy, right of tendency, public discussion of all political issues, independent intervention of the trade unions etc but even with all this, it is the beacon of historic human progress. Doubt on this score in circles of the left in Britain is partly due to cultural backwardness stemming from the period of Stalinism, but also from fear of confronting bourgeois public opinion, which become hysterical in front of any objective discussion of the workers states, in the same way that they become liquid at the thought of an objective discussion of the monarchy. The programme of the left in the Labour party will have to take account of the historic validity of the programme of 1917, its objective success and the diminished role of the bureaucracy which is already experiencing processes of the political revolution prior to its liquidation before, during and after the final encounter with world capitalism.

## BELGIUM ...

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separation of languages, which shows the depth of the crisis of capitalism.

Our Party is not well known in Belgium, but it is not unknown. It is known in the sectors, the ambience in the social relations that intervene. It is a very small Party which has not intervened in a year in an outstanding form, but which has an activity within the parties and the movements and with the publications. Thus, yes, they communicate publicly with the class, with the intellectuals and with the parties. One cannot measure our vote in relation to others. There are people who do not vote for us, who are in agreement with us; but they see we do not have the strength to decide, resolve, or weigh. Thus they seek to give a vote to another organisation - Communist, or of the left groups, or left Socialists - to impel, and in their turn try to transmit the orientation of the documents which they have read. But one cannot measure our strength with the number of votes. All the people who gave their support for the Party to present itself in the elections, show there is a sector which is in agreement with supporting the Party. It is not a disinterested adhesion of an individual who wishes to make propaganda and give publicity, but it is the acceptance to support, to sustain or impel a movement or a party which represents ideas with which they are in agreement, or seek to impel, so that it goes forward, or so that it can push forward a programme of social organisation, of social transformations, or of social criticism, and a programme for application.

All this is not expressed in the votes. It is expressed much more in the formation of the left sectors, the Socialists, Communists, the groups and the trade union left. Our campaign is not developed to gain votes and, through the vote, to show the need of our existence; but so that this need is expressed in the formation of lefts, and has acceptance in the left. The intervention in the elections is determined by the necessity to maintain

the activity, the presence of the Party in front of the intellectual, worker, trade union vanguard, and the Socialists and the Communists. We do not seek to win a member of parliament. If it were possible it would be done, because such an MP would push forward the policy of the texts. But the conditions do not exist for this to happen. And thus the Party seeks to impel and help, so that the electorate can impel the people elected to advance on this line.

This is the conclusion of the situation in Belgium. The whole situation of the world is favourable to this conclusion. This crisis of capitalism is one of years. It's continuing, and it is not going to terminate with the elections. The conclusion of capitalism is to put in a government which imposes on the working class a reduction of the conditions of life, of wages, an increase in productivity and, if possible, an increase also in the hours of work. But all the conquests of the working class are to diminish the hours of work and to increase wages. This has no solution in the capitalist system.

It is necessary to appeal for a united front, a Walloon-Flemish unification in any or one region. The workers movement has to resolve, to intervene in the factories, without distinction of community or party, in a united front and with an anti-capitalist programme. They must elect the most capable and most resolved for the struggles to give ideas, who are firm and sustain the will to struggle, the conquests, the defence of conquests or the defence of the present rights of the workers, and to extend and elevate them. Let the working class present a programme to dispute with capitalism on how to lead the country. The country is in a crisis for which capitalism is responsible, but not the workers. Let the workers dispute the leadership through the Communist, Socialist, left Christian Democratic parties, and through the trade unions.

J. POSADAS 21.11.1978

## The campaign for a European Parliament can be used as a means to discuss the anti-capitalist programme and the Socialist Europe

The lack of enthusiasm which has greeted the proposed elections to the European parliament expresses the fact that the mass of the population feel, quite correctly, that this institution has nothing to do with the advance of their standard of living and society in general. The European parliament is, as all bourgeois parliaments are, a means by which the bourgeoisie tries to mediate all the disputes, between various interests and sectors of the bourgeoisie. But the European parliament is an invention of this stage of history of the total crisis of capitalism and it has not even the validity in history which bourgeois parliaments had in a previous stage. Today, even less than before, the capitalist system is incapable of attaining even its own democratic perspective. Iran is an example of this. And the reality of the European Common Market is that the "multi-nationals" decide and the small business, the shopkeepers are not given a vote to decide if they are going to be swallowed in the process of capitalist competition and the concentration of capital. The small peasant is not asked whether or not he wishes to retain his land and the worker is not asked whether the factory should be closed or not. The reality of capitalist "Europe" is this, it is the structure of the EEC and NATO and the European parliament controls none of it. It is true of course that the bourgeoisie need the means to sort out their own, considerable, differences but only in their own interests. It follows, then, that this European Parliament serves no useful purpose as far as the interests of the masses and the advance of society is concerned.

### PARLIAMENTS CANNOT BE INSTRUMENTS FOR SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

There is, of course, another aspect to the European Parliament, and that is that it serves the interest of the bourgeoisie to divert the attention of the workers leadership, of the Communists and Socialists towards a "safe", parliamentary preoccupation. It is not accidental that, in this country, the most interested sectors as far as the European Parliament is concerned are those who seek a seat in it. It is useful for the bourgeoisie to stimulate electoral interest in front of the total inability of the system to answer any of the problems which face humanity. We are not opposed to a majority of Communist and Socialists in the European Parliament but, in common with all bourgeois parliaments, it is an instrument of the class structure of society, of the system

of private property and, therefore, cannot be used as an instrument of social transformation. The experience of Chile shows us that when a parliament begins to go against the interest of the bourgeoisie, they seek other and more direct methods of imposing their control. NATO does not exist simply to confront the Workers States but also to defend, militarily, the system of private property against the masses within the capitalist countries. And NATO is much more the expression of capitalism and capitalist "Europe" than the European parliament is. The problem, then, is not standing in elections, or gaining votes and members of parliament. THE PROBLEM IS TO BE FREE OF ALL ILLUSION IN SUCH INSTITUTIONS. Nowhere has Socialism been constructed through parliaments and we are not going to be able to construct a Socialist Europe in this way.

geographical area of the Soviet Union. It can do this not because of the good intentions of the leaderships but because of the nature of the system which is based on common ownership, on nationalisations and planning.

The elections for the European Parliament can be useful no matter what the character of that particular institution may be. It is for the workers movement itself to decide what use it can be. Any election, however unimportant it may be, tends to stimulate discussion and there is a necessity for a discussion of the United Socialist Europe, on the common problems of the masses of capitalist Europe. For example the German steel workers are still on strike for higher salaries and the 35 hour week. And the 35 hour week is a necessity both to defend jobs and to raise the standard of life of the workers, it is a common demand in all capitalist countries. Why not propose then a European campaign of workers action for the 35 hour week, for all advances in technology to go to the workers in this form? And why not include the demand that no worker loses his job, that no factories are closed also? In other words a discussion for a programme of social transformation, of nationalisations under workers control for Europe. And, in this, to pose that the force which can unite Europe is the proletariat and the masses, and that the essential basis of support which we have for this is the existence of a system of 20 Workers States many of which are in Europe.

### THE CONDITIONS EXIST FOR THE WORKERS MOVEMENT TO DECIDE THE NATURE OF THE CAMPAIGN

It is, then, not a problem of elections, or electoral gain and, therefore, it has to be pointed out that during the referendum on Britain's "entry" into the EEC we had a united front of the forces of the left and others. It is true that this confined itself simply to the question of "in" or "out" which, once again, was a question only of interest to the bourgeoisie. However, the united front of the forces of the left is essential but it has to be an anti-capitalist programme with the perspective of a United Socialist Europe. The Communist Party which is standing in the European elections is well placed to appeal to the Labour left, to the trade unions, to those of no party, for such a United Front and for common candidates in the election which would be dedicated to the anti-capitalist programme and the United Socialist Europe. This is what we propose to use the "European elections" to the best advantage of the process of the advance of society, of the advance towards Socialism; the United Front of the Labour Party left, the trade unions, the Communist Party, the Left groups - and all those who accept the anti-capitalist programme - the anti-capitalist programme of nationalisations, workers control, no worker to be sacked, the 35 hour week, the end of NATO and the discussion in all the factories and workers district in which all the population can intervene.

## Editorial

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which gets in the way of the accumulation of capital must be dealt with. Now the working class is refusing to accept that capitalism should just accumulate capital at its expense. Capitalism feels that it does not have any perspective historically and so it prepares to destroy the population, hence the research with these viruses. There could easily be a leak of these lethal materials into the urban areas where they are at present situated, but no concern is shown that people could die from them. It is the structure of the system which causes such a mentality. If the system causes these dangers how can it be interested in developing the economy for the benefit of the population? The capitalist class is not capable of approaching any problem save through the view point of its interests. The trade unions have a right to intervene on every issue which affects the standard of living and safety of the population, such as demanding better roads and housing, better sanitary conditions and full safety measures at work. They have a right to formulate a programme to deal with all the problems and the effects that are caused by the stagnation of the economy. There can be no democracy in Britain if the trade unions do not express the discontent of the population by providing a political leadership with an anti-capitalist programme.

### THERE IS ONLY DEMOCRACY FOR THE CAPITALIST CLASS IN BRITAIN TODAY

The Queen is now cancelling her visit to Iran. She wanted to go there to sustain the Shah directly, as a representative of British imperialism. She was going, supposedly as a representative of a "democratic" country to sustain someone who has provoked the uprising of the whole country against him. Did the British people ask the Queen to support the Shah? In whose name does she support him? The British people are against the Shah and support social transformations in Iran. Then the Queen does not represent the opinions of the population. Yet she is the one who commands the country. In whose name? In the name of the bourgeoisie. Where is the democracy? There is no democracy unless the monarchy is abolished in Britain.

### CAPITALISM CANNOT ANSWER THE SOCIAL COMPETITION OF THE WORKERS STATE

It is clear that a United Europe is a historic necessity. The national divisions represent an era of inter-capitalist competition, the control of markets and the domination of the bourgeoisie over its "own" masses. In some sense the stage of imperialism superceded this and capitalism feels the necessity to centralise its economy, to rationalise it. Of course it does it for its own benefit, and this means against the interest of the masses. The rationalisation of the European capitalist economy has meant the closing of factories in those countries outside the centres as well as many in the actual centres, Germany and France, themselves. Above all capitalism seeks to centralise itself in front of the Workers States, it seeks a united front of its forces to compete with the Workers States. But this competition is a social competition. The Workers States demonstrate before the masses of the world that they can use the benefits of the advance of science and technology for the advance of the life of the population. Capitalism cannot do this, for capitalism technology means more unemployment and factory closures and the lowering of the standard of life of the masses.

Even on the level of its own interests and the historic necessity, objective necessity for a United Europe, the system of private property fails. And it fails because of its nature which is competitive and repressive. At this stage of history no one imperialism, either British, French or German, or even

Yankee can impose itself over the whole of capitalist Europe and they are all incapable of co-operation since this is outside the nature of the system. Comecon now organises the economy not only of the Eastern European Workers States but of countries outside the immediate

There are the conditions for an independent functioning of a tendency of the left in the Labour Party and trade unions. Callaghan is concerned to maintain the left within the structure of the system, such is the meaning of his latest speech referring to "bread and yeast". But it is necessary for the left to develop a programme which responds to the needs of the population, which in fact, is outside the system. Campaign on the need for the 35 hour week now, accompanied by a series of anti-capitalist demands such as - nationalisation of the banks, insurance companies and all key industries under workers control, to plan the economy! Out with the monarchy! For a Democratic Socialist Republic! 8.1.79

## Editorial

# The Labour left must base itself on the struggles of the workers to progress in Britain

*Imperialism has been incapable of intervening either directly or indirectly in support of the assassin and counter-revolutionary Pol-Pot leadership in Kampuchea, even in spite of the immensely forthcoming Chinese leadership! Yankee imperialism fears confrontation with the Soviet Union because it knows it will lose. This stimulates the anti-capitalist struggle of all the world and in Britain. It stimulates in a permanent and powerful way the need for a programmatic and political left to organise itself in the Labour Party. The elevation of a sector of the Labour Party to impel the whole Party to come out with an electoral programme of the 35 hour week and nationalisations 'under democratic control' for Europe, is an expression of this. It shows that there is the need for the Labour Party to adopt a programme and to act in united front with the trade unions for its implementation. The left in the Party has also to pose the need to elevate democracy in the trade unions so that they help the Labour left to adopt a programme for social transformations.*

### THE STRIKES IN THIS COUNTRY EXPRESS THE MATURITY OF THE PROLETARIAT OF THE WHOLE OF EUROPE

*The strikes have objectives which capitalism cannot give. The reduction of the working week and the increase in salaries without sackings are heavy blows, for a weak capitalist system such as the British one in front of the competition of Japan, Germany and the US. The workers of the public services take quite firmly the attitude that those who wreck the economy are the employers and the government; and beyond this, they incriminate the system and not themselves for the lack of services. They also pose in this way, that they are those who decide how things should function, i.e. the public services should be run for the benefit of the population and the workers. The intervention of the Leyland workers is part of the offensive of the working class against policies which are intended to make them suffer for the crisis of capitalism. This would not be possible in the same way if the British working class did not receive the influence of the world process, the influence of the masses of Iran for example, who threw the Shah out, made Khomeini come back, and now impel a programme against Yankee and British imperialism. The decision of Bakhtiar for example to suspend the arms trade with Britain shows the weakness of the bourgeoisie and Bakhtiar cannot alter this fact. This is a direct blow at British imperialism. The proletariat of Britain receives the world influence of the revolution and that of the European proletariat in particular.*

*The massive intervention of the Communist base of Italy at the occasion of the burial of the Communist Trade Union leader assassinated by imperialism, shows that the Italian proletariat impels the Communist leadership into breaking the former links with the Christian Democrats of Italy. The new links — however conciliatory still — will have to be on the basis of change in Italy, and change in the policy of the Communist Party. This type of process influences Britain. The workers see that they can deal with their leaderships, and advance against capitalism. This confidence has been expressed in the instance of the flying pickets of the lorry drivers, the secondary picketing, the strike committees, which have all gone against the trade union leadership and forced that leadership to change. The same is happening all over Europe, as exemplified by the workers of Lorraine who — with their children and families — show to capitalism that they simply will not allow themselves to be all unemployed. If one of*

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- Dear Comrades of the National Front for the Salvation of Kampuchea,
- Dear Comrades of the Vietnamese Communist Party,
- to the masses of Vietnam and Kampuchea,

*The British section of the Posadist IV International salutes the victory of the F.U.N.S.K. over the regime of Pol Pot, and salutes the support given by the Vietnamese leadership and people in this task.*

*We salute this event as an essential part of the construction of the Socialist Federation of Indo-China which is a necessity for the full planning of the economy for the benefit of the masses.*

*The defeat of the Pol Pot regime by the Vietnamese and Cambodian masses, is a blow at all those leaderships in the socialist countries which — by allying themselves to imperialism — seek to impede the advance and progress of the revolution and humanity to Socialism. It is then, part of the advance towards the reunification of the Soviet Union and China, the unity of the World Communist movement and the construction of the mass Communist International for the construction of communism in the world.*

22.1.79

See article on Vietnam — Kampuchea on page 3

Workers of the World, Unite!

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## THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AND THE NEED FOR AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

title by the Editorial Board

4-12-78

J. POSADAS

The discussion on the European Common Market is very profound and it cannot end here. Our texts now exist on these problems, but the differences between the Communist parties of Europe are deepening a great deal. This is expressed and can be seen very clearly in the declarations of Marchais. These try to explain to the Party and to win a part of the petit bourgeoisie, above all in the countryside, but also in the towns, i.e. the technicians. He warns and suggests by analysing that the ECM is against the natural independence of France, against the capacity or the freedom of France as a country. The principle which they establish is true, but the conclusions are not, because they should say that, within the capitalist system, this is inevitable.

One must intervene in this discussion, not to criticise but to understand that to intervene on these problems, one cannot hope to go to government, to take power and then to make a policy. It has to be done now! The march of capitalism, through the ECM, is unflagging. Without it capitalism cannot live. Thus one has to adopt positions on this. I believe that our principal article written in 1967 was on this line. We were against the ECM, and for a Socialist Europe. Now it is the same problem with a difference compared

with 1967. The ECM of 1967 was dominated almost completely by the Yanks, and Britain from outside could exert a pressure. But now it is Germany which has developed and dominates Europe. At the same time, Europe as such in the capitalist world, cannot advance if the ECM does not advance, that is to say from the capitalist point of view.

We have to consider that, at the same time as it is necessary to intervene now in politics, in the trade unions, in the economy; at the same time as rejecting the ECM, it is necessary to intervene not just saying the ECM is harmful and that there is no possibility for the development of Europe in the European Common Market, but only for the development of big business at the cost of the rest. It is necessary also to intervene, proposing, at the same time as being against the ECM, measures of criticism, of opposition, of orientation in this policy which the bourgeoisie proposes. We do not leave the matter by saying, 'We have nothing to do with it', but adopt positions which show that orientate the understanding, that the harm comes from the fact that measures which they take only benefit capitalism. What do we propose in relation to this?

As part of this one proposal

which must be made, is the united front and the search for the unification of the trade union and political movement of the working class. A programme must be elaborated, the programme of the working class for the development of Europe, not saying, 'It is necessary to enter to oppose', but proposing to enter into discussion, not rejecting the entry into the European parliament but making the programmatic criticism, the social criticism of class opposition. We do not simply say, 'We enter to denounce', but 'Parliament is no use, and we are going to do this and this'. This is how the Bolsheviks acted in the Duma-

### FOR A UNITED FRONT OF THE TRADE UNION CENTRES

One must intervene and, at the same time, criticise. We present ourselves in the elections as a way to be able to participate and intervene. We cannot stay outside and, especially because in the leaderships of the trade union and political movement, there is no understanding of this process. They believe that it is necessary to intervene in the parliament and, through this, to advance when this is totally false.

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Women comrades of the National United Front for Salvation in Kampuchea (FUNSK) in Phnom Penh, after the overthrow of the Pol Pot regime — 7th January 1979.

# THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET ...

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Meanwhile it is necessary to advance, trying to seek to regulate the laws, denouncing the laws, exposing the business deals of the capitalists and, at the same time, making other proposals which tend to confront the policy of the bourgeoisie in the ECM.

One must intervene on the entry of Spain, Portugal and Greece into the ECM, on the monetary system, in which, at the same time as denouncing the sense of the ECM which is planning to maintain the structure of the capitalist system to compete with the Workers States and to resolve the problems of the crisis of the capitalist system, we explain also that there is a logical need, a tendency of the economy, even in the capitalist system, for the unification of Europe.

One must intervene in the discussion on how to improve, to elevate the conditions of the countries of France, Italy, Portugal, Spain and Greece, in the European Common Market, at the same time as analysing that there is no solution in propitiating within the present capitalist system measures which might be less harmful for these countries. One must show, analysing what would be less damaging, that what is less damaging is not possible to achieve because capitalism had no interest. It is guided by those who dominate the economy, not by the system as a whole. Those who dominate the economy are those who determine the course of the total capitalist system. Thus this intervention is very important, and it is necessary

## IT IS POSSIBLE TO GO MUCH FURTHER THAN THE SPANISH CONSTITUTION

But it is presented as if there were a greater life span of 70 average as a conquest of capitalist civilisation. This is a lie. It is a conquest of the struggle for progress which the masses have made and, since the existence of the Workers States, a very great accent on the increase in the standard of living has developed. But, even so, it is not the same everywhere. In Bolivia, the average life span is thirtythree and miners after this age are exhausted. It is the same in Africa. There, it is not through the absence of capitalist development but the absence of interest from the capacity and objectivity of capitalism. It was capitalist Europe which dominated Africa, not the Workers States.

It is necessary to discuss the ECM and that the monetary system that the Germans are proposing is a swindle aimed to sustain the capitalist system, to impede the crisis of the system which could become uncontrolled and, at the same time, to make Europe depend on capitalist Germany. This is an aspect. The other aspect is that the ECM has, as a characteristic, a planning of production which is going to result in an immense number of unemployed, even in Germany. Hence, more important than whether Spain enters or not, is the immense unemployment, the immense repression and deaths produced by capitalist production. In this, then, the entry or not of Spain has an importance, but it could be far superior if Spain entered the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. On this basis, it is necessary to make courses and discussions to prepare to intervene in the concrete cases.

to discuss and develop all this. Above all, it is necessary to make courses to discuss, because all the Communist parties are involved in the policy and take it as a policy, as if the European Parliament was a means to change the ECM. They take it as a conclusion that this is the road, the third road or the pluralist road, and they take it as a logical conclusion. It is not the same in all - the Communist Party of Portugal is against that policy, and has the best position on the ECM.

A very important aspect is how this is expressed in the trade union field. There it is necessary to propose as a minimum an immediate conclusion, that they must make the unification, the united front of all the trade union centres of Europe, and to unify the conquests or, if through different developments of the economy, they cannot propose the same as in France, they have to propose the same levels: that is to say, to make a struggle with capitalist Europe, showing that the programme to develop Europe is not the ECM. The capitalist economy develops, which means at the same time more unemployment, more sickness, and a decline in the life of the workers. The progress which has been made is greater life span, a greater prevention of accidents at work etc. are conquests that have been made, are through struggles made by the workers parties, by the Workers States and by the struggle of the masses. It is not the result of capitalist civilisation, but a result of the struggle of the masses and of the Workers States which compete with capitalism.

For example, a series of measures which go against the poorest countries of the ECM or against the economic relations of capitalist France with the capitalist world, is going to have a repercussion on the masses, and thus one must be against both measures in the same way as we defend or support a series of laws and measures within the capitalist system. But with the difference that the laws are individual aspects of each country, of an aspect of society, but this is the structure of the system. Then it is necessary to intervene as this is the question of the structure of the system.

For example, now in Spain they have a new constitution and they advance it as if it were a great conquest. This is a lie. The first thing which has to be discussed is that there is a progress with respect to Franco indubitably, but this progress, from where does it come? It is not a progress as an expression of the maximum which could be obtained.

On all these aspects, courses are going to be necessary and discussions, because it is a new condition. In the epoch of Lenin, this problem did not exist. It had the same root, hence Lenin proposed the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe. But then, there was not the problem of the big Communist parties who can decide history, but approximate to the capitalist system, in this aspect. In another, they struggle against the capitalist system. At the same time that they propitiate the entrance in the ECM by proposing better measures, they continue the struggle to transform society. Then it is necessary to see this

as a struggle against social democratic movements. But the Communist movements seek social transformations with a political line which is erroneous. What has to be modified is the erroneous political line, not the objective. But the Social Democracy has to be changed. It is opposed to the objective.

For example, it is necessary to intervene not on monetary measures which they are going to take which affects indubitably more backward countries through 'snake'. This is going to favour the strongest countries. It is a measure which means that, in the currency problem, they allow an expedient so as to avoid devaluation. It allows them a margin of flexibility to maintain the value up to 6% in the case of Italy. But this is in the form. In the real situation, this 6% is discounted just as the capitalist accepts sending troops into a country and pays money so that the revolution does not advance. But they are measures to defend the system of production, the relations of production, which is expressed in a greater dependency of some capitalist countries of Europe on the great capitalist countries - Germany, France and Britain. If Britain is opposed, it is in the form not in the depth. It is because it feels that it does not have the leadership in the economy. Now, its currency is not the essential currency but it is the main, and after the Franc. Hence the attitude of Britain. If it were its currency, it would accept the 'snake'. All this shows that the crisis of capitalism has no solution in any of these measures. Thus it is necessary to intervene, to oppose these measures which aggravate the economy of every country. But it is necessary to explain that capitalism is incapable of defending the economy. We have to advance to power to defend the economy. It is necessary to propose that the European Monetary System is a measure of the relation, of the structure, of the development of the functioning of capitalism, and then, while we are not in power, it has an effect now on the life of the country and, while we struggle and denounce, rejecting such measures, we propose and develop the programme of the necessity for social transformations. It is necessary to unite Europe. It is a concrete and determined fact, a thing which did not exist in the epoch of Lenin. But Lenin, foreseeing this process, posed the United Socialist States of Europe. This is going to be posed again shortly.

One must discuss also the new constitution in Spain. Doubtless there is a series of progresses with respect to Franco, but the problem is how Franco was defeated. Why did not capitalism maintain Franco? Because it had to make concessions. Does this mean, as Carrillo says, that the king has been a fundamental factor of Spanish democracy? What factors? What ideas did he give? What position? What strength? He is a pole around which the bourgeoisie moves. He is no factor. Carrillo says, 'The monarchy was a decisive factor'. That is not the case. He was not an important factor because it is not the economy which allowed them to do this. It's the impotence of capitalism which could not maintain Franco. It could not be done because the Workers States and the struggle of the proletariat flushed Franco down. Thus Carrillo's attitude is to pose an aspect which gives a

false perspective, a perspective dependent on this process.

But, at the same time, this demonstrates that this constitution in relation to Franco is a progress, but it does not indicate what could be done and it is possible to achieve infinitely more. It indicates, at the same time, that there is an immense factor of crisis in Spain, a very grave crisis which is regionalism, which has created an obstacle to the economic development of the country. If the bourgeoisie through its interest centralises production through the centralisation of capital, the division of Spain into regional interests creates difficulties and obstacles for the process of the economy, science and culture and, above all, develops a factor of social antagonism, of social disputes and holds back the most important factor of history, the advance of the class struggle which is more important than the whole economy of Spain. Above all, one must intervene and one must mature and develop capacity to do this. These are fundamental themes.

One must intervene, not accusing Carrillo or Felipe Gonsalvez, but making analysis which helps them to understand and foresee what is going to happen - in a few years if there is going to be a war, much sooner. Spain cannot advance on the regional road and,

## SPANISH CAPITALISM IS VERY WEAK

You have to discuss a programme of discussion of political preparation because these are the essential problems which have to be discussed now, to understand and thus not to be sectarian or adaptive. But they are new problems and they are delicate. For example, the Communist Party cannot say, 'No, it's no use, we have to wait'. It has to intervene now and has to denounce that all this is going to favour German capitalism and goes against France and against the masses of France, but French capitalism does well out of it. Hence, to a certain extent, the criticisms of Marchais are based on real facts but their conclusions are false. One has to say that it's good that they denounce, that it is all for the benefit of German and French big business as French big business is united to this.

Another aspect to intervene on Spain is another tactic which is very important because it reflects the wish of the Spanish Communist Party to advance, because it hopes it will mature and improve. They propose that the Socialists enter the government with Suarez because they say that this will allow a democratic development. The depth of the Communists' policy is to pass through the stage of democracy to develop the Party. It does not do it with the objective of benefiting capitalism, but as a stage which will allow the development of the Communist Party because, at the same time, they hope that the Socialist Party will burn up, because it is going to compromise itself with capitalism. It is not a correct policy and it is necessary to intervene in Spain without entering into confrontation with the Communists and Socialists but to reason that the better policy for Spain to advance is to show the balance of class forces. Capitalism had Franco and he died, but the dictatorship should have remained. But why did not the dictatorship remain? It has to be shown that this shows the weakness of capitalism in Spain and the world.

Franco appeared not because

if Spain advances, it is not as the result of the manoeuvres of the bourgeoisie, but through the necessity of the bourgeoisie to develop the economy, but the masses are going to advance very little. Then is it only this way that one can continue?

The division into Catalonia and Basques and Galicia is a factor of immense division. Even if economically, the bourgeoisie is centralised for the investment of capital, in the same way as Yankee imperialism has as much interest in Germany, as the German bourgeoisie. In Spain it's the same. The big bourgeoisie of Madrid, of Catalonia and of the Basques has an interest in the rest of Spain, but maintains the division, the federation, the national division to maintain social dominion over the masses. Such a partition has no other economic effect against the functioning of the economy but, on the other hand, it maintains alive the class struggle favourable to the bourgeoisie. It is not a stimulant, a necessity to develop Spain, but to maintain the class struggle in circumstances favourable to the bourgeoisie, making regional interests clash. Then this makes the class struggle difficult and makes the proletariat of one region clash with the proletariat of another region. The proof is that today the Socialist parties of the different regions of Spain clash over regional interests.

Spanish capitalism or Spanish fascism was strong, but the world relation of forces was favourable to capitalism, which included the criminal policy of Stalin. Today this situation does not exist. One must discuss with the Spanish Communists that what they want cannot be achieved by this road. One must propose the increase for example of a series of demands which have been quite limited in the new constitution, enormously limited. There is a whole series of limitations on the workers movement which are quite considerable and limitations, also, on the right of women - as, for example, abortion - and the same on divorce in which they have made a concession to the Church which is very great.

One must show how to unify Europe on the basis of the very great conquests which have been made and the very greatest conquests are those in Yugoslavia, Hungary, Rumania, not in the nine or the eleven. These are the problems which have to be discussed and in depth. Although the new Spanish constitution is a great conquest, a retreat and a defeat of capitalism, it is limited by a half of what could be achieved because capitalism is weak. They had Franco, and they had to retreat. Why? It's the world relation of forces, including the Workers States, which killed Franco and that have made Spanish capitalism retreat. We have to be based on the world relation of forces, not to wait on events but to make the political calculations to see the limitations of the capitalist system. As a consequence, the conquests of the new constitution, being a very great progress and very favourable, are less than what could be obtained. This can be achieved now, on the basis of the class struggle.

As part of this, capitalism, together with the new constitution, accepts the federation with the Basques and Catalans and it is a very great blow at the unity of the class struggle to transform Spain. Now everyone is going to want his Socialist Spain, that is, it intro-

duces and develops a weapon of cultural and scientific backwardness which favours in consequence local interest and weakens, delays and creates obstacles for the class struggle. It does not favour the more advanced level of culture and of the science which is the class struggle, because it allows a limitless base for progress: the rest is a limited progress.

The new Spanish constitution is a progress, a defeat of the bourgeoisie. But it's the least evil for the bourgeoisie. It has had to yield, to impede great later movements. It is a concession which they have to make, a product of the relation of world forces and a relation of the Spanish proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie in Spain. It has had to make concessions to avoid worse evils, that is a considerable radicalisation of the class struggle. Thus it is necessary to propose that this indicates in itself a great conquest of the proletariat, of the Spanish petit bourgeoisie and the peasants, as a consequence of the relation of world forces. One has to be based on this conquest, which has to be elevated, to show the weakness of capitalism in order to go much further. To go further means expropriation and planning and proposing the problem of discussing the agreement between the different regions to develop the economy, culture and science, to develop life in Spain. Life in Spain de-

velops with culture, science and the economy, and not only the economy. They have to see on a world scale the basis of present day culture, of the economy and of science, which is the march of Socialist measures. Then it is necessary to see that the problems of Spain are provoked by backward regions which the bourgeoisie has maintained in that state. The single fact of the existence of Franco, who was around for thirty six years, shows the backwardness to which Spain was submitted. After thirty six years they threw out Franco and they had to throw out fascism. It shows that capitalism has no solution, and no exit through Fascism.

Fascism was an instrument of a short duration for a particular aim, war. To save the capitalist regime with war was also a failure. That is, it is not a regime or a political leadership which is based on the problem of the economy, to develop the economy, even from the capitalist point of view; but quite the opposite. All this has to be discussed and to see the case of Germany and Italy who were all reactionary regimes. I believe that it is necessary to lend a great deal of attention to this, and not to propose simply that the constitution is backward, a fraud. No, it is a great conquest but, in order to contain, and much more could have been achieved.

#### FOR AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME TO UNITE THE WORKERS PARTIES OF EUROPE

It is necessary to discuss in Europe now the necessity for the trade unions, the workers centres, the workers parties, to make a programmatic united front on hours of work, to reduce weekly hours of work on the same salary, a plan of production, so that the workers parties may intervene in the ECM with such a programme, i.e. the Socialists and Communists of all countries, with a planning of production, not leaving the control of the 'snake', the currency under the control of the capitalists, because they determine in accordance with the interest of profit, not of production, of profit. Thus they produce if there is profit, otherwise they don't. Otherwise they liquidate an enterprise and concentrate capital in another, because that yields more profit, at the cost of the life, of employment, of hygiene and health, because they produce in a form of production which kills people. It is necessary to make a united front of all the parties - Communists, Socialists, of the left groups, of the workers centres, the trade unions, with a programme of production to meet the needs of the people and, at the same time, of wages, a minimum basic wage to confront the cost of living with a proportional increase in the cost

of living and a reduction of the hours of work to thirty six hours.

The progress of technology and science in production has such a nature that, today, production is achieved in half the time that it was done thirty years ago. What benefit does the working class get from this? It is the bourgeoisie which profits. Discuss this. There is a progress of technology and of science, but the bourgeoisie benefits. Make a united front of the Communists, Socialists, left democrats, and appeal to the left of the Christian Democratic parties, of the petit bourgeois sectors who exist even in bourgeois parties, to appeal to them for this programme which is the programme of the common progress of Europe. At the same time, struggle in every country without waiting for the total result. But let them make now a common programme, all the European countries. That is the Common Market of progress.

Another aspect is a discussion in which the petit bourgeoisie is included and the peasants, the teachers and the students. A discussion must be developed throughout Europe by the trade unions and the workers parties on what is the future of Europe, how to develop

the economy, science, culture and the life of the people as a whole, to develop science and culture for the benefit of the population for this. Thus they must diminish hours of work, the brutality of work, and to progress consequently for the benefit of the people, for the masses, of the progress of science, of technology in production and in human relations; and also to show that it is an anti-capitalist progress. This is the programme of the struggle, together with the objective to eliminate the capitalist system, and in the schools, in the secondary schools, a programme should discuss these problems so that science, study, education, different careers should be for the benefit of humanity, and then this unites the students to the workers movement, otherwise science is to strengthen the exploitation of people and to prepare the war. Then with the programme, the students develop together with the workers movement and study to develop the population, to beautify life which is to put scientific knowledge at the service of science, of technology, in the service of the well-being of the population and of human relations. This is an immense step towards the unification of the struggles, to the objective unification of the objective of Europe, towards seeing that progress is united to the struggle against capitalism.

J. POSADAS 4.12.1978

## The Victory of the Vietnamese and Kampuchean masses show that there cannot be Socialism in one country. Forward to the unification of the Soviet Union and China!

The victory of the Kampuchean masses and of Vietnam against the Pol Pot clique - and in part against the Teng Siao-Peng leadership in China - is not the result of any invasion. If there was an invasion it was that of progress, to wipe out backwardness. The masses are not Kampuchean or Vietnamese, they are the protagonist of progress against backwardness. It is a sign of the death agony of capitalism when all it could hope for to prevent the spread of communism in South East Asia, was to rely on a leadership such as the Pol Pot one, which it had previously opposed for being the Khmer-Rouge movement, that is, of the Communist movement. The defeat of Pol Pot is not simply a blow to a leadership which - like the Chinese leadership - was allied to imperialism in the sense that it assassinated the Communist Vietnamese and Kampuchean vanguard. It is a fundamental blow to those leaderships in the Communist movement who try to prevent the advance of the Workers States to Communism, to the Socialist Federations of the Workers States and the unification of the USSR and China. We are no longer in the stage of Stalinism. But leaderships like Pol Pot and Teng Siao Peng use all the assassin methods of Stalinism, not so much to make their countries return to capitalism - this is now excluded - but to prevent the elevation of the Workers States to Soviet Democracy, which would throw all these leaderships out. The process in South East Asia shows that this stage is not for local assemblies, local solutions, regional or even national solutions, but the stage of the construction of Socialist Federations and that only the Workers State can do it. This applies to Britain as a conclusion because it is the world balance of forces and the materialist process of the economy and of human intelligence, which decide in Britain, and demands the Socialist Federation of England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales.

#### THE WORKERS STATE IS THE ONLY FORM OF STATE TO UNIFY THE ECONOMY AND INTELLIGENCE

The Workers State has eliminated the fundamental antagonism which exists in capitalism which is that of the incapacity of capitalism to use technology and intelligence for the benefit of all. The Workers State through the nationalised, collectivised economy, transforms the advance of technology and intelligence, in the continuous elevation of the life and culture of humanity. Capitalism can only use these for the retention of its power through war preparations and counter revolution. The victory of the Kampuchean masses is a fundamental stage in the struggle for Socialist Soviet Democracy in all the Workers States. Without the Soviet

Union, and without the elevation in policy of the Soviet leadership as over Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, there would have been no such process in Kampuchea. This victory of the Kampuchean masses is a victory of humanity. We call on the Soviet Communist Party and leadership and trade unions to proclaim that there is no such thing as 'export of the revolution', but that socialism is a world system and cannot be built in one country, and to show Kampuchea-Vietnam-Laos and South East Asia as the example of a single country, a single people, a single future in the Socialist Federation, which capitalism had divided in national boundaries in order to compete in markets and divide the masses. We call on the Soviet leadership, CPSU and world Communist movement, on the Vietnamese CP, and the British Communist Party to explain that there is no such thing as 'interference or non interference in other countries' affairs, or 'national roads' to socialism. There is a world struggle which demands the unification of the struggle against what is left of private property in the world, and in the end, a world Party, starting with the unification of USSR and China and of the World Communist and Revolutionary movement on a world scale.

Kampuchea shows that there is no such thing as 'hegemonism' as an abstract conception. There is either the invasion of progress or the invasion by imperialism. It is a system against system struggle, which demands an elevation of theory in the CPSU, in the Soviet Union and in the world Communist movement. The Chinese leadership also accuses the Soviet Union of hegemonism in Czechoslovakia, in Angola, in Mozambique and Ethiopia. It accuses Cuba of hegemonism. What the present Chinese leadership means is that it sides with NATO, Mobutu and Pol Pot because this allows the Chinese leadership to usurp the workers state and contain the revolution in China itself towards communism. But Czechoslovakia so-called 'invaded' is developing constantly economically, socially and culturally. It supports the struggle of the masses against imperialism in Zaire, in Israel, in Nicaragua and Iran, whilst the Chinese leadership and such people as Pelikan and Dubcek and the "dissidents" do not say a word against Mobutu of Zaire, or against Somoza in Nicaragua, or against Pinochet or against Ian Smith, or even the immense quantity of murders committed by the Shah and Bakhtiar against the Iran masses. The Vietnamese leadership supports the Kampuchean masses and this is why it has such an authority. There would have been no military triumph of the Kampuchean masses in 10 days over Pol Pot without the massive intervention of the Kampuchean masses; and this uprising of the masses against Pol Pot is due to the social - not military - authority of the Vietnamese Workers State over the Kampuchean masses.

The Soviet Union and the Vietnamese Communists must come out openly saying: We have expelled backwardness. Invasion is what capitalism does, to crush life. The Vietnamese and Kampuchean masses are a single people, they do not recognise the boundaries of imperialism and they belong to the masses of the world, the proletariat of the world, of which they are a vanguard. The Soviet and Vietnamese comrades must also say: The way to unify the Soviet Union and China, is through the masses of China receiving the social superiority of the Soviet Workers State, in which they must see the independent functioning of the trade unions, of the Communist Party, and the direct intervention of the masses in the leadership of the Soviet economy and society through Soviet functioning. The comrades must pose immediately, the slogan for the Socialist Federation of South East Asia on the basis of Socialist Soviet democracy. This is what the struggle of the Kampuchean masses means, and this is what is going to be achieved. This is what has to be posed by the world communist movement.

#### THE UNIFICATION OF USSR AND CHINA IS A CONDITION FOR THE TRIUMPH OF HUMANITY

We appeal for a discussion to be elevated in the world Communist movement and in the Communist Parties, including the British Communist Party, of how does one go from the taking of power in a Workers State to socialism. The fact that there could be a Pol Pot in Kampuchea or that there is a Teng Siao-Peng in the Chinese leadership needs explanation. It is necessary to say that the Workers State is the path to progress but that it contains contradictions, bureaucracy and sectors with an interest in private property, which continue to exist because of the continued existence of imperialism on a world scale. The Communist movement must have a programme for the elimination of all bureaucracy, privileges, regional and local interest, individual interest, by means of both Soviet democracy in the Workers State, "to each according to his needs", and a planned and homogeneous anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme on a world scale to finish with private property in the rest of the world. The victory of the Kampuchean masses is not just a blow at capitalism, but at the sectors in the world Communist movement which seek a national, or regional or local development through technology only. Technology exists in capitalism, and it does not elevate social relations. But intelligence exists in the Workers States, which shows that the planned, collective form of property, allows one to put technology at the service of humanity and elevate social relations. The elevation of the human relations in the World Communist movement and the Workers States guides Ethiopia in transforming one of the most backward parts of the world, into one of the most advanced culturally, socially, and to advance also the economy. So, the Kampuchean victory shows to the world Communist movement the need to plan the elimination of private property on a world scale, without the conception of 'invasion', or 'export of revolution' or 'interference in other nations' affairs'. The nations as they exist have been created by the competition of various capitalisms and they do not have any necessity. There is the need for the unification of USSR and China, and this cannot be done otherwise but on the basis of Socialist Soviet democracy in both USSR and China.

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# Vietnam and Kampuchea

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THE LIMITATION IN THEORY IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT MEANS A LIMITATION IN ALL WORKERS PARTIES

The economy of Britain has developed to the point that it will no longer be able to function on a regional or local basis again, because of world competition. All talk about 'regional assembly', 'Scottish or Welsh assemblies', or even opposition to the EEC without posing the Workers State in Britain is an impossibility because the structure of the economy demands a greater centralisation, on a European and world scale, which capitalism itself can only answer to by the multinationals, which is no answer, because of their competitive and war-like nature. The Communist comrades must oppose the notion of local assemblies and regional ones, Not only does this not correspond to this stage of the victory of Kampuchea and the construction of Ethiopia and Kampuchea, but it does not even correspond to the possibilities of the economy. It is necessary to help the Labour Party elevate the grasp of the nature of the Workers State, the role of the working class in all the parts of Britain, and to apply these conclusions to pose: forward to the Socialist United States of Europe.

## Editorial

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*the two — capitalism or the workers — is too many, then, it is capitalism. All this expresses itself in this country, and it is a striking feature of the situation that the demand for the 35 hour week is now the demand of practically all the trade unions of Europe. This is because there is a maturation of the anti-capitalist struggle all over Europe, due to the structure of the economy and of production now centralised internationally and objectively demands this planning for the need of the masses. Capitalism cannot do this. It has neither the interest nor the possibility of doing this. It is the working class which is the protagonist of progress in this stage of history and this internationally, and not just nationally. This shows that the construction of the Labour Party/trade union united front has to become part of the problem of the construction of the socialist europe.*

**UNDER CAPITALISM THERE IS NO PERSPECTIVE FOR A BETTER STANDARD OF LIFE**

*The reception of the Ennals and Callaghan given by the workers in various places show the rejection of this government by the trade union base and indeed the population. This is best expressed in the fact that whilst Callaghan has to keep 'consulting' the trade unions, these through the TUC however limitedly, have given to the government the following message: "No wage limits". This is a fact of life for the government and an expression at the same time of the enormous weakness of capitalism in Britain.*

*The masses see that in the 'developed' capitalist country of Britain, the standard of life of the people constantly decline, that there are many machines to produce plenty but that they are used to make people unemployed. They see that there is great technological and scientific knowledge but that this is used for the destruction of human health and for the destruction of human beings as with the neutron bomb. They see that in Vietnam people who have nothing, re-educate prostitutes, re-educate the previous bourgeois, spend time and money in an enormous social care for people. They see that in Cuba, the health service is free, that everyone has for his needs, and that the dispute of one against the other has ended. Whereas in Britain, we have to strike to live, to feed the children and pay the rents. Callaghan tells us that we are going to have inflation again with double figures and the balance of payments will go in the red. But what elevation in the standard of quality of life of people has taken place when both the balance of payments and inflation were so-called 'put right'? None. On the contrary, the economy simply stagnated, productivity increased, workers were sacked and the masses pay with diminished quality in everything they buy. The workers reject all this. This the significance of all the strikes which have posed all over the country: 35 hour week for £60 is something capitalism can only give with difficulty but the workers have the decision to go forward. Their decision is a blow at the norms of capitalism i.e. the attitude of the ambulancemen, hospital workers etc.*

*When the Labour Party puts forward a manifesto for the European elections which includes the demand for the 35 hour week and nationalisations under 'democratic control' in Europe it shows that the struggles in this country are expressed in a political and programmatic level. We do not agree with the Labour comrades that this can be obtained through the European parliament and already, their call for the unity of the socialist parties and the trade unions in Europe points to another form of organisation to obtain such demands. But it is necessary to discuss however, that if we could ameliorate capitalism just through parliaments, then the Italian government would have kept some of the promises it made to the Communists, and ameliorated the condition of the Italian workers through reforms.*

*We appeal for a united front of the trade unions and the Labour Party to struggle for a 35 hour week, a basic minimum wage to rise with the cost of living, all wages to rise with the cost of living on the basis of decisions taken by popular committees, all the profits of automation to the workers, for a workers plan of production to eliminate unemployment, factories about to be closed to be nationalised under workers control.*

*The development of an anti-capitalist current in the Labour Party is a protracted process but the decision of the low paid workers is a basis of support against the system. Capitalism throughout this crisis has shown a total impotence socially and politically. Callaghan has been repudiated in a way that shows a total loss of authority by capitalism. The next election will be a crisis of the system and has no relevance to the population.*

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# THERE IS NO SOLUTION TO THE STAGNATION OF BRITAIN EXCEPT FOR THE LEFT TO DEVELOP THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME IN THE LABOUR PARTY

To any objective observer Britain appears as a decrepit third rate capitalist power. In the recent negotiations at Guadeloupe to attempt to plan how to confront the workers states, it was the United States—German axis which determined the meeting. Even compared with ten years ago Britain has fallen continuously in political weight. It is characterised by a state of inertia and stagnation which constantly poses the question, how to come out of this comatose condition? It is clear that the bourgeois leaderships live from day to day. They anxiously watch the reports of the latest economic forecasters and their perspectives are confined to discussions about "interest rates", capital movements and public spending. The trade unions and the working class are attacked with ferocity but there is no sense of any programme or policy to emerge from the mess. One has only to listen for a few minutes to broadcasting of the debates in parliament to realise the state of buffoonery and absurdity of British capitalism. The capitalist class has lost any sense of what it is doing or where it is going.

The reasons for this situation are linked obviously to events outside this country. Thus the whole world capitalist economy is in crisis of decline and on the other hand the economies based on nationalisations and centralised planning, the workers states advance in all aspects. The result is that British capitalism is faced with a profound intensification of inter capitalist competition and on the other hand, there are no areas in which it can expand where it does not find other and superior competitors. In the nineteenth century, for decades it could do what it liked on the world market. Now it is hopelessly confined and subject to superior competition. The decline of Britain has been continuous, thus the share of Britain in the aggregate general domestic product of the imperialist economic centres dropped by almost 40% — from 8.6% in 1950 to 5.3% in 1976. The full effects of this were partly concealed by the continued economic expansion of imperialism throughout the fifties and sixties, but now with the overall downturn in the economy, this type of decay is going to weigh more and more. Finally the development of the workers states economically and socially competes with imperialism and prevents any means of overcoming the crisis.

There is not one aspect of the life of the country where it is possible to speak on any major progress. North Sea Oil has not proved to be of any importance in meeting any of these problems. At the same time as capitalism was boasting about North Sea Oil, unemployment has increased dramatically. The incapacity of British capitalism is such that it has to be helped along by huge amounts of money taxed from the masses and canalised into capitalism via the National Enterprise Board. So much for the initiative of private capitalism — sustained by subsidies. This wealth of course simply props the

system up, it does not lead to any gains for the masses to any improvement of the possibilities of life.

## BRITISH CAPITALISM CAN ONLY POINT TO DEFEATS

The whole infrastructure of British capitalism and all the social services are steadily sinking and declining. The main cities present a picture of squalor and decay which corresponds to the ineptitude of capitalism. The health services are in constant crises over staff and facilities. Time lost in work through sickness has increased by a quarter since the Beveridge report and the major diseases of the pre Second World War period are the same now and life expectancy is no greater now than at the end of the war. On the other hand there is a constant deterioration in the environment from pollution, the disposal of nuclear waste, lead poisoning, pollution of the oceans etc. Capitalism has shown that it has neither the interest or the resources to be concerned with these problems. The recent case of the Birmingham Smallpox case is an example of the total lack of interest in the health of the population — indeed as far as capitalism is concerned, it would be more convenient if a large part of the population just disappeared, i.e. the unemployed for example.

All this total and growing shambles makes nonsense of the old arguments about Britain being somehow unique. Britain as the "home of parliament" more capable, more democratic than anywhere else in the world, has no basis in reality anymore. Not only has the Empire gone, but nothing has taken its place. Now capitalism cannot suggest the Common Market as giving a new perspective because manifestly it may have benefitted a few big multinationals but the British masses have gained nothing. All this is a sign that the system is totally exhausted. It cannot point, as can German capitalism, to a certain economic dynamism. British capitalism has no success anywhere to point to.

Furthermore a society is judged not only by its level of production and productivity but by the quality of its imagination and its contribution to culture, its sense of perspective. There is always a fund of creative capacity available, but if the social relations are degenerate or empty, no matter what the capacity, nothing of much value will be produced. The immense conservatism of British imperialism led in any case to very little being produced — nothing of the force of a Balzac or even a Zola. Shelley and Dickens were the last writers of some historic force. Now there is nothing, but an interminable twitching of total mediocrity. There is no major artist who responds to the stature of the epoch and nothing that can justify capitalism. It is a total zero — a sign that one epoch is finished and another about to begin.

## A NEW TYPE OF DISCUSSION BEGINS IN BRITAIN

Marx, in one of his generalisations about the character of capitalism, said that its general law was the law of absolute impoverishment — the rich richer and the poor poorer. The Social Democrats denied this, and like the Stracheys and the Crosslands, pointed to the welfare State as means by which capitalism could constantly ameliorate, ameliorate. But what now? Absolute impoverishment is not simply whether one has a car or a house — in fact bare subsistence now — but whether there is work, or working conditions are good, or hours are not too intense or the environmental conditions are good. The contempt for the environment by capitalism is now not only a case of impoverishment but of actual destruction of human beings by capitalism.

The old social democratic conceptions have nothing on which to base themselves and this means the possibility for a much more profound theoretical discussion on the programme to get Britain out of the mess of capitalism. Workers co-operatives were a device of small groups accepting the capitalist framework and it is not possible to develop alternative production with a system whose arms exports have at least quadrupled over the last ten years. Social revolution is fundamental because the system has no possibility of reforms of any weight and it is not going to go on the basis of a reasonable, logical debate.

In other words, the special conditions which were given to "explain" Britain, no longer exist. It is not possible any longer to overlook Marx simply because he did not have the fortune to be born an Englishman. Fabianism is buried even if the society trundles on. Social democracy means giving. It cannot exist when the situation is "from him who has nothing, it shall be taken away". The Socialist International now criticises the fact that the market economy cannot solve basic problems and the menace of pollution, but provide no programme. On the other hand, the Communist parties do not develop on the lines of "euro communism" and "pluralism", but on the lines of confrontation with the capitalist system. The Social Democracy has now a world competitor, the Communist movement and hence it has to loosen its ties with capitalism.

The discussion on the future of Britain is in its beginnings but the impact of the workers states, the closing of the roads of conciliation between capitalism and the communist parties, plus more direct collisions between the western proletariats and capitalism, gives the basis for a new type of discussion, in which demands such as out with the monarchy, nationalisation of key industries and the banks under workers control, for a planned economy and the workers state are going to play a determining role.



## EDITORIAL

### THE ABSTENTIONS AND THE NO VOTE ARE A HEAVY DEFEAT OF REGIONALISM

### THE SECTORS OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS MUST DISCUSS A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

All the most recent events in Britain confirm the total incapacity of the capitalist system to solve any of the problems of the epoch, to elevate the economic and cultural life of the population. When capitalism speaks of the need to control inflation and tries to impose control over wages, it is preoccupied with its need to reduce costs and to compete successfully in the world market. The rebellion of the lower paid workers in the last period, and now the civil servants is symptomatic of the continuous disorder now typical in all aspects of capitalism. The Callaghan government has no authority and no programme or perspective to propose to the population other than more austerity. The force that maintains the capitalist system is not the capacity of the leaders of capitalism but the collaboration of the trade union leaders and the absence of anti-capitalist leadership in the Labour party. It is true that the trade union leadership is not as it was. It lacks the authority of the days of Bevin, but its object is to maintain the workers movement at the level of trade union dispute and wages. The recent pact between the union leaderships and the Labour government is nevertheless a fiasco because the working class has broken the wage limit and it is not possible for the union leaders to provide capitalism with any guarantees. The most pernicious feature in the situation continues to be the structure and functioning of the Labour party and trade unions which impede discussion.

The structure of these organisations however, can contain but cannot determine the character of the process. A current is developing in the Labour party which is manifested in various ways. The electoral manifesto of the Labour party for the European elections proposes nationalisations — if undefined — as one of its objectives and in general now, the social democracy admits to the failings of the market economy. At the same time, the Benn tendency raises issues such as the function of the army and the fact that it is uncontrolled and that the Times could be placed under some form of state control outside the direct operation of capitalism. All these proposals are very general, and suggest anti-capitalist measures without directly clashing with the system. The demand for the 35 hour week is the most concrete demand of the NEC of the LP. All this indicates that a new process is at work and this is to be expected, because the norms of capitalist functioning are failing socially, politically and economically. We can foresee an inevitable tendency to profounder and more concentrated discussion in the social democracy.

#### A DECISIVE NO TO THE REGIONALIST CARD

At the same time as the debacle of capitalism manifests itself in every way in unemployment, higher prices, more exploitation of the masses in the form of productivity deals, pollution of the environment and deterioration in the conditions of life, capitalism realises that it needs to divert a real discussion of issues by inventing imaginary solutions. This is the significance of the whole artificial game over the referendum for the Welsh and Scottish assemblies. Capitalism has invented regionalism. At the very time that it is decomposing and has no answers to any problems save war, suddenly as if by magic behold "local autonomy, new assemblies and more decentralisation". In the middle of strikes and the brutal incompetence of the capitalist economy, the referendum on the assemblies takes place. The whole idea is to suggest that there still lies within capitalism the possibility of new solutions. "More democracy" at a "local level" will somehow make people "more in control" and thus life will be better. In all this the apparatus of the Labour party and the trade unions have been heavily involved. It is the attempt to seek other ways than anti-capitalist ones. Similarly the Communist party has been committed to this line. Partly this is due to the normal adaptation to capitalism but partly it is also due to great confusion on the perspectives in Britain. The result of the referendum has been a heavy blow at the regionalist card. Abstentions were 40% in Scotland and over 40% in Wales. The vote for the yes to the assemblies was only thirty two percent in Scotland and less than 12% in Wales — a catastrophe for this particular manifestation of the tactic of capitalism. There were heavy abstentions in the workers areas. The working class vanguard saw the discussion as primarily a bourgeois discussion in which their interests were not discussed. Other sectors of the working class voted no to express their rejection of the attempt to regionalise their countries and develop a mass of competing separate interests. There was no real discussion of the issues of regionalism save within the capitalist framework. But even so the masses have shown that they have no interests in the divisive tactic of capitalism. There is a dispute within capitalism but the supporters of the no among the bourgeoisie are not averse to using regionalist conceptions. There may be internal disputes over particular aspects of regionalism but capitalism has an interest in keeping the issue alive and returning to it. The balance of the whole process has to be drawn in the LP, the trade unions and the Communist party. It is necessary to repudiate regionalism, to realise that the "democracy" of regionalism is altogether unreal. The mass of the population are no more involved in decision making than is usual in capitalist society and there are no perspectives to develop the economy or meet the needs of the population because without a programme of social transformations society cannot advance. Capitalism has nothing to offer. It is necessary to see that the

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## THE RELATION OF WORLD FORCES AND THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN IRAN

29.1.79

J. Posadas

The developments in Iran are a new phase of the process. Independently of what happens on the day of the arrival of Khomeini, it is necessary to make a programmatic tactic of agreements and political alliances. One has to record that Trotsky was criticised when he suggested the possibility of uniting with Stalin again. He said if it was necessary he would do it. Then he said, 'I will unite with the devil whoever it is, if it is convenient for revolutionary policy. One must see what the revolutionary policy is.

In the case of Iran, if certainly Khomeini is not a devil, those who surround him are quite devilish, an ancient inferno, in fact. But they are going to be confronted with a problem which they do not understand. It surpasses them completely and, at the same time, Iran does not have a bourgeoisie. It is a catastrophe for capitalism. Nicaragua has Somoza who is a bourgeois, multiplied by thousands and boss of everything. But, in Iran, there is no bourgeoisie or it is the weakest bourgeoisie there is. The bourgeoisie has no social weight and it has not structured a bourgeois clique.

The bourgeoisie exists, but it has no social weight. In the fundamental aspects of the economy, it is not the bourgeoisie which determines, but the state. The bourgeoisie has weight and exists as a class, but it does not have social weight and it does not have the initiative of the economy; it is the state which has. This is a very good opportunity to make a programme of the development of the economy. The Muslim leadership is going to have to do so, otherwise the movement will go with the masses. Now among the religious leaders, someone is going to arise who is going to go towards the revolutionary side and, very consciously, who is going to find that it is logical to co-ordinate with the Soviet Union more than

with any other country. The logical and natural aspect is this co-ordination. Hence Carter did not want the Shah to live in the United States, because otherwise both fall.

In speaking of the bourgeoisie one is speaking of the bourgeoisie which has a role in the economy, not the politicians but the bourgeoisie which has a role in the economy, promotes and develops it, has its own initiative in the economy. This creates a structure linked to it and provides its justification because it promotes the economy. In Iran there are no great private industries and thus there cannot be a big bourgeoisie. Thus the army is the representative of the ruling class and it's no use like this. Whatever time there is — and there is not much — the army cannot substitute for the ruling class or represent the ruling class. If the army ends government, what are they going to say in the first month? What are we doing? They do not have ideas. They have to satisfy everything. That is to say, it increases the anti-bourgeois weight. Hence the bourgeois sectors are desperate, although we say they are not a real bourgeois class, because they have a series of positions which do not structure bourgeois thought.

Thus it is necessary to seek to understand that this process is not going to retreat. The security of the Shah and the security of Khomeini are different. The security

of the Shah is to escape and the security of Khomeini is to come. Otherwise he will also be thrown out.

The necessary programme has to be based on the fact that it is necessary to make a front with the movement of the ayatollah Khomeini, criticising the aspects which it is necessary to criticise, but making the united front. This is an evident force. Khomeini does not come from now. They have been struggling for fifteen years.

Khomeini does not represent the most reactionary wing. Moreover, there cannot be a totally reactionary wing, because there is no bourgeoisie. A structured bourgeoisie does not exist. The Iranian bourgeoisie is very weak. Thus it is necessary to make an agreement with Khomeini to call elections, to develop the economy of the country, to develop the leadership of all the nationalised properties and to plan production with steel, petroleum and the development of the countryside. The Shah made no agrarian reform. What he did was to create an internal market; but it was so small it was scarcely operative. It is not possible to create an internal market if there is not an industrial market. The Shah wanted his own version of the bourgeois revolution. The bourgeois revolution expelled the peasants and created labourers, but it made industry. The Shah expelled the peasants and did not give them work in the factory.

#### THE PROCESS WILL DEVELOP A NEW LEADERSHIP

Thus there are possibilities for a profound agreement and for quite a long time. An agreement of all the tendencies on the basis of the creation of trade unions, of workers centres, of workers parties and the groups. The groups in Iran are of a different function

than in Italy, in France or in other countries. In the conditions in Iran an enormous quantity of groups are forming who are born, die, are reconstituted, recomposed, and divide. They are groups which arise through the need of action.

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## Down with the counter-revolutionary attack by the Chinese leadership on Vietnam!

# SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN IRAN . . .

Subtitles by the Editorial Board

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They express a need but they do not provide a programme. One can compare them to the groups of the first stage of 1968 and the first stage of Portugal. They have this similarity: the will for anti-capitalist combat. They are disordered, but they are anti-capitalist. They reach agreements as happened in Portugal which afterwards weakened because there was no political or military centralised leadership, and thus the groups degenerate. But it is presented as if the degeneration of the groups is the consequence of their nature, and it is not like this. If there had existed a leadership, it would have been won because their will was against capitalism and not against progress.

In Iran this is the situation, and it is very important now to intervene. The Shah is not going to return, unless they return him in a steel coffin. Imperialism itself has no further interest in him. They see he is dead. One has to look at the stage that is coming.

The army is not a social leadership, but an instrument for social leadership. It can give a blow, but in the name of whom? In the name of the bourgeoisie which exists linked to imperialism?

In these three months the army has already seen where the strength is and the fear. When capitalism is not animated to use the army, it is because they feel that for everyone ready to shoot there are eight ready to desert. Hence we made the comparison with 1905. 1905 prepared 1917, but this time there is not the distance. Lenin made the synthesis in the programme of 1917. They now have the programme.

It is necessary to intervene considering that this process will not retreat. They can make the 1905 type of massacre. They can repeat it or make many killings, but killing does not intimidate because people have already gone through the experience. There is no bourgeoisie, no power, no ability to lead, and people feel - ordinary people - that they can decide. They are going to intervene and one must be prepared for this process.

The Soviet Union is not going to intervene directly, but indirectly. It is intervening every day. Even when they broadcast music from the USSR or programmes from Radio Baku in the Persian idiom, they are intervening. The Yanks also broadcast music, but then they turn off the radio. On the other hand, they listen to everything of the Soviets and to Afghanistan also.

One must intervene now. There is no programme and no leadership. There is an immense will to combat. The Communists are re-animating and emerging, but now there is a movement of a very great weight in which the Communists are not the driving force. In the Muslim leadership there is quite a sensitive political criterion. They cannot be reactionaries. They are not going to impose Allah. If they impose Allah they will be pushed down. Undoubtedly, there is a

reactionary wing, but it is not the one that is going to decide. The Iranian masses have learnt in these last two years, but particularly in the last five months, the equivalent of twenty years. It has been a very rich experience. It was not just marching through the streets making demonstrations and meetings, but above all the masses communicate the invincible will to overthrow the Shah and to make a democratic regime and one of freedom for progress, not freedom in the abstract, but freedom for progress. They see the Soviet Union and Afghanistan. On the other hand, they see Saudi Arabia and what a place that is!

The situation in Iran shows the bankruptcy of capitalism. The masses who are moving in Iran are an effect of the world process of the relation of forces favourable to the revolution. The natural ally of the Workers States is the progress of history. This is a process in which the women make enormous advances in the history of human civilisation. They break the submission to man, but mankind is not displaced in this rupture but understands that it was a relation imposed in other conditions, but now both forces join against the Shah. The child who in such a society is totally despised emerges to fight for progress. In a society in which there were no organisms where people could develop the capacity for struggle, when there is such a movement, it is because the Iranian masses have mind and eyes. The Iranian masses are an expression of the world process of the permanent revolution which has been expressed in this form.

The 'ten days that shook the world' was repeated in Iran with the characteristic that now many days shake the world. Thus the Iranian masses now know how they must move and how to intervene. Imperialism has shown that it has no strength; if it was strong, imperialism would not let Craig go to Iran, the man who had said 'let's get out of Vietnam because we are losing'. He said the same over Korea - 'let's not intervene in Korea, we will lose it'. The Yanks decided to put Korea under control and they went from Korea. Now they send Craig to Iran and he is a defeatist; that is to say, an acceptable person because, on the other hand, he says to the Yanks, 'we must get out'.

In Iran the discussion of the programme among the masses has not begun. It is discussed among the groups, but the masses still do not discuss programmatically, policy or leadership. But already all those who are the base of the movement are beginning to move. The Iranian proletariat is maturing in one day whereas before it cost years, and besides the family is maturing. This is the moment to give a programme and policy and construct leaderships.

Neither the Shah nor Yankee imperialism can return to Iran. This process in Iran is going to have an enormous effect on the Yankee military. With all the atomic armament, they have not been

able to smash the unarmed masses. This is the relation of forces. The strength of Iran is that the USSR is at its side, otherwise none of this could happen.

The Iranian Communist Party has to adopt more consistent revolutionary positions. At the same time that the USSR feels that it is not convenient to go further in Iran because of the Yanks, socially it is convenient for them that Iran advances much further and also economically, because the Iran-USSR planning of petroleum and gas would mean one of the greatest

## THE IRAN REVOLUTION IS A PROFOUND SOCIAL AND MILITARY BLOW AGAINST IMPERIALISM

Still there is not a structure made in Iran politically. There is a great number of petit bourgeois of the vanguard, which are there without knowing what to do. It is not excluded that a left Socialist Party may be formed, because the movement is going very rapidly and the Communist machine is very very slow. From the first demonstrations until now, there has been an enormous elevation of the population. The intervention of the young people has involved thousands, showing great courage. They are shot and people pick them up, and they continue demonstrating. This is an immense will of progress. This is a will that it is going to be expressed also in political support.

All this is going to be a heavy blow for them, leading to a profound demoralisation and pessimism. The top military chiefs, who appear to be immutable, also receive this blow because they see such a formidable apparatus that they cannot use, because they see that the masses impede them. There is not only their fear of the Soviet Union but they see that the North American people are looking at Iran. The Yankee leadership sees that the North American people is looking at Iran, that the French people look at Iran and see the conduct of the capitalists who act like generals. But the Soviets support movements of progress, and the Islamic movement demands 'out of here' to the Yanks, not to the Soviets, not to the Communists, but 'out of here' to the Yanks. To the Marxists, Khomeini said, 'I am not Marxist, but they can be Marxists'. The North American people see this, and are learning. As the Iranian people received this influence of the world, they now influence others. People are in bad economic conditions in Iran, but not tragic, much better than in Italy. A number of people live better than in Italy, because there is a prosperous bourgeois base. In the United States, although they do not have important economic needs, politically, they are distant because they do not have a Party. There is no leadership, no trade union movement which develops the struggle for progress in the United States, and there is a completely reformist movement. But they see Iran. The United States is like Iran. Iran shows what is going to happen in the United States and why imperialism

resources of the economy. Iran has no other ally than the Soviet Union.

A programmatic discussion has to be stimulated. Not democracy in the abstract, but what programme. Alliances have to be made with all the religious sectors that are in agreement with a programme. Also, it is important to develop a logical political reasoning which means that in Iran there is immense wealth to develop, and it is a lie that in twenty years all the oil will be exhausted. There is oil for quite a time.

takes into account in every thing, that Iran has repercussion in the United States. But the Soviets are not afraid of repercussion in the Soviet Union.

All those people who say that the Soviets are afraid of the development of a Muslim movement are stupid. In the Soviet Union the Muslims are not Muslims but Soviet citizens, who are still a little Muslim, but they are based on statified property, on the immense progress which exists in the Soviet Union. The Yanks are afraid, proceed with caution, in part through the fear of Soviet reaction. But, partly also, it is because the American masses are watching. Imperialism feels the question, and after the war? Every war they see is the revolution. Trotsky posed in ten years millions and millions will know how to move heaven and earth - and they moved heaven and earth, but this time they are not going to move heaven and earth but they are going to move the world. Heaven and earth are united.

The process in Iran is similar to 1905 because in 1905 many people were conscious that they were going to be killed, but they went to the demonstration. There they saw that this was not the road, that they had done well but this was not the road to follow. Lenin also saw that this was not the road but another, above all because it was not the moment. In Iran the masses saw that 1905 was joined to 1917, came out into the streets, and did not go back and were not overthrown or defeated.

Iran cannot progress if there are not social transformations. The Shah took out an enormous quantity of money, but natural wealth, mineral wealth remained behind. One has to see that, if the Shah could make use of all this money which he took, the new government can propose an international order for expropriation, supported by all the Workers States and more than half the Revolutionary States and many capitalist countries also, who are going to have an interest in remaining on good terms with the new government of Iran.

One has to prepare to intervene in Iran in a process which can last because there is no leadership. In accordance with the will of people, the capacity and decision of the Iranian population, the pro-

cess will be resolved because the masses want a republic. 40% are indecisive, but 60% now know what they want and have chosen a solution of progress, which only the Workers State can provide. To develop Iran can only be achieved through the Workers State.

It must be clear that, whatever the interlude between this state and another, between this situation and the effective proclamation of the revolutionary republic, the process is going towards that. The revolutionary republic leaves open the conditions for a Workers State or a Revolutionary State, which means that the experience of people shows that the capitalist economy of private property must not be created. Still it is not necessary to propose the expropriation of all the private property, for example, the great bazaars. Their expropriation is not now, but the expropriation of the big enterprises and agrarian capital is necessary. In any case, the agrarian reform which the Shah made has produced a group of very rich peasants who are the only ones who have gained from this agrarian reform.

A revolutionary republic is necessary to make social transformations and the form to do it is a Workers State, a Socialist country, even 'non-aligned'. It can be non-aligned, but non-aligned does not mean indifferent. If it is indifferent, it is in the air. Thus it is 'non-aligned', but it is seeking to align itself. It is the aligning of the non-aligned.

These problems did not exist in the epoch of Lenin. In the epoch of Lenin the relation of forces and social maturation were very inferior to the situation as it is now. They are new problems and it is necessary to resolve them. Now the tactic is not as in the time of Lenin. The historic basis of Lenin is - let us yield at Brest Litovsk to keep what we have, and afterwards we not only take Brest Litovsk but the rest. Now there are twenty Workers States. If the Bolsheviks had not yielded at Brest Litovsk, they would have nothing now. This is the most elevated ability of the tactic.

## RELIGION DOES NOT DECIDE IN IRAN

The process in Iran is going to last for a time, above all because there is no leadership and no programme. The religious leadership is not all reactionary. Khomeini has ideas which are very progressive and convenient, and they are going to be obliged to make agreements because the crisis is now going to develop among the religious sectors. A sector is going to see that it has to develop, and thus it will have to apply measures which neither Allah or Mahomet can provide.

It is necessary to intervene in a process which is going to last for some time and where it is necessary to learn the tactic. There are

going to be very great confrontations, including killings between the religious sectors and the atheists, and the reason will be essentially that the reactionary religious sector is going to seek to maintain a hard line, but there are going to be divergences between them. Thus the intervention must not propose the problem of Allah, but social measures, social progress. It is necessary to show a programme and policy which educates people, middle cadres and soldiers also. The rigid structure of the military is only in appearance. The Yanks were much more rigid. The Yanks also had power infinitely superior to all these, and Vietnam showed the reality.

The process in Iran will not settle for a bourgeois democratic conclusion and remain in the sphere of the bourgeoisie, but the Muslim masses are going to intervene very profoundly, and the religious leadership is going to have to yield. The masses are learning about the experience of the world. They do not remain praying that improvements are going to come, but they see that they will have to make them come, and the experience which they have had serves them to see that what they have achieved is by their practical intervention, not through requests but through practical action, intervention, meetings and organisation. This escapes all religious control. This is the perspective in Iran.

The Yanks have forty thousand advisers who were military technicians, and a part of the Yankee bourgeoisie is going to say, 'and that shit used all this'. They are going to see that the illiterate, people who have no work, exploited women, shit on them! All this is going to produce a very great disillusionment among the military. Before there was Cuba, Korea and Vietnam. That is, the needs of history are more powerful than anything.

The Iranian army is one of the most powerful in the world. But in the world the most powerful army was the German, the second the French, and now half the French army is of the left. Recently they asked a top general of the French army what he thought about the next war, and he said, 'The Soviets will win because they have a superior social regime'. This is not only the case in France but in the United States also. It does not come to light often, but it is expressed constantly.

There is a leadership in the world which is not just composed now of one country or one party. There is a world leadership, as in the epoch of the Greeks. The latter were a centre of concentration of all the knowledge of humanity, including the Persians and all the previous civilisations. Marxism amounts to this. Marxism made a concentration of all the knowledge of history and dedicated it to an objective: how to progress consciously. This is the essence of 'Capital'. Today all this progress exists, and there is no leadership because none of the existing forces has all qualities necessary to lead the progress of history. There is military power and force, but they do not have the understanding or the ability to understand and decide, and the dynamism to understand and decide is as fundamental as material

means. The whole of history demonstrates that it is not material means which decide the progress of history. It is through material means that part of the process develops, if the arms of criticism are not continued by the criticism of arms, it has no value. Otherwise it is the reverse. The criticism of arms and, afterwards, the arms of criticism has no value. First, it is the arms of criticism. This, without ceasing to be arms of criticism, leads to the necessity of the criticism of arms, in the centre of all this lies the rational capacity of Marxism which does not think in the name of this or that, but in the objective name of the progress of humanity. We are in these conditions, and there is no leadership which totally represents this.

We have the capacity to think, to reason, to orientate and to programme, but we do not have the number nor the sufficient leadership, but we are allowed entrance -

otherwise we would be unknown. Now the leaderships of the world, of the Workers States, are working in this way.

In Iran there is no leadership, but there is an immense will to progress. Iran has a population which, after the glorious civilisation of the Persians - which contributed enormously to civilisation - did not appear. The historians speak of the stages of civilisations - progress, splendour and then decadence. Their thought is 'Greece and Persia were over and then the Yanks came'. That is how they explain history; not all, but the capitalist historians do. When a people like the Iranians, without anything, are ready to take to the streets for three months and with no anguish for the dead, which must amount to 200,000, the depth of the process is shown. It is a lie when it is said that only 35,000 have died. It is at least 200,000. People feel they are losing

index and the guide that this process will not end except with social transformations. Besides, the USSR is going to intervene much more soon.

Khomeini is influenced to the left. In another epoch this would not be possible so rapidly. It was possible because it was shown that they won generals, priests, gods and virgins to the revolution. But, in this stage, it is very rapid and shows the great social pressure that exists. This does not come from Iran but from the world, and Iran exercises it. It is such a movement that the Shah could not smash the population. The Shah wanted to make of Iran a modern capitalist country, but his mentality believed one person could create capitalism. One has to be stupid to believe this. Capitalism is a regime in which it is necessary to have a class to function and to have the conditions in the world for this. Besides, the Soviet Union is there. To none of the dissidents who are stupid has it occurred to them to say - we have been saying that they did not let us speak, but the Iranian masses have understood very well what the Soviet Union says. If the USSR was an oppressor regime, it would not influence the masses of Iran.

The process of Iran is determined by the relation of world forces, and whatever happens the Soviet Union is not going to abandon it. The Soviet Union is not the dog which takes the bone." The USSR cannot abandon the process. The USSR cannot abandon, but has to sustain Iran. The Yanks have shown themselves to be very weak, before the progress of history. This is clear. The people do not see the world relation of material forces. It sees the necessities of history. Iran is progress and the USSR supports progress. The United States are against. The world sees this and also the North American masses. The North American masses are not supposed to exist, but they think also. They cannot function, but they think.

This movement in Iran is also going to teach the Soviet Union that it has to learn from these movements, that the relation of military forces must not subject

them even in cases like Iran. In Angola it was not subjected, nor in Ethiopia. It intervened. But, if the Soviet Union had intervened before and better in Iran, the process would have advanced much more. In Iran there is a lack of ideas, analysis, objectivity; the objective capacity to see the depth and the magnitude, the transcendence of this process which has to advance. They cannot create a bourgeois layer to develop the economy, to content people. They cannot do this. There is no place in history, no social or political bases. There are no economic bases, but in the last resort there are no social or political bases because people have learnt. Why give to the capitalists when we can do as in the Soviet Union? That is the question and it is social and political, not economic. The Shah and the Yanks tried the economic and military method.

In this process of history, the sectors which still believe in religion are very few. All take religion as an instrument which is united to the defence of social interests. Hence Khomeini yields not because Allah agrees, but because socially he has to agree with social progress.

In Iran there are no great sectors of the bourgeoisie. There is no FIAT. There are some big bourgeois sectors, but isolated. The big-shots who possess a whole administrative apparatus and are involved with government, still do not exist. But, in Egypt for example, there is a large bourgeoisie who are the landowners - a really extensive bourgeoisie. In Iran, on the other hand, there are few landowners. The Shah did not give any opportunity to them.

The agrarian reform was no agrarian reform. The Shah wanted to make an internal market, but to appropriate it. That is, he did not represent the bourgeoisie who did this in their epoch. He created a market so that he could dominate it. But, if the Shah allowed it to develop, it would go against him. The capitalist regime is not made on the desk. Capitalism is economic relations, but the Shah wanted to make a desk.

#### FOR A PROGRAMME TO DEVELOP IRAN



THE REVOLUTION ANIMATES THE WHOLE POPULATION, WOMEN AND CHILDREN THROW OFF THEIR OPPRESSED CONDITION

their relatives, but they are not intimidated. The grief of the women is not for the brother, the dead son, but from religious custom and submission, not through the dead. The progress in human relations between men and women advances with the direct intervention of the women.

#### THE SOVIET UNION WEIGHS

A thousand problems exist on which it is possible to intervene. When the population makes an insurrection with such impetus and decision, with such a capacity for continuity, it is because in their minds Iran is now transformed. They do not know how it is transformed. What is their image of transformation? What do they think? They are thinking of the Soviet Union by their side, and Afghanistan which in a short time has made an immense progress. People

One of the aspects which shows the influence of the Workers States is that Khomeini accepts equality of women with men, while the old religious layer did not accept it because part of their dominion depended on the separation between man and woman, and their submission.

see this and they see Cuba and Angola. They see that in Angola the Blacks clash with the night - but with the night of capitalism. Now there is the night of the Workers State, and there is clarity for everyone.

There is a process of Permanent Revolution in Iran. It is interrupted because it does not pass from one social state to another, but it is an interrupted movement of months. Without a leadership! This is the

The problem now in Iran is to provide the programme to attract a number of people, including the technicians, because they need technicians. Remember that in the Russian Revolution one of the causes of Stalin was the lack of technicians. Thus they had to depend on a series of technicians which were the social support of Stalin. They had to put up with the revolution because it was a fact, but they placed it on the bottom rung so that it had no transcendent significance. There was an alliance of Stalin with these people. But in Iran it is not like this. The problem is that neither the government or imperialism have anyone with whom to negotiate. There is no bourgeoisie, only Khomeini. The latter, even with an Islamic form, proposes a series of things which are Marxist; for this there has to be nationalisation complete democracy, everyone should speak. Mahomet did not think this. Moreover, the only

government of Mahomet was thrown out because he proposed certain reforms. He had to escape for this reason.

The army in Iran now has the problem that, to maintain the Shah, it has to create a ruling class so that it invests, plans and develops and where is this to be found? Thus, in the army, disintegration will come through impotence. Hitler had more power than all of them, infinitely more power. Before Hitler fell, an attempt was made to assassinate him by the Hitler generals, when they saw he was finished. Well, the same thing is going to happen. They think they are safe because they are well paid, that they have everything; now they prepare to go. If the Shah was so secure, why did he escape and they are going to say, 'So, now you want me to guard all this for you?' The ones who have the money will escape.

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# SOCIAL REVOLUTION IN IRAN . . .

continued from page 3

The Yanks will seek to maintain them all - they have exerted pressure, given money and planes. The people without arms utilised the arms of the world process of the revolution and threw out the Shah.

First came the arms of criticism and, at a certain level, the arms of criticism continue. But then it is united to the criticism of arms, leading to the arms of criticism. It is not an internal process of Iran but of the whole world. The centre of world relations is expressed there, in Iran.

Egypt, for example, which is the most powerful Arab country, has no authority there. It does not occur to Khomeini to speak of Sadat. The events of Iran are extending, amplifying, elevating and deepening all at once, because they are all movements of the revolution with all the security of the world working class that, so to speak, 'We are right, we have the strength, and we are going to correct all that is necessary'. If it were as the idiots of the dissidents say, all that would weigh on the Iranian working class, which is next to the Soviet Union.

This is a process in which it is possible to influence and to win many religious sectors; it is not a problem of religion and Marxism. It is not a problem of theoretical competence, but of experience. Religion remains because, in the Workers States, the living experience, the influence of a democratic Soviet functioning still does not exist. It is still very limited. Thus they do not have influence over the religious sectors. Hence still people live enclosed; partly the bourgeoisie, the petit bourgeoisie, and part are sectors in which the social conditions of life are very backward. The place where religion is very deep corresponds to the most backward type of economy. When social struggles advance and the economy elevates, the gods terminate. They are confined to the home, or continue secretly or privately. Religion is not a question of competition with the revolution. People are not guided by what Allah says, but by what they experience in life, in the economy, in social relations, in human relations - otherwise one must believe that people are idiotic.

It is necessary to be based on a programme which influences all these sectors which are neither important nor fundamental, but who have a certain weight still in some countries like Iran, because there has been neither Party nor trade union.

The objective of people is not to serve religious sentiment but to overthrow the Shah and the centre for this was the religious movement. But, when religion and Khomeini have to confront the Shah and to propose a programme of social and economic relations, it

indicates the depth of the crisis which the Church cannot resolve, because it has to resort to norms which are not within the norms of the Church. When millions and millions of people move, it is not because of religious sentiment. There is no religious power which moves like this. People are not moved to establish Allah but to throw out the Shah who is an obstacle to social progress. People would change<sup>even</sup> if the Soviet Union was not there, but the USSR and Afghanistan are also present.

This process of Iran also shows the blindness of imperialism. It created generals for Vietnam, but not one sergeant for Iran! Imperialism is completely by-passed. Between Allah and Marx, people do not see antagonisms. They look forward with Allah but look backward to see if Marx is following. Marx is not lost in a corner.

All these problems have a very great influence on the masses. It does not appear directly because there has not been any time in Iran to organise a Party, a trade union, and the groups which now exist have not been able to function recently. Now they can. It's the same with the Communist Party.

This defeat in Iran is one of the greatest in history, of imperialism, comparable to Vietnam. Various stages have to be gone through in Iran. The Islamic masses desire social transformations to advance and progress. They want to advance, not to remain submitted to the wishes of Allah.

The problem is that the leadership of the political movement of the Communists, of the Socialists of Iran, has to make a front with the movement of Ayatollah Khomeini. It has no other solution than to make this united front to help the masses to mature. They cannot wait for a political education of years, but on the march of the revolutionary process it is necessary to help to educate the masses, and there is a religious leadership, which accepts changes in the structure and the process is going to have an effect on this leadership itself. An internal struggle is also going to develop between the Islamic sector linked to big business and to medium capital, and the base which seeks social progress. Part of the Muslim church is linked to imperialism, as it was also before. But the great Muslim mass is against big business and wants to advance to progress. The masses have to be helped to understand. Thus the united front, with the leadership of Khomeini, has the effect of helping the masses to understand. It provides positions, a programme of nationalisation, revolutionary democratic rights for all the tendencies to transform society in Iran, to create organisms in schools, workers areas, and to act as in Italy.

political elevation of the masses. Even the small trade unions which exist have to play this role. Besides this function of the trade unions and the workers parties, particularly of the Communist Party, it is necessary to understand that the relation of world forces helps this process, and the Iranian masses learn from the relation of world forces. They learn not only through Iran.

Thus it is necessary to realise that the workers leadership of Iran do not have to base themselves just on their own activity of action but to count upon and be based upon the world influence on the Iranian masses, particularly the struggle of the masses of Italy and France, which has a very great effect on the Iranian masses. It has an effect, not because there are groups of students in France and Italy, but because the Iranian masses read and accept all the experiences which come from the process of history of struggle for trade union, economic and scientific progress.

One has to be based on this process and appeal to the soldiers for this front, to propose that for progress Iran has to make it in this form. Make a balance. For all these years what was the progress of Iran? None. What was the progress of the Soviet Union in these years? The Shah was installed in 1954, scarcely six years before the Chinese Workers State, and look at China today! Cuba was established a long time after, and see the progress of Cuba!

Discussions must be held with the soldiers and appeals made to the military to intervene to associate with the progress of Iran and to contain the counter-revolution in the army and to impede every massacre against the population and to force them to accept a constituent assembly which discusses where Iran is going, and a programme of nationalisation of all the property of the Shah, planning of production, a plan of agrarian production, of development of the organs of the working class, of political rights, and a programme of social progress on the basis of the historic experiences of the Workers States and Revolutionary States, which show that they have advanced and not the capitalist system.

On this basis they must raise the struggle of the students, the workers and the small trade unions which exist. The decisive force on the Iranian masses has not been the small Iranian trade unions and their small weight. They have been transporters of the world influence on the Iranian masses. The strike has paralysed the apparatus of the government and stimulated the masses to intervene, but this is not sufficient for the masses to have such a decision of struggle nor has Khomeini made a political preparation for this. Where does this political resolution of the masses come from? It is the world influence of the revolution on the masses. In these conditions, the small Iranian proletariat has had an enormous social base through which to influence.

A united front has to be made to appeal to the army not to shoot the population, to yield to the population, and to impose the transformation of the economy with a constituent assembly in which the democratic republic of Iran, on the basis of such a programme, is a step towards the Socialist republic.

The masses see the strength of statified property and the central organisational means of production. They see it in Afghanistan and the USSR. Thus it is necessary to propose a programme of agrarian production in accordance with the needs of the population, wheat, cereals, greens, fruit, accompanied with the raw materials of agrarian transformation to develop industry and hand over land for co-operative collective production with the support of the state, machinery for the development of labour, to ask support from countries to develop agrarian production for the population, which essentially the Workers States are going to do. At the same time, meetings are necessary with discussions, the creation of cadres, the development of culture, especially how the economy develops, to develop the culture of the population in all forms, in colleges, in the home, in the workers areas, in hospitals, in the factories, with discussions on the economy, society, science, ideas developing the economy concretely, producing transport, means of communication, streets, houses for people. Thus people will see culture, science, linked with the economy and the development of society, the development of sentiments and human relations.

This has to be done immediately. This is the programme for Iran.

Appeal to the army not to shoot, and, on the contrary to turn their arms against the Shah so that the people are armed to defend themselves and push forward this programme. Appeal to the religious sectors, to the Muslims of all tendencies for the united front for this resolution, and the later discussion of developing ideas, of the experiences of history on how coun-

## THE WORLD CONSTANTLY AFFECTS IRAN

It is not necessary to run through the stages which the Russian Revolution went through, and China. It is possible to advance on the basis of the most elevated ideas through the historic experience and maturing of the masses and the point of support in the favourable relation of world forces; the favourable relation of world forces are the Workers States and the struggle of the masses of the world. This does not mean that one has to wait for external aid, but that capitalism does not have the strength to intervene as it wants, where it wants; nor the bureaucratic sectors of the Workers States, of the parties of the working class. They can intervene to contain the process, but they have to impel it and they are impelling it.

It is necessary to call upon the army to reject reaction and be ready to confront reaction and the massacre which they are going to make, so that the masses respond to this. Let them call on the army to go over to the side of the population to resist the massacres which the agents and bodies of the

tries are developed, Workers States and Revolutionary States, capitalist countries, and the basis of the centralised economy, centralised property, to be able to plan in a centralised way and with the intervention of the people, so that it can develop. The experience must be drawn, not to fall into a new form of bureaucracy as was created in the Soviet Union, in China or in the other Workers States, and to develop the theoretical and political ability, the development of the political life of the masses, and the forms of organisation which allow the intervention of all the population, the development of the cadres and the capacity to intervene and not to depend on the formulation of planning of bureaucratic leadership. It is an experience to undertake and to achieve this. But the essential aspect is to make a Party.

The Party must be developed to push forward the life of the Party with the revolutionary programme to develop the experience of the masses who are learning and feel themselves capable of resolving, learning and developing scientific and political and organisational capacity, the ability to run the economy, ability in ideas, in human relations, which can be made with all the experience of the Socialist countries and of the Revolutionary countries. Thus the economy must be united with society, with science and with the leadership - which means property has to be statified. It has to be planned. The proletariat has to lead and intervene with the rest of the population. There has to be a Party which develops ideas and allows the masses to develop, with a plan of the most elevated solidarity and justice in distribution; in general there is still a dependence on 'to each one according to his capacity' but, in many aspects, there is also 'to each according to his needs' because all the experience of struggle, the heroism of the Iranian people, has shown that it has learnt the principle of 'to each according to need' and is going to apply it.

CIA are going to make, so that they are not intimidated. It is necessary to prepare militarily, and they have a right to do this. Also, one has to remember that Khomeini said, 'If it goes on, we will appeal for armed resistance and an armed uprising'. At the same time, the appeal to arms has to be accompanied with the appeal for programmatic objectives which then mature people politically and win soldiers and the rest.

The Iranian masses live in the world and are influenced, because they live and reason and judge, live an intense political life without a Party and without organs; that is the relation of world forces in which all the class organs must be based, parties or unions. One must not expect that the relation of forces will provide programme and leadership, but it is necessary to count on the effect which the world has on the masses and the population. This impels the process and, at the same time, impedes and cuts short the ability of action by the bourgeoisie. Hence one must count on the world rela-

## THE MASSES MUST DEVELOP THEIR SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANS

It is necessary to make organs of the working class everywhere that unite the working class with

the schools, with the workers areas; organs of discussion, planning and leadership, helping the

tion of forces. Without such a relation the masses would not be able to do half of what they are doing.

These uprisings are not made through a religious struggle, from the appeal of Khomeini or from any religious movement. It was the natural objective of the struggles of the masses and, particularly, of the Workers States, of the Socialist countries, and of Italy and France in particular; also in part Germany which has influenced this process and unleashed among the masses a political, not a religious, process. People are moved, not in the name of the ayatollah, but in the name of progress. They want progress. They do not have a centre, and thus they find in Khomeini a centre which has the capacity to organise and the strength to organise. But the political influence is the world, the revolutionary struggle of the masses of the world and of the Socialist countries on the Muslim masses. It is a movement which moves millions, and what preparation was there? None. Before the appeals of the Ayatollah, people had been moved on other occasions. There were antecedents when Mossadeq was not ayatollah, and

there was complete support for Mossadeq.

#### THE SOLUTION FOR IRAN IS THE WORKERS STATE

The movements of Iran must demand support, solidarity, united front of the Communist parties, Socialists, the nationalist revolutionary movements, Muslim and Catholic and Jewish left movements for the social progress of Iran.

It is not simple to win a sector of the army because resistance is very great, but a sector can and must be won. One must be based on the process of the progress of the revolution, giving confidence to the masses with the need to create organisms of the masses, of the base, organisms of discussion, proposals and programme, and to aim at the soldiers and the officers, appealing to them to make a great Iran in social and economic development on the basis of the development of the population. The stages have to be prepared for. The Muslim masses are going to learn. The process is going to develop their experience, their understanding and intelligence on the need for social transformations, and they are going

to know how to find the means to overcome the massacre which the army is going to make and are going to count on and see the support of the world in this struggle.

One has to expect quite a lengthy process of struggles and resistances, although the perspectives are not those of fixing present power but of development towards popular power. It is necessary to develop popular power, workers' power for social transformations. The progress of the population is social progress, economic power of social relations in which it is necessary to make a relationship which determines these human relations, that is, the social relation of democratic rights based on the development of the economy and management, leadership of the economy by the population in the form of organisms which have to be created. Appeal to the soldiers, to the officers, for this task. Appeal to them so that they give arms to the population,

which are arms paid by the population, bought by force, sacrifice and the wealth of the country and the work of the population. The struggle of the working class is fundamental. The Iranian working class having little real weight, has enormous weight because it represents objective interests, objective capacity and the objective thought of the objective social development of Iran. Hence it has authority through its weight in the economy, because it determines the functioning anyway of the small industrial apparatus which exists and, through its capacity and objectivity, receives and transmits objectively the necessity of the life of the masses, all the progress necessary to make and to receive from the world the influences that impel the world.

At the same time, capitalism is not in the conditions for a direct intervention in an immediate form. This is part of the relation of world forces in which the Workers States have a vital interest in maintaining Iran, in developing Iran outside the dominion of imperialism as a minimum. Outside the dominion of imperialism, there is no other solution than a development towards a Workers State.

It is necessary to make the trade unions intervene more, weigh more and aim more at the population in democratic discussions so that the population can learn to reason and can weigh. It must aim at the Muslims, at all the Muslim currents discussing on the need for social transformations and to win the army. The heroism of the masses is shown daily. Reaction kills and assassinates dozens, hundreds and thousands. The Shah, the army and imperialism in Iran have killed more than two hundred thousand people, and the masses do not limit themselves and are not intimidated, do not let themselves be smashed and maintain constantly the vigour, will and resolution for combat. That is to say, the world influence on the masses impels them to progress. It is not due to a religious movement. They do not act in this way for religion but for social transformations. The immense majority of the Muslim masses do this in the name of the progress of society, not religious submission. It is not the stage of history in which humanity can be subjected to a religious current. Humanity can only be so linked if united to the progress of society.

J. POSADAS 29.1.79.

## Down with the counter-revolutionary attack by the Chinese leadership on Vietnam — For the unification of the Workers States in a United Front against imperialism

The counter revolutionary attack by the Chinese bureaucracy on Vietnam has been made in alliance with Yankee imperialism. All the workers parties and trade union centres particularly those of the world communist movement and the workers states have to condemn this invasion and appeal for mobilisations of the Chinese masses against this sinister war. The Chinese leadership wishes to smash Vietnam with the idea of preventing the spread of the revolution throughout South East Asia, and removing the social weight of Vietnam in China which is a constant affront to the degenerated Chinese leadership and its plans to regulate the Chinese workers state for its own privileges and interests.

The existence of Vietnam is particularly odious to the bureaucratic caste which forms the basis of the Chinese leadership. Vietnam has made a continuous advance since the ignominious defeat of Yankee imperialism. It has entered on the road of the construction of socialism with a process of continual rectifications against bureaucratic elements. It has continued the social revolution eliminating all the vestiges of capitalism and at the same time it

has not hesitated to stimulate the unification of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea as the logical conclusion of the struggle to eliminate capitalism and to construct socialism. The whole activity of Vietnam is to place the country in the service of the world revolution. It is a repudiation of the whole mentality of the Chinese leadership of constructing "socialism in one country".

#### THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP QUAKES IN FRONT OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

The process of the world revolution is constantly accelerating and poses a constantly more profound crisis for the Chinese leadership. Their policy of linking with Yankee imperialism is governed by the fact of their panic fear of the effects of this world advance within China. For example the Chinese leadership directly tried to sustain the Shah. The Iranian revolution threw out the Shah and is an example of the constant maturing of the capacity of the masses to advance even without an adequate or representative leadership. Iran is an example of a process totally disastrous to the Chinese leadership. What has made everything worse for the bureaucracy is that Vietnam gave full support to the insurrection of the Kampuchean masses against the sanguinary Stalinist regime of Pol Pot. It was a political social revolution which demonstrates the isolation of the Chinese bureaucracy. It is almost completely alone and to maintain itself allies with Yankee imperialism. Undoubtedly the attitude of the Chinese leadership is a weight on the international workers movement but it is not decisive in history. The basis of this criminal counter revolutionary invasion launched by the Chinese bureaucracy against Vietnam is precisely that the world revolution is on the road of more and more centralisation around the leadership of the Soviet Union and the other workers states. This massive process of centralisation provokes and deepens the total crisis of the capitalist system and also undermines all those sectors in the workers states i.e. the Rumanian bureaucracy and the international communist movement who seek national, regional and local solutions. History now is decided globally and those who resist this are irrevocably pushed aside. They have no future and objectively are imbeciles.

#### THE INVASION OF VIETNAM WILL SHARPEN ALL THE CONTRADICTIONS WITHIN CHINA

The explanation of the character of the Chinese leadership and its action in Vietnam relates to the origins of bureaucracy in the workers states. The problem essentially arises from the lack of political life in the party and the unions thereby allowing the development of a caste which essentially as Trotsky analysed and Lenin foresaw, tends to deprive the masses of any direct intervention in the functioning of the workers state. But the Chinese leadership does not represent the overall character of the workers states. The dominance of the bureaucracy is not permanent. Stalinism has died in the Soviet Union whose policy is one of encouraging world revolution. But such a process is not uniform and China is an example where Stalinist education and the absence of a Bolshevik tradition has led to the criminal situation today. The bureaucratic caste can realise the value of the centralised economy as opposed to the incompetence of capitalism but they also see it as a source of personal power and aggrandisement. Communism to them can only mean themselves directing and distributing. It is a contradiction which can only arise in the absence of a vital and living party. The Bolsheviks could have no such conception. Communism is social relations, not simply a superior economy.

Inevitably in the course of the development of the economy and consequently its social relations, the contradiction between the masses and the caste grows. The most extreme example of this was the period of Stalin, but also that could only have historic results in a hostile world environment that is the ebbing of the revolution. The counter revolutionary actions of the Chinese leadership are taking place in the reverse situation. Thus they are responsible for actions worse than Stalin but historically with far less effect. Stalin perpetrated the appalling disaster of Germany, laying the bases for the second world war and the testing of the workers state in the worst circumstances. The Chinese are worse than Stalin. They actually attack another workers state, and are directly allied with imperialism. But in doing so, they are laying the bases for their own destruction in China itself because Stalin could at least justify himself by saying "we are very weak". The Chinese leadership speaks abstractly of "hegemonism" and directly conspires before the whole world with decrepit

Yankee imperialism in order to stop human progress.

Whereas Vietnam closes the door on capitalism the Chinese bureaucracy releases capitalists, builds them up and follows a policy of "modernising" China not on the basis of plans and policies discussed with the masses but on the basis of bureaucratic fiat. We are all in favour of modernisation but who is to decide the plan and the allocation

#### FOR MASSIVE DEMONSTRATIONS IN THE WORKERS STATE AGAINST THE CHINESE INTERVENTION

The intervention of the Chinese bureaucracy against Vietnam has to be seen in the perspective of the final encounter between the forces of the workers states and world capitalism. Yankee imperialism is on the defensive historically. It has suffered a catastrophic blow in Iran but it will not surrender. Constantly it prepares and perfects its arsenals for war. It is at moments such as these that the complications between the workers states are utilised by imperialism as a cover for its war preparations and coming attack on the workers states.

We call upon the Labour party and the Communist party and the trade unions to condemn the attack by the Chinese bureaucracy on Vietnam and to demand the immediate cessation of that attack. The world communist movement has to intervene for the unification of the workers

of resources? How are the huge loans to be paid back to capitalism? Why facilitate links with capitalism when the logic of development demands unification with the other workers states to dynamise economic development. The Chinese bureaucracy is trying to encourage material stimulus, differentiation among the communes and the right for pro capitalist sectors to intervene in the workers state.

In this situation when the British communists try to draw a distinction between a "progressive" internal policy and a backward "external policy" of China it is incorrect. The external and internal policies are governed by the same principles — alliance with the most counter revolutionary sectors against the progress of the world revolution and against soviet democracy in China. What is this "democracy" of which sectors of the bureaucracy speak. Where is the mass democratic discussion? Where is the right of the "gang of four" to speak? Workers have been shot — what sort of democracy is this? The "democracy" is democracy for the bureaucracy and its capitalist friends.

states on the basis of the anti imperialist, anti capitalist united front appealing for the intervention of the Chinese masses against the war with Vietnam and impelling the currents in China against the counter revolutionary line of the present Chinese leadership.

## Editorial

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problems of all the regions and not just Scotland and Wales cannot be solved without the stratification and the centralisation of the economy. Any desire for autonomy should be within this perspective, that is, if necessary a socialist federation of England, Wales, Ireland and Scotland on the basis of the centralised socialist economy.

### THE ANTI-CAPITALIST CURRENT IN THE LP IS AIDED BY THE ADVANCE OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION AND THE WORKERS STATES

The process in Iran has the greatest significance not simply because of the events there but because it shows the reality of the world situation. World imperialism, particularly American and British capitalism, has suffered a disastrous blow. The Yanks have lost a whole army trained as part of the counter-revolutionary strategy against the Soviet Union. They have been unable to divert or throw back the revolution and on the contrary the latter advances and opens the way for a stratified economy moving within the orbit of the workers states. The revolution in Iran is characteristic of the present stage of world history in which the masses intervene directly and even without a leadership, advance towards the construction of a workers state. Iran reflects the balance of world forces favourable to the forces of socialism and unfavourable to capitalism. All this is a blow at British imperialism as well. The Callaghan government supported the Shah, and the Shah was smashed. The British masses have seen a revolution in action and their imperialist government beaten. The forces of the left have to base their security on this world process. The Callaghan government, its policies, external and internal, are immensely backward compared with Iran. Iran is more advanced than Britain in some aspects despite religious forms. Moreover Iran would not have been possible without the existence of the Soviet Union. All this has to be assimilated by the left in the Labour party and trade unions as a means of seeing the immense scope for the affirmation of a consistent anti-capitalist programme and policy.

### THE POLICY OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP IS NOT THE RESULT OF THE WORKERS STATES

At the same time, capitalism tries to use the policy of China in attacking Vietnam as a means of injecting confusion in the workers parties and vanguard. They try to suggest that this behaviour is inevitable and that socialism is a fantasy because disputes like this will break out. In reality the Stalinist policies of the Chinese leadership, their chauvinist line of "putting Vietnam in its place", is the logical consequence of the absence of a party tradition, the absence of a party with a strong political life and in close relationship with the masses. A separate interest is created which becomes frightened of the advance of the revolution so they defend their bureaucratic positions by linking with capitalism against the revolution. When people like Allaun criticise the policy of Callaghan sending arms to China it is an echo of forces in the LP who reject the policy of aiding the Chinese bureaucracy against the Soviet Union and the advance of world socialism. Without doubt the policy of the counter revolutionary Chinese leadership is a weight on the world revolutionary vanguard, but at the same time, it does not determine history. It has to defend itself by associating with the declining forces of Yankee imperialism. Iran represents the dynamic of progress. It represents the world. The Chinese leadership represents the backward consequences of the former period of Stalin.

The crisis of British capitalism increases in a world environment which does not allow recovery. It has nowhere to go. The loss of markets in Iran is an example of the lack of perspective to develop new fields for the accumulation of capital. Intercapitalist competition is increasing and at the same time the workers states weigh more and more socially. The masses see another horizon outside the perspectives of capitalism. When the German social democracy has to balance between the workers states and capitalism by suggesting that the military resources of the Soviet Union are purely for defensive purposes and other sectors say that it is not sufficient to be the repair shop of capitalism then it is clear that the world environment is entirely favourable to the elevation of the forces of the left in the Labour party towards a programme of nationalisations, workers control and centralised planning.

3.3.79

## J. POSADAS

### THE ROLE OF THE PLAYS OF ARISTOPHANES IN THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY

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# THE MONARCHY IS A FUNCTION OF IMPERIALISM. FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!

The trip of the queen to many of the States of the Middle East is a profoundly reactionary one. She has gone representing the interests of British and Yankee imperialism to try and stop the revolution in the Middle East. Her mission is not to give support to the people in Iran who are emerging from centuries of oppression. It is to try and give support and confidence to the most reactionary regimes, which would have included the Shah of Iran had he not already been thrown out. The queen of Britain hence is not associated with any progressive role. She represents British and Yankee imperialism who want to sustain these countries against the revolution. Her trip is to try and shore up and encourage them so they continue to be bases for imperialism, for counter-revolutionary purposes. The countries she is visiting have oil resources, but apart from that they are very undeveloped. They do not have significance in influencing world affairs or of being of decisive economic importance. On the other hand, these sheiks continue with traditions and customs which are the most oppressive, for example, in relation to women, and their role in society. They believe in keeping the women absolutely oppressed and without any rights to participate at all. This is what imperialism through the queen, is going to try and preserve. Meanwhile, the Middle East is in turmoil. Iran is making the earth tremble even more for the bourgeoisie. There have been very great advances in that area recently, and as it is one of the major areas for oil resources and of significant military and political value, the bourgeoisie are desperate to contain the revolution. The queen's trip has to be seen as having this objective.

### THE QUEEN'S TRIP SHOWS THE WEAKNESS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

The British monarch used to rule over a vast Empire, but now the decline of British imperialism is accepted. British imperialism no longer has the power to decide events. It has suffered a heavy blow with the throwing out of the Shah of Iran. It is a desperate monarch who goes to sustain these numerous countries of no value. Queen Victoria would not have dreamt of having such a role. It is not very good for the authority of the bourgeoisie for the queen to be seen going to prop up countries which feel threatened by the throes of revolution. Before British imperialism would have sent in troops to areas affected by revolution and rebellions would have been put down. Now imperialism is thrown out of Iran, the troops cannot be sent in because of the Soviet Union's presence, and the queen has to go to the Middle East to give confidence to the losing side. Hence it is a failed policy of imperialism. The impotence of the monarchy to stop the revolution in the Middle East is an expression of the weakness of imperialism.

### THE MONARCHY PLAYS A REACTIONARY ROLE

The bourgeoisie are anxious to keep the monarchy in Britain because it is supposed to have the role of being above society, above all the disputes and the class struggle, as something which is neutral and which stands above all the problems. But this recent trip raises questions for the workers movement about the function of monarchy. Is it that this trip is just a mistake of the queen, and that at other times she has been to progressive countries to give them support? Only recently, she went to Northern Ireland to support the repression there, and later she went to West Germany, to give support to NATO. Are these errors of the queen? Or is it that she represents imperialism? She goes on a trip to sustain countries which are amongst the most reactionary to be found. She would have gone to sustain the Shah. Then it is impossible to envisage that the queen is going to remain neutral when the workers in Britain take over factories and nationalise them under workers control. The abolition of the monarchy is part of the programme for social transformations.

The queen represents everything that stands for oppression, privilege, inequality; then it is really one of the first demands to be raised in the struggle for socialism.

The monarchy rarely makes statements relating to the daily situation and to the political problems in society. This is an attempt to give the impression to the petit bourgeoisie that the monarchy is above such matters. The queen has been making quite a campaign about the virtues of family life recently, but she gives no ideas at all about how to make Britain come out of the stagnation and to progress. Then what role does she have, what value is she for the population? It is to appeal to the petit bourgeoisie and to backward layers of the population and hence to try and maintain a centre which supports private property and the bourgeoisie. This type of policy finds less and less success. The petit-bourgeoisie is greatly affected by the political situation and is not turning to family life as a solution or a perspective. It is turning to the trade unions. The petit bourgeois unions are showing an enormous growth, they are more and more active and more militant than before. The monarchy, although having an effect on some backward sectors, cannot mobilise the numbers of middle class sectors it could before. It begins to feel weakened, when imperialism feels weak. This is why Prince Charles has made an attack on management and not the workers. The monarchy he represents senses the way things are going and so tries to contain it by criticising the management that the petit bourgeoisie are attacking. This is a sign that the monarchy is threatened and fearful of both the internal situation in Britain and the external defeats of imperialism abroad.

### DEVELOP A CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE MONARCHY NOW

There have been signs of sectors which are anti-monarchist in Britain, but it is fundamental that a current is formed on a basis of a campaign against the monarchy as part of the programme of social transformations in Britain. It is the first time that any member of the royal family has intervened to criticise management. It is not that they believe this is the solution to the problems in Britain, it is a game they play to try and maintain some authority. That is done, not because they feel strong, but because they feel the traditional grounds to deceive sectors of the petit bourgeoisie are diminishing. It shows that conditions exist which allow a basis for an anti-monarchist current to develop itself.

To campaign against the monarchy is to campaign against capitalism. To raise the slogan of the Republic represents a big change for a country which has had the monarchy for so long and whose institutions are entwined integrally with everything that capitalism stands for. To pose the Republic is to raise, what sort of Republic? A capitalist one or a socialist one? In Iran, the Republic will be achieved, but the Iranian masses are not going to make that the only conquest they attain. It doesn't solve their problems alone. It opens up the road to the question how is the country going to be organised? The monarchy was the centre which prevented progress. Now it has been finished with, all the stability of private property in Iran has ended. Everything is being questioned. This is why, when the Republic is raised here, the same type of situation arises.

We propose that conditions exist which allow a campaign against the monarchy to be developed. The bourgeoisie are not going to want this, but the workers in Britain are. Then it is necessary to develop a life in the trade unions and the Labour Party which takes as a natural part of the campaign for a socialist programme, the abolition of the reactionary institution of the monarchy which has no value for the progress of the population, and to campaign for a Democratic Socialist Republic. The Labour Party and trade unions should denounce the queen's trip as a thoroughly reactionary intervention against the influence of the Iranian revolution!

## EDITORIAL

# USE THE ELECTIONS AS A MEANS TO DISCUSS AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME

The collapse of the Labour government of Callaghan and the forthcoming general election form part of the total crisis of the capitalist system. The entire process surrounding it does not express the will of a class, of a system which has any historic perspective, or that feels that it is in control of events. Both the Labour government and the Tory party (or any possible Tory government) represents tendencies of the bourgeoisie, i.e. trying to defend capitalism. They have differences of emphasis on how to confront the working class and the masses in general in Britain, and the system of the workers states on a world scale. Neither of them have any ideas, or interest, on how to advance the standard, the quality of life of the mass of the population, on how to develop the country and the economy for the benefit of the population. The Labour government has been defeated but not by the Tories, or the parliamentary manoeuvres of this, or that MP. The Labour government has fallen because it has been defeated by the actions of the working class and other sectors of the population which, in one form or another, in the breaking of the 5% wage limit, in the defeat of the policy of regionalism in Wales and Scotland, have repudiated the capitalist policies of this government. In a very real sense the decision of the Labour Party and TUC conferences to oppose the 5%, a decision which was itself determined by the actions of the working class, was a sizeable nail in the coffin of Callaghan. Now the various tendencies and groups within the capitalist structure and apparatus of the country have to try to find some solution to a problem which has, within the context of the capitalist system, no solution. This is the meaning of this forthcoming election and we cannot expect anything which is of the least benefit to the working class and the mass of the population to come out of it.

This total crisis of capitalism is a world process. In every major capitalist country the level of unemployment is increasing and the general standard of living, all the social services, housing, conditions of work and quality of food declines. The scientific and technical capacity to advance the economy and, therefore, the life of the population exist, factories can be automated and, virtually, run by themselves without the need for repetitive work which, under capitalism, is destructive to the human being. But capitalism is determined by profit and competition and not by the needs of humanity. All the discussions in parliament, in the bourgeois press, in the Labour Government have been, and are on how to make British capitalism competitive in the struggle for profit in a world market which, for capitalism, is contracting because of the extension of the Workers States and countries which develop themselves in relationship to the Workers States and outside capitalism. The productivity of labour is increasing and the result is a rise of unemployment. The steel industry is an example of this, with massive unemployment in France, Germany, Belgium and Britain. Thus in the context of the system of private property, technical and scientific advance leads to a wholesale collapse of the standard of life. In France this takes a very concentrated form at this moment but, in Wales for example, it is no different in its effect.

The use to which capitalism puts scientific and technical advance can be seen in the leaking, over a wide area, of radiation from the nuclear power station in the United States. And it can be seen in the assassination of Airey Neave. The bomb which killed Neave was extremely sophisticated. It showed a technical knowledge which could not be within the capacity of a small terrorist group. The assassination of Neave is part of the process of the disintegration of capitalism, part of the same process which is expressed in the fall of the Labour government, the capitalist class cannot agree among itself because there is no solution to the crisis of the system. It is capitalism which has carried out this assassination using, as it uses elsewhere, terrorist groups which exist or inventing them where they are not sufficient for the purposes of imperialism. We have seen the same process in Italy, with Moro, in Spain, in the assassination of the British ambassador in Holland. They are murders which form part of a world policy of Yankee imperialism, in collusion with the repressive apparatus of world capitalism. The assassination of Neave is a provocation which serves the interests of that tendency of capitalism — which wants to

confront the masses with a greater, more direct repression. By this terrorism, they hope both to be able to impose these measures and, at the same time, to stimulate the bourgeoisie itself, sectors of which become more and more defeatist. This is the way in which capitalism views democracy. This is the way in which they carry out their own internal struggles. This is what lies underneath the struggle in parliament, in the electoral process which the bourgeoisie call democracy. The Soviets are correct when they say, as the Posadist IV International has said, that the intervention of British imperialism in Ireland, the repression and the assassination are a preparation to confront the masses in the rest of the British Isles.

What then can this forthcoming election solve? It cannot resolve any of the problems faced by the masses and it cannot resolve the vicious internal struggle of the bourgeoisie. In a sense it is like the referendum for an "Islamic Republic" in Iran, which, since it is not based on any programme for the transformation of society, means nothing. Whatever the government, the working class will still have to face all the problems created by capitalism. The record and policies of Callaghan speak for themselves and they have been repudiated by the masses. There is no basis for the Labour Left and the trade unions to support this government. What has to be done in the process of the electoral campaign is to use the ambience created to raise a discussion which can be expressed simply in the form of "where is Britain going"? What policy and programme are necessary to confront the total crisis of capitalism.

In a sense the working class is posing this question through its trade union struggle.

It is a political struggle in the sense that it questions capitalism and, in demands like the 35 hour week, there is the recognition that a transformation of society is necessary. On another level, this is expressed in the programme of APEX, and in the recent statement of Jenkins of ASTMS, which pose that the unemployed should be paid full wages. The implication of the discussion by the "Times" workers that capitalism is incapable of running its most important newspaper, or the Lucas shop stewards on "socially necessary production" are the same; the necessity for social transformation.

All this forms a basis for the discussion, the programme for this electoral campaign. It is clear that an election which decides nothing is not democracy. What has to be posed is another form of democracy which is a discussion on programme and

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Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG



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## THEME AND OBJECTIVES OF THE VI CONFERENCE OF THE EUROPEAN SECTIONS

25-12-78

J. POSADAS

This meeting is a national and international meeting of the International. It is necessary to answer with the organisational dynamism of our function, the dynamic objective movement of the process of history. Before, events extended over years; afterwards, months, weeks and now hours. The events which are essentially the most important in the dynamism of this process are the crises in the Communist parties, which are crises of growth, and the crisis in the Social Democracy expressed in the meeting of Vancouver. This is a process in which the course of history is determined by events in the Communist parties and, to a much lesser extent but with some importance, in the Socialist parties. But it is essentially the Workers States which decide.

The process daily advances, extends and reaches immense levels and immense profundity. It transcends all the aspects of the movement, all the scope of particular measures, and achieves a constant plenitude, a constant impulse to make the leaderships of history understand, or oblige them to understand, the character of present reality. This happens daily. Before, what could be done in a Congress every two years, now has to happen in a Congress every week. The most important and fundamental aspect of this is the preparation, the development, the ability of our cadres to lead and to understand so as to lead.

This meeting is aimed to elevate the life of the International in this understanding and to elevate the organs of leadership not to feel small through numbers, but to feel it is a leadership which has ability — the greater the number the better it would be, but it is not fundamental.

At the same time, it is necessary to respond to and develop the capacity of leadership on the problems which are posed continuously and which are elevated in the struggle between capitalism and Socialism, in the struggle for the construction and development of the Workers States, as with the discussion in France between the

intellectuals and the Communist Party; the discussion between the Workers States and the Communist parties; the discussion in the Warsaw Pact; the development of the wing for alliances with capitalism in China, which puts the existence of the Workers States at risk. It does not place them in danger, but it creates risks and facilitates the task of world imperialism. They are all problems and tasks which have accumulated, which have not developed at one moment and that our sections must live. We are going to discuss all this.

### THERE IS A CONSTANT ELEVATION IN THE DISCUSSION IN THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The preoccupation develops now in a more and more uninterrupted form of theoretical and programmatic conclusions. There are new experiences and events in history. The discussion is undeveloped, but one which it is necessary to have in the world Communist movement. One must intervene in this discussion on the problem of eurocommunism, of pluralism, China etc., and all our sections have to participate in a much more profound way in this necessity. For this reason, frequent meetings are necessary and the need for this meeting is to compensate for the lack of maturity of the sections in the dynamic, very dynamic process which demands daily a greater theoretical and political ability and organisational development to intervene, in which no country is isolated or blocked.

The discussion in the world Communist movement is superior, infinitely superior, to all the aspects of the struggles of strikes and stoppages. It is completely superior to all this. The discussion in the world Communist movement develops the bases, the form, the leadership, to resolve all the rest and to unite all the great and small strikes in the objective of social transformations. There is an ever greater maturity in the world Communist movement beginning with Italy, partly in France, less in Spain, and much more elevated in Portugal. The maturity is expressed in the fact that the trade union is not seen as a partial

We extend and deepen in this European conference the nature of this stage, even without a special political preparation, but there has been a very profound political preparation which corresponds to the dynamism of history. This is the objective of this meeting.

This is a scientifically prepared meeting, scientifically seeking the objective to elevate the ability of functioning and the ability of leadership of the International. It is not an improvisation, but it was a necessity-

instrument, it is not just an instrument of a factory function, but is an instrument like the Party to change society. Although this may not be strictly in their programme, already in the trade unions the programme is being posed to intervene to transform society. The trade unions in Italy have, in their programme, a very great basis of dual power which is that in every agreement they discuss with the management where it invests and what it is going to invest, placing every investment under the control of the workers. It is a basis of dual power. The bosses are terrified. This corresponds more or less to what Trotsky posed: the opening of the books, nationalise the factories that do not function. In Italy, before nationalising, the workers impose where they have to invest, because this is necessary to the country. It is not convenient to the management, but it is to the country. It is a dual power, which is what we propose.

All our proposals are being accepted. The other aspect is that the bourgeoisie fabricate 'there is a crisis'. How is there a crisis? There is no crisis. It is the crisis of the bosses who do not want to produce houses, cars and hospitals. Berlinguer now proposes this: how is it not possible to invest? It is perfectly possible to make transport, houses and hospitals. That is to say, although the Communist Party is still not in power, it proposes

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# VI CONFERENCE...

continued from page 1

programmes of power. In these conditions a much more elevated dynamism of the life of the International is required; the life of cadres and functioning. Although the whole movement does not reach equality or similarity, it is necessary to seek to orientate in this process, which is going to take the whole world with it.

Germany is not paralysed, no country is paralysed. There is an aspect of the crisis of the Communist parties which is not brought very much to the light, which still does not emerge in great depth because the forces which intervene are small. Thus the Portuguese Communist Party, although small, has had the dignity and the resolution to sustain isolation, and with our support. We had discussions with ex-comrades who, to support the leftists against the Communist Party worked in the presidential elections. We proposed that it was necessary to support the Portuguese Communist Party and not the leftists of Carvalho.

The Portuguese Communist Party is a very elevated expression of the political security, a considerable political security. It is not right in everything, but in the majority it is. It has a very great security in its movement, so that it intervenes as much in the discussion in the world Communist movement as it does in Portugal. This shows a very important aspect.

Another aspect is the changes in the Italian Communist Party which are very important. Without being complete changes, they are very profound and will lead to complete changes. They say that the crisis of capitalism is total, that it is necessary to make social transformations, otherwise there will be no advance. The Communist Party, they say, has to go to the government for social transformations, democratically in the bourgeois constitution. But the basis is social transformation, not democratic changes. If the objective to be reached is social transformations, the democratic bourgeois method is a road, but if it does not pass through that, then the objective is going to be to find the road. They are going to find the 'democratic road' does not work.

It is the quality of the leader to understand that the objective demands a policy and that what they have is no use, but the objective is necessary. Hence this first European meeting has been called in accordance with the dynamism of the epoch.

This meeting organisationally has been very well prepared. It has been made with all the texts - including the one on Algeria. It has been made with all the texts through all the political life. Thus we are going to find a much better level of activity. As part of that, the discussion in France, Spain and Italy is very rich. They have different levels and consequences. But with an identical concern. Also, although they do not mention

it, there is the discussion in Portugal. Although the Party is small the discussion is very great, and they discuss very well in Portugal. The Portuguese Communists have a very secure position. They have not yielded in any way and, on the contrary, they increase in quality; not only quantity, but quality. This also increases in the army, which it is important to see. This is the objective of the meeting which was organised in an ordered form. It was done very rapidly, but in an ordered way.

The Communist movement has made an immense progress. It is an instrument of history. Although it is an instrument, one must realise that it is an instrument under construction. Thus, one cannot expect a logical programme, but, yes, a logical function of history which afterwards determines the logical programme. It is not first the programme and then the leadership. The leadership makes the programme. We are educating a leadership, and doing it very well. The analysis which we made in the conference in Iran with respect to Italy that the right is going from the Communist Party and the left is advancing, is confirmed every day and the Communists confirm it. This shows the crisis of the world Communist movement, of the leaderships of the right and also of the Socialist parties. It is necessary to intervene, and this conference is to elevate, unify and centralise the functioning of the sections in Europe with this objective in a better political understanding. Centralisation and knowledge exist but the daily process, weekly, fortnightly, demands more frequent meetings to elevate a better centralisation. Events influence the whole world, but there are centres which decide and order the functioning. They do not dictate but regulate the functioning through the balance of forces. Among the aspects of the very great progress of the Italian Communist Party is that every time they speak of the relation of forces, the leaders say, 'Italy is an expression of the world relation of forces

The polemic with the intellectuals in the French Communist Party is empty. Both sides do not know what to do. Neither know what they want. They do not have a solid theoretical base. Marchais is the most secure, because he knows more what he wants, and he wants to advance but does not have the security and comes from a Party which has developed a very weak structure of thought. It's a thought which is a mixture of dialectical materialism and idealism, and is expressed in points of programme not in concrete analysis, where they are better. One point of the programme, for example. The Party does not know what to say over the Spaniards entering the European Common Market. Instead of attacking the Common Market they attack the Spaniards. We are going to intervene in this. The Communists do not have a method of discussion.

## THE SOVIET UNION PREPARES TO CONFRONT CAPITALISM

At the same time as this discussion, there was the sudden outburst of Brezhnev before the Yanks in which he declared 'within a few seconds that it is communicated to us that an atomic attack is coming, then the United States will disappear' - This is not an abstract declaration. He said this to the commission of North American senators who had gone to the Soviet Union. He would not have declared this unless there was a real danger of war, and he is showing the Yanks that 'we are ready to go where we have to', or 'we are not going to stop because of threats'. This is a very firm resolution. This is the value of the Soviets - not the rows of the dissidents from the Workers States. This does not mean to share or sustain or allow the policies of the bureaucrats, but the forces that determine are not the bureaucrats but the course of Socialism and capitalism, one of the two. These are the instruments of history.

The world Communist movement discusses the line of the programme, the tactic to suppress capitalism, which they still do without discussing war. Now they are beginning to propose this. The programme which should be discussed in the world Communist movement amounts to this: capitalism gives no solution to the problems which it has posed, that is the crisis. The programme of capitalism poses that in five years there will be 3% higher unemployment in France, Italy and North America. It is not a cruel determination of a bad capitalist who dismisses workers, but it is the fact that to live they have to sack workers to concentrate and elevate productivity. They have no other way out. 'Capitalism is war, Socialism is peace'. This is expressed in a conclusive and decisive form. The programme of French capitalism means the dismissal of 500,000 workers in a short time, and similarly with the Italians and the Germans. It is not the same throughout capitalism because some benefit from the weakness of the others, such as Germany, and the fragility of capitalism is less in evidence. But, even German capitalism which is powerful and can, to a certain extent, contain the deterioration of unemployment, collapses if it does not find a ready capitalist market.

It is necessary to take into account the progress in the Workers States. Within three years. In the Soviet Union nobody will be without a house. This is a blow at the capitalist system, like the conclusions of the spacecraft, the conceiving of the human being in space.

This is not now a normal crisis of the capitalist system. The Communists now discuss this. It is a crisis of the system, not of production. This is our influence. This is being discussed in the world Communist movement and we influence internally more and more. We have to intervene at this level.

Besides, our progress is very great within the world Communist movement in which there are countries which now admit us as part of the world Communist movement. They accept us as forming part of the Communist parties, of the world Communist movement. The comrades have to be based on this. Capitalism has no solution.

The declaration of Brezhnev that 'a few seconds is time enough for the US to disappear' is an attack, a threat, which is not a one-off affair. It is not done to win time or win votes within, but because the Soviets see that capitalism can launch the war and, at the same time, it's made as part of their own preparation. They are secure in where they are going. The Workers State through Brezhnev is saying 'a few seconds is time enough for the United States to disappear', which means the disappearance of the capitalist system. We have to take account of the level at which we have arrived and where we can progress more.

A level has already been reached in the world Communist movement where the discussion has led them to programme the substitution of the capitalist system. Not to replace it, not to overthrow it, and hence they have no programme; they do not have the Party prepared for this. But this allows a programmatic discussion, a political and organisational discussion which the Communist Party sees as necessary. The preparation of the Communists is very weak, but we have the preparation. They also have a Party not prepared for this activity, but there is a renovation in the Italian and the French Communist parties.

This discussion with the intellectuals is an empirical beginning of renovation. One of the bases which influence this process is the Portuguese Communist Party which received recently a very high commission of the Italian Communist Party, when earlier they had abandoned the PCP as a distant Party. The Communists do not have a programme or policy, nor do they have consistency; but we do. Thus, we have to elevate our function and the preparation.

Our participation is aimed at a movement which is maturing in part through our participation, not exclusively but in the fundamental points this is the case. It's not the Soviets who have made them mature but our intervention. Our texts are aimed at them. They are aimed at this function and the results are evident. It is necessary to consider then that it is a movement which grows daily by leaps, and we have to respond to this growth by leaps. We do not wait as before with every two years a Congress or an extended meeting. Now it is necessary to have meetings to compensate for the lack of maturity of our leaderships which are very well intentioned and concerned, but do not have the matur-

Subtitles by the Editorial Board

ation. We have to compensate for this in the meetings.

## OUR INTERVENTION IS INDISPENSABLE

I believe that all this must be taken as a necessity of history, that we intervene better. I have referred a lot to China. It is interesting what is happening there now. They have established people who have not a bad tradition. They have put them in the leadership again. But they have lost somewhat the confidence in the Communist programme which was not completely that of Mao Tse Tung, but he represented it in part. Outside of ourselves, who intervenes in this discussion? The 'Gang of Four' were hell, and paradise those who denounced them. Suddenly they have stopped being hell! Now they say, 'enough, it's over'. Posters appear that were not in the official programme of the leadership in which they say, 'Look out, we are not going back on the conquests that have been made'. This shows that there was a reaction which could go further, and they stopped it. It means that it is a leadership which has no authority or force. Its power is in the apparatus, and it is a life of the apparatus.

We must intervene, helping the Communist parties to understand, otherwise there won't be a change. If there is a firm leadership, there is no doubt or agitation. It is a leadership which is navigating with borrowed oars, not its own. It does not have the programmatic capacity, the political capacity, with which to advance; but it advances in a bureaucratic process in which individuals of bourgeois origin are given position and who have thoughts of alliance with capitalism. This leads to the depth where Stalin sank, of alliance with the capitalist system - that is, hoping to construct and develop the Workers State for the benefit of the bureaucracy. It is necessary to intervene on this. Who writes on this?

Outside ourselves no one writes on the discussions in the world Communist movement, on what is happening now in the divergences of the Communist parties, and how they have changed in a week, and how the Communist parties advance like those of Portugal and Italy. There is discussion in the French Communist Party on which we have to intervene, not only with a text hoping that they read and discuss, but preparing our cadres to intervene and write in their own countries, to make texts and intervene. Hence this meeting. It has not been called to be a programme for a period, but for a few days. It is not an exaggeration. It does not mean to change from one day to another, but to proceed elevating the capacity from day to day in a discussion which does not have a dialectical orientation.

The discussion in France does not have any dialectical orientation. These intellectuals have nothing to do with the French Communist Party, but Marchais has a lot to do with the Communist Party. He makes mistakes, but Marchais is a Communist. The



# The left in the Labour Party has to discuss Ireland in the perspective of the programme of social transformations

others want an alliance of the China type. It is a reaction which comes from the lack of confidence in the method and an erroneous and superficial interpretation of the apparatus. They think as an apparatus in believing that this is the Communist movement. That is they think the outline of the human body is the most important, but it is the least important. They have the body, but they take the outline and believe that this is life. We have to intervene, and for this these meetings are necessary to elevate the level of our cadres to this necessity.

It is nothing new, but always we find something new and superior in the form of reasoning. In the basic historic description the situation is not new, the analysis from the time of Lenin is correct. But the way the process moves and the effects of the process change and this is not the epoch of Lenin. It's another type of relation of forces, another maturing of the world, another relation of the crisis of the capitalist system, another relation of the advance of the struggles for Socialism, in which support is found in twenty Workers States. Thus we have to develop our preoccupations and the organisation of our preoccupations in this conception. We are a part of the world Communist movement. They say in the Communist parties, why don't you enter the Party, you have to enter, you are necessary. But if we did, we could not do what we are doing now. They say, 'What you are doing is good'. No one sees it as a career, a competition or a dispute.

Our intervention forms part of the growth of the Communist movement of this stage, in which a very conclusive expression is the polemic of the French Communist Party with the intellectuals. This is completely absurd. These intellectuals have nothing to do with the process. They are intellectuals full of doubt. They show complete doubt. Perhaps they are not bad people, but they are full of doubts. Marchais does not answer in the name of Communist security. He does not want to lose them, but he is throwing them out because he gives them nothing. He just says he is right. Marchais is right but he does not express this. It is necessary to intervene, and what is happening reaffirms daily this function.

Also, in the Soviet Union, it is necessary to intervene. Take into account that in the Soviet Union there is still a massive apparatus, it's clear that the electricity which moves this apparatus is not as it was before. It is a more beautiful electricity, but it is still an apparatus. They have the behaviour of the apparatus but, at the same time, the historic conditions do not allow the apparatus to be able to function with the interest it represents. But it is obliged to adapt itself, not to understand, but to adapt itself to the revolutionary process. Then it has to present itself open in a limited way to the need of the process, but it does not give a perspective.

This brusque reaction of Brezhnev that 'we only need a few minutes warning of an atomic attack and the United States will disappear', is a declaration of confidence in the Workers State,

Ireland cannot be excluded from the discussion on social transformations. At the last Labour party conference Northern Ireland was not discussed at all, and the issue over the treatment of prisoners is not the result of any resolution in the Labour party but has arisen as a result of a number of objective factors which British imperialism cannot ignore. The forces of the left in the Labour party still seek to advance without embarrassing capitalism. Thus they leave apart the monarchy and Northern Ireland and have made no real issue of the Yankee—Labour government alliance supporting the Shah and his tyranny in Iran. "Democracy" remains a key word in the vocabulary of the sectors of the left in the Labour Party, but the discussion of democracy is confined to a very narrow area which does not conflict too much with capitalism.

Silence over Northern Ireland exists because it is precisely there that capitalism shows what it is about and the pretences are all put aside. All talk about "democracy" has no reality there because the army and the police decide. There is no nonsense about the "impartial" state. The state is there in Northern Ireland in full panoply of coercion to defend the interests of capitalist property. Even so the world moves and not even ten years of military and police dictatorship can exclude the general problems of capitalism. Several factors have promoted the recent recitation over the evils that befall prisoners in the hands of the police. After years and years of brutality, suddenly imperialism decides to investigate itself. Why? In the first place there is a fundamental instability within capitalism. There are sectors that are defeatist. Where is the process going? They see Northern Ireland is a military base for training troops to be launched against the population in Britain, and a source of problems as the general crisis of capitalism grows.

Capitalism as a whole, senses that the malaise in Ireland cannot just be contained in a military freezer. As after Watergate, in the United States it wants to appear democratic. So suddenly it goes in for "justice" to appear in front of the petit

bourgeoisie as capable of reforming itself. But at the same time this means in no way that "justice" is in the ascendant. It means, at the same time, a re-centralisation of the coercive forces, a stricter internal functioning.

## THE CRISIS OF THE ARMED FORCES

At the same time capitalism is also faced with profound problems in the armed forces themselves which may not be immediately obvious. The British army is a professional army, an army trained for assassination. But this is not the time of the empire, when glory was secured by killing the "natives" by legendary actions against the zulus, with all the prestige of smashing "inferior" races and being part of a great world wide empire, a glorified successor to Rome. This is a time when everything imperial is reduced to its real stature, banditry, murder, repression, with no heroism, no glory, just living with death and faced with a hostile population. The recent outbreak when a British soldier apparently when beserk is a reflection of an inevitable demoralisation in the ranks of the army. What are they dying for? As a professional army, it is inevitable they will feel the insecurity in capitalism.

Armies cannot be relied on any more, witness Portugal, Ethiopia and Iran. The whole Nato apparatus has seen what happened in Iran and all this insecurity grows in the British army. This is all part of the total crisis of the system and it has to be intervened upon.

Capitalism plays the regionalist card with the paraphernalia about "democracy" and "decentral-

isation" for Wales and Scotland, but they have played the regionalist card in Ireland for over half a century. Thus it is absurd to discuss Wales and Scotland in the Labour Party but not Ireland. But again this is an interested ignorance of logic — Ireland is a "problem" for capitalism, whereas the other types of "regionalism" are less fraught with difficulty for capitalism.

## IRELAND HAS TO BE INCORPORATED IN THE DISCUSSION ABOUT DEMOCRACY AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The absence of discussion about Ireland is related to the idea that really Ireland is an extraordinary problem, as though it is quite different from Wales and Scotland. It remains absolutely absurd that Northern Ireland is incorporated into Britain separate from the rest of Ireland. It is totally artificial. The logic of industrial and agricultural development is the unification of all Ireland with the whole of Britain to plan the economy on a centralised basis. The differentiation is the result of the brutality and incompetence of capitalism that wanted Southern Ireland as purely an agricultural centre and it is still very undeveloped, as is the North. Northern Ireland under capitalism cannot solve any of its problems — unemployment, appalling housing, poverty, all this is capitalism, it's not the IRA it's capitalism. The line of the IRA is not pre-occupied with the unification of the Irish and British masses. It tends to perpetuate the "separation" of Ireland from Britain. On the other hand, the limitations of the Labour left simply confirms the low level of perspectives.

Capitalism does not have any interest in finding a solution for Ireland. The local capitalist interests want a return to a "new Stormont", their own private devolution, but firmly backed by the army and the monarchy. Capitalism has an interest still in maintaining Ireland as a training ground for Britain itself and a constant excuse for emergency measures. It is not enough just to call for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. There is a need to develop the discussion on Ireland in the Labour party together with the question of the problem of social transformations, and the federation of Ireland, England, Scotland and Wales on the

basis of a centralised socialist economy. If there is a desire for local cultural autonomy, it can be allowed on that basis. At the same time it is important to develop further the discussion raised by Benn on the army. There should be the recognition of trade union rights in the army, the right for political discussion in the barracks and a serious discussion in the Labour party on Ireland to break the links with the functioning of the capitalist system. Such an issue pursued in depth as with the monarchy, would open the way for a superior level of discussion and provide the security for a programme of social transformations.

the security of the Workers State, and the resolution of the Workers State. Thus, it's not in the period of Stalin, in which, when it was reported that the nazis were going to attack, Stalin had the informant show as provocationist. Brezhnev is now the provocationist provoking imperialism!

All this must be the base of the preoccupation to see, at the same time, the daily growth of the Communist movement and ourselves to improve our functioning, our capacity, structure and dynamism, and then to develop ways of developing ourselves and, with this concern, to publish, to discuss and to function-

In Belgium, the advance of the Communist Party is small, but in a process in which the bourgeois parties are disintegrating. The Flemish, the champion of the languages division, remained dumb and was hit the most. The Liberals won, which is a stage of transition of a petit bourgeois layer. But this does not decide. It is the proletariat which decides. The proletariat voted Communist and

Socialist. The mere progress of the Communists is an index, and the quite important progress of the pro-Chinese is also an indication, with our progress. It's necessary to take into account that it is an area where we doubled votes, and this is because there is a very great inclination to the left. When

## A SUPERIOR INTERVENTION ON CHINA BY THE WORKERS STATES AND COMMUNIST PARTIES IS NECESSARY

In the world Communist movement, they are discussing the fundamental problems of Communism in a very empirical form. The discussion of the French intellectuals is very empirical. There are no arguments or analyses. There are historic examples. Marchais gives no example. He speaks in abstraction and defends himself from the intellectuals, but he does not give arguments to convince, which is part of all the weakness when they distance themselves from the Soviet Union and, on the other hand, the real problems with the Soviet bureaucracy which is about Soviet functioning, are never posed by them. They do not pose bureau-

they say 10% abstained against the laws and they are fined, it is because the process is very mature. Then one must move with this criterion. You have to improve the functioning of the sections, the life, the preoccupation and decision of the sections.

cratic functioning, but as a country which wants to absorb other countries. This deceives and does not educate the intellectuals who discuss with the Communist Party as a result of this definition. The USSR wants to eat up the rest. This is the line which they present. This is the result of the discussion and, hence, we are indispensable. We have to prepare better. Better than now, better than today. Today we are better than yesterday, but less than tomorrow. We have to develop ourselves. Every day this necessity is more eloquent.

In China, the campaign against the 'four' has ceased, which is a way of ceasing the campaign

against the left of the Communist Party because the four are not just the 'gang of four' but the left of the present Communist Party. Posters appeared that the journalists say are of the left, and the Chinese do not deny that they are of the left. They do not defend Mao Tse Tung in the abstract. They defend him in part but, in other aspects, they propose Communist measures in China, while the leadership makes a brutal retreat. To believe that it is possible to make a programme of individual interest to develop the economy is stupid. Through statified property, they want to develop individual interest, that is, a mixture, which does not exist in history. The planned economy requires a planned functioning, a planned conclusion and, in China, they are developing individual interest of the group or the individual. It is a retreat which is going to produce a reaction. It's not important what this present leadership can do. It is important to understand that the programme has no basis. Capitalism utilises it and nothing more, even at the cost of Formosa which has no

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policy, on nationalisation under workers control, on the 35 hour week, on working conditions, on housing, on the health service. It has to be a discussion which allows all the population to intervene. For example there should be meetings in the factories, in working time to discuss, to express opinions, to formulate a programme. Isn't this democratic? And doesn't its absence show the nature of bourgeois democracy?

The working class that vote Labour will do so as a means of class concentration, but it will not be a vote for the policies of Callaghan, for another Labour government. What the Labour vote will express is a desire for social transformations and a pressure on the Labour left to stimulate it, to impel the advance of a leadership which will answer the problems posed by the total crisis of capitalism. We are for a vote for Labour only on this basis; for the anti-capitalist programme and the advance of a leadership in the Labour Party which understands the necessity to transform society.

This problem of leadership is faced by all humanity. The Workers States which have advanced beyond the system of private property, which

have a nationalised and planned economy suffer, at the same time, from a lack of leadership which stems from a previous stage of history; that of Stalin. The Chinese invasion of Vietnam is not a problem inherent in the advance to Socialism but a counter-revolutionary action by a leadership which does not comprehend the world process and which seeks solutions in a national policy, enclosed in one country and resting, in part, on elements of private property. But the most essential aspect of these events in Indo-China is that the Chinese leadership is isolated and resisting an advance in the Workers States and the World Communist movement which is now on the level of ideas. In the recent congress of the Italian Communist Party, Berlinguer had to deal not with the "historic compromise" but with the question of the government and power, of the transformation of society. It is part of a discussion in which the Labour left has to incorporate themselves, to be able to see the world process of the advance of humanity, the historic significance of the Workers States, the necessary policy and programme for the transformation of society, for the advance to socialism.

31-3-79

## VI CONFERENCE

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value for capitalism. The recognition of China has no importance because it is an historic necessity. The USSR has relations with

everyone, and China can have also. What is important is the utilisation that the Yanks are making of the Chinese.

### THE PROCESS INCREASES IN DYNAMISM

Hence the declaration of Brezhnev was aimed at the Chinese-United States united front. Instead of disanimating the world Communist movement, it is going to elevate it. It is against the mentality of Deng Xiaoping. He is not an agent of capitalism, but an old leader of the Communist Party who has the conception of Stalin: to use the weakness of various sectors for the defence of the bureaucratic apparatus which wants to do this, developed through the earlier and later situation of China. In China there has been no Party. Even now, there is no Party. Stalin had the luxury of making Congresses of the Communist International and of the Party which were totally false. He invented them, but the Chinese cannot do this. It's necessary to see this.

The Communists still see the struggle as a part of the pressure of the apparatus. Then they take the discussions in China as an apparatus and see the discussion of the apparatus as involving all China. If China were like this, it would be dead. If the Soviet Union had been as Stalin described it, it would have been dead. Thus, the form of description of China, of discussion, of conclusion, is from the apparatus. There is no scientific thought, no consistent capacity of foresight. Stalin could not foresee and neither could these Chinese foresee. Stalin believed that he entered the war in 1940 because the Germans forced him to. He did not have as an objective a conclusion of intervention. Then Stalin made various turns and decided his position in an oscillating way, not with the necessary position which was to be against the Nazis and against the capitalists, even making a front with the capitalists against the nazis and

advancing the Workers State in this struggle.

At the same time, we do not conclude the perspective with a criticism of the leadership, but show that this is a leadership which has to change. Thus, it is not a capitalist leadership but a bureaucratic leadership which has reached the level of a very lowered understanding and shows the low level of its interests when it allies with capitalism. This is something which neither the Rumanians nor the Yugoslavs have done, because they did not have the strength to do it. But they wanted to do it. The Pelikans would have flown back to capitalism. Czechoslovakia had wings which, if they had developed five years more, would have been allied to capitalism, and retreated wholesale. Ota Sik shows this. He wrote a book on the economy where he

invents an economy, and invents social systems. Neither social nor economic systems can be invented, they can be made to tend to modify and change, but the economy is an expression of previous relations which determine the type of the economy which is the social regime. The social regime develops through a structure which is expressed in the concrete results of the economy. Thus it's not a question of changing the economy, but of changing the social forces which determine this economy. This is how the economy is changed. Ota Sik wants to create a new state between capitalism and statified society, in which a part is private property and the other statified property. That is, there are no ideas.

Neither do these discussions in China contain ideas. They continue with statified property, but they are giving a series of fac-

# THE IRANIAN REVOLUTION AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A REVOLUTIONARY LEADERSHIP

The present stage in Iran is one of dispute between the government, which wishes to maintain the situation within a bourgeois structure, and the masses who seek to advance. The first stage of the Iranian revolution was the throwing out of the Shah. This involved the breaking of the domination of imperialism over the country. In spite of the lack of a workers leadership in Iran, imperialism does not have the power to make the situation retreat. It was unable to stop the movements against the Shah and it does not have the possibility of dominating Iran again. One of the first measures of the revolution was to end the special oil agreements with the United States and Britain. The Yanks had 45,000 military advisers in Iran and yet was unable to use them to stop the movement of the masses. One of the essential factors that enabled the masses to intervene in the way that they did was the existence of the Soviet Union. The Soviets warned imperialism not to intervene; it is the Soviet Union, which supports the movements of progress which decides. This balance of forces in the world also ensures that in spite of the military power of imperialism, it is not able to use it to make Iran retreat or to enable the Shah to return.

The present government in Iran tries to pursue a policy of developing Iran as a bourgeois country. But there is not a big bourgeoisie on which it can rest. The Shah maintained his power on the basis of the army. The Yanks provided millions of dollars of modern armaments to the Shah. Imperialism dominated the country through the Shah and through him gained access to the oil and a military base against the Soviet Union. The Shah's army was made into a well equipped military force. The officers were a privileged well paid sector, yet the army disintegrated and large sectors joined the movement around Khomeini. There is no real basis for a true counter-revolutionary situation to develop in Iran. A certain structure has been attained that cannot be gone back on, because the masses will not allow it.

There is no possibility of a full retreat, but as there is no political leadership the present stage can continue for some time. The masses concentrated around Khomeini, not because they wished a religious solution, but because they had no political party with the political authority to lead the process. They used Khomeini as a centre to concentrate around in order to obtain changes. Khomeini seeks to achieve certain changes and in order not to lose authority in front of the masses has to go further than he wishes. He opposed the domination of the country by the Shah, but the resolute way he demanded the end of the monarchy did not come from him or Islam, but from the pressure of the Iranian masses. Now the Shah has gone, the lack of political leadership is apparent. The question now is to transform Iran and the

present government seeks to use the end of the Shah so as to develop Iran as a capitalist country. To end the submission to imperialism but to avoid the advance of the country towards socialism.

The right in the government demands the end of the committees. They want the decisions to be taken by the government, rather than the militia and the committees that are more under the direct influence of the masses. The series of executions of the top generals is a clearing of the most reactionary sectors from the army. The government wishes to stop the committees doing this and to make an alliance with the former Shah supporters. Over a whole series of issues there is a struggle between the forces that wish to contain the process and the masses. The big demonstrations of the women express the determination to participate in society and not to return to the old ways. It is necessary to allow the full intervention of all the population to discuss all the issues. A discussion to give ideas on the future of Iran and not to allow the government to impose who should speak and restricting the people's discussion. Free trade unions, the right of all the tendencies to have access to publishing their ideas, committees in the factories, all should be able to participate in this political programmatic debate.

There has been a progress already, in that the Shah has been thrown out and committees have been developed which make decisions on a whole series of issues. It is necessary to develop the committees of workers control in the factories to enable the workers to make the decisions about how the factories should function. So that the workers are seen as a leadership that develops the capacity to elevate the life of the country. Iran has great wealth from the oil, but it has been used to enrich small sectors whilst the mass of the people receive little benefit. There has to be a constant life of discussion in the country to make a plan for using this wealth from the oil to make hospitals, roads, schools and all the services to raise the life of the population; to have a Revolutionary Democratic government.

In face of the problem of the government, it is necessary for the trade unions to use the situation to support all the gains that have been made and to propose further changes, and to impose a government that responds to the needs of the population. The high level of the masses is seen in the way they have intervened in massive demonstrations month after month, against the Shah, in spite of thousands dead. It shows their resolution to make big changes. It was not just a protest against the Shah, which disappears once the monarchy is overthrown. It is a desire for social changes. The way the women have demonstrated to say that they are not prepared to accept being given a secondary role in life expresses the maturity of the masses to construct a workers state in Iran. What is lacking is the political leadership to do this. For this reason there can be a delay in the full progress and therefore the development of a political programme and the life of discussions in the country is fundamental.

lities to exploitation, to individual interest, which is going to lead to a concentration of individual interests, a basis of social pressure to retreat in the relations of property. The Chinese must speak frankly against the leadership which does this, but on the basis of the Chinese masses who accepted social transformations and in thirty years transformed China. This was done through statified property. The step backwards in individual property cannot be done. There can be no retreat on statified property. All the progress of Stalin which made the economy progress and could be maintained in front of fascism and capitalism, occurred because he adopted the programme of the left opposition, which was not the programme of Stalin. If it did not progress, further, this was because of the organisation of work, i.e. Stakha-

novism. All this is being discussed now.

The Communists do not discuss it, but it is in discussion. Experiences are being repeated which are not favourable to the development of China. But its bureaucratic leaderships which answer to the interest of this conception. The Cubans must come out against this. They do not do it, because Fidel Castro has quite a lot of this mentality. A concrete fact is that, in Congress of the Cuban trade unions, according to the papers - and I believe them - they discussed the problems of improving production but not the social means, system, form and relation - nothing but production has to advance. The principal problem of the Workers States is not to advance production, but to

organise the social forces so that society develops and the economy as part of this. It is not true, as they say, that everything depends on the economy, on the economic relation of forces, of the cost of production, of world commerce. That is not true. This is for capitalism. For the Workers State it is not like this. Although the cost of production and commerce etc. is important, it is not subject to the world commerce, and as the Workers State is not determined by profit, it has a certain field of manoeuvre through the cost of production, the average rate of profit, and also the world influence in relation to price. Price is not determined strictly through the world market. They do not take this into account.

J. POSADAS 25.12.78

## EDITORIAL

# THE SOLUTION FOR BRITAIN IS THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS AND THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY HAS TO PROPOSE THIS

The return of a Tory government is the result of the incapacity of the Labour government, but at the same time it is not a defeat of the masses but a defeat of the social democratic apparatus of the Labour party, which like the Tories, has no programme and no policy to solve the problems of Britain. The masses of Britain are stronger than any of the intentions of the Tory bosses. The Tory government will simply open another chapter in the putrefaction and decomposition of capitalism, its interminable contradictions, its stupidity, its criminality and utter incapacity to develop society. The masses will break them as they broke Heath and are breaking capitalism as a system.

Tory policy is identical with the intentions of what remains of the capitalist system as a whole — repression of the masses, limitation of their democratic rights and intensified exploitation and reduction of the standard of living to accelerate exports. But their policy is not based on any objective strength. It is one thing for capitalism to arrange the killing of a militant in Southall, it is quite another to confront the masses. In this election the Tories have made no gains. They have acquired no new social bases. They took from the Liberals and in part the SNP and concentrated the most reactionary sectors, and thus the National Front made a disastrous showing. This demonstrates the total lack of a solution favourable to capitalism. Objectively capitalism requires fascism but it cannot mobilise the forces. It lives in a world environment where the workers decide — not Washington or London but Moscow. Capitalism is irrevocably constrained. Even electorally the Tory vote was three percent less than under Heath, and the Liberals still maintain 13% of the popular vote. The Tories have returned to government not because they have social, political or economic strength but because the Labour party leadership is a void. The electoral polarisation in Britain will not favour capitalism. Irrespective of the leadership of the Labour party, the masses concentrated themselves to confront capitalism whatever the government and to give an impulse to a genuine anti capitalist leadership in the Labour party.

### THE TORIES WILL NOT REANIMATE CAPITALISM, THEIR POLICY WILL FAIL

The Tory electoral success corresponds even less than did the Heath administration to the realities of the capitalist world. All over Europe the situation of capitalism has deteriorated. The forces of the left constantly advance throughout Europe. In Italy the entry of the Communist party into government remains the central issue and the last CP congress saw the development of a left current, seeking to impel a programme for power in Italy. At the same time, the victories of the left parties in Spain in local government, the reanimation of the process of political discussion in Portugal in the army, the necessity of Giscard to go to the Soviet Union to try to sustain himself in France against Chirac, and the enormous contradictions between German and American imperialism and now the renewed victory of Kreisky in Austria show that all the contradictions of capitalism are being aggravated. When the masses vote for a social democratic leadership, they are not submitted to that leadership but the general crisis of the whole capitalist system generates the conditions for the crisis of the social democratic leadership, no longer the great aid for capitalism.

The electoral campaign on the part of the Labour party was at odds entirely with the intentions of the masses. Callaghan's line was defeated in the elections. The apparatus seeks to explain its defeat "by the events of the winter" i.e. the intervention of sectors of the working class who defied capitalism and the government. The forces of the left have to draw conclusions from the defeat of the Labour party apparatus. There was not one shred of discussion of socialist perspectives in the whole of the election. The interesting fact that the ecological party intervened in the elections is an example of the failure of the workers organisations to make any campaign about problems of the environment and the conditions of life affecting the population. This issue is going to become more marked, simply because every day that passes accelerates the tendency of capitalism to pollute the environment and poison humanity.

Where is Britain going? This was not discussed in the elections save in capitalist terms. The world capitalist system is in profound and total crisis. All the capitalist economies are suffering from unemployment, inflation and deteriorating standards of living for the great mass of the population. This is being accelerated by the social competition of the workers states, the system of statified property which is closed to the exploitation of capitalism. These economies constantly advance whereas capitalism can only guarantee more unemployment, more of everything getting worse. The Labour government itself was running down the steel industry, causing thousands of unemployed. In the elections nothing was said by the LP as a major point of programme, about the implementation of the 35 hour week, because this is an embarrassment to the export prospects of capitalism. It is a blow at the competitive needs of British capitalism.

The electoral campaign had no life. There was no effort by the Labour party to mobilise anything. The objective is to contain discussion, anything so long as the pressure and participation of the masses is controlled as with May Day. The masses that voted Labour did not do it for the leadership but to concentrate their forces for the next fights. The Labour leadership prefers to lose an election rather than mobilise the force of the masses. For the top apparatus of the Labour party and the Tories it is a question of the ins and outs. The masses see it otherwise.

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- The interrupted process of the revolution in Iran and the need to change the structure of the army. 14-3-79

Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY (TROTSKYIST)  
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## THE ROLE OF THE PARTY IN THE FORMATION OF THE WORKING CLASS AS A LEADING CLASS

3-3-79

J. POSADAS

*The Party is the instrument which organises the working class as a conscious leadership of history. It does not arise from the class itself. It is the Party in which the intellectuals who join to make history progress are included. It is different from the capitalist system. The bourgeoisie, through their position in the economy, determined the course of history and then created culture and science which, in turn, have to base themselves on existing society, otherwise they have no life.*

*On the other hand, the proletariat has to assume the function of the leadership still without having the dominion of the economy and it advances by forming cadres and learning to lead. If the proletariat does not intervene, then a leading layer is formed — the bureaucracy. Hence, in the text we produced on Algeria, we pose that the workers and the soldiers intervene, among other things to impede the formation of bureaucratic layers. The more there is a life of the Party, the more a functioning of the working class, the more the capacity of the working class develops to intervene in all problems. The working class does not have access in another form to scientific and economic problems and cannot be so preoccupied, because it does not have the time nor the means for this function and is not dedicated to this. Then a social layer performs this task and develops as a layer, feeling itself in part as the proprietor, and exercises the function of proprietor. It is a layer which defends the Workers State because it lives from the Workers State and not from capitalism. But it impedes access to a better development where the proletariat*

*may intervene in order to keep control. Although its original intention may not be this, it develops like this through its function in the economy. Thus it is the Party and the trade union which are the instruments which construct the class in the leadership, in the concrete exercise of that leadership.*

*The working class must intervene, and intervenes through the Party — and the Party is essentially led by intellectuals, because the working class does not have the time nor the possibility of creating it, nor the capacity, nor is it able to dedicate itself to the question of the Party: which means the programme, the experiences, the elaboration: because the working class has to work. Thus it is the intellectuals who carry out this function. But, if these are not united to the proletariat and do not intervene by leading them, the intellectual functions with the limitation of a group interest from a sector or with the ingenuousness and timidity of the intellectual, technician or scientist. Then, above all, the technician tends to see the problems only from the angle of the technician, not the technician as an instrument to apply science. Thus he does not see the proletariat. The more the Party develops, the less place there is for these technicians, so that confidence develops in the Party.*

*In the existing parties, the organising instrument of the thought which allows interpretation, and, in interpreting, allows one to see the development and the perspective or the process to develop, is missing. It is necessary to incorporate the working class*

*and, at the same time, to develop the consistent Marxist method in which there is nothing to add or purge. All the new events which allow the development of the application of Marxism are not an enrichment because Marxism learns, corrects or constantly transcends previous conclusions, but shows that it has leadership in all the fields of human activity. On the other hand, the existing Communist parties give the interpretation that Marxism has to learn to correct itself. It is not like this. It has nothing to correct. Marxism is an instrument of history, which means the dialectical instrument.*

*The working class has not had the possibility, occasion or means to develop the continuity of Marxist method. It applies it in the class struggle for wages, in the trade union struggle; but it has not been able to develop it because, apart from the stage of Lenin, it has not had the opportunity of a development in history. As part of that, there is the fact that the working class has to dedicate itself to work. It has to live to work, and it cannot dedicate itself to study. But the intellectual, the technician, the scientist dedicate themselves to this. Thus they have a certain superiority over the proletariat, because they can deal with the problems of the economy, the plans, the programme; but they do so according to their timidity, to an isolated, fearful or ingenuous attitude and also interests from limitation, fear and caution. The intellectuals are afraid and timid. They lack the audacity of the proletariat and, without audacity, there is no constant progress in history.*

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# THE ROLE OF THE PARTY . . .

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## THE PARTY IS AN INDISPENSIBLE INSTRUMENT OF HISTORY

Audacity is an indispensable instrument of history. Marx finished one of his principal works: 'audacity, audacity, audacity and more audacity', and hence he put Danton as an example. Audacity forms part of the capacity for progress, because it knows how to concentrate the elements that allow advance and attract the concentration of the timid and the indecisive. It concentrates the vanguard which then wins the timid and the indecisive. Audacity is not delivering blows. It is an instrument which unifies, which centralises the forces that do not feel capable of having the initiative. The Party has to educate and allow the proletariat to weigh in the Party, to elevate the objective capacity to analyse, to see, to programme, to lead and, as a consequence, to utilise audacity.

A minority has never constructed the world. But a minority can take power, advance and represent the need of progress and win the others en route. Those who believe that a minority makes a coup — and that this is what Lenin did — are mistaken. It was not a minority. It was a majority led by a Party, which was a minority in relation to the population but which represented the instrument of the progress of the country; it represented the instrument of the progress of the country; it represented the country.

The working class cannot lead individually but as a class through the trade unions. As a class it means that it thinks not for itself or to extract advantage for itself, but it thinks in the name of humanity, because to progress as a class the proletariat has to eliminate all classes. The proletariat does not see a function for itself in the economy, because it sees that property cannot be taken for itself and to distribute it. It has to nationalise, plan and produce it. There is the expression that the proletariat cannot be a new proprietor. Then the thought of the proletariat is objective and universal, although it lacks the cultural and scientific means of the universality of thought applied or interpreted through all the aspects of life. The proletariat applies the objective conception. As the proletariat does not have the preparation to apply, it acts through the Party. It does it through the Party, through the intellectuals and technicians who have individualist conceptions of teams, and still have capitalist relations as the sentiment of the group, of the Party. But the proletariat as a class has nothing of this;

but has to be able to exercise its function. It is not only through the existence of the proletariat, but it has to exercise it through the instrument which is the Party, and through the scientific life of the Party, otherwise it cannot. Hence those who assume the leadership of the Party are the intellectual, the technician, and they give to the Party an interpretation in accordance with their conception, their timidity, their intellectual and Marxist development. Marxism is an instrument of history because it responds to all the needs of the social movements of history.

After the appearance of Marxism, a social process does not suddenly occur which changes relations or existence. The class relations are the same. The element which changes is the relation of forces, circumstances, concrete aspects, nothing more. But they are all class relations which have to be interpreted and experiences have to be made in order to intervene.

An historic example, which can be considered a little, is the audacity of Lenin who, together with Marx, was the most audacious in history. Lenin returned to Russia in a German train. He was not afraid that they would call him a traitor. They said to him, 'They are going to utilise you', and he answered, 'And if I utilise them?' The Germans needed him, and hence they said to Lenin, 'Can't you see that they need you?' Lenin replied, 'And we need them otherwise we cannot get to Russia'. This was not a political alliance. It is the objective utilisation of a circumstance which shows audacity. Without audacity the Bolsheviks would not have done what they did. No one else would have done it.

## SOCIALISM IS NOT RESPONSIBLE FOR CLIQUES AND APPARATUSES

The proletariat is expressed through the Party, the experiences of the life of the Party, and it has to receive and assemble the experience of the world. Hence it has to have the life of the Party and the instrument which allows the interpretation of the experiences of the world, otherwise the experience which they receive is false. For example, the concrete and simple fact: the invasion of China-Vietnam. It is an invasion, a counter-revolutionary action, but who is counter-revolutionary? Is it Socialism which determines this? No, it is the camarilla which leads the country. This is a necessary consequence for now of history, because the proletariat has not had sufficient weight in China to make their Party. But not because

in China there wasn't a Party, but because in the Soviet Union of that epoch there was no Party: after Lenin the Bolshevik Party was finished. If the Bolshevik Party had continued, there would also have been a Bolshevik Party in China. As the Party did not exist, they were educated into evolutionism, in opportunism, in adaptation and, as Trotsky says, were accustomed to bend the back, believing that this was the way to advance; and what they did was to submit and not to advance. Even advancing a stage, they did not understand and the step they advanced gave them no notion of history. In China there was not a true Party.

Who is responsible for this counter-revolutionary attitude of the Chinese? Is it Marxism, the class struggle, Socialism? No. It is the structure of history which is mature to take power. It is the struggle for power, but the leadership is not ready. But it is necessary to take power, otherwise a stage passes. In taking it, the leadership is organised. Thus, is it necessary to correct the social economic structure of the Workers State, or only the leadership? Only the leadership. The social revolution is not necessary, and the political revolution is much more confined, as now there are twenty Workers States. These are the problems to discuss in the Communist parties and we are contributing to this.

The intervention of Vietnam in Cambodia and the invasion by China of Vietnam are two different things. Vietnam intervenes in Cambodia and develops Cambodia. China intervenes in Vietnam and destroys Vietnam. In Vietnam there is a Socialist leadership and in China a counter-revolutionary leadership, both supported on the Workers State. The Workers State exists because it shows its superiority over the capitalist system, but not through its political leadership. This has to be discussed.

Beyond the working class, which is objective and does not defend its own interests, the other classes are not objective, but subjective. Even in the most elevated aspects of the historic function of capitalism against feudalism, the bourgeoisie was quite subjective. The bourgeoisie only saw the element which interested it. The objective was that it had to make the revolution in order to advance. In advancing it had to suppress other forms of progress. The bourgeois revolution, at the same time that it was a great progress in relation to feudalism, was also backward because it impeded other progress — for example, Robespierre. Why did they liquidate Robespierre? Thermidor was against a greater progress on the path of the

revolution, which was achieved by the petit bourgeoisie and afterwards the bourgeoisie appropriated it. Thus there are examples in history which are not identifiable with the events of Cambodia, of China or Stalin, but which show that the classes in history move in a different form from the proletariat. The proletariat does not have its own interest in the economy; it has to work in the name of the whole of society. The bourgeoisie works in its own name, and the progress of itself as a class is the progress it gives society. But, in the case of the proletariat it is different. In order for the proletariat to act, it had to change everything — otherwise it is blocked. This is what is happening now.

The technicians, the planners, the bureaucratic cadres of the Party, through the lack of political and theoretical preparation, through the form of living, are timid and subjective. But, after they develop individual interests. They see the development of the

economy in part in accordance with individual interest. They have to plan, to develop the Workers State, because there is no other way, otherwise they do not live. They have to oppose capitalism, because it is the enemy of the Workers State. They cannot conciliate because capitalism is no competitor. It is antagonistic. Anyway, they try then to have cordial relations with capitalism. Hence they contain revolutionary politics, audacity, the preparation of cadres the revolutionary life, the resolution to overthrow capitalism, and they maintain a policy of co-existence with capitalism. Although capitalism cannot now accept this, it develops a policy of adaptation to co-existence and then it yields and the bureaucracy allows a thousand opportunities to overthrow capitalism pass by. It stops winning historic time and allows capitalism to survive and to prepare with atomic weapons in a superior form.

J. POSADAS

3.3.1979

## A Commentary on the Struggles of the British and French Workers

(TITLE OF THE EDITORIAL BOARD)

extracts

1-2-79

J. POSADAS

There are great mobilisations throughout France, confrontations with the police, occupation and mobilisations of the mothers, fathers, children, thousands and thousands against the unemployment which is constantly increasing. Soon this is going to happen in Italy also. These Chinese and Rumanian idiots propose to make great steel factories and the bourgeoisie are closing down the blast furnaces. They want to make steel to become more independent and to sell on the world market. Essentially this is to sell. But there is no basis in the world market, no industry can develop the world market. There is very great unemployment in France.

The four central trade union centres have placed themselves in agreement in every steel zone for an engineering general strike and they confront the police. "Le Monde" has an editorial which says "are we returning to 1968"? It says that the leaders of the bourgeoisie say "but, from the symptoms it is very small". Then Le Monde says "if we take 1968 it is very small, but 1968 began with less than this". The very great indignation bypasses all the trade union leaders. This movement bypasses them all and they fear where this is all going to go.

At the same time the discussion in the workers parties and the division in the

bourgeoisie is very great. The Gaullists are presenting themselves as quite separate. They will join finally but they are very greatly divided.

The strikes in Britain are very profound. Some say that the bourgeoisie is tranquil because it sees that the process is not terribly deep but journalists say it's quite profound. They say that they are going to negotiate and will arrange things. But the masses are breaking all the plans of the government. They get a 15% increase. It is a break from the discipline of the main leaders. The workers break with them and impose something new, a type of trade union control, of guards which go to zones not directly affected in the strike to impede people substituting for the strikers. The police cannot impede because it is a conquest made in a previous strike, and the bourgeoisie had to yield on this. It is a very good situation in which our comrades can intervene to be able to discuss the need for social progress and to create a left to show that these are conquests which show what strength there is, because the population has supported the strikes. The bourgeoisie have not been able to show any demonstration of resistance in the population. None. People have accepted all this. Capitalism speaks about the discipline of the population but all this is over.

J. POSADAS 1.2.79.

In Iran now there is a process of differentiation between the bourgeois sectors that were united in the struggle against the Shah and the masses. The proletariat has no mass party. Thus it has no representative, because who gave to Bazargan the power that he has? It came solely from his team. They do not represent the will of the masses, nor did the masses elect Bazargan. The army yielded to them so as not to cede to the masses.

The process develops apparently in an empirical form, but in this empiricism the internal order of the revolution is developing, showing both the aspiration of the masses and the objectives of the bourgeoisie. The army of the Shah was an organ of the bourgeoisie and hence it transmitted power to the bourgeois sectors. It did not give power to any one but existed to transmit power to the bourgeois sectors. The masses should be organised by their leadership and their organs to be able to weigh socially and to follow the economic line which they want to follow. The masses still do not have a Party to make this activity.

The struggle of the women forms part of the struggle of the masses. When they continue to resist the continued imposition of the veil, it is because they are expressing that they aspire to a more elevated form of democracy, not the democracy of the veil. This struggle is united to the struggle of the masses, of the students, of the mujehiddin. Bazargan says to the workers that they are demanding a great deal. How do they demand a great deal? They are the ones who defeated the Shah. But the people who did nothing want to collect all this to give it to the bourgeoisie. Bazargan has made a pact with all the bourgeoisie. The workers demand nationalisation, workers control, the programming of the economy, while Bazargan wants to organise the economy in the service of private property.

#### THERE IS NO PARTY TO ORGANISE THE SOCIAL FORCES

This is a phase of the revolution which is not very long, but which expresses also the world relation of forces. The masses do not have a Party but they educate,

# THE INTERRUPTED PROCESS OF THE REVOLUTION IN IRAN AND THE NEED TO CHANGE THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY

J Posadas

14-3-79

(Title of the editorial Board)

think and orientate themselves through the world relation of forces and, in that, through the experience of the Workers States. There the problems of the veil and the Muslims are resolved. In the Workers State there are Muslims, but none with the veil. On the contrary, they have the consciousness, the eyes and the capacity open to advance constantly. The millions of people who put up with the assassinations of the Shah, the thousands of mothers and sweethearts who saw sons, brothers and fathers die in the streets, did not do this to then take the veil. They did not intend to give power to the bourgeoisie, but for a social progress. They based themselves on the experience of the world, including in that the nationalisation of property, and on superior social and economic relations. The form of superior relations is based on the fact that the economy must be at the service of the population, not determined by the bourgeoisie. They do not want the economy to be submitted to the interest of bourgeois profit and investment, of the economic capacity of the bourgeoisie. The economic capacity of the bourgeoisie is determined by the world market.

What is happening in Iran does not mean that these are necessary phases for the revolution, but occur in this type of revolution in which there was not a previously prepared Party. There are no great trade unions, and the proletariat has little weight. But, even with the proletariat in Iran, of little weight, the engineering strike was a centre which gave the will to the population to emerge, and gave the decision and the base to the population to intervene. The masses did not mobilise because of the appeals of Khomeini or Bazargan, but through the mobilisation of the proletariat, World capitalism put everything behind the appeals of Khomeini, because it sought a bourgeois

centre so that private property was not placed in danger, and so that the leadership of the economy would not fall into the hands of the proletariat.

The bourgeois press places the revolution in Iran as though it were in decline, when it is the opposite. Now the dimension which corresponds to the will of the masses is present.

It is private property which leads to maintaining everything in backwardness. Private property leads to things as they are in Britain, in America, with more and more unemployment. The measures which the Khomeini committees are taking, of killing a whole series of people without precise leadership - although they are killing many who were agents of the Shah - and combining these measures with other backward steps like that of imposing the veil on women, shows that there is no centre nor a leadership and that there still does not exist an economic programme. They do not discuss what to do with the economy. They are going to vote for the constitution before voting about the economy they have to make. But it is necessary to do the opposite because, if they vote before the constitution, this leadership is going to leave the economy as it is now. They seek to stimulate and attract the religious movement so as afterwards to determine the economic line, which is different from the religious sentiment. But, as in this way the masses showed that they were capable of overthrowing the Shah, they are going also to overthrow every movement which wants to submit the masses or create new centres of economic or social oppression.

The reaction of the women is an example. They came to confront these thugs acting in the name of Khomeini, because they feel the existing will of combat

and the decision and support of the masses, and they express the sentiment with which they went to struggle against the Shah. They did not go to put Khomeini in his place, but they did it to free themselves and to be able, in this way, to develop socially. With Khomeini they cannot develop, nor with Bazargan. There are still conditions on the basis of a programme to make agreements with sectors of the bourgeoisie, including agreements with Khomeini against Bazargan. But the basis of this front must be made with a programme which is not that either of Khomeini or of Bazargan, but a programme of statification, planning and democratic rights, not proposing the Islamic republic but a democratic republic in which there are full rights for the population, with a programme of statification and planning of production.

#### THE STRUCTURE OF THE ARMY HAS TO BE LIQUIDATED.

The problems of Iran are not resolved by liquidating four or five people of the old apparatus, but the structure of the army has to be liquidated. The political and social structure of the army has to be liquidated and it has to be given a popular structure, otherwise the army is the source so that the system can be reproduced anew, and to sustain the power of the bourgeoisie which has no economic weight or political strength.

All the process shows that it is not a problem of empiricism and internal struggle, but it is a revolution which does not have a previous leadership. Thus now the internal struggle develops between the bourgeois sectors, intermediate sectors which maintain themselves and seek support to pass through this stage. But the masses show that they are solidly united, seeking to progress - and it is the masses who are going to impose and help also to

create a leadership. Now all these currents and tendencies are arising which combined in the realisation of the agreements of a certain progress like Muslims, the mujaheddin and the bourgeoisie, and divide and come together because of the absence of a prepared leadership. Khomeini says that they need to reconstruct the country, but that they want to do it without the Yanks, and he does not make attacks against the Soviets. Then Bazargan is opposed to the shootings because they are seeking agreements with the old regime. Thus he seeks to make agreements with the others and to attract them to make this policy. That is the form of the process, because there was not previous leadership and because there has been no possibility nor conditions to organise a movement to make social transformations. Hence there are divergences between the sectors of the bourgeoisie which are quite extensive; between Bazargan and Sanjabi there are differences. There is no agreement. They are different currents of capitalism which can't decide on agreement over political power, because they do not have it and they cannot rely either on the Yanks or on big business, because then they would clash with the population. Also, it is not convenient to depend on the Yanks etc., because then they cannot develop the country. They have to develop the country; but how to do it?

It is necessary to change the structure of the army; to propose that the election of the commands is determined socially and politically, that the army is not a body separated from the social life and that, in this way, it can be utilised against the people. Thus it is necessary to transform it. The army has to be organised on political, not military, bases. It is not true that this lowers its military capacity. The function of the army in Iran is to be against the masses. It has no other function. All these countries are determined by the fight between the great countries and now it is a question of the struggle between the Workers States and the capitalist countries. Now there is a good understanding by people of this.

J. POSADAS 14.3.79

## FOR A CAMPAIGN FOR 1st MAY TO BE A HOLIDAY

*The 1st of May is a day of celebration of the workers movement throughout the world. The working class intervenes in big demonstrations as in Italy and France. Thousands march to express their desire to construct socialism. It is a celebration in which the masses show their joy, which is in linking with the masses of all the countries of the world. This unity is based on the determination which the masses have to transform society. The fact that in Britain the May Day holiday is not on the 1st of May is not because the British masses do not want to express their unity with the masses in the world, but because the leadership of the Labour party wishes to separate them in this way. By their strikes the masses in Britain have shown their will of combat. In a resolute way they intervene. There have been constant strikes where whole sectors of the petit bourgeois have been involved.*

*The Labour leaders fear to mobilise big support for the May Day celebrations. They fear that the appearance of large numbers of workers in the meetings and demonstrations would be a pressure that could result in a deepening of the development of a programme. The absence of political meetings and appeals for the intervention of the workers reduces the weight of the proletariat. The May Day is maintained at a series of small events but not as a day for the workers movement to mobilise and discuss.*

*We appeal for a campaign to make the 1st of May the May Day holiday. So that this is unified with the other countries like France, where the workers mobilise on that day. The Labour Party must come out publically in support of the demand for the 1st of May to be a public holiday. The fact that the public holiday is put on other days is a way to reduce the effect of this event.*

*The way to mobilise support for the May Day is to propose a programme of demands for it. There should be demonstrations to support a series of*

*demands. How is the workers movement in the world progressing? It is advancing by taking measures to construct socialism. The May Day has to be to celebrate the highest achievements of the workers movement. The most advanced experiences are the advances made in countries like Vietnam. They have proposed a Federation for Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos. A very small country is capable of intervening in such an audacious way. It re-educates thousands of sectors from the old regime and reincorporates them into society. Prostitutes who for years were degraded by the life in Vietnam under capitalism, now are incorporated into society and reeducated. The social problems of degeneration which were prevalent under the old regime now can be overcome. This is progress! Vietnam goes to support the advance of Cambodia; it is no invasion, but an aid to the forces of progress in the country that threw out Pol Pot in order to progress. These are the issues to discuss. For a discussion on how Vietnam is able to achieve all this and why Vietnam's intervention in Cambodia is not an invasion but a means of supporting progress.*

*In Europe, a whole series of programmatic advances have been made. In capitalist Germany, there has been the demand that no automation*

Turn to page 4

### THE CRISIS OF THE SOCIAL DEMOCRACY WILL AUGMENT

Inevitably the conditions of the population under capitalism are going to deteriorate and the social democracy cannot operate as in the past. There is still no anti capitalist programme in the Labour party. At the most there are partial demands like the nationalisation of the banks but strictly limited. It is fundamental that the forces of the left in the Labour party become preoccupied with the need to develop an anti capitalist programme, one that even if it is limited to the famous twenty six nationalisations or on similar lines as the "common programme" in France, is one that if not totally breaking with capitalism, means nevertheless an intervention which interferes with and reduces the capacity of capitalism and opens the way for profounder interventions. All this has to be coupled with demands for workers control, inspection of the books, nationalisation of factories about to be closed down under workers control, all wages to rise with the cost of living, all the fruits of automation to the workers in the form not only of wages but superior working conditions, and workers control to supervise all the issue of nuclear energy and pollution. For a United Front of the LP and the unions on this programme.

### THE OBJECT OF THE TORIES IS REPRESSION

The objectives of the Tory government are essentially to intimidate the working class in the same way as on the international plane, capitalism endeavors to intimidate the Soviet Union. Above all they want to intimidate the left in the Labour party. They will use events to try to strengthen the police, to utilise "racialism" and to enhance the authority of the state apparatus. World imperialism is stimulating assassinations all over Europe — Italy, Spain, France etc. As British capitalism has no answer to anything, its line has to be to strengthen the special police forces and the armed forces for internal repression. The Labour left and the unions, to intervene on all these issues and prepare to intervene and not allow the repetition of the Southall incident where the thugs of capitalism commit murder and are allowed to get away with it. It is necessary for the Labour left to intervene towards the army and the police on all these issues, as part of the anti-capitalist programme.

7/5/79

## BAN THE FASCIST GROUPS! NO RIGHTS FOR FASCISTS! PUT ON TRIAL THE POLICE RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION AT SOUTHALL!

The murder of the anti fascist demonstrator in Southall by the police who were defending the fascists, represents the policy of capitalism — to try to repress and frighten the workers movement, particularly sectors tending to develop in the Labour party and the trade unions. It is a policy conducted at a variety of levels — from the assassination of a Moro or a Neave to individual militants and it is occurring all over Europe. As they dare not confront the main centres of the proletariat, because it would provoke a massive counter response, the bourgeoisie make the provocations against immigrant workers.

The Labour government is an accomplice to this murder. It is one of the elements in the united front of the bourgeoisie and the state apparatus to stimulate this type of brutal assassination. This is what their high minded chatter about democracy amounts to. Capitalism organises programmes to revile and slander the Soviet Union and the workers states, accusing them of all manner of crimes. But the reality is another. The true face of capitalism is the special patrol group to intimidate militants. This is what the bourgeoisie means by democracy and civil rights. Capitalism requires fascism objectively to try to repress the masses but fascism was liquidated as an historic force over thirty years ago, so they invent fascist groups, create provocations and stimulate the state apparatus to act as a substitute for the fascists. A top layer of capitalism encourages defeatism and the lack of authority of the rest of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeois conception of democracy is to allow every anti working class element to flourish and to be encouraged, but they see to it that there is no objective discussion anywhere with the

masses, with the right of discussion over where is Britain going. They control the means of communication and they see to it that only their opinions are aired. The Labour party if it chose, could mobilise easily sectors of the population that would bury the fascists in a twinkling of an eye, that could prevent the racialsists ever opening their mouths again. But they do not want this because if there is a mobilisation against the assassination, why not mobilise to liquidate capitalism? So the Labour government and the party defend the fascists and the police. In words they denounce the fascists but in reality they do not blame the police but the "left". This is because the leadership of the Labour party is essentially sustaining capitalism. All the revolutionary groups should be allowed to speak and intervene on television and radio and a press should be made available to them. But the fascists no! They are the enemies of progress. No rights for fascists!

The fascist groups are nothing. They are used by capitalism to provoke incidents that enable them to use measures of repression. Above all capitalism wants to frighten the left in the Labour party and the communist party, to prevent the development of a logical discussion which concludes with the programme to liquidate capitalism.

**NO RIGHTS FOR FASCISTS! BAN ALL THE FASCIST GROUPS! PUT THE POLICE ON TRIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR THE ASSASSINATION! DISBAND THE SPECIAL PATROL GROUP! WE APPEAL TO THE LABOUR LEFT AND THE CP TO CAMPAIGN FOR THESE DEMANDS.**

## THE COLLAPSE OF AMIN AND THE PROCESS IN AFRICA

Imperialism has been expressing glee at the fall of Amin and hope to influence the structure of the new regime. But imperialism has no power to determine the future of Uganda. British Imperialism resented Amin because from being their stooge in order to oust Obote, who has a limited programme of nationalisations, he expropriated their forms and turned on trading sectors who were Asiatics. Amin's regime, bloody and stupid as it turned out to be, is an example of the absence of leadership to elevate a very backward society. Amin's solutions were day to day expedients within the confines of tribalism.

The total stagnation of the regime and its apparently endless descent into economic chaos invited overthrow. The intervention by Nyrere is the result of a whole series of forces who want to intervene, including very conservative and progressive sectors. Imperialism is trying to weigh in the future government, but it does not have the forces to decide and neither does the bourgeoisie have an established structure in Uganda. Delays in the transformation of Uganda are the result purely of a lack of intervention by the workers states and the consequent lack of policy, programme and party to transform the country.

Imperialism, in its exploitation of the African continent, tried to maintain the tribal structure to prevent any hostile development. It exploited countries like Uganda for its raw materials and maintained the underlying structure to keep the backwardness. In Britain it has used the excesses of Amin's regime to try to underline the barbarous character of social change in Africa, in order to weigh on the petit bourgeoisie.

### THE AMIN EPISODE WAS NOT NECESSARY

But the progress of Africa is represented by regimes such as those of Ethiopia, Mozambique and Angola which Amin did not seek to emulate. Amin, to balance between the workers states and imperialism, sought to keep within the anti imperialist camp against South Africa but had no programme to take Uganda out of its backwardness. Quite empirically and without preparation and under the immense weight of the permanent revolution, Angola, Mozambique and Ethiopia adopted the programme of the socialist revolution and now enter upon the construction of the party to construct socialism. Uganda represents the slow and contained

elements of the African revolution. Similarly the structure of Nigeria and the series of political crises which raged in the country, leading to the regime of Gowon and the fall of Gowon, all relate to the limitations of tribalism which imperialism uses.

The recognition of the new regime in Uganda by Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique is an effort to weigh in the process in Uganda to encourage revolutionary sectors, of whom a sector are apparently pro-soviet. The Soviet Union refused aid to Amin at the last but they have also failed to intervene politically with any adequate policy towards countries like Uganda. Partly they do not wish to provoke clashes with imperialism and on the other hand, they fear for any development which they may not be able to control. On the other hand they cannot determine the process and despite the empirical character of the process in Uganda, imperialism will gain little from this because they have neither external or internal forces on which to rely. Cases like Uganda can only occur when there is an absence of a world leadership and communist international which constructs parties for the taking of power and supplies the orientation and policy to take power and construct socialism.

## May Day...

continued from page 3

*should result in a loss of work or wages for the workers. The German printers have imposed the right for them to have jobs protected against new automation. They have won the demand that if technological advances are brought in, they should be guaranteed work and on the same pay, even if their original work is done by the machines. They say they are not against technical advances but that the technical progress must not be at their expense. These demands run counter to the interests of capitalism. Capitalism wishes to increase the automation, to reduce the work force and in this way to heighten the productivity in comparison to the other capitalist countries. The German workers have said 'we have the right to live and to feed our families'. In Britain there have been demands appearing in the trade unions that are similar to those of the German printers. It is necessary to take these and make a programme to deal with the problems of automation. That no workers should lose their jobs or have their pay reduced as a result of increased automation.*

*The mobilisation on May Day needs to include demands that relate to the life of the population. To combat the increase in pollution. Constantly the poisoning of the environment worsens. Leaks of radiation from nuclear power stations, as Windscale, occur. It is not a question of proposing the ending of the use of nuclear power but that capitalism is incapable of handling it safely. It is not preoccupied with the safe use of it. It needs to have nuclear power in order to increase its competitive position and the workers movement needs to intervene to impose workers control of the nuclear plants. For the safety to be decided by the workers and not left to capitalism.*

*We appeal for a campaign over the right to have the 1st of May as a holiday. The fact that the May Day celebrations do not coincide with May Day comes from the desire of the Labour leadership who wish to reduce the intervention of the workers movement. They try to keep the workers movement in Britain from the influences and experiences of the rest of the world. The world however constantly influences Britain and it is necessary to demand the right to have the 1st of May as a day of holiday. To use the day for demonstrations and meetings to discuss a programme of 35 hour week, one months paid holiday a year. For the benefits of automation to go to the workers and the nationalisation under workers control of the factories and of the nuclear installations.*

30.4.79.

## EDITORIAL

**FOR MOBILISATIONS IN  
DEFENCE OF ALL THE WAGE  
INCREASES AND SERVICES  
GAINED BY THE WORKERS!**

**UNITE THESE DEMANDS WITH A  
PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL  
TRANSFORMATIONS**

*The Tory Government is attempting a profound offensive against the population. It has put up prices on all the essential commodities, and is proposing to cut back on basic services. Not only the working class face this erosion of the standard of living, but many sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie are going to continue to feel a decline which they had experienced before, under the labour government, and now continues even more drastically under the Tories. The world capitalist system welcomes the Tories because they want a hard government, one which appears to be strong and prepared to confront the working class. The Tories can get away with more aggressive policies in relation to the working class than the Labour government which had to be concerned with looking over its shoulder to see what the response of the trade union base of the Labour Party was. Nevertheless, all bourgeois governments, Labour or Tory have, all the time to be concerned with the response of the trade unions. And this government is no exception. The resistance of the trade unions has been very profound, involving many of the most exploited sectors of the population, who have continued to struggle before throughout the election campaign, and after, against the capitalist system. The decision of the NUPE workers to withdraw all services from private patients beginning next year, is a very decided action which corresponds to the class feeling against the bourgeoisie of the population as a whole. These sectors could not carry out such an action if they did not feel a support in general for them.*

### **DEVELOP A CAMPAIGN IN DEFENCE OF PREVIOUS CONQUESTS MADE BY THE WORKERS**

*The resistance of the trade unions provides a very good basis to unite a struggle of all the trade unions on a programme which resolutely opposes all the measures which the Tory government is attempting to carry out. Wage increases which had been won previously are being taken back almost immediately. Essential services are being cut dramatically. Who gave the Tory government a mandate to do this? Certainly not the British people. The trade union resistance shows that the election result was not democratic. The mass of the population did not vote for a Tory government. It was the lack of any policy on behalf of the Labour Party which allowed the Tories to get into government. Had the Labour Party put forward anti-capitalist demands, they would have won the election by winning over sectors of the petit-bourgeoisie who voted for the Tories. The basic vote for the Labour Party remained strong in all the Labour areas.*

*We propose that the trade unions and the Labour left should make meetings, strikes and demonstrations against all the cuts that the Tories are attempting to make, against the strengthening of NATO, the police, army and courts, against rising unemployment, against any proposed denationalisations, and should discuss in place of the Tory programme, - all private practice to be ended, all wage increases defended, wages to rise with the cost of living, the 35 hour week to be implemented now, no worker to be thrown out of work, everyone has the right to work and if the bosses cannot provide it, then the factory to be closed should be nationalised and run under workers control. New technology could be introduced, which benefits the population, so that no one loses their job, workers should work less hours and keep the same pay as before. It is a programme which has a popular basis, and would attract enormous support. Why not hold big meetings, to which anyone can come, and propose that this programme is the type of programme that can be campaigned on in the elections to the European parliament Not having any illusions that it will be carried out by that parliament but that this programme would be a centre to unify the workers movement of Europe. This is the type of Europe that would have a popular support, instead of the Common Market.*

### **HALF OF EUROPE IS WORKERS STATES**

*The discussion waged so far in the elections to the European parliament has been limited to in or out of the EEC. This is not the problem. We were out of the EEC until recently and still suffered the same decline of capitalism and the same gradual restriction of democratic rights, the same lowering of the standard of living. But half of Europe, the workers states, is not*

turn to page 4

## INSIDE PAGES **On the liberation movements of Namibia, Rhodesia and South Africa.**

**J Posadas**

*Workers of the world, unite!*

# RED FLAG



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## **THE DEFEAT OF THE LABOUR PARTY IN THE ELECTIONS IN BRITAIN**

3-3-79

**J. POSADAS**

The reports which the comrades have given confirm all our analysis. When they spoke of abstentions, we said it could not be the case, because the conservatives and labour had a great number of votes. There was an abstention in some places against Callaghan, Benn, Foot. There people abstained, but it was against the leaders.

The bourgeoisie voted en masse, something they did not do before. Votes of the Liberals went to the conservatives and the Liberals lost a great deal and also a sector of the nationalists voted for conservatives. This explains why the conservatives had more votes. A part of the nationalist vote went to Labour and to the ecologists. The votes which the ecologists won were not many. They are not decisive but it does mean that the fact that the conservatives have obtained more votes does not indicate a decisive change. In a previous period the conservatives had the same relation of forces and the crisis developed within them. A sector of them proposed to yield to the trade unions while the leadership was opposed to this and they ended by being defeated. But the relation of world forces is not favourable to the conservatives. It is against them. In Austria the social democrats have just won the elections and they do not have a programme completely of the right but have some aspects which go against the capitalist system. This was also the case with the German social democrats as they proposed the thirty five hours week.

The proletariat entered into the elections while great struggles were developing and after great confrontations with its own labour leadership. It confronted this leadership in a very elevated and a very decided form, as for example with the strike pickets which they made to confront the leadership, even at the risk of producing a weakening of the leadership. Now the struggle is going to continue. The proletariat did not enter weakened into the elections nor weakened by them. It maintains the capacity to struggle for an increase in wages, for better conditions of work and for some statifications. Above all it demands increases which correspond to the increase in the cost of living and which they are also going to maintain now. The Labour government was defeated by the workers themselves in the discussion over wages and in part over the defence of trade union rights, like that of making strike pickets function, even where there were no strikes, which is an extension of the power of the struggle of the working class. They are going to maintain this attitude and they are going to confront the conservatives who are going to want to oppose such rights.

An important part of the people who voted for the conservatives are going to support the maintaining of this right and they are going to be united to the Labour masses.

The fundamental point is that the Labour masses do not feel defeated. They entered the elections in open struggle and continued the struggle. It is the labour and trade union leadership which has been defeated.

The proletariat does not feel, is not going to feel defeated nor smashed, but is going to see that it lacks leadership. The proletariat cannot direct itself at the great mass of the petit bourgeoisie. The latter does not see the proletariat as a leadership of society but submitted to the apparatus of the Labour party and the trade unions.

Thus the proletariat could not influence a series of layers of society because the Labour party spoke in the name of tranquility, of better wages, of better remuneration but nothing more. It left society as it was. It left the ruling class to continue to dominate, which is capitalism, not the Labour party. The Labour party leads Britain for the benefit of capitalism. Thus the proletariat cannot exercise influence over the poor sectors of the petit bourgeoisie nor over the middle layers. It cannot develop the organisational resolution in the proletariat because it does not have the means to do so. If the Labour leadership impedes it, the proletariat cannot communicate with the whole country. It has still not succeeded in influencing

it. This is not through lack of combativity or of resolution or of decision of the proletariat, but because the Labour party, the labour leadership and the trade unions impede it. Hence the electoral result is very marked. The proletariat voted fully for the Labour party and increased in some workers zones.

This means that the struggle is going to continue, that the proletariat does not feel defeated or that it has lost, and that it is going to elevate its political understanding and impel changes of leadership. It is a marvellous situation for our comrades to develop their intervention. It would have been better if the Labour people had won with a development of programmatic positions. But the result does not mean a retreat, a stagnation or a blow at the masses. The Labour masses do not feel defeated. They have confronted repeatedly their leadership and they are going to confront the conservatives also. They are going to stimulate the petit bourgeoisie who have voted for the conservatives to see that there is no solution with the conservatives.

The lack of anti capitalist programme of the Labour leadership and of the trade unions and of demands which respond to the needs of the workers and the lack of agitation on the conquests which the workers had made, determined the fact that they did not influence the petit bourgeoisie. The proletariat voted integrally for the Labour party. The retreat of the communists indicates absolutely nothing because it is a small movement. They had 15,000 votes, nothing more. But more important were the votes of the ecologists which amounted to 40,000, which indicates that there are petit bourgeois layers who are attracted to the anti capitalist struggle. To be an ecologist today is to be anti capitalist. It is not possible to fight against pollution without struggling against the system which produces it. The methods of the ecologists are reminiscent of the earlier stage of the anarchists and the trade unionists in

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# THE LABOUR PARTY

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confronting the police to prevent the factory functioning, to occupying railtracks, to breaking and chucking out poisonous commodities. When they do this in the stage, in which

there are twenty one workers states, it is because the leadership of the trade unions and of the party has no programme for the struggle against pollution.

## THE CLASS STRUGGLE WILL INTENSIFY

It is necessary to consider that the conditions for the anti capitalist struggle are not going to lessen. If the proletariat felt itself to be smashed or weak, or that its party had been defeated, the conservatives would have made a programme of repression. But the first attitude of the conservatives is one of caution with respect to the proletariat and to propose a plan of national conciliation. That is to say they fear the reaction of the proletariat and that it will influence the petit bourgeoisie that voted for the conservatives, which the proletariat could not influence because the Labour leadership and the trade unions impeded it and did not make the programme of anti capitalist struggle. The proletariat is not smashed nor disappointed, but it is going to continue the struggle to maintain its conquests, to increase them and to tend to change the leadership.

At the same time the relation of world forces is not favourable to the conservatives. The recent election of Austria shows this. Kreisky has just won, that is the social democracy and it has a policy superior to the German social democracy. This triumph of Kreisky is important because in the referendum over nuclear energy, he was defeated. Now he returns to win. The defeat of the Labour social democrats does not mean that they actually lost many votes but that they had stopped winning and that the conservatives had more votes. The Labour leadership acted in such a way that it could not win, because it was necessary to influence a part of the population and that could only be done with a will to struggle and a programme which would pose the demands of the masses and not the interest of accumulating the profits of British capitalism, as was the line of the leadership of the Labour party.

This shows that it is necessary to expect in Britain an intensification of the class struggle and this is going to be favourable to the organisation of the left in the Labour party. It is necessary to intervene to help the formation of the left.

We believe that the relation of world forces is favourable to the development of the class struggle and the intervention of our party. The proletariat is going to draw conclusions from the defeat of its leadership. It is going to see that it was not defeated, but that the bourgeois leadership prepared the electoral failure, to prevent the proletariat continuing to advance. It was a policy made by the leadership to prevent the triumph of the Labour masses.

The communists have again lost votes. Healey has had very few. But the ecologists gained more than the communists. The working class has not been defeated. It is not an electoral but a social problem. The confrontation which the working class had with the government during the Callaghan government is going to continue now. The new government announces they want to place restrictions on trade unions rights and they are going to have a great welcome from the world bourgeoisie. It is an attempt of world

capitalism to prepare the war and see how things go, beginning with Britain. They do it to try to pass over the crisis of capitalism. But these elections are not a defeat of the masses but of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour party. The election does not show a process of changes because it is necessary to see that the Labour leadership is bourgeois. Recently there were elections in Germany and the social democracy won in a vital centre of the Christian democrats. The social democracy won two percent and the Christian democrats lost two percent.

The result of these elections in Britain is not the demonstration of the existence of new currents and tendencies or currents, but it is a local problem of Britain determined by the reaction of the bourgeoisie which has been concentrated around the conservatives. The liberals, like the regionalist sectors, lost votes. It is not a defeat of the proletariat even if the bourgeoisie have the advantage of being in the government. The working class does not feel itself to be intimidated and it is going to show this shortly. It is going to maintain the same programme of struggle as if Callaghan had won.

a block, but it has to yield because the trade union movement is more to the left than the political movement. The strikes in the steel industry and the strikes in printing have been very great gains because they are the base for the development of the workers movement. All this is going to be posed on a continental European scale and the process will not be based on the electoral defeat but on the triumph of the masses in Germany, Italy and Britain.

The labour party waged a campaign of silence. It did not want the proletariat to weigh on the petit bourgeoisie, to attract them, as in the strikes. It cut the communication between the proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie. On the first of May the strikes were impeded and they intervened brutally against the demonstrations, which were very small anyway. A few days before a comrade of the Cliff group was assassinated and there were 15,000 people at his funeral. The Labour leadership prevented the utilisation of the means that they had to triumph, because if it had done so, the intervention of the working class would have been elevated. They expected to triumph without any mobilisation and thus it was the apparatus which would dominate. They ran the risk of losing and they lost. But we believed that the Labour were going to win because the working class felt that it was capable and resolved and it was necessary to see. The newspapers, who at first gave a 10% lead to the conservatives, in the last few days suggested the possibility that Labour would win. It is a good experience for the rest of Europe. It is not possible to make a good experience, a campaign of strikes and struggles without programme and objectives, because it is in this way that the working class aims at the other sectors of the population and in this way it is shown capable of resolving the problems. But the LP cut communication with the population. The working class did not have the instruments to influence the rest of the population. The means to communicate with the workers, with the rest is through the strike, the programme and the mobilisation with the programme of nationalisation, of planning, of the reduction of hours of work, better conditions of life, of condemnation of the poisoning of food. Thus the working class has not been able to aim at the population as a class. It has done it simply through the labour leadership and that of the trade unions. The leadership of the Labour party and trade unions is bourgeois. Hence the elections are not a defeat of the proletariat. They are a defeat of the political leadership of the Labour party. The proletariat does not feel defeated. It does not just go home nor is it going to accept that the conservatives win. It is going to continue the struggles.

It is an experience for the whole of Europe, for France, for Italy. The proletariat, to communicate with the population, needs a programme of planning, of nationalisation, of control of nutrition against the pollution of food, air, water, and food and also a programme against exploitation. It is necessary to diminish the hours of work with the same wage and to increase workers control over production. At the same time it is necessary to

propose that by nationalisations, they are in a position to make a programme to resolve all the problems of the population. In Britain they are dismissing thousands and thousands and the labour party does not say a word about this. On the first of May it

sent in the police to repress. People see the leadership of the Labour party and see that there is no difference with the conservatives. But the working class took the Labour party as a centre around which to centralise and direct itself at the population.

## THERE HAS TO BE A PROGRAMME TO ATTRACT THE POPULATION

This is going to intensify the crisis of the right and the centre of the Labour party and it is going to impel a greater turn to the left. Independently of Benn and Foot, the working class is going to impel a left turn in the Labour party. The conservatives are going to try to limit the right to strike and democratic rights, as the bourgeoisie is trying to do in France by limiting the right of strike for the television workers. In front of the crisis of the bourgeoisie, the proletariat has to aim as a class at the rest of the population, to show that capitalism is incapable of leading and that it contains and makes the economy retreat. To meet this, the proletariat has to give a programme — people have to see such a programme. The elections are not a triumph of capitalism either on a British or European scale, but the capitalists have the possibility in the state apparatus to exercise influence, weight and to determine some measures favourable to them, above all because the Labour leadership respects them in a bourgeois form and are going to want to submit the masses to accept a government which has been democratically elected. But this view is not correct. The government has been elected by swindle because the masses did not have either the knowledge nor means of intervention.

The one thing which is criminal is the bourgeois labour leadership which did not make a single meeting denouncing the capitalist leadership, that poisoned the food, which dismissed workers every day, which repressed people, which assassinated a worker who was a communist militant and earlier assassinated others.

The labour proletariat does not feel beaten or defeated. It has just maintained great struggles of very great combative resolution and sentiment. It had confronted the government, big business, and the trade union leadership and had made the trade union leadership, the bosses and the government retreat. It pushed forward an imposing struggle from every point of view. It overcame the intention of the government to limit to five percent the increase in wages. A number of trade union centres imposed double this. It is necessary to maintain such a resolution of struggle and to make a programme of continuity in defence of all the conquests, to prevent the reduction of all the gains made by the proletariat under labour governments in social security, social benefits, conditions of work, hours of work, and nationalisations. It is necessary to maintain this programme and fight for it. There must be a unification of struggles for particular demands with the nationalisations, without the one depending on the other but uniting them, to maintain the combative resolution, to maintain the continuity of trade union, social and economic gains and increase the demands for nationalisations and statification. Capitalism is going to want to make the proletariat pay again for the gains they have made. The Callaghan government could not go any further because it depends on the Labour base. It tried to limit the increase in wages to five percent and in the majority of cases it was defeated.

With this same sentiment of mass combat, it is necessary to make the present programme and also to discuss in the Labour party, in the trade unions in each trade union centre, in the workers centres, in every work meeting, the need to maintain the programme consistently aimed at the petit bourgeoisie, to maintain the programme of conquests, the development of social, political, and economic demands,

with nationalisations, planning, increase of wages, reduction in hours of work and control of food, rejecting all the impurity and the poisoning of the population through the adulteration of food. It is necessary to struggle for the 35 hours, to maintain the gains that have been made and to increase them with new activities, to unite wage demands with improved conditions of work, purification of hygiene in the workplaces with nationalisations and to see that the Labour party and the trade unions push forward this discussion for the organisation of a leadership which is concerned with this programme, to agitate the programme, the policy and the gains made so that they are maintained and last. The experience is that to each conquest of the proletariat, the bourgeoisie answers with the increase of prices or with the reduction of the quality of the food. Thus the wage gains are lost and have no effect.

Let the left in the trade unions propose the programme for the increase of the anti capitalist conquests, of better conditions of work, purification of the environment, control of food under control of the workers and increase the struggle for nationalisations and on this basis develop the left. The Labour party should develop this tendency.

The world process is advancing in the struggle of the masses and not in retreat. The labour defeat is circumstantial and motivated by the false political leadership, conciliatory with capitalism which the Callaghan government had pushed forward, not the masses. The masses must feel it and the trade union and political leaderships that respond or want to respond or seek to respond to the need of the working class must understand this process and see it in this way. This is no rejection of the experiences which the masses have made. The masses feel that they have been capable of imposing great demands. Together with this a fundamental slogan is the struggle for the republic or the socialist republic. It is not the moment to impose it immediately but the agitation and the propaganda for this conclusion should be maintained to eliminate the royal structure and to pass over to a democratic socialist republic.

J. POSADAS. 6.5.79

## THE LABOUR APPARATUS HAS BEEN DEFEATED

The defeat is the defeat of the bourgeois leadership of the Labour party which wants to combine a bourgeois leadership with worker support. If the workers voted for the labour people, an important sector of the petit bourgeoisie which voted labour did not vote for them this time. The votes of the liberals are not of the working class nor of the poor petit bourgeoisie. Capitalism voted for the liberals and sectors in Scotland, Wales, Ireland voted for them. In an important zone of Scotland, Labour gained. The conduct of the working class in the strikes was very important. These strikes were not made by the most important but by marginal sectors. The working class as a whole did not intervene, and this could have affected the level of influence on the petit bourgeoisie. There has been no important disaffection of the working class. Sectors of the left itself of Benn and Foot even being elected, lost votes. It is the working class which did not vote for them.

The Labour leadership did not make a campaign to win. The campaign showed the inter bourgeois competition and also the different immediate problems

which they have. In Germany there is a great advance of the struggles and also in Britain, but the Labour leadership blocks it. In Germany also the leadership is



# Intervene in the European Elections to unite with the Communist Parties, the Socialist Parties and Trade Unions in Europe

The European elections provide an opportunity to propose an anti-capitalist programme in Europe. To link with the workers centres in the rest of Europe to campaign for a series of measures like the 35 hour week. This is a demand that has been arising in the trade unions and workers parties in the European capitalist countries. The congress of the trade unions in capitalist Europe included this in their programme. It has now been put in the manifestos of the socialist parties for the elections in the European parliament. It is therefore a measure that has spread to all the workers movements in Europe. In the elections it is necessary to discuss how to unite all the workers movement in Europe to impose this measure.

The European parliament is not an institution that is going to

implement measures that the left in Europe propose in order to transform society. The parliament was not set up with the purpose of allowing Europe to be democratically transformed. It is not an institution for social changes but a parliament to maintain Europe capitalist. The European Common Market is an organisation of the capitalist countries in Europe to confront the workers states. There is an objective need to unite Europe. The development of the economy requires the transcending of national boundaries. Already the biggest firms have gone outside the national framework and are organised as multinationals. There is a need to unify the whole of Europe but capitalism cannot unite it for the benefit of the people of Europe but only in the interests of the multinationals. Even the unification it makes

does not unify the interests of the different countries. There are constant disputes between them all. They have continual meetings between them where they say "we are now agreed there will be no more dispute", then the next day they are in disagreement. The European parliament is in reality a form where capitalism in Europe seeks to have discussions and make certain proposals in order to attempt to ameliorate some of its differences.

Capitalism uses the European Common Market and the European Parliament to try and deal with its conflicts between the countries that previously they settled by war. It is not that as a system it has become peace loving or that the area of dispute between the capitalist countries has lessened. It is that they fear to go to war with each other because if they do so, it is the end

of all of them. Each inter capitalist war stimulates the process of revolution. After the 1st World War the Soviet Union was formed. After the 2nd World War half Europe became workers states. If the capitalist countries go to war again amongst themselves the other half of Europe will also become workers states. It is for this reason that the E.E.C. and its parliament exist. As capitalism fears that if its own conflicts get out of hand the workers states will benefit, it therefore tries to regulate the conflicts.

In the elections it is necessary to propose a programme of demands to deal with the problems that the masses in Europe face. The European parliament is not resolving these issues, on the contrary it is the parliament of an organisation that heightens all these difficulties. A basic necessity is

food and yet where is the democracy when the E.E.C. destroys food. If there is more food the price falls. So this is resolved by destroying the food so the prices remains high. The big producers get their money but the masses in Europe pay for it. The only solution to this is to expropriate the big farms, to nationalise them under workers control. Every day there are more and more accounts about the additives that go into poison people. To preserve unfresh food and reduce the cost of production, chemical additives are put in it. The ecologist movement is a rebellion against the poisoning of the food and the environment. They are just demands that there must be an end to the poisoning of the population. It is necessary for the workers parties and the trade unions to intervene against this poisoning. The big farms and the food distributors should be nationalised and controlled by the workers and the population. For the food to be produced without poisonous additives. In Britain already sectors of the bakery workers have intervened to show that the bread is no good and they want to control its production so that nutritious bread can be produced.

The agricultural policy is just one of the ways that under capitalism the development of Europe is held back. It is not just this one particular policy of the E.E.C. that is reactionary, but the whole functioning of capitalism. In all the countries of the European Common Market, the steel industry is being cut back. As in Lorraine in France, steel workers are thrown out of work. As capitalism is incapable of developing Europe economically, it cannot use all the steel that technically can be produced. Italy has the capacity of producing much more steel but the E.E.C. in the interests of European capitalism, ensures that it does not expand so as not to compete with the rest of the steel industry in the E.E.C. which is in a state of decline. The elections to the European parliament can be used to propose a programme of the workers movement. But it is not possible to leave it to the parliament as a means of solving the problems. The parliament is completely an instrument of the big capitalist sectors. The solution to these problems lies outside capitalism and it is not going to allow the European parliament — which is an organisation it has set up, to be against the masses in Europe — to be used to overthrow the capitalist system.

The only solution to the crisis in capitalist Europe is to adopt measures that develop towards the structure of the workers state. Whereas the steel production declines in countries of capitalist Europe, in Czechoslovakia there is a constant increase. In 1945, it was a backward country and now, because it has a planned economy, its steel production is three times higher than France. In front of the decline that all the countries in the capitalist part of Europe have, the slogan needs to be the United Socialist Soviet States of Europe, not to expect the European parliament to implement measures favourable to the left in Europe. But to use the elections and the parliament as a forum to propose a programme of anti-capitalist measures to unite the whole of the European workers movement, the Socialist and Communist parties, the trade unions, ecologists and left groups around — 35 hour week, nationalisation of the big firms and farms under workers control.

## ON THE LIBERATION MOVEMENTS OF NAMIBIA, RHODESIA AND SOUTH AFRICA

24-3-79

J. POSADAS

There is a very great progress of the liberation movements that are developing throughout South Africa. The movement is developing and unifying and in this, SWAPO is the leadership. They are now discussing the African Federation which is complicated, because there are many languages and they say that in Namibia alone there are 40.

Now there is an extension of the movement in this region, which up to five year ago was just a protest movement with a mixture of national bourgeois elements. In Rhodesia they tried to make this mixture and failed. The black integration movement which was led by the black bourgeoisie has failed. The maturation of the liberation movement came about through the direct influence of the triumph in Angola, Mozambique, Guinea Bissau and Madagascar. This is an immense progress for Africa and from the beginning they say "our programme is socialism".

When there is such a maturation in movements of such backward origin — in which people die of hunger because they have nothing — when they now accept the road to socialism, it is because there is a very elevated social understanding. Thus there are no longer backward peoples. They are economically backward but culturally they are very elevated because now they aspire to socialism. They do not aspire to resolve problems individually, to have land for each individual but they aspire to resolve the problems in a concentrated form which is socialism. This indicates the influence of the world revolution, and all these movements are the natural allies of the Soviet Union not of China. China does not intervene there, and does not support them.

The progress of these movements shows the immense progress of the revolutionary process of history. The Yanks with all their power could not confront this. Before if there was a whistle, the fleet went in, or the planes, to repress. Now they go to confirm that they have been thrown out. At the same time this shows the nature of the process which is being prepared in Latin America which is very elevated and in which the Yanks with all their power show that they are impotent to control the situation. The Yanks cannot contain Cuba and not even with all the three A's (the rightist terror group in Argentine) which are an extension of the Yanks.

SWAPO makes an activity and takes initiatives which indicates that it must have a certain support among the whites in Namibia because among those there is a very great struggle. Now the interest of the whites is not only the diamond or gold but to be a centre of exploitation for world capitalism and for a world market that under socialism will disappear with gold and diamonds.

When Swapo is now animated to propose the socialist programme and has such a welcome, it is because there is a very great maturity in the world. Hence the assassins of Rhodesia cannot impede it. The centre which sends in all the reactionaries of this region is South Africa. It is the patron of all this, the one which has more arms, like Israel. It is more powerful than Israel because it has its own economy. It does not depend on help and for a long period it was a centre of the resources of British imperialism.

The regime which exists in South Africa and Rhodesia is an attenuated form of slavery and to a certain extent a combination of slavery and nazism.

The attitude of capitalism is confined to develop life in a minority of humanity, less than one percent. But it is impossible, because the development of culture, of art, of science, of technology develops human relations and makes them more and more intimate and dependent on each other, to reach the level of concentration and integration which is no longer dependency but integration of the human being. Still today and for a time dependency will exist but afterwards there will be an integration of the human being, an integration in thought, in human relations, in the economy; and to the extent that the economy advances this is more evident. For the plan of capitalism the world would have to be governed by a small team and be based on an enormous number of prisoners. But after the prisoners rebel because development creates a level of contradictions which cannot allow the system to continue.

South Africa consciously sabotages industrial development, because if South Africa and Rhodesia developed industrially, they would not be able to live in this way. They would have to break the present structure, to open the way to an industrial structure, to industrial relations which clash with what exists now. The workers at the present moment do not have a class consciousness because they do not live the class relations in the rest of the world. They live this life of white versus black. The bourgeoisie want to impede the formation of a black working class. Hence they have no interest in developing the country. For example with all the wealth they possess, South Africa could have a hundred times more wealth than Israel, but it spends like Israel, like the Shah on the army. They have the most powerful army in Africa which is an elite of airmen, soldiers with all modern arms and tanks, including atomic arms. But the atomic arm is not just theirs. This comes from a relation with the Yanks and the British who made them a centre as they made Israel. But theirs is a cowardly army because they are people who have developed in the security of arrogance, of the lack of an enemy because they only had to confront the population who had nothing. As soon as they meet something with a certain force, they are going to run away.

This movement in South Africa has to be taken as a fundamental part of the struggle for the liberation of Africa because afterwards the strongest point of support to capitalism will be Senegal. The rest have no strength. Angola was liberated from imperialism and is already becoming a great country. It has elevated culturally on an enormous scale in a few years. Now illiteracy is being abolished and they have begun to install equipment from their own production. Its the same with Mozambique and Tanzania. While Mobutu with all the power which he has represents an enormous backwardness. In Angola as in Mozambique there are as many ethnic groups as in the other countries because that was their history. Portuguese imperialism was based on this, playing one group against the other as did Lawrence of Arabia. But it's no longer the epoch for that.

J. POSADAS. 24.3.79

# THE PROCESS IN THE ITALIAN AND FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTIES

The development of a Labour left has been hampered by the phenomenon of Stalinism which combined repression of the masses in the Soviet Union with conciliation with capitalism. But with the disappearance of this particular phase in the history of the workers states, a whole new process is at work in the world, conditioned by the fact that the capitalist system is in total crisis and faces the inevitable necessity of the workers states to expand and develop. Such a situation does not allow a division of the world, because it is not to the interest of the workers states to do this and capitalism has no strength to enforce a new international settlement. Even in the case of the counter revolutionary attack by the Chinese leadership on Vietnam, imperialism was incapable of using this to disadvantage the workers states.

At the same time the mass communist parties remain inevitably linked to the Soviet Union and as with the Soviet Union, find that it is not possible to come to an arrangement with a system whose condition of existence do not allow a conciliation. This is not an abstract conclusion for the left in this country. One of the most important factors in the post second world war stabilisation of capitalism in Western Europe was the conciliation of the French and Italian communist parties. They handed in their arms — or at least refused to use them for the continuation of the revolutionary process and entered bourgeois governments. Later they went into opposition having allowed western capitalism to recover with the aid of American imperialism. But such a situation is now unthinkable and it is not possible in the conditions of the decomposition of capitalism for a permanent accord to be arranged between capitalism and the communist parties.

The right and centre of the Labour party have attempted to make use of the disputes between the communist parties and the Soviet Union represented in the struggle over euro-communism as indicating that the communist parties could no longer develop against the "democratic" institutions of capitalism. But even if in words the last French CP congress still maintains euro communism, in practice against the attacks of the right i.e. Ellenstein, it has reasserted the historic primacy of the 1917 October revolution and that in spite of problems in the workers states, they are a fundamental step forward for humanity. This is also the position of the Italian communist party as shown particularly in the intervention of the left in the last Congress of the Italian communist party.

There is no question that there are great limitations in the functioning and policies of the two communist parties but the important factor which decides is that the balance of forces does not favour capitalism. The problems of the communist party are of a different character from the

immediate post war period. They are problems of understanding, decision and policy relating to a new world situation. The recent conflict with the "intellectuals" in the French party is essentially with a sector of the party that has lost faith in communism, but on the other hand in discussions like this sector the leadership of the French CP finds it difficult to discuss in depth, because of a lack of previous marxist education. As with the Italian communist party congress there is now no reference in the party rules to the need for marxist Leninism, it is left out in favour of the "living character in development of scientific socialism". This is typical of an abandonment not based on a deep discussion or any objective assessment of marxism. It is a concession to try to influence the petit bourgeoisie on the electoral plane.

The essential difference between the experiences of the communist parties and the social democracy is their point of origin. The objectives of the social democracy have been to assist and to moderate capitalism, the communist parties were founded on the basis of the Russian revolution and the consequent break with the social democracy. The experience of Stalinism obscured but has not altered this basic relationship. Now even with all the formulas of the "historic compromise" the Italian communist party makes the centre of its policy not the collaboration with the Christian democracy to save Italy but the question of the communist party in the government. Imperialism has no confidence that a communist party in government will not interfere in the functioning of capitalism under the direct pressure of the Italian masses. The world balance of forces is against any direct interference by Yankee imperialism.

This process in the communist parties is paralleled by a series of crises in the Socialist parties caught between the evolution of the CPs, the growing crisis of capitalism and the direct weight of the workers states throughout Europe. The socialist party in France sees a profound struggle between the wing which wants to capitulate to capitalism and the wing which wants to replace capitalism and the left gains in all this. The crisis of the Spanish socialist party is a graphic example (the resignation of the non marxist leader Gonsalez) of the inability of capitalism to affirm conciliatory wings in the socialist parties. Even in the German social democracy a party most geared to the interests of German capitalism the party was obliged to support the workers struggle for a thirty five hour week. In all this the role of the mass communist parties is fundamental for they represent the most advanced layers of the proletariat in Europe. This is not to say that all their policies are coherent i.e. the Italian communist party hardly possesses an anti capitalist programme and the

policy of the French CP is pockmarked with all manner of concessions to "nationalist" sentiment, but what we are seeing are parties going through a process of rectifications and changes not back to consensus with capitalism but towards inevitable confrontation and elevation of programme and policy. That is the lesson of the last conferences of the FCP and the ICP however tortuous and slow the process compared with the objective dynamism of the world revolutionary process.

The entry of the Tories into government is not going to augment the power of capitalism. The very nature of the total capitalist crisis that is the inability to develop society, the increasing impoverishment of the masses through unemployment and pollution is going to augment struggles throughout the whole of Europe. European capitalism cannot sustain itself or help the weaker capitalisms among its members. In this situation the communist parties and their relationship with the Soviet Union no longer impedes the development of a left in the social democratic parties by giving all manner of justifications to the right to conciliate with capitalism, but on the contrary facilitates the development of that left on the L.P.

## CORRECTION

Last sentence p.4 Red Flag (289), second paragraph in article on the Southall assassination should read "A top layer of capitalism encourages the fascists to try to halt the defeatism and lack of authority of the rest of the bourgeoisie."

## Editorial

continued from page 1

facing these problems. On the contrary, their economies are expanding, they are giving and extending their resources and help to many different countries of backward economic origin, helping to eradicate all the centuries old problems of poverty, famine, epidemics, illiteracy and drought. The workers states are not staring an "energy crisis" in the face and are using nuclear fuel with great success and much more safely than capitalism. At the present time, Europe is divided between two social systems. But the way to unify the two, is for the workers movement which proposes to apply a programme of social transformations, to ally itself to the workers states against capitalism. Europe will never be unified whilst capitalism exists. The disputes through the competition over all the different commodities produced in the individual countries in the EEC prevents this.

## THE POSITION OF THE TORY GOVERNMENT IS NOT ONE OF STRENGTH

The recent campaign of violence conducted in the general election campaign in Italy has been an excuse for the government to take measures of repression against the left by strengthening the state apparatus. Terrorism (carried out by imperialism) responded to by extending powers of the police and army and curtailing democratic rights. The same is true in Spain. The Tories are committing themselves to strengthening NATO. They are using the "boat people" leaving Vietnam, all bourgeois reactionary agents of the previous assassin regime, as a justification to politically attack Vietnam, a workers state, and thus to try and justify war preparations against the workers states. It is possible that it may recognise the new government in Rhodesia but the latter is already in an awful mess. It is a mess which will extend to the Tory government, because all the policies they have carried out are going to isolate them from sectors who may have voted for them, but who will not support these policies. The government cannot reincorporate the mass of the petit-bourgeoisie into believing in capitalism, they cannot extend the wealth so that this strata of the population can live well. Although the government wants to appear strong, in fact it is very weak, because there is no perspective for this type of policy. The more reactionary the policy, the greater the reaction to it will be and the less possible any reforms or basis of conciliation. There is a firmness in the masses which is very profound. Time and time again, the workers have shown in their strikes an unwillingness to conciliate, and have had numerous unofficial strikes.

Everything depends on the organisation of a new leadership in the Labour Party. Governments come and go, but whether Labour or Tory, if they continue to apply a capitalist programme, there is no basic difference between them. The Labour and trade unions left must consider that the only solution to the stagnation and decline of Britain, lies in organising an alternative left on an anti-capitalist programme a popular programme of demands for the benefit of the population.

3/6/79

## The education system has to be transformed.

Capitalism has no more to offer sectors like the teachers, and this is well illustrated in the way it confronts the teachers, the technicians, the scientists etc. Through their struggle for pay, against unemployment, 'work to rule' — as with the supervision of meals — the teachers are acting like the workers and united with the workers in defeating the right wing leadership of the trade unions and Labour government which wanted to limit salaries to 5%. This activity has to be consciously extended, seeking to impel a political leadership in the Labour Party and trade unions prepared for social transformations.

In conditions when there is no consistent anti-capitalist leadership from the Labour Party and trade unions, the full experiences made by humanity in teaching particularly in Workers States like China, Cuba Mozambique, reach the teacher only very distantly. Individual teachers know about it but cannot do anything. It is necessary to propose in each school, place of teaching, university, college etc., a teachers/pupils/parents/ancillary workers committee to discuss and to impose their programme in the school. This is being done all over Italy and not just in the schools and it shows that we need not wait until socialism to do this.

The resistance of the pupil to read, write, concentrate, is because the child or adolescent feels that all this is at the service of a society which cares for no more than profits. This impedes the intelligence of the child; it is the main factor of the resistance of the child, indiscipline and hooliganism. The teacher is

then expected to be the gendarme of the classroom and neither child nor teacher can learn and communicate. These are the problems of capitalist society.

In Cuba, illiteracy was eliminated in 2 years. In China, starting from the cultural revolution, children went to the countryside to teach the old to read. In Mozambique, Ethiopia and Angola, the children go to the countryside too, to teach the population. This can only be done when the population wants to learn. It shows that teaching is not simply a method, a technique, but is mainly a social relation and depends deeply on the sort of society one lives in. Progress in this stage of history is made through social relations which organise the collective interest and creativity of people, who in turn, find the necessary technical means in order to learn. This must be discussed in all the schools, colleges and universities.

We propose that this be discussed by the teachers in the schools, seeking the organism for discussion and struggle which is the teachers/parents/pupils/ancillary workers committee. There, one has to discuss how to resist the school closures and the programme of the conservatives, unemployment and sacking of teachers, loss of investments, and one must fight there for 20 pupils to one teacher, liberty to elaborate the necessary syllabus to include marxist and materialist conceptions, elimination of mystical and racist books and compulsory religious practices, full expropriation of public schools, unification of the teachers and students unions and a struggle jointly to impel a left in the Labour Party for social transformations.

## Editorial

# Combine the movement against the Tory government with the advance of the anti-capitalist struggle

The experience of the last weeks have demonstrated, above all else, that there is a large gap between what capitalism would like to do, what it needs to do, and what it is able to do in the present conditions. The measures that the Thatcher government have taken show a crude and brutal class interest. They are policies designed to defend the narrow interests of the capitalist class at the expense of the standard of life of the majority of the population. In May alone, prices at "the factory gate" increased by 1¼% and this means an annual inflation rate of 15% without taking into account the increase in VAT, the massive increase in oil prices, the increase in health services charges, fares on public transport and rents. In a few weeks most of the wage increases gained by the working class have been annulled; to say nothing of many other sectors of the working population. This policy of the Tories goes together with an attempt to make it appear as if capitalism, nationally and on a world scale, has some kind of strength or unity. This is why all the talk of "a turn to the right" in Europe and why so much attention is given to the Thatcher government by the bourgeois press. The reality of the situation is something very different; the electoral "victories" of the capitalist parties in the European elections, or in national elections are no kind of gain for capitalism and nowhere has the anti-capitalist struggle of the mass of the population diminished.

The "oil crisis" has very little to do with oil and a great deal to do with the world balance of social forces. The basis of this problem is inter-capitalist competition and the fact that there has been a revolution in Iran which has resulted in the oil industry — together with banks and insurance companies — being taken out of the hands of world capitalism, out of the hands of the "multi-nationals". The Tokyo conference of the major imperialist powers was an attempt to ease world inter-capitalist competition, at least in respect to oil supplies, and to try to draw the forces of world capitalism together in order to confront the Workers States and the advance of the anti-capitalist struggle. In reality this conference did nothing to ease the inter-capitalist struggle over oil — and nearly everything else — and the divisions which there are within the world capitalist system continue to widen.

The Tokyo conference has to be measured against the result of the Vienna meeting between the representatives of yankee imperialism and those of the Soviet Union and the continued crisis over the proposed SALT agreement. Whilst the Soviet Union shows a firm, confident and consistent attitude, there is a division between Yankee imperialism and European capitalism because the latter feels — quite correctly — that this agreement is not in their interest; and there is a division within yankee imperialism itself. It is by no means certain that Carter will get the SALT agreement ratified by the government — Senate and Congress — of the United States.

### THE STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN ADVANCES AS PART OF A FAVOURABLE WORLD BALANCE OF SOCIAL FORCES

The Soviet Union, on the other hand, has said that either this agreement is ratified or there will be no agreement at all. It is an attitude, on the part of the Soviet leadership which expresses the nature of the Workers State itself and the actual world balance of social forces, which is against the system of private property and in favour of the advance of humanity to Socialism. And, whilst the Soviet Union confronts yankee imperialism in this form, it continues — together with the majority of the Workers States — to increase its direct support to the world anti-capitalist and anti-imperialist struggle.

Cuba intervenes in Costa Rica to support the struggle in Nicaragua and yankee imperialism cannot openly support the assassin Somóza clique which is the direct agent of yankee imperialism. And, on top of this, a majority of countries in Latin America, as Brasil oppose Somóza and any attempt by yankee imperialism to find some sort of replacement for him. On a world scale imperialism takes what opportunity it can to attack, as, for example, the Israeli air attack in Lebanon against the Syrian and Palestian forces but, even then, Carter and the US government have to try to disassociate themselves from it.

The development of a policy in the Labour movement — and among wider stratas of the population — to confront the Thatcher government takes place in this world context. Already the discussion

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J. Posadas.

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# THE ELECTIONS IN ITALY, THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM AND THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS 4—6—79

J. POSADAS

*The result of the elections shows a certain instability, but towards the left not towards the right. The stability of Christian democracy is a defeat because they should have collected the votes of the rest of the right, and they did not get them. But for the Communists, with the change of policy which advances towards confrontation, although the loss of 4% is considerable, it is not catastrophic. This is because there is a loss of sectors which are against the previous policy of the Communist Party and not because the PCI renounces the objectives of social transformation.*

*The losses of the PCI, a part of the right and another sector goes to the left, in part to the radicals, in any case comes from unstable sectors; and as the result of an unstable policy and the collaboration of the Communists with the Christian Democracy. It is a condemnation of the previous policy of the Communist Party, and these sectors have not had any confidence in the changes which the Communist Party announces. But, as the change is maintained and is going to be maintained, these forces are going to be brought together in the workers' movement, in the trade union struggle and in the next elections.*

*The election was not a flight from Communism. It is not a retreat of the electorate which had voted Communist against the progress of the Communist Party but a vote of protest, because it had no other way of doing so. The votes to the radicals — which come from a petit bourgeois sector (it is not very important that the radicals increase by 2.5%, but it has some importance) — indicates that there are sectors which are going more to the left and that want to confront the Christian Democracy.*

*This electoral result is not a reinforcement of the right nor an increase in its power. The fact that the Christian Democracy has diminished — very little, but it has diminished — indicates that it has already reached the maximum that it would do for the objective of its policy. The policy of the Communists which confronted Christian Democracy (slowly and only on the electoral plane) showed that it had a certain effect and is going to show itself more in the workers' movement, in the trade union struggles and in the coming struggles in the country.*

*The elections do not reflect the combative will of the population, particularly the youngest sectors who decided partly in the election and who have not seen, have not had the conditions and the opportunity to be able to link up with the world class struggle, but have been cut off from collaboration with the Christian Democracy to an opposition to the Communist Party. This is to say, these young sectors of the youth do not have the capacity to change and to orientate and to believe in the changes which the Communist Party is making. These are transitory hesitations which are afterwards going to be expressed in the trade union and university struggles in the need for a programme. Thus they are going to be co-ordinated in that the objective is to conquer the Christian Democracy. In principle this has already begun, because the elections are a*

*defeat of the Christian Democracy. It is not a defeat of the left but of the Christian Democracy. It is, at the same time, a condemnation of the previous policy of the Communist Party. But the fact that the PCI maintains the bulk of the proletariat also shows that it is going to win these sectors which today do not vote Communist. On the other hand, the left formed in the new left, the PDIUP, and in part among the radicals, is going to seek a way to a much more pronounced struggle. The radicals will not be able to keep the public which they have, which goes from the fascists to the left, although the majority is of the left, it is without programme or policy, and without objectives.*

*At the same time, the elections do not represent the combative will of the population, because a quantity of parasitic sectors intervene in the elections who have no weight in the economy.*

*The vote to Pannella is not just a circumstantial vote but a vote of protest against the capitalist system. It is empirical, without order, without programme and without a precise objective. It is a vote of protest, a vote which corresponds to the left. It corresponds neither to the right nor to supporting the capitalist system. The later evolution will be different, but this is the sense and it has to be taken in this way.*

### THE ABSTENTIONS

*The immense majority of the abstentions comes from the young, which shows that they did not wish to vote for the Communist Party, because they have not felt attracted by the Communist Party nor by the*

*leadership of the FGC (Communist youth). The youth want to participate in struggle, but also with ideas — to give ideas, to participate so that their ideas may be accepted. They do not*

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# THE ELECTIONS IN ITALY . . . .

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want just to be transporters, stickers of posters, guardians of locales. They also want their ideas to circulate and develop. They are influenced by the ideas of social transformation and of anti-capitalist struggle. This is the greatest experience which has to be understood. The immense majority of the abstentions are from the youth, and there is a quality also in the abstention. A previous number of abstainers have now all voted. On the other hand, the abstention of the young increases and of those who voted for the Communist Party — which is a very good symptom that they have not wanted to vote for other movements nor the right, nor have they gone to the bourgeois parties. They have abstained or voted for the left movement.

It is necessary to consider in depth the quality of the abstention. It is not only the increase in itself by 3.5% which is important, but the quality. The whole sector of the abstention has been renovated in quality. An immense number of abstentions, which previously were of bourgeois origin, have now voted. The abstention has increased this not just by 3.5% but by more than this, which means votes that before had gone to the workers' parties, particularly to the ICP. But the fact that they did not vote for others means that they maintain the expectation of voting for the Communist Party and to impel it to go to an anti-capitalist policy.

Capitalism continues with the same problems as before the elections, exactly the same. There is no difference. The elections have changed in no way the social composition of the country. These continue exactly the same. Capitalism is incapable of resolving them, and all the 'coups', all the preparations, all the assassinations which they make, whatever might be the movements or in the name of whom they act, indicates that capitalism has no capacity or strength to solve them. The same problems continue and also the tendency of the centre towards the left. It is not the centre only but the centre towards the left. The inclination was to the left because the votes to the Republicans, the votes to the radicals, are not to the right but votes to the left. Bringing them all together the radicals, the Social Democracy, Republicans and Liberals the increases which they have do not equal the quantity of the abstention. The increase of the radicals is great in relation to the quantity of votes which they had previously, which was very small; but taking the total quantity of the electorate, the weight in the population is very small. They are sectors of the petit bourgeois students, intellectuals, non-conforming with the policy of the Communist Party; They have lost confidence in the policy of the left which the

Communist Party tries to make. They have supported the radicals in search of a movement which has neither order nor programme nor objectives of social transformations in capitalist society, and which has not expressed the objectives of social transformations, the consequence in social transformations, but which are to the left and seek the left. At the same time, the young people are condemning the Communist Party over the problems of housing, the problem of lack of resolution to intervene in expropriating the houses and giving them to people. This is totally legitimate and correct. People see that the Communist Party lacks resolution to intervene in such problems. The problems of work and employment, food and transport continue. Capitalism cannot provide any solution. Before they gave no solutions, and

they are not going to do it now.

The left has increased because the votes to the Social Democrats and to the Republicans advances towards the left, not to the right. But the MSI (fascists) lost votes. The wing which went from the fascists, the National Democracy, has disappeared. The Christian Democracy stagnates and loses a sector. The loss and stagnation of the Christian Democracy is due to the fact that it has gone as far as it can go and one has to expect a process of internal disintegration. The Christian Democratic left is going to see the need for a more elevated policy under the influence of social struggles. It is false to say that there is a tendency of votes towards the centre which would indicate a stability for capitalism or better conditions. On the contrary, it is worse for capitalism.

## FOR A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

One has to aim at the Christian Democratic left more openly with a programme of transformations, of progress, of the elevation of public administration. It is necessary to accentuate the Socialist, Communist United Front with the left and the trade unions. Every policy of the centre which claims to create or make believe that they can resolve problems without touching the capitalist system, is mistaken. It is going to show the same error, and the crisis is going to be posed again — the problems of dependency on the capitalist system, of dependence on NATO and on the Yanks. Such a line impedes the parties, such as the PLI or the PSDI, from finding any solution to these problems. Their increase has been very slight. Only the radicals have increased more than all of them together. This shows that the increase of radical votes comes from the left. How argue that there is an increase to the centre? it's false. There is an increase of the left. Although it was not directly to the Communist Party, it was an increase of the electorate which wants to go to the left. The Communist Party must understand it in this way, and also the Socialists.

It is necessary to make the Socialist/Communist United Front of the left and the trade unions, with a programme of social progress, of demands — among them to improve the conditions of work of the workers without reduction in the hours of work, better wages; to resolve the housing problem in a United Front with all the trade unions and the workers' centres — and resolving the housing problems by expropriation. If that affects the big capitalists, let it affect them; but then, it is going to improve the conditions of the life of the population, and this is going to support the Communists, the Socialists and

the left movements, and then the youth are going to feel attracted. It is necessary to make a programme of occupations, of expropriation of the key industries, and to make them function for the Workers State under workers' control and planning.

Capitalism increases the crisis, and the crisis for them is unceasing, because they have to renovate, extend and amplify the automation of production, a thing which requires fewer workers and, as a consequence, less possibility of consumption and an even greater deterioration of life, with pollution of the air, homes, environment, all the conditions of life and, above all, conditions of life in work which overwhelm the worker. Thus one of the essential conditions which has to be placed in the programme is the protection of the life of the population and the conditions of work, so that the workers are not poisoned. If capitalism cannot do it, Socialism can and must do it — reduction of the hours of work, more rest, better conditions of work, increase of workers' control in planning, in the leadership, in the functioning of the factory, and over conditions and health in the factory. It is necessary to make transport for the masses, railways, buses, metros, and all the necessary elements for the better functioning of the hospitals and the installation of hospitals plus adequate domestic services — electricity, roads and drains. All this is the programme which has to be made, and it is necessary to propose that this is carried out. Have no illusion. This is going to clash with the present allies of the Communist and Socialist parties. There will be conflict and they will go, but the workers are going to support, all the population will come which is now seeking to vote for the left sectors, for

the groups, and which is going to impel the groups and also the workers' parties.

The votes of the Christian Democracy fell a little, but the fall in votes is significant. It shows the Christian Democracy has already reached the maximum and now begins to decompose. One has to win the left of the Christian Democracy now. Abstention, blank votes, and spoiled votes were considerable. Three million votes went to the left, and this is going to have an enormous effect on the left of the Christian Democracy.

Through the criticism of the Communist Party, an electoral criticism, there is an impulse to the idea that it is necessary to cleanse the whole country. The economy cannot be organised only in the administrative leadership, but on the basis of property.

It is necessary to organise a Communist-Socialist front with all the left and the trade unions on a programme of social transformations which is going to influence the left of the Christian Democracy which is going to see that, to change the country, one has to change it economically and socially. It is not a question of global or total proposals, but a question of making proposals — measures with the participation of the trade unions, of the factory committees, popular committees, of the workers' area, of the school. This is going to influence the left of the Christian Democracy because, in giving opportunity for the intervention of the factory and workers' area committees, it provides the opportunity so that the proletariat can influence the Christian Democracy. It is not only that there should be a functioning committee, but what proposals

## THE LEFT OF THE CHRISTIAN DEMOCRACY IS GOING TO ADVANCE

The bourgeoisie, the social democratic sectors and some Socialists linked to the bourgeoisie have an interest in showing that this election has been a defeat of the Communists of Italy, a defeat for the programme of 'submission to Moscow and internationalism'. It's not like this. As a whole, the bourgeoisie did not have more than 50% of the electorate. The Communists lost more to the left and in part to the right; but they lost temporarily. They maintained power integrally in the proletariat, and the latter is going to win people. Hence it is necessary that the proletariat participates and weighs more within the Communist Party, but not just as single workers but as a proletariat of the anti-capitalist struggle. Any other way has no value. The proletariat has to weigh and live in the Party to be able to communicate and to influence the other social layers as representative of the anti-capitalist struggle.

There is a re-adjustment within the Communist Party and the electorate, because it is a change, and a good and progressive change which the Communist Party has made. Pannella, to win votes, collec-

of transformations, of measures, of economic progress? As part of this it is necessary to expropriate the houses which are uninhabited and in which people need to live. These elections do not show a strengthening of the bourgeoisie and of capitalism but a stage of delay through the electoral instrument of capitalism. This is expressed in the maintaining of the votes to the fascists (with a slight reduction) which do not regard the Christian Democracy as an instrument to be able to solve the problems of capitalism. Hence they stayed outside and did not resort to saving the Christian Democracy. Hence it is necessary to await the reaction — which is going to come — from the left of the Christian Democracy. The Christian Democracy did not increase votes after negating the left Christian Democrats. Thus they hoped to increase their votes from the right and it did not happen. This is going to re-animate the struggle in the Christian Democracy and the opportunity of the Communists to lead the Christian Democratic left, through the trade union movement, with a programme of social transformations, of trade union demands, improvements in conditions of work and wages.

On a world scale it's the opposite of the view of the commentators who say that there is a retreat of the Socialists and the Communists, and a progress of the right. It's a lie. There is no progress of the right nor any retreat of the Communists and Socialists. In Spain the latter are increasing, and also in Portugal, France and Germany. In Britain, there has been no retreat of the proletariat but of the Labour leadership, and the evidence for this is the crisis that they are in now.

ted the ex-members of the Communists and Socialists and had to present a programme of criticism in general of the capitalist system. This is because the problems which they pose, like starving children, nuclear energy and military costs etc., are criticisms of the capitalist system; that is to say, they were not votes in the void, but votes to the left. The fascists did not increase, nor the National Democracy. The social democracy increased a little and the Republicans also increased with a programme of the entrance of the Communists into government, and criticism of the Christian Democracy. It is necessary to appeal to the trade unions for a greater intervention in the struggles, appealing for a Socialist, Communist, United Front and all the left tendencies, with a social economic programme, of some nationalisations, workers' control and construction of houses, roads, increases of wages, better conditions of work, hygiene, and cleaning up the places of work.

These elections are not a support to the capitalist system which has, as a centre, the Christian Democracy. All the sectors which increase are the

# FOR THE LABOUR PARTY TO GIVE FULL SUPPORT TO THE INTERVENTIONS OF THE TRADE UNIONS

ones that are linked with the name Socialist, or an inclination of a policy more to the left. The increase for the Liberals is not because liberalism is being reborn. They are sectors which before voted Communist, now liberal because they showed that they were more open to a policy of the centre. In any case, they are not very significant votes because the percentage is very small, approximately twenty thousand votes. They are small displacements within the camp of capitalism. But the Communist Party has an importance because millions have maintained the vote to the Communist Party. The most notable of all is that the proletariat remains in the Communist Party.

The abstention are votes from those who abandoned the left, showing an attitude of doubt but not of disappointment. That is to say, they can be won immediately in the course of the struggle. The 3.5% abstention more than in 1976 - the 2.5% which the radicals won, the increase of the social democrats are, in great part, votes to the left.

The Christian Democracy hoped to win the MSI, but they remained where they were because they do not see in the Christian Democracy security for capitalism. Hence there is the failure of capitalism and the transitory partial retreat of the Communist Party. The bourgeoisie made a whole campaign against the ICP because it maintains the alliance with the Soviets, with the Workers States. It made a whole campaign to make the masses and the working class break with the Communist Party, but the masses maintained more than thirty per cent of the votes, which means to say the support of the working class and of the petit bourgeoisie. It is a support also not to break with the USSR, with Marx, with Engels, and with Lenin. At the same time, it is a criticism of insecurity of the Communist Party, its changes and its collaboration with the Christian Democracy, and that there has not been an explanation of the changes, but simply a change. They say

that they committed errors, but what errors? Why? They should speak about the basis of the errors so that the class understands and, besides, they should make the workers participate more in the leadership of the Party.

All the problems which were posed before the elections continue: low wages, bad conditions of life, criminal conditions in places of work, student rebellion and high mortality in the workers' areas, whether in Naples, in Venezia, Friulu or Seveso. Unemployment continues with the concentration of capital and, as a consequence, future unemployment. The same problems continue, and to resolve them the Communists, the Socialists, the left, the super- or ultra-left have to confront the Christian Democracy with the programme of the left and of social transformations. The same problems continue as before, and the Communist masses, above all the Communist vanguard and workers' vanguard, is going to have an opportunity to weigh on their Party, to influence it and to go more to the left. In the international field it's the same. There is a process of advance in the struggle against capitalism; in Latin America, in Salvador and Nicaragua, Iran or in Europe itself, where there is a progress of the Socialists and Communists and of the mass struggle to impede unemployment, dismissals and the greater concentration of capital which causes this. All this cannot be resolved either by the Christian Democracy or any ally of the bourgeoisie. They do not have the strength to do it. They have the apparatus of the state because they are a relative majority, but the retreat of the Communists does not weaken the working class because, in the trade union field, it is not weakened and soon it is going to decide.

The elections do not represent the combative will of the population because a quantity of parasitic sectors intervene which have no weight in the economy.

J. POSADAS 4.6.1979

The Conservative government is making a whole number of policies that directly reduce the standard of life of the population. In response to this there is a crisis in the trade union leaderships over what action the trade unions should take in relation to the government. This has appeared in the conflict between McGahey and Gormley. It is a discussion where a sector of the trade union leadership proposes that the trade unions should intervene against the government. Another sector of the leadership opposes this. This is because they are totally submitted to defending the interests of capitalism and are against any action which could confront the structure of the system. Because capitalism is unable to solve any of the problems of economy, disputes develop among the trade union leaderships and certain differences between them. It means that certain issues arise which previously, when the system was stronger, were contained.

Callaghan, in his support of Gormley, has tried to justify the non intervention of the trade unions against the government on the grounds of the "defence of democracy". The traditional social democratic idea is that there is a separation of the functions of the trade unions and the political party. The trade union concerns itself with wages and the political party with politics. How is it democracy when the discussions are confined to a small number in parliament? This does not allow the development of the ability of the population. If the discussion is just at the level of the leaders of the party, it does not allow the education of the cadres of the party. Democracy in the party involves a full discussion of all the issues that are of concern to the masses. Having discussions on what programme it is necessary to have to deal with the problems of unemploy-

ment, inflation and the pollution of the environment, so that the party relates to these issues and that it proposes a political programme in response to them. The party also has to concern itself with all the political events in the world. Democracy in the party involves the right of the militants in the party to give their opinion on the conflict between China and Vietnam, on the situation in Iran, for the party to take up positions on these issues and for the militants to have the experience of considering all these issues. When the struggle of the Sandinistas begins, for an immediate discussion in the party, for the party to take a position against Somoza and for full support to revolutionary developments in Nicaragua.

The trade unions do play a different function from the party in that they are involved in the day to day defence of wages. However their aim has to be the same as the party. The trade union, as well as the party has to propose an anti-capitalist programme. As the Labour party does not intervene with a programme the trade unions tend to act substituting for the lack of the party. The trade unions have a more direct link with the workers and therefore the working class uses the trade unions as a centre of opposition to the government. The Labour party should give full support to the actions of the trade unions against the government. There is a concern of the workers against all the deterioration in the conditions of life. A.S.T.M.S. makes a campaign against the poisoning of the workers by the introduction of more and more poisonous chemicals in the process of production. Thousands are killed, the health of millions is affected by this poisoning. The opposition to this has arisen in the trade unions and also politically through the ecologists. They gained

votes in the elections because they raised just demands, by opposing the pollution. The development of the ecologist party is because the Labour party has not responded to this issue. We propose a united front of the Labour party and the trade unions on this issue. The same applies over the opposition against the government. Democracy means the need for a public campaign in the workers movement on a programme against the reduction in the standard of life.

Callaghan proposes the non intervention of the trade unions against the government. He proposes that in the name of "democracy" that everything should be left to parliament. The leadership of the Labour party is able to prevent the Labour party intervening in support of the trade unions, not because it has political capacity. The reason is that certain historical conditions enabled it to maintain itself acting in this way. Apart from the first years after 1917 in the Soviet Union there has been no example of how democracy should function. In those years through the organisation of the soviet functioning there was a mass involvement of the population. The masses discussed and there was a real intervention of the population. With Stalinism the experience of the soviet functioning did not continue. Stalin bureaucratized and later disbanded the Communist International. The Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky was an organisation which educated the masses of the world about the experiences of the Soviet masses and it played a fundamental role in educating the communist militants. The decline in the functioning of the soviets and the Communist International has affected the whole of the World Communist Movement.

The Labour leaders have used the development of Stalinism to say 'look there is no democracy' and to claim that British capitalism is superior to that. Today Stalinism no longer exists in the Soviet Union. There is constant progress. It supports the movement of progress in the world, as in Africa. British capitalism stagnates and has a government taking away democratic and economic gains that the workers movement has achieved. Where is the democracy there? It is necessary to unite the Labour party and trade unions in defence of all the democratic rights that the masses have won and also to unite on a programme of anti-capitalist demands.

Wilson and Callaghan governments. Today what is in discussion is not simply to get rid of the Tory government but what programme of demands is necessary in the struggle and what is going to replace the Tory government.

## CONDITIONS EXIST FOR THE ORGANISATION OF A LABOUR/TRADE UNION UNITED FRONT

The proposals and demands of the Trade Unions for all wages to rise with the cost of living, for the 35 hour week to ease unemployment and raise the conditions of work, the proposal by ASTMS that the unemployed should receive full wages form part of a programme for social transformations but they remain confined within a structure of thinking, and an organisation structure which treats the working class as a force to be channelled into putting another Labour government into office and making some reforms in the Labour Party. The struggle over the "reselection" of MP's and the campaign for the

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## Editorial

continued from page 1

which there is in the trade unions and, in part, in the Labour party, begins to combine the idea of a direct struggle to overthrow the Tory government with the necessity of dealing with problems which the continued existence of capitalism poses for the mass of the population. In the trade unions this is taking a more programmatic form with, for example, ASTMS raising the question of the use of technological and scientific advances being put at the service of the population, with the Bakery workers posing the necessity for some form of nationalisation and workers control to ensure decent, health bread, and with the AUEW proposing that wages rise with the cost of living. At the same time, both in the Labour Party and trade unions, there is a discussion on a series of points, such as the question of the disbanding of the Special Patrol Group, the abolition of the House of Lords, and on trade unions in the army; it's a discussion which begins to approach the central question of the nature of the capitalist state and the actual importance of parliament. This discussion has been expressed in the most pointed way, so far, in the argument between leaders of the NUM, and in the Labour movement generally, over what democracy is and whether to wait for the next election to get rid of the Tory government, or to use extra-parliamentary means.

That the Tories can be overthrown by extra-parliamentary actions, by the mobilisations and strikes of the working class is not in question; it was done with the overthrow of the Heath government in the 1970's. But the immediate result of that was the

# THE VISIT OF THE POPE TO POLAND CANNOT CONTAIN THE ADVANCE OF THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF THE WORKERS STATES, EXTERNALLY OR INTERNALLY

The total crisis of the capitalist system affects all the institutions with whom it is allied and associated. This clearly applies to the papacy which particularly since the end of the second world war has tried to adapt itself to a new world situation in which capitalism and private property is confronted with a growing alternative world system of workers states and enters into a complete crisis, social, cultural, economic and political. The papacy from the point of view of its apparatus is simply an extension of capitalism. Its finances are integral with the capitalist system. On the other hand its function depends on the allegiance of millions to religious beliefs and during this whole period of transition between socialism and capitalism, these religious beliefs are subjected to the increasing influence of the

world of social relations developing with the workers states and the inevitable concomitant growth of scientific attitudes to the world. Hence as has been clearly observable, the papacy has tried to adapt itself to a new world situation by appearing to put on a "human" face, that is to be less "divine" and more "approachable". But its nature, the reactionary character of its beliefs prevents any real transformation of the papacy. It was prepared to sustain fascism and now it seeks to survive in the world going towards communism. Its tactics are different but it seeks at all costs to survive. This is not to say that whole sectors of the church are not in fact really in sympathy with social change — most clearly seen in Latin America where sectors of the church play a revolutionary role.

with a system of workers state which is advancing and the church is on the defensive. The changes in the workers states however uneven, go in the direction of social, cultural and economic progress, all of which tends to limit the powers of the sky, and elevate the powers of materialist human concerns, concerns of this earth.

## THE CONFRONTATION OF SYSTEM VERSUS SYSTEM DESTROYS ALL "OTHER WORLDFULNESS"

The efforts of capitalism to intervene in the workers states are limited by the growing concentrated competition of the two systems in which the workers states in alliance with revolutionary states and the world masses is gaining ground. The pope intervenes in the middle of this world confrontation to use his influence to conciliate with the workers states, so as to maintain the authority of the "other world". Capitalism has tried to use the visit and the crowds to say, "ah, communism cannot abolish the need for religion, the pride in country" etc. It tries to use the clear limitations of the Polish leadership to say that the visit proves that communism has inevitable flaws.

But the reality is otherwise. Poland has seen a series of uprisings against the bureaucracy over the past twenty years but none have weakened the Polish

workers state. All has led to greater and greater advance and throughout the whole of this period the weight of religion has declined. Did the workers of Stettin and Dantzig have anything to say to the pope. Nothing. The catholic church is basically in exile in Poland and hence the papacy has to conciliate on the basis, "you have the workers state", and "we have the spiritual realm" — nothing more.

The election of a Polish pope was a conscious effort of the papacy to relate to the workers states and the visit is a logical culmination of this. The visit was not the triumphant return of the power of the church, on the contrary, it shows the phasing out of the power of religion in the workers state, part of the end of a whole stage of civilisation in which finally "the spiritual power" has neither spirit nor power.

## THE POPE HAD TO COMPETE WITH THE REALITY OF THE WORKERS STATE

The pope's visit to Poland shows the fundamental inability of the papacy to contain the social changes brought about by the workers state. Much was made in the capitalist press of the crowds who saw the pope, but they were only a small minority of the population linked to private property and this was not the result of the structure of the workers state but of the incapacity and timidity of the bureaucracy, which has failed to develop a profound political life among peasant sectors of the population, linked to the fact that it has allowed private property in land to continue. The pope based himself on these sectors not on the heartland of the Polish proletariat, but on sectors linked directly with private property.

The Pope made no praise of the achievements of the workers states, the expropriation of capitalism, the rising productivity of industry, the steady advance of the Polish masses, albeit only an infinitesimal amount compared with a Polish workers state free of the bureaucracy, even so he conciliated with it and had to proceed in a very unmythical way. The pope, with previous training as an actor, was obliged to pull all the stops of the acting repertoire, from tears to laughter, to maintain a relation with the flock. The pope was obliged to compete with the realities of the workers state. Religion certainly exists as a state of sentiment of sectors in Poland, but the pope was not able to play the remote part of the representative of a spiritual world, superior to this world which could compete with this world in the minds of its audience. He based himself on limitations from the lack of functioning of the workers state, and even so he had to say "we are not imperialists".

Instead of the church universal, he was obliged to speak in terms of Polish "nationalism". He spoke of the need, in between leading the folk singing, for Polish workers to resist atheism, yet nowhere could he play the part of the church

militant. This in itself shows the power of the workers state even in a country with a peasantry still geared to private land.

This pope was chosen by the church as corporation, to defend itself from the workers state by appearing to be at least in semblance, at one with it. The days of excommunication, of divine wrath and anathemas no longer work. The Pope watches clowns and makes jokes and seeks to contain the influence of the workers states but in devious ways. The church has to compete

## THE POLISH WORKERS STATE AND RELIGION

J. Posadas

(Extract from the political report to the VI European Conference of the Posadist IV International) 30 — 12 — 78

The practice of religion in Poland is not the same as in another country, as, for example, Italy. People practise religion in Poland while supporting the Workers State. A very great number of the Catholics have been won by the Workers State and do not accept that the situation will change. Last year the Catholic paper published the following declaration: "We are Catholics, we believe in God, but we also believe in the Socialist state". There one sees the progress of the influence of the Workers State on religious practice.

The solidity of Poland lies in the working class and the population which has already discussed the legitimate power and superiority of the Workers State in relation to private property. The authority and development of the Workers State creates a new relation between private property and nationalised property, the Workers State and religion. There is a state of progress, of disequilibrium, which seeks a new equilibrium which breaks the strict submission to religion and to private property. But nationalised property itself needs ideas to progress so it is allowed to evolve freely, otherwise it remains dependent on religious thought.

Religious thought remains, but it has to adapt itself to nationalised and planned property which proceeds definitively to disorganise religion, whereas religion cannot disorganise nationalised property. There is an evolution in the relation of forces. This process has no leadership, but the Workers State determines the conduct, the behaviour and the structure of this process. Religion must go towards nationalised property and planning, which are against religious thought.

Gierek knows all that, but he does not apply it. It is not a risk that

parliamentary Labour Party to control a Labour government are expressions of this. But "reselection" is not the problem; the problem doesn't lie in parliament but in the existence of capitalism itself. The Labour left has to turn its attention towards the question of linking the trade union struggle and programme with that of the population, at the same time as it continues to seek the political and programmatic means to organise itself as an anti-capitalist tendency in the Labour Party.

The working class — and those other sectors in struggle at the moment — are not going to allow their actions to be used simply as a means to replace one government with another. This means that the discussion which there is in the Labour Party and Trade Unions cannot be left at the level of mechanically trying to repeat the experience of the overthrow of the Heath government. What is demanded now is a discussion which is wider than the confines of trade union conferences, or Labour party meetings. What is demanded is a discussion in the factories and workers areas — and the demand should be raised for time for meetings in working hours — in which everybody can intervene, speak and give ideas. The trade unions advance because they are the most immediate to the working class, and because they are capable of strikes and mobilisations. But the political leadership develops in the Labour Party and the discussion indicates that there is an anti-capitalist current.

There are, then, the conditions for the organisation of a Labour/Trade Union United Front.

The proposal to mobilise to overthrow the Thatcher government will find very little resistance among wide strata of the population now, so long as it is combined with a programme which deals with the immediate problems which the masses face, and so long as the population sees the working class in action. And this, in turn, has to go together with a perspective of the long term solution — and not so long at that — of the nationalisation, under workers control, of all major industry, the banks, and insurance companies; the end of the Monarchy and the creation of a Workers State in the form of the Democratic Socialist Republic. 1-7-79

the Catholics and the Church continue to exist in the Workers State. It is an incorrect policy of the bureaucracy, which could have won many more religious people in the world. In spite of that, the Workers State demonstrates that it is superior to capitalism. It showed this also over Stalin. Stalin killed all the revolutionaries he could, but he was the one who ended up by disappearing. How is it possible to believe that the power of religion in the Workers State is superior to that of a Stalin?

Religion does not have the social force which would allow it to maintain itself more than Stalin. For religion is a movement of thought and sentiments which changes to the extent that it enters into contact with reality, whilst Stalinism was an instrument which led a country, and bureaucratic power could not allow itself to be changed. It engendered a structure of thought, ideas and interests which corresponds to this power.

It is necessary to intervene to help the Polish Workers State to progress. The bureaucratic apparatus does not represent the Workers State, it deforms it. The Polish Workers State is represented by the workers of Stettin and Dantzig, and also by the leadership which had to accept Stettin and Dantzig without repression. Here they were not repressed, contrary to what happened in Hungary. It is necessary to realise that this was the third uprising which occurred in Poland, without harming the Workers State. In any capitalist country, uprisings harm the state, but in Poland it is not the case. The working class develops a political life even if it is not expressed officially, because it does not have the means.

J. POSADAS 30.12.78

## FULL SUPPORT TO VIETNAM!

### FOR THE LABOUR PARTY AND TRADE UNIONS TO OPPOSE THE CAMPAIGN IMPERIALISM IS MAKING AGAINST VIETNAM!

A constant campaign is being waged against Vietnam over the boat people. These people who are leaving Vietnam are all sectors who were involved in all the corruption of the old regime. They are supporters of the repression that took place before Vietnam was liberated. None of them fled the country under the dictatorship that the United States of America supported, this was when thousands of the population were imprisoned and tortured. They were sectors linked to this regime, involved with the corruption, drug trade and prostitution which was rampant in capitalist Vietnam. They never protested about the need for human rights then, for they lived well from the society. Now all this is gone they leave the country. Vietnam is making constant progress, the people are fed and housed and social problems like prostitution are being overcome. It is a society going forward and these 'boat people' are against this progress. Countries who spent years massacring the Vietnamese population now condemn Vietnam and talk of the danger of the loss of life of the boat people. The people who bombed Vietnam killing thousands now talk of the need to save the 'boat people'. They try and equate Vietnam with being like the Nazis. It's an attempt to claim that the workers states are the same as the nazis. Nazism was a reactionary movement which was against the progress of humanity. The workers states are the form of society that enables humanity to progress. All the progress in the world is led by the workers states, not by capitalism. Capitalism speaks of human rights but every day kills people in accidents at work, pollution, starvation and wars. Imperialism is making a whole campaign against communism, trying to equate it with fascism. The distribution of the film 'Holocaust' was an attempt to suggest that the nazis of this epoch are the Soviets. Since then the Yanks have produced the film 'The deer hunter' which is an attempt to justify yankee imperialism and portray the Vietnamese as animals.

These sectors that are fleeing Vietnam are rich sectors. They pay big sums of money to purchase places on the boats, it is not the population of Vietnam that is leaving. The masses in Vietnam remain in the country and support the development of the country. The campaign over the 'boat people' is organised by those forces that are against the revolutionary developments in Vietnam. This issue is being used against Vietnam. There is no discussion by the capitalist governments about the progress Vietnam has made. They do not discuss that in a few years it has overcome the problems of years of war. Nor do they talk about why the sectors leaving are not prepared to work to develop Vietnam. Vietnam, in an audacious way, is developing economically and socially, that is what it is necessary to discuss.

In Britain electorally the Conservative party won in the elections, but this has not enabled it to gain social authority. It has not been able to propose all it would like to do and the employers are not all united over whether to support all the government's measures. This was seen by the different statements by the Confederation of British Industry over the cuts in regional development grants. British capitalism relies on subsidies from the government. Large amounts are given it each year. Without this, much of British industry would collapse. Sectors of capitalism are also concerned that measures of the government are going to increase unemployment and provoke a greater intervention by the trade unions and the Labour party. The trade unions need to intervene politically. The trade unions need to propose demands like higher pay, shorter working week which are important demands. However it is necessary to see that as capitalism is in a very severe crisis, there is a constant reduction of the standard of life. The trade unions therefore need to respond to this by proposing an anti-capitalist programme. How can the trade unions stay out of politics when constantly political measures are taken against the trade unions? The government has given tax cuts but has been unable to incorporate more sectors of the petit bourgeoisie to support capitalism. It is not in a position to give them confidence in the ability of capitalism to increase the standard of life. Capitalism is unable to expand and unemployment and inflation increase constantly. The budget has resulted in massive price increases. The government is incapable of giving any perspective of development.

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## THE WORLD CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM AND THE FUNCTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

23-3-79

J. Posadas

As structure and system, capitalism created the conditions so that unemployment is part of its economic and wage structure. Today unemployment no longer has this significance. The principal countries of the capitalist system must subsidise it and thus maintain a process of inflation, of increase in the cost of living. The capitalist system pays them. It is not the masses alone who pay this. Earlier the capitalist used unemployment as a pressure to hinder the struggle of the masses for the increase of wages, to launch war, whereas today it must subsidise the unemployed.

Capitalism takes this step not because it answers to a human necessity, but from the fact of its weakness and because it does not feel the strength to confront this process. If the unemployed did not receive this subsidy, they would say to capitalism, 'We want to act as in the Soviet Union or in China, where there is no unemployment'. Capitalism defends itself from the antagonistic competition with the Workers State.

The subsidy to the army of unemployed alters the functioning of capitalism. Capitalism has done this because of competition and the antagonism which the Workers State represents. The latter shows in this way to humanity, to the masses of the capitalist countries, that there is no unemployment, that everybody works. Capitalism sees its inferiority in front of the Workers States and the population likewise, although

they cannot express it. Capitalism subsidises unemployment in order to show, in this way, that it is a regime capable of competing with the Workers States and that it is not inferior to them. Another reason for the subsidy given to the unemployed is that capitalism is also afraid of consequences without this in its own market.

If, for example, the number of unemployed increases, the market destined for consumption diminishes and to maintain it capitalism has to pay the unemployed. This goes against the nature of the capitalist system, because the army of unemployed is necessary in order to create a pressure on the population. The crisis of unemployment is a logical consequence of the capitalist system, from which it profits to impose its will on the population. On the other hand, it must now subsidise production and maintain unemployment for social reasons.

In Germany there are a million unemployed and two million foreign workers who work there. Why does not capitalism throw the latter out? This is because the Germans hardly do any more the work of the immigrants. Capitalism wishes, at the same time, to hinder an increase in trade union pressure which will be inevitable if they give more work to the Germans.

Capitalism pays the unemployed in order to defend itself from the competition of the Workers States. That goes against the structure of the capitalist system. Moreover, money to the unemployed increases the

debts of capitalism and increases inflation. Anyway, it's the population finally which pays for unemployment, but a part is paid by the capitalists — which increases the cost of production. As it is a question of a world problem, this is not an element of very great important competition between the capitalist countries. If it just affected one or another country it would be an important element. Capitalists would then feel it most of all, but as it is a question of a world problem, it is the whole world which has to pay.

The issue that is fundamental for the capitalist countries is not the competition between them, which is acute and which can be seen in the attitude vis-a-vis China, but the competition with the Workers States. The Workers States are antagonistic in relation to capitalism. The capitalists should already be unified to confront the Workers States in order to impede the progress of the revolution and the new processes, as in Angola and Ethiopia. However, they had to put up with it.

The capitalist system is antagonistic to the Workers States, but it does not have the strength to oppose them, so it prepares the war. But, as it cannot decide how, when or where — because it does not have the strength to destroy the Workers States and it feels that it is not simply a case of confronting them, but also of confronting the masses of the capitalist countries — it hesitates and doubts about launching the war.

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**viva the victory of the nicaraguan masses!**

# Advance the movement of support for the 'Patriotic Front' in the perspective of the end of the monarchy and the socialist republic in Britain

The visit to London of Muzorewa, and the whole question of the possibility of the government of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" being 'recognised' by the Tory government, has given the movement of support for the struggle of the masses of Southern Africa a fresh impetus. It is clear to all that nothing has changed in the nature of the regime in Rhodesia, when, under the Muzorewa government the war against the masses continues as before. The assassination of the masses both inside the country and in Zambia, Mozambique and Botswana continues. 95% of the country which is not controlled by the revolutionary forces is under marshall law and in March 1979 alone, 28 people were hanged for political offences in Salisbury prison. This government of "Zimbabwe-Rhodesia" is nothing but a vicious remnant of the colonial system of British imperialism and very shortly, it is going to suffer the fate of the Shah's regime in Iran and that of Somoza in Nicaragua.

The movement of support for the struggle of the African masses, for the end of what is left of the colonies of British imperialism is important, not least because it links the struggle in this country with the process of the world revolution. But it is a movement which tends to be confined within the arguments and disagreements of capitalism and imperialism. The question of 'recognising' or not a regime which is 'illegal' has nothing to do with the advance of the economy in Rhodesia, or the improvement of the life of the African masses. The differences between Carter and the American senate, or between Thatcher and Callaghan, or between British imperialism and the monarchy, and Muzorewa over the lifting of the trade sanctions and over recognition — which are real differences — are, however, over how to defend what is left of capitalism and how best to confront the Workers States and the advance of humanity towards socialism. These are problems for the system of private property but the problem of humanity is that in order to advance, humanity has to finish with what is left of capitalism and imperialism.

Full advantage must be taken, and should be taken, of all the obvious expressions of the total crisis of the capitalist system, so as to aid the struggle of the masses in Southern Africa or anywhere else. But it has to be done with the clear understanding that we are not dealing with a question of this or that form of bourgeois government being more or less democratic. It is not a question of Muzorewa being tried for treason even though he is clearly a traitor to the interests of humanity, but a question of the transformation of society and the advance to socialism. The structure of British imperialism, the judiciary, the monarchy and the whole structure of the state are based on a common interest in defending the interests of private property, and this structure cannot be the instrument to defeat imperialism. Even if the attempt at having Muzorewa tried was intended as a form of propaganda in support of the masses of Africa, it creates a confusion or rather feeds a confusion which already exists (that this structure of imperialism can be reformed).

It is true that the 'cease-fire' announced by Nkomo for the visit of the queen to the 'commonwealth' conference in Lusaka does not help to clarify the situation for the Labour left, for the workers

movement. But the Patriotic Front of Mugabe and Nkomo which is not simply a movement for national liberation, has a programme for the nationalisation of the land and industry. They have a clear understanding that such a programme cannot be gained by "talks", elections or agreements with imperialism. The limitations which there are in the Patriotic Front stem from the limitations which still exist in the leadership of the Workers States, but in any kind of tactic which they may feel necessary in relation to the Lusaka conference, it is also essential to say that the monarchy is the representative of British imperialism and nothing more. There is a lack of clarity, a lack of political analysis and programme on the part of the leadership of the Workers States but it is not what determines. What determines in this movement is the growing unity of the movement of Mugabe and Nkomo, and their growing unity with the Soviet Union and the Workers States in the

perspective of ending capitalism and imperialism in Africa. They have a programme of nationalisations of workers control, and it is a programme for this country also.

What gives the confidence, strength and direct material support to the masses of Southern Africa is the Workers States because the Workers States are the means by which humanity elevates its life, the

## THE MONARCHY REPRESENTS THE INTERESTS OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM

It has also to be said quite clearly that the monarchy represents a system which exploits, represses, and is a block to the advance of humanity both here and in Africa. The reason why Thatcher hesitated about the participation of the queen in the 'commonwealth' conference is because she is opposed to this conference which she feels will not pass resolutions favourable to imperialism and the direct interests of the sectors of the bourgeoisie she represents, such as those of Carrington, and Rio Tinto Zinc. But it is not correct to say that Thatcher is the enemy and the monarch is not. The monarch represents the centralisation of all the different interests of imperialism, and therefore the Labour Party left, the trade unions and the Patriotic Front must name it as the enemy and declare themselves partisans of a Republic in this country, a Democratic Republic, based on the abandonment of all imperialist interests which can only be done with the expropriation of the main centres of private property, the banks and the insurance companies in Britain itself.

The Labour left, the Trade Unions can do little for the masses of Southern Africa, in the direct sense, because the organisational means and the party for this task does not yet exist. But on the basis of the movement which does exist in support of the struggle in Africa and on the basis of the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist struggle in Africa itself, it is possible to advance in programme and policy in the

economy and social relations. The resolutions of the Labour Party, or the money which is collected by members of the Labour Party and the trade unions are important but the best aid that can be given, and must be given to the masses of Southern Africa by the Labour left and the trade unions, in this country, must be to confront British imperialism at its centre: in this country.

common struggle of the British and African masses to end British imperialism.

And this process has to go forward on the basis of a clear analysis of the nature of British imperialism, the structure of the state which was constructed for the defence of private property and the exploitation of the masses of the world. The monarchy represents all this. In a sense,

the demands being made by the Labour Party for the abolition of the House of Lords approaches the question of the capitalist state. But as yet, it remains within the context of a reform of the bourgeois parliamentary system. Clearly, even in a formal bourgeois democratic context, the House of Lords and the Monarchy are not democratic. But it is not possible to transform society, impose a programme of nationalisations and workers control, to plan the economy for the benefit of the population by simply getting rid of one organism of the capitalist state. What it is necessary to do is to elevate the support for the Patriotic Front, together with the programme and policy for the anti-capitalist struggle in this country. That programme and policy is, unity with the Workers States, with the Soviet Union, against the monarchy and for the Socialist Republic in Britain.

## THE WORLD CRISIS OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM...

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*Inter-capitalist crisis and competition is enormous and develops in a visible and virulent fashion because of the existence of the Workers States. Every capitalist country feels the need to save itself, faced with the other capitalist countries. As the capitalist countries cannot make war between themselves, because they would thus favour the Workers States, they try to see that other capitalist countries pay for the consequences of the crisis. They create disunion and divergence between themselves, whereas they should be united through historic interest.*

*It is thus that the weakness of the capitalist system is expressed compared with the advance of the Workers State. This weakness is expressed equally in the attitude of the religious masses who seek social historic progress like the Soviet Union. It is expressed in the Catholic masses when, for example in Mexico, they whistled at the Pope at the moment when he said that in the dwellings of the poor there is also joy. The Catholic masses do not have the attitude of theological submission in expecting something to drop from the sky. They await, on the contrary, something from social revolutionary relations and the progress of society. They unite that to religious sentiments. They advance and bring Christ along, but behind them.*

## Nuclear Energy Must Be Used to Benefit the Population

Throughout Europe, there has been the development of a rebellion of the people against the dangers of the way that capitalism uses nuclear energy. Nuclear power stations have been besieged in many different countries in demonstrations, often very large in numbers. This important phenomenon expresses the upsurge of anti-capitalist feeling of the population. It brings to the fore important questions, about how nuclear energy should be used.

Why is it that nuclear energy appears to be so dangerous? For example, there are always accounts of leakages and dangerous radio-active waste and contamination (e.g. Three Mile Island) associated with its use. The essential answer is not that nuclear energy in itself is dangerous. It is the way that it is used which provides a constant threat to the people. The existence of the capitalist system itself is the cause of dangers from the use of nuclear energy.

Capitalism needs to develop the use of nuclear energy. As a source of energy, it is very efficient in releasing enormous amounts of power which can be used as a source of fuel for industry. Inter-capitalist competition is becoming more ferocious daily. Ways of cutting down on production costs and of increasing productivity are more and more sought after. Developing nuclear energy plants without nearly sufficient research and consideration for safety measures and techniques is one way of increasing competition. Less time and money spent on safety is a way to increase profits. This is what determines the attitude of the atomic energy industry in building and running energy plants. With nuclear energy being such a powerful source of energy it certainly can cause enormous damage. But it is only one form of pollution which goes on under capitalism. The chemical industry and poisoning of food is another. All these dangers are ignored because capitalism, as a system, is based on competition.

To harness the tremendous release of energy from the splitting of the atom is not wrong. The workers states use nuclear energy a great deal as a means to develop their industry. When the workers states use nuclear energy, the "accidents" which occur under capitalism are few. Through the fact of the economy being nationalised and production planned, much greater concern, money and research is spent on safety. In Czechoslovakia, half the cost of building an atomic energy plant goes on safety measures. Hence nuclear energy can be used without contamination and accidents, when a nationalised planned economy uses it.

The rebellion of the people against the dangers of nuclear energy is a spontaneous uprising against one of the symptoms which capitalism produces, that is pollution. All this pollution of the environment needs to be combatted very urgently by the workers movement with a programme of action. We propose that a series of demands are raised which should be campaigned on immediately...

- nuclear energy stations should be run under workers control.
- the immediate implementation of strict safety measures in factories, mines, nuclear stations, building sites etc; these measures to be decided by the workers themselves.
- an end to the chemical additives in foodstuffs and water.
- the end of the uses of atomic energy for war, disarmament of all NATO countries.



It is necessary to aid the elevation of the experience of the Communist masses, of Communist leaders, and of the Workers States. It is necessary to aid them in the experience and revolutionary cultural political education and in the need to elevate the Marxist life. It is necessary to elevate the political intervention of the trade unions, uniting the trade union intervention with the political intervention. Let the trade unions intervene politically, making resolutions and giving political orientations. This is not a deviation from the trade union task. One cannot make a good trade union activity without a political policy in the trade unions and without, at the same time, the workers' parties supporting the trade union activity.

To live, capitalism must dismiss twenty or thirty per cent of the labour force. In a period of ten years, this will reach 40% because competition between the capitalist countries will lead to more and more advanced automation. They have to develop this modernisation to compete with the other capitalist countries and to defend themselves from the economic and social influence of the Workers States which influences the masses of the world. There is no solution. Capitalism must launch the war. It's no longer a question now of defending wages, but of defending work, the conditions of life and the social conditions of existence.

Examples of pollution are constant. Every day children, women and men are poisoned in the factories. There is no solution to that in the capitalist system. One cannot expect to struggle for the programme of amelioration of the conditions of work, because capitalism cannot do it. It will promise, swear that changes will come, but only to win time and shut people up. But every year there is an increase in deaths from poisoning and from cancer through bad working conditions.

The trade union movement cannot any longer struggle just for improvements in conditions and wages at work, because to do that it must pose the elimination of the capitalist system. It is necessary then to prepare the masses for this task. At the same time that it struggles for improvements of conditions of wages, of work. The trade union must make the masses participate in the activity of eliminating capitalism. It must create factory councils, zonal councils, school councils, to intervene in all the problems of society and for that to unite with the workers' parties.

It is necessary to intervene on all these problems in order to develop the activity of the class against the capitalist system as a function of the progress of society. The basis of progress is the struggle against the capitalist system. This is not a struggle against the capitalists but against the capitalist structure, administration and system.

## PERMANENT CRISIS OF THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP AND THE NEED FOR THE SUPERIOR INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS STATES

The extreme objective weakness of the Chinese leadership has been shown more clearly than ever recently when the Hua sector was directly attacked in wall poster form for its association with the right. This follows attempts to discredit leftist sectors with comments on their luxurious living etc. The fight is continuous because there is a massive contradiction between the policies of the present Chinese leadership and the needs of the workers state.

The fundamental need of the Chinese workers state is to expand, to associate with all the forces of the world revolution to liquidate capitalism in order to develop a common world market which favours the all round development of the Chinese economy as part of a socialist world economy. The existence of capitalism inevitably imposes restrictions on a workers state. It means it is not possible to plan world trade and world economy for the benefit of all and it means the workers state has to devote great resources on military expenditures. Capitalism has no interest in the objective development of a workers state but only in limited trading operations. Thus China for its development to overcome the low level of productivity, to overcome the backwardness of its agriculture and to transform the cultural and material level of society has to participate in the destruction of the obstacle to progressive development — imperialism and capitalism.

### CHANGES IN CHINA HAVE TO BE FACILITATED FROM OUTSIDE

This crisis has been seen again most recently in the uncertain economic policy. In February 1978 plans were announced for a gigantic leap forward with wholesale transformation of industry in collaboration with foreign capital. This was altered the following year because the plans were so sketchy that the danger of a repetition of the "great leap forward" was feared. But the plans that followed, if less obviously disastrous, are little less pernicious from the point of view of developing the economy in the interests of the mass of the population. The renewed emphasis on agriculture and higher prices for the peasants from the state and increased technical facilities is aimed to accelerate differentiation within the communes — some are well off, others are very poor and this is reflected even in the quality of the medical services they receive. From the right, a poster proposed recently the abolition of the communes. At the same time efforts have been made to involve the trade unions in the promotion of bonus and material incentive schemes to develop or augment the worker aristocracy. All this has the objective of extending the bases for the bureaucratic stratum in China.

The desperate efforts of the Chinese leadership to survive have been seen in the vicious attack on Vietnam, which was a failure from the point of view of eliminating this bulwark of the extension of revolution throughout South East Asia. Neither has the alliance with western imperialism had the effect of containing the revolutionary impetus of the world revolution as a whole. But how is the problem of the Chinese leadership to be solved? Its stalinist origins have been elaborated at great length by the leadership of the International and from the internal

This is why objectively the present positions of the Chinese leadership are historically imbecilic and doomed to liquidation. The effort to build a great China is a repetition of the policies of Stalin in a stage which cannot justify them. This has already been shown in the inability of the leadership to impose its will unilaterally. It is true that the liquidation of Lin Piao and the expulsion of Chen Pota and the steps against the gang of four together with other killings have something similar to the destruction of the left opposition but the opposition in China has much more profound roots because the world revolution advances and advances and prevents the unilateral destruction of the opposition forces in China.

Fundamentally to consolidate its control of the country, the Chinese leadership would have to rest on a series of profound defeats of the world revolution as happened in the time of Stalin — who in the absence of developed revolutionary parties was able to be the "great organiser of defeats". But what happens now — the progress of revolutions in Iran, in Nicaragua, Africa and the total crisis of the capitalist system. None of this gives the bases for the Chinese leadership to impose their will on masses, previously disappointed. The means do not exist to develop a totally obedient party. The tendency has been to lurch from crisis to crisis and leadership to leadership.

point of view it is not possible to see a possibility of immediate and total change. Constantly there is evidence of strong opposition to the policies of Hua and Deng from the army and within the top leadership itself but the lack of life in the organisms of the country and the lack of marxist tradition make difficult the removal of this counter revolutionary leadership. Even if there is an analogy to be found between the left opposition and the gang of four, it is not precise, because if the latter had had more marxist policies, it would not have been possible to push them out so easily. The cultural revolution was certainly an approach to the political revolution but it was also very empirical and the mobilisations of the trade unions and the proletariat were extremely confined. The lack of a party was the basis for the liquidation of Lin Piao and the rest, and the party to meet the needs of China cannot be constructed on the basis of internal experience alone.

Fundamentally the transformation of the situation in China would be facilitated by better intervention from the international communist movement. The various leaderships in the workers states and the communist parties condemn the Chinese leadership etc but have few ideas on how to intervene and certainly offer no explanation for the emergence of such a rotten leadership. This in turn is bound up with the elevation in the internal struggles in the Soviet Union is particular, and the possibility of developing a more objective discussion about marxist ideas in the world communist parties, particularly within the context of the need for the unification of the workers states.

## ELECTORAL SUCCESS OF THE PARTY IN BOLIVIA

(partly taken from Bulletin of the International secretariat of the Posadist IV International)

We salute with immense joy the news that at least one Posadist deputy has been elected in Bolivia, an expression of the success of the tactic of the International to work in a united front with the UDP. The latter gained 40% of the votes and was the centre for the most progressive forces in the country seeking to transform Bolivia.

The appeals of the party during the electoral campaign were aimed to show the need for the UDP to adopt a programme of social transformations to "take Bolivia out of its backwardness". The support to the UDP in the elections was aimed to stimulate this perspective without depending on or being submitted to the bourgeois formulations which the UDP programme contained.

In this sense the party undertook at the

same time as the electoral campaign in a united front with the UDP, a campaign on the basis of our own candidates and programme. The party presented three candidates in the lists of the UDP in La Paz, Cochabamba and Potosi. The party intervened in the university on the invasion by China of Vietnam and also on a variety of programmatic points in miners and workers areas such as Pucro, Siglo XX and Patacamaya, Oruro, Huanuni, and Catavi in the meetings of the candidates of the UDP.

The understanding of the stage in which Bolivia is living and thus the understanding of the tactic, the programme and the policy to push forward, is a task in which our section contributes in a special way through its publications and intervention in the events of the class struggle in Bolivia.

One of the aspects of the world crisis of capitalism and of the readiness of the masses to progress, of social transformations is expressed in the great strikes of the working class of France, Britain and Germany. There the will of the masses to hinder being deprived of work, unemployed, is expressed. They show equally that they want to oppose capitalism socially in the struggle against atomic waste, the pollution of society. This unites them in the struggle against the capitalist system. The Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions have examples there to see that they must intervene, not only from the trade union point of view but also from the political point of view. There are no different fields of activity between the political and trade union action, but they form a unity.

Capitalism is confronting the

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# The Congress of the French Socialist Party—a defeat for capitalism

9-4-79

J. POSADAS

The recent Congress of the French Socialist Party is a defeat for capitalism which did everything to win Mitterand and tried to break the front with the Communists. This Congress took place after a series of outstanding victories by the working class and mobilisations of an historic level and importance like those of the steel workers against the factory closures in France and the alliance, not organic, of important sectors of the police with the strikers. France has been shaken, impelled to see that the problem cannot be resolved with this government, but that it is necessary to have changes of property. All that has been expressed in the Congress of the Socialist Party.

The differences which are expressed in the Congress have great importance. They are differences on programmatic positions, and positions of principle.

The positions of Rocard relate to the development of a liberal, capitalist economy. The self-management measures which he proposes are those of stimulation (of the economy). They are within the terms of the capitalist economy. It is not a question of Yugoslav self-management but of capitalist self-management.

Mitterand, on the contrary, proposes the programme of Popular Union which, if it does not eliminate capitalism, cuts the feet from under it; and he proposes alliance with the Communists. It is not a question of simple divergences among bureaucrats, it's one of programmatic differences, differences of principle. Mitterand makes limited proposals but they go beyond capitalism. He does not propose a form of property submitted to capitalism. He shows by that, that he — and a whole Socialist wing with him — understands that capitalism is no longer of any use, if they still keep the old bureaucratic conception of the apparatus.

The maturing of the world is expressed in the Congress of the Socialist Party. One can't consider the Socialists as if they were just old elements in a rigid mould, incapable of assimilating. They learn and they are not capitalists. They are conciliators, but they are no longer servants of capitalism. That is not to say that one would be able to make them advance up to the taking of power or the overthrow of capitalism.

One must see that it is not a question of struggles or circumstantial differences between

the Socialists, or that tomorrow they can again coincide. These divergences express, in the heart of the French Socialist Party, the very great pressures and influences of the process of the class struggle in France, which is favourable to the left. It is not a question of a simple event or of bureaucratic manoeuvres to win posts, but of differences of programme and principles.

That was expressed when Mitterand made declarations in defence of Marx, showing respect for Marx — although he says, 'I am not a Marxist, but we are men of Marx. He formed us'. Rocard, on the contrary, said, 'Marx is a demagogue'. What has Marx got to do with a demagogue? And what has Proudhon to do with life! And with the development of the Workers States? Proudhon was an individual, a superceded revolutionary. His theory was not correct; property is theft — there is some reason to believe that, but property is not a simple theft in itself. It is a social organisation in which theft is involved. The thought of Proudhon organised no scientific thought, no capacity of intervention, because his conception and analysis were false. Proudhon said that property was theft, and it was necessary to give a share to everyone. Marx replied to him, 'So we give a share to everyone — and afterwards what do we do?'

This Rocard resorts to Proudhon because in fact he is resorting to capitalism. He maintains the system of property completely.

## ROCARD RELIES ON THE APPARATUS.

This Congress of the Socialist Party is not a simple electoral discussion between cliques. It is a discussion which leads inevitably to differences of principles, even if Mitterand stays behind. That shows the very great influence of the world revolutionary process in the French Socialist Party. Mitterand acted in this way because he must also compete with CERES.

The latter has also lost votes — it went from 25 to 15%. Also in CERES there is a rightist tendency which shows the insecurity of sectors of this tendency. But when Mitterand says 'We must break with capitalism', he opens the gates to a thousand influences. Even if he stops there, the current which advances is going to continue to advance.

This Congress has taken place in the middle of a considerable crisis among the Gaullists and a struggle by them

with the government. A wing wishes to go further and that is the expression of sectors of the petit bourgeoisie who have anti-capitalist positions.

Rocard had to retreat, although he obtained 33% of the votes. The right has a certain importance in the heart of the apparatus. But it is in the apparatus that it has some strength. It is not expressed in the thought of the streets. There is an opposition between what happens in the street and the composition of this Congress. Without that, Rocard would not be able to have thirty three % of the votes. These are the votes of the bureaucrats, of delegates chosen bureaucratically. Rocard would not have such a weight if the delegates had the reflection of the thought of the class struggle, the objective and the experience of the militant. But Mitterand expresses in part this thought. The proof is that the Socialist Party participated fully in the demonstration of the engineering workers in Paris (23 March), although Rocard had been against.

One must expect an elevation of the struggles in France. The Socialist Party is to the left, and capitalism has no solution. Faced with this mobilisation of the engineering workers, a new plan of reduction of steel production has been elaborated by the EEC, and France is one of the principal producers. They want to reduce the production of steel in Europe from two hundred to forty million tons. They say that they must reduce production because the sales have fallen off and capitalism was not able to absorb all the production in the factories.

The Congress of the French Socialist Party is going to have an effect on the French, Italian and Spanish Communist parties. These resolutions are important because they have affirmed, reiterated and reinforced the anti-capitalist character of the Congress. The declarations of Mitterand in relation to Marxism are important because that is part of the discussion which it is necessary to make to assimilate experiences. Socialism is a scientific conclusion of the necessity for the organisation of ideas. This is not a need of any individuals in themselves or that of the working class, but a scientific necessity represented by the working class which is the leadership. The latter in its turn is represented through Marxism. Socialism is not something invented or created by the working class because it is convenient for it. It is a scientific necessity.

J. POSADAS 9 April 1979

## EDITORIAL

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The trade union struggles of the petit bourgeoisie have continued and have involved higher paid sectors. The way for the left to attract the petit bourgeoisie is by proposing a united front of the Labour party and the trade unions against the measures of the government and proposing an anti-capitalist programme in response to the crisis. Already two of the trade unions have been raising the issues of pollution and technology. The Association of Scientific and Managerial Staffs has made a campaign over safety at work. The Transport Workers Union has raised the need for technology to be used for the benefit of the workers. The trade unions are feeling the need to intervene on issues in addition to wages. They are having to do this as the crisis is affecting all aspects of life. There needs to be a coordination of all these demands of the trade unions to be made into a consistent programme. The trade unions need to make meetings and discussions in support of a series of demands, for the 35 hour week, all the benefits of automation to go to the workers, the trade unions to intervene against pollution.

## THE CRISIS OVER OIL SHOWS THE WEAKNESS OF CAPITALISM

The economy in Britain is forecast to have no growth next year, what way is it possible to have an economy that expands? All the capitalist economies are in crisis but the workers states expand. The oil crisis has created panic in the west, but the countries of Comecom have had discussions and resolved to integrate their economies more closely and plan an expansion of energy supplies together. In comparison, the United States proposes to reduce the use of energy and its plans will result in more inflation and unemployment which affects the population. The workers states make plans to coordinate so as to expand, whereas capitalism can only seek measures that result in the decline of the standard of life. The political crisis of Carter is not just a crisis of the president. It is one that is involving the whole leadership of world imperialism. As all the capitalist countries compete with each other, normally the shortage of oil would result in a ferocious dispute between them to grab as much of the oil as they could. Carter is proposing to have a certain cooperation with the other capitalist countries, where the consumption of oil by the U.S.A. is restricted. This is because they fear that a greater confrontation between the various capitalist countries could weaken them and favour the Soviet Union and the other workers states. This policy of Carter of trying to modify the crisis is opposed by other sectors in the U.S.A. Hence all the contradictions in the Yankee leadership increase. It is a crisis not just over the issue of oil, but there is a dispute in the leadership of imperialism over its whole policy internally and externally.

There is a discussion in the Labour party by the left that is seeking to strengthen its influence. It is seeking to ensure that the right does not determine in the party. Various organisational proposals are made to democratise the party and prevent the right imposing its programme as happened with the Labour government. The way to increase the weight of the left in the Labour party is for the left to develop an anti-capitalist programme. The changes in the Labour party will come from the adoption of an anti-capitalist programme. We appeal for the Labour party to propose a united front with the trade unions on a programme of nationalisations under workers control, for the benefits of automation to go to the workers control over all the environmental conditions. For full support to be given to Vietnam and to adopt this position against the campaign that imperialism is making. The Labour party and the trade unions need to make public declarations supporting the Vietnamese in their struggle to construct socialism.

22.7.79

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population more and more on the problem of atomic plants and atomic waste. People see that atomic factories are weapons against the population. If they serve to give greater sources of energy, people would be in agreement. But now they see that they serve for the creation of atomic weapons. It is a function of the interest of capitalist profit that they produce atomic waste which poisons the population. That is a part of the mobilisation of the masses of the world to resolve the problems which are not only of a trade union nature, but are combined with the other problems of society. It is in this sense that one must lead a struggle against the conse-

quences of pollution from the chemical factories, which is more and more on the increase.

The trade unions must not any more lead a struggle just for increase of wages, for better conditions of life, but also struggle against pollution and the poisoning of food etc. It is no longer a question of a trade union struggle. The latter must convert itself into a political struggle.

These are the problems which must confront the workers movement, which are the product of capitalism and the increase of its crisis.

J. POSADAS 23 March 1979

## Editorial

### **Mobilisations, Occupations, Workers Control, to confront and break the Thatcher Government**

The Thatcher government is trying to take maximum advantage of the limitations of the leaderships in the Labour party and the trade unions to lower the standard of living as much as possible, to raise prices, increase unemployment and reduce facilities for education, health and transport. They have got away with a certain amount and are trying to press the advantage. Howe's speech in the United States, about how desperate the British economic situation is, provides the justification for further brutality. The ruling cliques are seeing how far they can go, how far they can intimidate the masses and lower their confidence. It is not just an offensive for purely economic reasons but to try to assert capitalist political and social authority with the object of strengthening the apparatus of repression. In the final resort they try to prepare for the final conflict with the masses and the workers states. The latter loom everywhere and capitalism tries to defend itself from the weight of that growing influence. But capitalism no longer decides the course of history, quite the contrary and the result of its policies will have consequences unfavourable to the survival of the system.

Suddenly the government decides to reduce the labour force in the shipyards and this has elicited an immediate and very violent reaction. At the same time the strike of the engineering workers has very great importance. It is the first major struggle of the engineers as a whole since 1972 and is not just a wages struggle but one over the reduction of hours. Clearly there is one force alone which can smash the policy of capitalism and that is a mass mobilisation involving occupations, workers control and unified strikes to break the Thatcher administration in the same way that Heath was broken. The trade union leaders foresee something of this. Thus Moss Evans of the TGWU is obliged to say that confrontation is on the agenda. Implicit in all this is the accumulation of struggles leading to the tendency towards general strike. None of the workers leaderships want this because it accelerates the class struggle and facilitates the development of anti capitalist currents in the Labour party and the trade unions which are not content with the repetition of the past i.e. throwing back the worst excesses of capitalism and then going forward to yet another Labour government not much better than the conservatives — particularly in today's decrepitude of the capitalist system — preoccupied to maintain capitalism. The working class knows all this and that the last overthrow of the Heath government led to little programmatic advance in the Labour party, but the breaking of the Thatcher government will take place in circumstances more favourable than last time around, to the development of the left in the workers organisations. Moreover the working class has to defend its class interests and those of the rest of the population immediately. It cannot wait for a new leadership to arise in the LP. It has to confront the bourgeoisie. No one else can do it.

The problem for the working class is very clear in looking at the present crisis in the Labour party. As it is an electoral machine, the latter makes no response to the needs of the masses now, nor indeed does it discuss the perspectives for Britain. There is no doubt that the political crisis is extremely profound. It is not just any post electoral fight. Within the discussion is the question of the orientation of the party towards socialism or towards the continuation of social democratic collaboration with capitalism. It is inevitable but characteristic from the nature of the Labour party that with such a discussion there is no leadership on the matters that concern the class — to throw back the capitalist offensive. None of the tendencies at present in conflict in the Labour party represent the depth of the process. A sector of the trade unions has spoken of the need for factory branches but on what programmatic basis such branches? The NEC should discuss with the trade unions about the Labour party but not an organisational discussion, rather a political discussion on fundamental objectives.

The discussion has to be on programme and policy, not the modifications to an organisation which is conglomerate but under the control of the right, which then licenses the left to exist. Without doubt for a socialist programme to operate will require the liquidation of all the pro capitalist sectors but the emphasis here and now has to be what programme and what policy. An organisational discussion over leader or conference or executive or parliamentary party outside programmatic discussion settles nothing.

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Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG



Monthly organ of the

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

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## THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TRIUMPH OF THE GUERRILLAS IN NICARAGUA

18-7-79

J. Posadas

We make a salute to the masses and the leadership of the Sandinist Front of Nicaragua and we salute the development of the revolutionary struggle which has achieved the liquidation of Somoza; and at the same time another struggle is beginning over the character of the government and the economic and political measures. Although it is a very simple struggle it acquires a very complicated character because it is over the forms and the programme of the new government, over property, over the control of the land and the mines. This is a new phase of the revolutionary process which is going to intensify.

The clear and decisive fact is that the triumph of the Sandinist movement expresses the relation of world forces which allows such a small movement to reach to achieve such a triumph. It repeats the Iran episode but in a certain measure Nicaragua has more importance than Iran politically; concretely and organisationally it is inferior. Nicaragua is a small country. It has less than three million inhabitants and is one of the poorest in Latin America; 65% of the economy lay in the hands of the Somoza group. There are hardly any schools, hospitals, telephones, streets or transport. Everything of any importance is in the hands of Somoza and sectors of the bourgeoisie.

The present struggle is going to develop between the bourgeois sector (allied in every way to capitalism and imperialism) and the Sandinista sectors, on what character the economy will have, the place of the economy. This is the second world defeat which Yankee imperialism and the capitalist system has received in less than a

year. To a certain extent it is superior to Iran because Nicaragua has had forty years of dictatorship without party, without trade unions, without food and with immense numbers of deaths through hunger. 85% are illiterate. The people rose and threw them out breaking and destroying a fundamental centre of Yankee imperialism in Latin America, without military strength or political organisation. On the other hand it counted on the relation of world forces. Imperialism could not intervene in an open form. It could not invade or bombard or send arms openly because of the existence of the Soviet Union, the workers states and Cuba. Hence the basis of the relation of world forces.

Although the Sandinist movement may be small and poor in forces, number and arms, it has many ideas. One tendency more to the left within the movement has posed nationalisation and supports itself in this on Cuba, Vietnam, on Ethiopia and the workers states. From there the relation of world forces. If the workers states had not existed with Cuba and Vietnam, Yankee imperialism would have intervened. It was ready to intervene but to do that was to confront

Cuba and the Soviet Union and it had to withdraw. It is true that there was resistance from the Latin American governments of the Andean Pact; but these countries did not have the necessary economic, or military strength nor could they have impeded the intervention of imperialism. Moreover up to now they have said nothing. They only reacted when the Sandinista forces showed that they could triumph.

This is due to the relation of world forces. Before, they would have

been opposed to the Sandinist movement. But now all these governments, although they fear them, cannot be opposed to this Sandinista movement whose essential phase now is one of social transformations.

The Sandinist movement has published many bulletins and they have discussed and there is a polemic between them. But the most resolved sector which led the guerrillas is the sector which wants social transformations. Whatever government which assumes power in Nicaragua, if it does not make social transformations, it will remain the same as in the past. Nicaragua cannot be arranged just with modifications of the economy or of the administrative structure. The most important bases of the economy were in the hands of Somoza, as in Iran, they were in the hands of the Shah. Thus it favours the impulse to statification and planning. There is going to be a political and social struggle in which the relation of world forces is also going to support the Sandinistas. Hence Yankee imperialism did not intervene openly because this meant clashing with the Soviet Union, with Cuba, but also with part of the North American population. Take the speech of Carter. It is a lament, a song of grief. He weeps saying "We North Americans born with liberty, develop liberty, develop the economy and develop culture (this is a lie, they did not develop culture outside two or three scientists, the rest were not North American), but he ended by saying that in the U.S.A. between well being, the relation of people and individual interest, it is individual interest which determines

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# THE HISTORIC SIGNIFICANCE OF . . .

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behaviour. He made a criticism of the capitalist relation which means a depth of very great crisis. Doubtless he does not do it to correct anything or take the road of democracy towards the workers state, but the speech indicates the very great decomposition and very warlike individual struggle which impedes the influence of the leadership of the government over the masses of the petit bourgeoisie and sectors of big business and medium capital. It is a warning which Yankee capitalism is making saying in so many words it is necessary to regulate capitalism or we shall be regulated". This is the depth of the speech. This is the most powerful imperialism. It is not true as he says "we are the most powerful country in the world economically and militarily". If it was simply a matter of that they would have intervened in Nicaragua. Because if it is the most powerful in the world and the soviets enter, then they should be superior to the soviets. But with Fidel Castro and the nine million Cubans confronting the 230 million North Americans it is Cuba which imposed itself not North America.

It's still not clear if they went and abandoned their positions through a pact with the Sandinists; but what is evident is the power of Somoza is finished. It means that the Sandinist power has to confront tasks and measures for which it does not have the economic organisational or military means and nor sufficient political leadership. But even with this limitation, the fall of Somoza has repercussions for the whole of Latin America; and it happens after the reforms in Brasil which are favourable to the development of democratic trade union rights and a certain concession of political liberty including that of the communist party. It is still not established but Prestes the secretary of the communist party can return to Brasil freely and will not be charged for being a communist.

In Nicaragua there have been no parties or trade unions, but in Greece, Cuba and Italy there are. This has an influence and reflects the relation of world forces. In Nicaragua there was no party or trade unions. There were guerrillas who based themselves on what Cuba did, which was done in other countries of Latin America. That is, the relation of world forces temporarily sustain a concrete force and allow it to advance; and it implies at the same time that imperialism does not intervene through its internal contradictions and through fear of the Soviet Union. For example

for European capitalism Nicaragua is of no interest, to France, Italy, Germany, Britain. They have an interest in impeding its revolutionary effect but they do not have the strength to do it because they are full of contradictions. So they have to leave it, not because they develop a conscience but through the relation of world forces.

Germany had a recent crisis in the army. The head of the German army made a declaration that was favourable to submitting the German army to NATO to intervene in necessary cases in places like Iran. The German minister of the interior said, I determine external policy not you. You obey me. The head of the army went. The next head of the army declared that he represented the government and consequently the army is led by the government. It is not because Schmidt or the German capitalists are defenders of neutrality. These are the contradictions of the capitalist system which they can neither eliminate or exclude. Part of these contradictions is that Germany feels that the war is the end of them. What policy does it have? This is the indecision of the Germans of the British and the French. They cannot decide a programme of perspectives which they do not have. Hence the indecision of the capitalists because they do not have the strength to decide and at the same time through their internal contradictions. If they confront the soviets they waste all their social forces; an uprising of the masses in Europe and the Yanks gain who are competitors with European capitalism. If they unite with the Yanks against the soviets these would take Europe in three weeks and not from outside but from within. This is the contradiction of the capitalist system. They have to make the economic and social relations progress but their policy is of no use for this, because they do it as a function of defending a policy (the only one which they defend) which is for the capitalist system and which develops at the same time in contradiction with the competition, with Yankee imperialism and Japanese imperialism.

Hence the capitalist system in Europe says nothing about Nicaragua. On the contrary read the bourgeois papers of Europe and they speak of "the massacre of Nicaragua . . ." when in reality what they have to say is that it is a revolution, we are against the revolution" as they were against the Russian and Chinese revolutions. Now they have to complain of what is happening.

## THE RELATION OF WORLD FORCES PREVENTS THE YANKS INTERVENING

It was not only world solidarity which allowed the victory over Somoza. The relation of world forces impeded the intervention of the Yanks. For example no capitalist country brought out any resolution to intervene in support of the Sandinistas. Only the socialist countries did it and Cuba proposed to intervene. The Yanks went to intervene, and threatened to intervene. The soviets showed that they saw the intention of the Yanks and they were not going to remain quiet. Although they would not have been able to intervene more directly in Nicaragua, the soviets would have sought more positions in Africa or Asia. Thus the Yanks through fear of these consequences stopped the intervention. Secondly the capitalist countries of Europe showed no concern or interest because they feared the reaction of the masses, above all of the communists because the socialists said nothing.

Also at the same time there is the influence or the pressure of part of the North American population which has been influenced by the masses of the world, by the communist parties above all and particularly through the resistance of Vietnam to China which was an enormous help.

This shows the relation of world forces. If the Yanks did not have to confront the Soviet Union they would intervene. Essentially it was for this. The rest weighed but on a secondary plane.

The determining force on a world scale is the relation of world forces which is favourable to the anti capitalist struggle. Favourable means that there are centres of political, social and military power which contain capitalism. They are not going to impede the war but they contain it. They are the workers states, Algeria, Mozambique, Cuba and Vietnam; above all Vietnam in the last stage. This is an objective weight which prevents the Yanks doing what they want. Then it would be the war. At this moment it does not suit the Yanks. They do not have the preparation nor the unity to launch it and there is a great competition with European capitalism. To measure the inter capitalist competition and the contradictions of the capitalist regime which is part of its historic impossibility to live, is the fact that the Germans support Brezhnev against Carter and Giscard d'Estaing went to place a wreath of flowers on the tomb of Lenin. It does not mean that they are going to support the communist

party but yes that they support the soviets against the Yanks. It is inter capitalist competition and antagonism with the workers states and these are the contradictions of the capitalist system which cannot be unified.

All the countries of Latin America are not the same. Nicaragua is very different from Argentina, Brasil, Mexico. Nicaragua has no industries, no proletariat, no unions. In Argentina there is a very combative proletariat like the European. It is the most combative proletariat which since the fall of Peron maintained democratic rights with its struggles. There are few democratic rights existing but they maintain some trade union rights. In the epoch of Peron, the trade unions developed a very great function which Peron encouraged. Peron made very great concessions which showed that he was seeking an alliance with the working class to develop the economy of the country. In the stage of Peron the trade unions obtained fundamental conquests which still did not exist in Europe, among them the factory council and the control of the enterprises, which was the payment by Peron to have the support of the masses.

Uruguay being a very small country has a very developed trade union movement and a very developed communist party. In Brasil at the moment there is a very profound, very great trade union movement of millions and very combative. It is not the same in the rest of the countries of Latin America. But in countries that are very small like Ecuador, it has no industries but it has a great trade union, socialist and communist movement and also Posadist movement. In Bolivia there is a great proletarian concentration in the mines and also a weight of the industrial proletariat. Also in Peru there is a great concentration of the proletariat in the mines and a great movement of the peasants as in Bolivia and also Equador. In central America there have been no trade union movements since the thirties. In El Salvador in 1930 there was a strike of banana workers which was very important; they killed 36 thousand workers. Since then there has been nothing. The communist parties had a very bad position. They had a bad position in Guatemala when there was a movement of sectors of the national bourgeoisie and of soldiers of the left; the same in Venezuela and Colombia.

Latin America is not all the same. What is identical is the lack of political leadership. There is no political leadership. In no country is there a political leadership which organises the workers movement. The social weight of the petit bourgeoisie is very great and also its combativity. But there is no party and there is no leadership. Then Latin America presents itself as a continent deprived of political and social forces. This is not true. There is a great political and social force in the main countries which is now elevating.

The missing factor is the political leadership. There is also the influence of Europe on Latin America, particularly on Uruguay, Argentina and Brasil where the essential basis for the formation of the workers movement was Italian in origin. Now it has lost quite a lot of this. There is no leadership. The communists have never understood this. Under Peron, the communists made a world campaign saying "Peron is a fascist" and they supported Yankee imperialism in Argentina openly. In a meeting of this communist campaign they supported Yankee imperialism and Santa Marina who was a leader of the Argentinian oligarchy, the biggest ranches. In this meeting the Yankee ambassador Braden spoke. It's the communists who are responsible for the backwardness of Latin America. They do not say a word of this. Codovilla founder and leader of the Argentinian communist party spoke saying "Peron is fascism" and he was linked with the Yanks against Peron. Peron was a representative of the national bourgeoisie who through its weakness made an alliance with the proletariat and had to make many concessions to the proletariat. Argentina was the first country in the recent period even before Europe, which had factory councils and control of the factory books. Part of the later weakness of Peron was that the bourgeoisie saw the significance of this and then made a campaign against Peron, above all the bourgeoisie linked to imperialism and the cattle bosses.

In Nicaragua after the assassination of Sandino in 1934, there were no great movements. But on the other hand the strength of the present day Nicaraguans is the relation of world forces which impeded Yankee imperialism and the bourgeoisie of Latin America intervening. It does not intervene because it has no interest. It is afraid, because to intervene with important weight requires the support of Argentina, Brasil, Venezuela, and Chile. Chile has not been animated to intervene. This is the relation of world forces, because the workers states and even the European communist and socialist parties exert

# THE BRITISH WORKERS MOVEMENT, THE STRUGGLE IN IRELAND AND THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION OF THE BRITISH ISLES

The ten years in which the army of British imperialism has been used to repress the population of Northern Ireland measures the intensification of the process of the total crisis of capitalism in general, and of British imperialism in particular. In this period there has been a decline in the level of employment, in the social services, in housing and in every aspect of life in all the capitalist countries; and, at the same time, an increase of repression. No 'solution' has been found to the 'problem' of Ireland because, under capitalism, there is no solution. The problem for the masses of Northern Ireland is, in common with the masses of the world, capitalism itself. The use of the army by British imperialism in Northern Ireland was precisely because the capitalist system had no answer to the problems which the population faced. British capitalism was - and is - incapable of developing the economy and society. At the same time, the use of the army formed part of a preparation for repression against the masses of Britain and, in particular, against the working class. Since then there has been an increasing use of the 'suppression of terrorism' law - which allows imprisonment without trial - against political and trade union militants on either side of the Irish sea. And the creation of the Special Patrol Group (SPG) of armed police is an extension of this repression. If the struggle in the six counties has been contained within nationalist, separatist or localist forms, it is because a leadership does not yet exist - in particular in the Labour Party and trade unions in Britain -

which puts forward a clear, consistent anti-capitalist programme and policy. Nobody has posed that the perspective for Ireland does not lie in measures of bourgeois democracy or local government, but in social transformations, in nationalisations under workers control, and in the creation of the organic means - the committees - by which the population imposes its control over the economy and society.

## THE 'PROBLEM' IS NOT IRELAND BUT CAPITALISM.

The demand for 'British troops out of Ireland' is a just one and it stems from a widespread anti-imperialist sentiment, but neither this demand - taken by itself - nor the demand for a 'bill of rights' for Northern Ireland give any perspective for the advance of society and the life of the population. For capitalism to be able to give more democracy, to be able to function without repression - or at least for British imperialism to be able to rely on local repression as it did before in Northern Ireland - it would have to be able to fulfil the aspirations of at least a strata of the population. But nowhere is capitalism able to do this. The system, by its competitive nature, because it is dedicated to production for profit and the defence of private property cannot advance the economy and society. This is why it invests in arms, in the means of repression, rather than investing in industry, in housing and in social services. What has been spent in repression in the six counties would have raised

the living standards of the population. It is a simple conclusion, but the process of the economy is determined by class interests. Capitalism is no longer interested even in the 'pool of cheap labour' which Ireland once represented. British capitalism has long since lost its 'empire', its colonies, inter-capitalist competition, and competition by capitalism with the Workers States is more and more intense and, for this reason, technology is used to produce faster and with less labour. The only way for the economy to advance is for production to be based on common ownership, planning for the needs of the population.

There is, then, no solution for Ireland in isolation from the rest of the British Isles. All the problems of the population - including repression - as the events at Southall and the death of Blair Peach show - are the same. British imperialism has a very definite interest in keeping the masses of Ireland separated from the powerful and centralised workers movement in Britain. The intervention of sectors of Yankee imperialism - including supporters of Carter - is only partly because they seek to pose as defenders of 'human rights' before petit bourgeois public opinion in the United States, and in front of those people who have a tradition of opposition to British imperialism. The other side of this is that it is part of a world policy of Yankee imperialism to use nationalist, separatist, backward and bourgeois sectors of society against the advance of the revolution. It is a policy of weakness. They cannot intervene openly and directly in Iran or Nicaragua, but they seek to support and stimulate separatism in Iran, Afghanistan, Spain, Eritrea and Vietnam.

## THE END OF THE MONARCHY AND THE ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME.

The demonstration of 10,000 in London for the removal of British troops from Ireland and the intervention of the masses, particularly the youth, in Ireland in the last days, express a profound anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist senti-

ment in large sectors of the population. However, the discussion, the development of policy, programme and ideas remain limited by the conception of 'Ireland' as something separate, something that can be 'solved' in itself, in isolation. In reality it is necessary to unite the struggle in Ireland - and this includes the Irish Republic where there have been massive demonstrations of the working class against the decline in the standard of life - with the movement in Britain and, in particular, the workers movement. In this the trade unions have a prime importance since they are already linked organisationally. The AUEW and TGWU have large memberships in Northern Ireland.

The demand for the removal of British troops from Ireland and for the 'disbanding' of the SPG raises, in a sense, the question of the role and structure of the British imperialist state. The decision of the Labour Party to 'abolish the House of Lords' is a facet of this discussion also. But they cannot be taken as a number of isolated problems which can be solved through Parliament or by simply appealing to the representatives of British capitalism for more democracy. What has to be raised in this discussion is who controls the economy and society, and for the benefit of whom? The state is based on the interests of a class, on the interest of private property and British imperialism is no more democratic in Britain than it is in Ireland. The problem of Ireland is the problem of the advance of Britain. It cannot be separated. And the present situation in which the Labour left questions imperialism in Ireland but does not demand the end of the monarchy expresses the lack of clarity of thought and ideas which exists. The perspective which has to be raised and discussed is neither the continued control of Northern Ireland by British imperialism - in one form or another - nor the separation of Ireland from the rest of the British Isles, but the Socialist Federation of the British Isles on the basis of a nationalised, planned economy and the control of the masses.

outside a small group the population is not developed in the theoretical, political, scientific and organisational capacity. The forms of trade union life are very small, forty two years of atrocious dictatorship. Thus an essential measure is to develop a cultural capacity in the population. A simple and general cultural knowledge and concrete practice of the leadership of the country, to impede the holding of elections in the present state of the people of Nicaragua who do not have the social and political preparation for this. It gives advantage to the bourgeois sectors to attract them with immediate solutions which are not immediate remedies.

This process develops very profound conditions for Latin America. Nicaragua is a small country with 42 years without party life, trade union, cultural life and nevertheless the Sandinistas win. The population rose and obeyed the Sandinistas and not Somoza. If the population had not obeyed the guerrillas, Somoza would have won. The population united, formed part of the guerrillas and hence they won. The population was not intimidated by death by the assassinations which shows that it lived the world process, not only Cuba but the world process not by Sandinist propaganda which being good, could not reach the whole population. But through a thousand forms, radio, conversations, daily newspapers the population was informed of the world process and believed the Sandinistas. The population saw that it was the Sandinistas that took the decision to overthrow Somoza, that is to say an armed political movement for social transformations.

A process is opening in Latin America which is going to influence Bolivia, Peru, Brasil, Argentina, Ecuador, Mexico and also Venezuela and Colombia. It is going to influence socially and very profoundly and gives an indication of how to resolve the problems of Latin America. The discussion now is social, political and economic: what programme, what policy, what organisation to develop Nicaragua. This is the present discussion which is going to develop, in which Yankee imperialism is going to support and supports itself now on the capitalist sectors which before it combatted because it backed the capitalist Somoza. Now it is going to support itself on all the capitalists to try to contain the process. Before it sent troops and bombarded; now it has to negotiate about the fall, and the strength of Yankee imperialism. Hence the speech of Carter.

J. Posadas. 18 July 1979

a pressure on them and prevent them intervening. They fear the social consequences of intervention which would provoke a development of struggles, of opposition of sectors of the bourgeoisie themselves who do not see all the process as bad (sectors of the bourgeoisie impelled the fall of Somoza) because they want to develop the market. With its own force, the Sandinistas would not be able to resist, but it is the relation of world forces which prevent imperialism intervening openly.

Before the fall of Somoza, the bourgeoisie of the Andean Pact intervened together with Mexico and Panama and made declarations against Somoza and broke relations with him because economically they did not have any interest and politically its existence prejudiced their position. Before it was not so and they had openly supported Somoza. But this time was different. They separated themselves at once. Above all the intervention of Mexico

was fundamental as it has much weight in the countries of Central America.

Imperialism cannot intervene openly in Nicaragua and the bourgeoisie of the Andean pact separated from Somoza to impede the influence of the revolutionary process of Nicaragua and of the movements of support to the Sandinista guerrillas in their own countries, because in all the countries of the Andean Pact and of the others of Latin America, there were movements of support to the Sandinistas and also earlier guerrilla movements in Colombia, Venezuela, Peru had had importance.

All the progress made in Latin America has been essentially through the mobilisation of the masses and movements of bourgeois origin on the basis of the masses who statify and plan in Ecuador, Peru, Bolivia, Colombia, Venezuela, Argentina and Uruguay. But the lack of a stable party, of a stable

movement and the vacillating policy of the communist and socialist parties with the policy of adaptation to capitalism has impeded a greater progress.

The centre which decides and determines the course of this process

## NICARAGUA WILL EVENTUALLY BE A WORKERS STATE

The essential reason is that to emerge from backwardness Nicaragua has to advance towards a workers state. It will not escape from backwardness within private property. Secondly there are experiences in history which show that the most backward country applies the experiences of the world and it is not the strength of imperialism or its military capacity which is going to impede this. Imperialism has no strength to impede it because it does not depend on military forces but on the world social political relations.

is the workers states. The triumph of the Sandinistas is a decisive example of this. Whatever the delay Nicaragua will end up as a workers state, although the Yanks or the others intervene. Nicaragua will end as a workers state.

To take the country out of backwardness, it is necessary to take economic and social measures to develop the economy and to make the population intervene in it. It is not only a question of developing the economy, but who develops it and for whom, and what intelligence and capacity the country has to develop its economy. From the capitalist point of view, there is no economic development. It is necessary to plan and develop the capacity of the population to intervene in the leadership of the country; and

## Workers area committees to lead the masses against the cuts and to elevate a political leadership in the Labour Party

The struggle against the cuts developing in the Lambeth and Coventry local councils shows that an important sector of the trade unions - COHSE, NUPE - of the Labour Party and others, are not prepared to wait five years for new elections. The struggle thus started has to be supported and it is necessary to mobilise the whole trade union movement and the population. However, this struggle cannot be effectively waged through the local councils, which are organisms of capitalist administration and so are essentially limited. If those who fought at Lambeth

have only been replaced by commissioners of the government, the important point is that capitalism can do this and the councils depend on the government for funds. The appeals already made by Lambeth for support are important, but the problem is that the local council cannot be the instrument for this struggle. It can be an auxiliary, but the instrument necessary is the workers area committees where the workers, the trade unions, can lead the masses, be they passengers, pupils or patients in hospitals. The Labour vanguard must discuss the need to create

such committees in the factories, the workers areas, the schools and the hospitals to fight the cuts and extend the struggle against capitalism by means of the organisation of the Labour left.

### ORGANISMS WHERE THE TRADE UNIONS CAN LEAD.

It is illusory to think that one will defeat the Conservative government through the local council. This struggle is necessary and it has to be done. But it will call for the need for new forms of struggle. The flying pickets of the miners have shown this, whilst Clay Cross showed that the local council was not the instrument. The struggle for the actual defence of the conquests of the workers is calling for the workers area committees in the instance of the cuts, and this all the more when the masses are seen not to be prepared to wait for the next local or general election. Too long have the masses seen the local councils simply run capitalism. And they have learned that the local council hardly ever changes its policy - be it under Tory or Labour - not because the council has the ability to place itself above bourgeois law but because it applies it all the time!

It is possible to impede in part a local council from functioning against the masses and, at times, to struggle against an aspect or other of capitalist administration. But this organism is essentially limited by the fact that it wholly depends on central administration and funds, and because the workers and public have no means - bar an

indirect one - of weighing on them. For instance, in the local council, the workers of the hospitals, nurses and doctors cannot strike to incorporate Manor House Hospital into the Health Service, or defend the conquests previously gained in the health sector. But, with the hospital worker-and-patient-committee, this can be done. It is there that one would sanction such leaderships as that of the EPTU. This is why there exists in Italy today committees of the workers and masses in schools, hospitals and factories. It is the workers of these establishments who struck and won for lowering of rents, maintaining of gains in schools and lowering of fares! It shows that one does not have to wait for Socialism in order to do this. As long as Labour governments will base themselves on local councils and not on organisms of the masses, they will be running the capitalist system and its crisis - which means the cuts. The fact that Benn spoke of the need of Labour branches in the factories shows that this problem has already been raised in the Labour Party and that it is possible to discuss it more amply.

### EXTEND DEMOCRACY.

The cuts, implemented also by Labour, are the best instance of the crisis of capitalism internally. When it could, capitalism found it convenient to use the ameliorations brought by Labour councils to appear less crude in its exploitation. This also gave the impression that one could hope for a continuous progress through the local councils. As the total crisis of capitalism deepens there is no more to give, and all the previous gains of the masses are being retaken by capitalism. This logic imposes itself on the local councils whether they like it or not. The cut is inherent

to the capitalist system in crisis and not to administrators. So, it is necessary to discuss that the workers vanguard will not be able to maintain its previously won conquests unless organisms of anti-capitalist power are created.

To maintain these conquests demands means by which one extends them: to maintain the right to free hospitals you need the power to impose that the resources of the country go to the masses; and, for this, an organ to impose that power is necessary.

THIS DEMONSTRATES THAT IN ORDER TO MAINTAIN THE NOW WON CONQUESTS IN DEMOCRACY, ONE HAS TO EXTEND DEMOCRACY and this requires anti-capitalist organisms, not local councils (which, all the same, can still assist this struggle). This is why we say that the workers area committee is not 'better' than the local council, it is a necessity to maintain all the conquests, including those won through the struggles of various local councils. This is why Mitterrand of the French Socialist Party feels the need to put his party at the head of the steel workers' strike and to speak on so-called 'pirate radio'. It is because, for the Socialist masses to maintain their conquest against capitalism, they have to base themselves more directly on anti-capitalist policies and use them to oppose the Rocard sector of the Socialist Party. The same process will affect the Labour Party, because history develops in the form of the class struggle.

The organisms of the masses and workers are the basis for the elevation of the Labour left to function as a Party of the working class, to struggle against the capitalist policies of both Conservative and Labour parties. This has to be discussed in the Labour Party.

## EDITORIAL

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At the same time that the Labour party becomes preoccupied with the fate of the Czechoslovakian dissidents, who grumble at the progress of the workers states, there is no such preoccupation with the nazi methods of British imperialism in Northern Ireland which is loathed by the population. There is no discussion about the function of the British army in Northern Ireland or about the need for a joint socialist programme for Britain and Ireland. Czechoslovakia makes progress, Northern Ireland is being steadily impoverished and ruined by capitalism. Any discussion about where Britain is going has to take account of Ireland.

### THE PRESENT LEADERSHIP OF THE LABOUR PARTY ONLY WANTS TO TALK IN PARLIAMENT

The social democratic leadership of the Labour party does not take account of the historic weakness of capitalism because it is not interested. Apparently the conservatives have been given a mandate to make the masses carry the crisis of capitalism. But it is not the intentions of the conservative government or the ossified mentality of the Callaghan social democrats that decide the fate of Britain. Thatcher was unable to carry out her objective of giving unqualified support to the Smith Muzorewa regime. Faced with overwhelming pressures she was obliged to retreat. It is possible to smash the policy of the conservatives at home also. All the efforts of the conservatives to develop a campaign against Vietnam over the refugees have dropped like a stone. It is impossible for them to develop campaigns which give them social support. The social democratic apparatus does not want to do anything. They seek only an electoral benefit from conservative failure. They do not want to transform society but the masses do and the world balance of forces enables them to weigh.

On a world scale the conservatives cannot gain a world support for their policies. European capitalism is weighed down with its own problems. German capitalism is in ever profounder competition with the Yanks and seeks in part to maintain an ost-politik. The ruling cliques in America are in immense internal conflict. The dismissal of Young and the warmonger speech of Schlesinger are aspects of the inability of Yankee imperialism to obtain an homogeneous policy towards the world and the workers states. All this immense weakness undermines world support for the ambitions of the Thatcher policy. It is notorious that within her own team there are disagreements over the application of the conservative line.

It is necessary for the forces of the left in the Labour party and the trade unions at the same time as they raise issues of the anti capitalist programme for nationalisation of all the key industries and workers control, to intervene in support of a policy now of mobilisations, of factory occupations, workers control to smash the policy of capitalism. The great swindlers of this present government are now proposing a new swindle, to make it appear through the cost of living index, that all is well and prices are not so bad. All the indexes of capitalism are swindles and this new proposal is simply a more advanced one. The people who should decide are the population - the workers and housewives who have to put up with the crassness of private property. The only way to confront this proposal is popular price committees to decide a genuine index. The masses are deprived of the organs of power and decision and thus the struggle against the government, the fight for wages and reduced working hours should be integrated with demands for workers control, and workers committees in the factories and workers areas to combat the policies of unemployment etc., that is independent popular committees to discuss all the problems that directly and indirectly affect the class. It is the policy of mobilisations and mass resistance that will destroy the Thatcher government and at the same time increase the pressure for a more elevated left in the Labour party.

## THE TRIUMPH OF NICARAGUA IS A PROFOUND BLOW AT YANKEE IMPERIALISM

We salute the triumph of the masses of Nicaragua in overthrowing the regime of Somoza and opening the way for fundamental social transformations of the country. It is a mighty blow against imperialism and as the article of Cde Posadas analyses, it is the result not primarily of the great efforts of the masses of Nicaragua, heroic those these are, but of the world balance of forces which continuously favour the forces driving towards world socialism and weaken the forces of world imperialism.

It is clear from the anguish of the Carter administration and the despair of Carter's speech, that Yankee imperialism is unable to stem the advance of the workers states and the world masses and hence they were unable to intervene in Nicaragua. They cannot stop the soviets intervening in Ethiopia, Afghanistan and the rest of Africa, but they were unable to sustain Somoza. In the thirties the Yanks toppled any regime they did not like in Central America. They massacred thousands of the population of San Salvador and helped establish the bloody regime of Batista in Cuba. Now history throws them out and they are unable to retaliate.

Nicaragua is very small and has no weight in the world economy but its repercussions will be considerable. It will effect the whole of Latin America and also will fuel all the process for social change in central America

including Mexico. The whole world has seen the weakness of Yankee imperialism and that it lacks a team capable of confronting the workers states. The fight within the Yankee ruling class on how to confront the workers states is profound and finds no solution.

The Second International as part of its desire to be seen to relate to social revolution, to compete with the international communist movement and to try to contain history also sent its representative Soares to Nicaragua, but capitalist Europe has said nothing because it is in no position to do anything about the situation. The workers parties in Europe do not draw all the conclusions from the experience of Nicaragua and this naturally applies to the Labour party. The latter, being a conglomerate organisation submitted to capitalism, has a structure hostile to any discussion about Nicaragua but the left there such as it is, has to draw conclusions because they are important in general terms for this country.

Nicaragua has shown that it is possible to advance with much greater audacity against what remains of the capitalist system. If Nicaragua, which is so insignificant, can cease being a puppet of the Yanks, there is no reason whatsoever for the British proletariat to be submitted to a pro capitalist leadership in the Labour Party. All social progress inevitably means the need to

discuss and apply a programme of social transformations to liquidate the capitalist system. If economically backward countries like Angola, Afghanistan and Nicaragua can take steps or begin to take steps against the capitalist system - this is an international phenomenon - then it is manifestly obvious that a country like Britain with a powerful proletariat has the basis and is favoured by the world balance of forces to allow the development of an anti capitalist current with a programme of social transformations in the Labour party.

Nicaragua has been successful because of the existence of the Soviet Union and the rest of the workers states. These favourable circumstances also apply to Britain and the whole of Europe. The conservative attack on the masses is not because the government is strong but because the conciliatory leaderships of the Labour Party and trade unions and the lack of political life so that the vanguard can weigh in the Labour party, allows this to happen.

We appeal for the experience of Nicaragua to be assimilated by the vanguard and the left sectors in the Labour party. The strength of the Soviet Union allowed the triumph of Nicaragua not the wails and sniffles of the dissidents, who never open their mouths about Nicaragua or the world.

Political Bureau. 15.8.1979

## Editorial

# USE THE EXPERIENCE OF CORBY AND THE CALL BY THE LAMBETH COUNCIL AGAINST THE CUTS, TO GENERALISE LABOUR PARTY/TRADE UNIONS UNITED FRONT

The total crisis of the capitalist system is expressed in the fact that the Tories cannot denationalise the sector of the economy which they wanted to return to private property. They find that they cannot either crush the masses of Africa or give absolute support to the reactionary regimes in the process of collapsing in the world. On the contrary, they have to make proposals of 'compromises' with the Patriotic Front of Rhodesia —

This is a social crisis of the capitalist system. The leadership of the engineering union continues with the 2 days-week strike in spite of the lock-out at Rolls Royce because the base of the Union demands at least that much. It shows that the proletariat is conscious that the crisis of the system can be overcome. It shows that the terrorism the bourgeoisie is not having the expected effect, and that the masses are socially confident.

### THE POLITICAL INTERVENTION OF THE TRADE UNIONS

The recent TUC Congress passed unanimously a resolution for the disbandment of the SPG. This is a political conclusion which does not stem from the head of some leader, but from the political preoccupation and life of the working class. It shows that the British working class lives politically and is not submitted into ignorance by the apparatuses of the trade unions or of the Labour Party. The depth of this call by the TUC is that the SPG is not simply against the immigrants but against the working class and Labour vanguard. And the fact that this resolution comes soon for discussion at the Labour Party conference shows that something of the nature of the police, of the state, is being discussed also in the Labour Party. It shows how the political preoccupation of the working class finds its way in the apparatus in spite of its oppressiveness and that there is no way by which the apparatus of the Labour movement can stop the political intervention and in part even the political functioning of the British trade unions and Labour vanguard. It can diminish the scope of the resolutions and prevent them from being applied for a period, but the proletariat is learning to apply these resolutions to the extent possible and in doing this, it impels a political leadership in the Labour Party. This is why — in spite of a monstrous apparatus in the Labour Party which opposes changes and which bases itself on the right wing of the trade unions to oppose changes — the Labour Party has recently called for a 'national campaign against the cuts'. It is true that it may be not prepared to apply this limited call. Nevertheless, when the leadership of the Labour Party has to make such calls, it is because the vanguard and the Labour masses are prepared to go infinitely further than this. The experience of Corby, where the Labour Party and the Trade Unions unified in support of the steel workers and obtained also the support of the population, the shopkeepers, the teachers and the children, shows that the masses are not waiting for the good will of the leaders of the Labour Party. They made a United Front in

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## PROGRAMME AND POLICY IN THE ASCENDANT COURSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN IRAN

14.8.79

J. POSADAS

*The economic structure of Iran has a certain basis of a Workers State. This economic structure cannot be made to function under a religious government and regime. One can have a religious government which believes in God, that observes religious customs; but one cannot develop the economy with gods. The situation in Iran has stagnated because an economic leadership is missing, an orientation on what type of economy to develop. If the religious layers had really the capacity of decision and the determining force, they would have taken steps already. Why didn't they? They have to proceed, thinking of every way to contain but, at the end, they adopt measures to give an impulse to the revolution. To develop the economy requires a plan of production which is not based on private property nor on the already existing bourgeoisie, and maintaining their properties. To do that is useless for the development of Iran.*

*Iran has to be developed. It cannot remain stagnant, because people want economic, social and political development. This is the discussion which is now opening. The bourgeoisie of Bazargan is seeking agreements including with the Communists, to see how not to nationalise everything and to make the economy progress; but like that it cannot advance. How make the economy advance in a country in which the economy depended on petroleum and the Shah and now it's a question of structuring the whole country?*

*People have the capacity and, in part, the experience that everything can be done. This is the nature of the present process.*

*The recent demonstrations of the left movements (even combining with other lesser movements) respond to the need of the struggle to develop the economy and society, and to establish an anti-capitalist government. This is the depth of the situation.*

*The bourgeoisie, with either Bazargan or Sanjabi, do not intervene openly because they have no authority and fear that the process is developing and*

### THE MASSES WANT TO DEVELOP THE ECONOMY

*Thus this present leadership has no social and political programme. It wants to keep the country in the backwardness of religious submission, whilst the maturity of the masses shows that they believe in Allah but also want to develop the nationalised economy. They want freedom of the press to give opinions, to speak and to intervene. But this present leadership is soon going to confront a movement of greater depth which is going to put programmatic order in the struggles.*

*The women who participated in the recent demonstrations no longer use the veil. Their face was uncovered. It's not the women with the veil who determine in the economy. The women who abandon the veil have social and economic weight and they intervene well in the*

*deepening. Thus they are seeking indirectly to take measures — i.e. 'don't shoot any more' — but shooting continues. 'Put everyone at liberty', and people are arrested. They free some but they hold others. The purity of the revolution, the orientation towards punishment of prostitutes, homosexuals, marital infidelity, are measures and norms which do not affect the economy; but it is not in this way that morality is established. These are only measures of repression. They continue to maintain punishment with the whip; the same as in the epoch of the Shah*

*activity, and these are the ones the country needs to make the economy advance.*

*Soon all these problems are going to be posed with greater acuteness; in accordance with Muslim customs and rites, it is necessary to take a series of measures which impede the development of the economy. In Algeria, for example, the Ramadan is maintained (religious festival), but Socialism develops. The Muslims of Iran see that Algeria is developing. Imperialism cannot intervene. Elsewhere it gives advice, threats, warnings, help — but here it does not open the mouth. This means that the will to make the revolution advance is very profound.*

*The Muslim Committees are  
turn to page 2*

- FOR THE IMMEDIATE RELEASE OF THE 14 MILITANTS OF THE S.W.P. IN IRAN
- NO TO THE REPRESSION OF THE LEFT
- FOR THE FULL PUBLIC DISCUSSION OF THE PROGRAMME FOR IRAN

# PROGRAMME AND POLICY IN IRAN .....

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representatives of the right wing of the sector of the right of the Khomeinists, who want to contain in this way the process of history. It is absurd that these people understand nothing. They cannot resort to the Yanks because, if they do, it's the end of the lot of them and then they would be faced with a real uprising against the religious authorities. People now say we want a religious authority which unites religion with democratic rights and with advancing in nationalisations, in the formation of workers' committees. 'This is the Allah we want'.

In Iran there is no leadership. It is necessary to intervene in debates and discussions over the future of Iran. It is also necessary to have a debate to discuss Muslim doctrines. It is not a question of rejecting them or saying that one is against, but discussing them — but, at the same time, not remaining just there. For example, Mahomet could not foresee the need for the planning of production, nor that people could govern society together, without the backwardness of the economy. Mahomet could not foresee that to develop the economy social relations were necessary and an adequate social structure, and that this is fundamental to develop the economy. Neither could Mahomet foresee (because it did not exist in his doctrines or preoccupations) that the objective interest of developing the economy requires an objective leadership. The subjective interest of private property limits the levels of the economy. It is not that the Shah was bad, but that the regime on which the Shah was based was bad, and he formed part of it.

These discussions have to be developed with much persuasion. History shows that women are indispensable in the process of social, economic, cultural and scientific development: a process which before did not exist. Thus it is necessary to compare the state of Mahomet to this, not rejecting religion globally but analysing what its function is. To leave women with the veil is to negate half of the social, economic, scientific and cultural forces.

The doctrines which the Muslims apply most, the struggle against adultery, alcohol, prostitution are correct, but these are not eliminated by punishment. It's very good to abandon alcoholic drinks, but this does not create a good man with intelligence and experience. The development of the world is achieved through the development of science, culture and art, which the bourgeoisie cannot develop any more. This has to be discussed, not by making a religious confrontation but by a social, scientific and cultural confrontation; and then, finally, one with religion.

The discussion which is developing now is the prolegomena to the much more profound opening of the discussion on where Iran is going. A symptom that

people mature very rapidly is that the attacks which are made on the left are made in an underhand way, not by confrontation. Groups are using the power which the right has. But it is not in the name of the government that they do this, which indicates that not all the government is in agreement with such attacks.

This situation cannot last because there is no economic development. Committees are formed which are real leaderships in all the factories where all intervene. They discuss well because they are all animated by progress. They may be limited in the levels which they attain, but they are committees which function. People take organs which experience has shown are necessary and have shown usefulness to develop the country, because the problem now is to develop the country. If Mahomet could develop it — good, let him come!

The Muslim sectors believe that they can conciliate religion with measures of social progress. Thus, as in the army, the police, among the scientists, the revolutionary progress of history penetrates. Also there is the influence among the religious people, and they believe it is possible to co-ordinate religion with progress. Thus it is necessary to make tactical and programmatic measures for this type of process. For example, the situation does not require a united front with Khomeini as we proposed when it was necessary to overthrow the Shah, but neither a rupture (Khomeini is an ally). It depends on the situation, because the right can deliver blows. Attempts at aggression can come on the part of Turkey to deprive Iran of part of the territory of the Kurds, territory which does not belong to either. With this, the situation can be posed again of a united front against the efforts of revolutionary blows.

It is necessary to develop a programme in Iran and to persuade the Muslim base and part of the leadership that the road for progress is Socialism. If Iran does not take the road of progress, it will fall. Only by developing in progress will Iran maintain itself, otherwise it will fall and disintegrate.

The capitalists of Iran have no encouragement. They realise that they need the world support of capitalism; investments, economic and military support; and they cannot appeal to world capitalism to support them because otherwise they would confront the population, the will of the people and the intellectual sectors who are very advanced. Capitalism does not have ideas. It has no programme to develop Iran in this epoch where world competition and the antagonism with the Workers States develops. Part of the Muslim leadership supported a pastoral economy when Iran is a country which has an immense development of the petrol and steel industry. To leave the

leadership of the economy in the hands of the Muslim conception is to retreat on the forms of present production. They want to give the present forms of production the Muslim conception, which ends by paralysing the economy. The doctrines which the Muslim leadership seeks to apply on honesty and virtue are not as in the stage of Mahomet.

From Mahomet to now the world has developed and the countries have advanced without doctrines, which shows that it is not the religious conception which organises society, intelligence and science. The development of the economy requires the objective administration so that people can plan. This has to be done in a process of world competition. People have to intervene and the organs have to intervene which represent objectivity; as with the trade unions and the workers parties.

To construct the economy under private property leads again to the power of the Shah, creates a new base of power, and does not develop the country — on the other hand, statifying under workers' control develops the country and there are no conflicts with the workers. There are conflicts with small nuclei of the bosses, but nothing more. Mahomet could not foresee this, nor the Muslim religion. In the religious doctrines there is no response, no analysis, references and programme for the development of the economy and society. There are precepts which they apply: against

## THE ISLAMIC RELIGION DOES NOT CORRESPOND TO THIS STAGE

All the religious doctrines are by-passed. They have no answer to this social necessity. Then what has to be done? To impede the development of the economy, to smash it so that it remains in the hands of the backwardness which religion means, or let the economy develop so that it can answer to the intelligence of human beings? It is not true, as the religious sectors say, that 'the world has been poisoned and corrupted by property, wine and prostitution'. It's not true. There are twenty Workers States which arose from nothing and have developed as Workers States. Capitalism, private property is corrupt, and also the bureaucracy of the Workers States — but, even as the Workers States develop and intelligence develops — with the population there is an elevation of human love. While the first stages of the organisation of religion were a defence against the powerful, afterwards the powerful took hold of it and used it against the poor.

It is necessary to develop the women so that they intervene with all their strength (economic, literary, artistic) in society, the same as the child, the old person and the man. The base to impede corruption and prostitution is the cultural and scientific development of society develop-

alcoholism and prostitution, but nothing more.

It is necessary to unite the nationalisation of all property with the nationalisation of the land, and to give the land to work in collective production with the support of the state. Still the government cannot provide machines or technicians. Thus it is going to have to distribute the land to work in a collective form, and to stimulate also the conversion of industries for the production of tractors and agricultural machinery.

The Shah made an agrarian reform which was a swindle. It was to develop conditions to create an internal market and producers of agricultural products. But it was very limited. It could not be done when the economy is in the hands of a small clique which drowns and impedes the development. Hence it failed.

It is necessary to develop the peasant trade unions in which the necessity to develop the economy is central, so as to eliminate the re-creation of the bourgeoisie. It is not true that the reproduction of profit creates the condition to develop the economy. It is not true because peoples more backward than Iran (Mozambique, Angola, Cuba and Ethiopia) have developed the economy in a collective form in accordance with the conception of the development of the economy for the benefit of the population — nationalising and socialising.

ing in the objective love towards humanity, which is the logical end of the Workers States (although now it is in the first stages). There are fewer problems of prostitution, drugs and drunkenness in the Workers States even with the existence of the bureaucratic apparatuses. The structure of the Workers State demands such a condition.

Religions originated in a stage of history in which the economy had little weight or development, and with castes which smashed the population. Religions arose in that particular stage. The origin of religions is prior to economic, social and scientific development and prior to the development of the class struggle in which the economy is concentrated. Now the bourgeois class has no longer a perspective. Thus, now, it is necessary to answer this, not to want to subject the movement of history to the religious conception. The right utilises a series of prejudices or religious beliefs to prevent the social development of the country. When it represses strikes, when it represses the Fedayeen, it does so to prevent social development and so that the economy is not stimulated towards statified property. This has nothing to do with religion. They use the religious conception to impede

This cannot be done. There is no force which can detain the progress of history. A notable example is that, in the USSR, there are many millions of Muslims and there is no problem. When in Iran capitalism was hoping 'now the Muslim problem is going to happen in the USSR' no problem came.

Countries which go from economic levels of organisation which are very backward develop very profoundly (above all socially and politically), because this is the experience of the world and of the Workers States which influences people and shows them how to advance. Iran has before it the example of countries which were nothing, like Rumania, Bulgaria, Hungary which are now countries which develop. They are countries which advanced from worse conditions than those now in Iran. In these examples the masses learn the function of the working class, which has the objective capacity to develop the economy for the benefit of the whole of society, because it cannot constitute itself as a new class. Through its function in history it has to develop the economy objectively, which is for the benefit of the needs of the population. The proletariat is not the force which does this, because it works in a disinterested way, but through its function it cannot appropriate property for itself to make a new class, but has to nationalise. Also, all the experience shows the exhaustion of private property which is no use. Private property develops through the means of competition and the interest of the proprietor, and invests only if there is no profit. It does not invest in what is necessary, but nationalised property allows the development of the economy in accordance with what is necessary. It allows a distribution at a lesser level, but infinitely superior to the capitalist state because it tends to eliminate the needs of housing and employment. This arises through the nature of the Workers State, whereas property — even with religious precepts — does not have these principles. Religious principles are not based on the scientific conception that private property impedes the development of the economy, while nationalised property allows it. It is necessary, besides statification, planning and workers' control, to develop the working class in its leading function, and for this it must elevate its culture, its capacity for leadership and function; not simply to go to a meeting of the trade union or the Party and to listen to what the leaders say, but the working class must have the possibility of leading, reading, studying, participating and discussing experiences. In Iran this has to be discussed. This unifies the population. It does not eliminate ages, but differences. It does not centralise abstractly, but concretely, the most elevated and capable forms of reasoning of the population in order to plan.

In this form the working class has the means to be able to weigh as a class, because



it provides the objective thought for what is best. This is not the interests of any bureaucrat or a team or a sector which utilises property according to its own interest.

Imperialism seeks to gain advantage from this situation in Iran and Bakhtiar aims at a wing of the government and part of the army. In the last declaration, he records his 'twentyfive years against the Shah'. A journalist said to him, 'In your calculation you are seeking to unite with forces which are not in agreement with the Yanks'. Bakhtiar replied that, to work in this situation, one had to take into account the world forces, to see how to advance. This is to give

to the internal bourgeois opposition, political programme and orientation. In turn, the attitude of Talegani and the Muslims of the left and the women who went to guard the locales of the Fedayeen of the people, indicates that a situation of definition is approaching and that a series of massacres are going to occur.

The Muslim right and the bureaucracy are seeking to maintain the army to utilise it, but, within the same army, there are forces which are against. Hence the resignation of the former head of the military police.

J. POSADAS 14 August, 1979.

## EDITORIAL

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Corby and the significance of this is very profound because it influences the whole country, and gives the example of how to construct new organs for a new economy. In the same way, the Lambeth Labour Party comrades in struggle against the cuts are calling for a national mobilisation. This means that they seek the extension and generalisation of the United Front which they already have with NUPE and other trade unions. This is what the currents in the Labour Party which seek to advance and reform the Labour Party has to discuss. **THE STRUGGLE NEEDS A NATIONALLY ORGANISED LABOUR PARTY/TRADE UNION UNITED FRONT.**

The demand for the 35 hour week is now generalised to all the trade unions and has a very large support in the Labour Party. The engineers union has proposed the 39 hour week. The engineering bosses do not want to concede this. The struggle there, is not for one hour a week. The significance of the absolute resistance of the bosses is that the depth of this demand from the part of the AUEW is social and political and not simply economic. The principle that hours should be shortened without loss of wages (and with an increased one), amounts to pose that the profits of technology must go to the workers and their families. This challenges the capitalist system in its vital centre: the exclusive right of the capitalist to own the means of production and to draw from this absolute ownership the entirety of the benefits it yields when automation is used. The demand of the 35 hour week with increased pay, like that of the 39 hour week is an anti-capitalist demand. It poses the expropriation of the boss and the right of the workers and masses to benefit from human progress in technology. This is the reason why the engineers bosses are so absolutely opposed to the idea of reducing the working week by even one hour! The fact that in the face of the lock-out at Rolls Royce, the union leadership — which launched this struggle only because it had to — continues the 2 days week strike, shows that the working class is absolutely determined and conscious that the problems of the total crisis of the capitalist system can be resolved. They have a confidence which can only arise in people when they see that there is an alternative to capitalism and that it works. This is the way the British proletariat and masses are demonstrating that they want to construct the Workers State. They know that private ownership is the block to obtaining the benefits of progress and that in the Soviet Union they have done away with private ownership. And that in the Soviet Union, there is a constant shortage of labour, there is no inflation and after 2 devastating wars and after having spread help to all the masses of the world, they have a constantly elevating and progressing economy and human relations. The masses see that the elimination of private property means human progress, through the superior human relation, which resolves the problems of the economy. This is why Nicaragua has not taken the 'democratic' road of the USA but the road of Cuba. When the Lucas shop stewards come out with a programme for the 'conversion' of their production of engines for war-planes into 'socially necessary goods', it is because the proletariat is mature to run the economy. The 35 hour week has the same significance. **THE WORKING CLASS FEELS MATURE TO RUN THE ECONOMY.**

**THE WORKERS WANT DECIDE IN THE LABOUR PARTY**

The last congress of the AUEW closed amid public turn to page 4

# THE HAVANA CONFERENCE OF NON-ALIGNED COUNTRIES WAS DETERMINED BY THE ROLE OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORKERS STATES

The conference at Havana of the non aligned countries was a profound defeat for all forces wishing to conciliate with imperialism. The bourgeoisie have attempted to say that the final text used words critical of hegemonism. But a text at the end of a conference is not the criterion of the character of the conference as a whole. In practice the conference showed that the workers states were the example for humanity to follow. It followed the disaster for Yankee imperialism in not being able to intervene in Nicaragua.

The existence of the "non aligned countries" is not a necessary historic form. The organisation came into existence because the development of history had extended beyond the capacity of the leaderships of the workers states of an earlier period. In the same way revolutionary states transitory to workers states emerged because the failure to dispose of capitalism allowed a stage to develop for which there was no inevitable necessity. But now history has passed beyond the phase of Nasser, Soekamo etc and the elevation of the historic capacity of the workers state has meant a totally superior historic situation in which non-alignment intermediary between capitalism and socialism is replaced by alignment with the forces of socialism against capitalism.

The essential character of the conference was determined by the structure of history — the struggle of system versus system, between the forces of private appropriation on the one hand versus the forces that seek the collectivisation of the forces of production to serve the interests of human progress. Castro's attack on the United States brought this out — Yankee imperialism supports everything that is backwards, whereas the Soviet Union aids all the movements fighting for liberation from imperialism. Where had the Yanks helped any nation to progress? Nowhere. But the Soviet Union supported Cuba, Angola, Afghanistan, Ethiopia etc. The directness of the attack on Yankee imperialism shows also the fact that there is an accumulation of forces approaching explosion point to liquidate the vital centres of world imperialism and capitalism.

Throughout the decisive days of the conference effectively the Soviet Union and the most progressive forces were dominant. The sectors directly linked with imperialism such as Morocco or Egypt, isolated, could argue nothing that had the

slightest value, and the Yankee-Begin and Sadat policy was condemned. In other words all the reactionary elements including the Chinese and their minions the assassin Pol Pot clique had no weight in the conference. This reflects the objective course of world history led by the Soviet Union.

The sectors led by Tito were unable to challenge the leadership of Cuba, Vietnam and the Soviet Union. Even if references in the final text were made to forces of hegemonism and power blocks which is the way of trying to place the Soviet Union and the Yanks on the same plane, this is pure paper resolution. The reality of the world and the conference is different. The masses of the world see even when reflected through a state conference like this, that the advance of humanity lies with the workers states, with the smashing of imperialism and the liquidation of the forces in China and elsewhere who wish to conciliate with capitalism. The conference is a fundamental blow at all the bureaucratic forces who like the Tito or Ceacescu sectors who wish to balance between capitalism and the workers states to defend their caste interests and their separate roles. It showed how objectively these forces cannot divert the course of world history. The Chinese leadership may launch a murderous war on Vietnam, help direct the policy of mass extermination of Pol Pot in Kampuchea and seek to complicate the advance and security of the world vanguard but it does not weigh, does not decide, on the contrary on the world plane they are isolated, criminals with no exit and no future.

Most importantly working through the Havana conference, the Soviet Union was objectively appealing to the world against world imperialism and its allies. It was an anti imperialist, anti capitalist united front, even if without articulated programme

and policy. Havana has been a form of limited substitution for the absence of a communist international.

The fact that Pol Pot was condemned in practice violates the conservative principle that one nation does not intervene in the internal affairs of another. This conclusion was not drawn at the conference but the bases for this were made here.

The reply of Yankee imperialism to all the implications of the Havana conference — and every other defeat they are suffering on a world scale — has been to create tension over the apparent military presence of the soviets in Cuba. All this is part of the propaganda now increasing throughout the bourgeois world as part of the attempted preparation for the showdown with the workers states and the forces advancing towards socialism. But where can imperialism and capitalism organise a conference to oppose the workers states? Nowhere.

The effect of the Havana conference will be to impel the objective alliance of the workers states and the struggles against imperialism throughout the world. Its most pressing limitation was the absence of a direct appeal to the American masses which would have had an enormous effect. One of the most fundamental weapons with which to counter the policies of US imperialism is to appeal to the American masses. At the same time the conference will stimulate greater and greater audacity within the workers states to consider how to use all the forces of progress in the world and unite them around a coherent programme of the world anti capitalist and anti imperialist united front. Carter's speech prior to Havana was a cry of anguish for the degeneration of the capitalist system. Havana was a new stage in the process of organising the forces of world revolution to hammer capitalism into oblivion.

A EUROPEAN MARXIST REVIEW PUBLICATION

## THE PROCESS IN BRITAIN AND THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY

26.4.79

**J. POSADAS**

# CAMPAIGN ON A PROGRAMME FOR THE EXPROPRIATION OF THE PRESS AND MEDIA UNDER WORKERS CONTROL

The discussion and resolution on "press freedom" at this year's conference of the TUC has raised some very important principles which go far beyond the confines of abstract democracy, or reforms gained through parliament. And the latter are abstract more often than not. What the resolution is posing, in part, is "a national debate on alternative forms of democratic ownership" of the press and what stimulates this is not simply that the bourgeois press is always attacking trade union leaders, or is "unfavourable in its reporting of industrial disputes" but that these are a series of struggles which pose in reality, the question of who controls and for the benefit of whom. The strike of commercial television technicians, the "Times" dispute and that at the 'Nottingham Evening News', all take different forms; but the question which they raise is the same and that is the question of control. The immediate demand which these groups of workers are making is that the advances being made in the field of technology should be for the benefit of the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours. The resistance of the bosses to these demands, a resistance which has prevented the "Times" from being published and "blacked-out" commercial television, is not determined simply by their interest in maintaining their level of profits. What determines their resistance is that they recognise that the right of private property to control, to do what it likes is being put into question. The same is true of the refusal of the engineering bosses to accept the demand of the unions for a reduction, without loss of wages, in the working week. What these struggles are all about is not basically financial, or economic but social, because to demand that the trade unions have even a limited voice in the decisions, in the form of functioning of private property erodes the principle of private property, for instance, the ACTT has proposed — in the course of the present strike — that the unions should have some measure of control not only over finance but also over the content of programmes. And the "media" which is concerned with the dissemination of information and ideas is of crucial importance. The army and police are organisms which capitalism has to defend, with brute force, the system of private property, and the "media" is the means which it has to defend the system — in as much as it is defensible — on the level of "ideas" and misinformation. This is what gives the struggle of the newspapers, of the television workers, and the discussion in the trade unions and Labour Party, a particular importance.

A great deal was made in the discussion at the TUC of the fact that the "press" and "media" are hostile to the trade unions and that reforms need to be made to ensure that they are run democratically and that all have a voice in them. The resolution itself poses that the "media" should be "accountable" to the workers and to the public; as an ideal this is very good. But without a discussion on control, on who controls, on which class controls, the question is left as an abstract principle. The capitalist press is part of the capitalist system and it is run by, and in the interests, of capitalism. That class is not going to relinquish its control because it is told that this would be more democratic or even because a decree is passed in parliament. This is not to say that a programme of demands by the trade unions and the Labour Party for the control of the press is not necessary. It is necessary, and the discussion at the TUC and in the Labour Party — including the demand for the nationalisation of the newsprint industry — is already a partial discussion of programme. It is a discussion which has to be extended to make a "national debate", a process of discussions in the factories, workplaces and workers districts. But ultimately the question comes down to workers control and the concrete, organic means by which this is implemented. With respect to the 'Times' for example, it is clear that gains are being made on the question of who benefits from the new technology but, even if the strike is settled on terms which are economically favourable to the workers, the question of control, of the social use to which the newspaper is put

will still have to be dealt with. The question of the "freedom" of the press is meaningless if it isn't put in class terms. And the discussion has to begin from the understanding that so long as the "media" and the press remain in the hands of capitalism they cannot be either "free" or "democratic". It is only the working class which has the possibility of creating a collective form of democracy and, therefore, the demand for workers control — of the press or any other aspect of the economy and society — is a necessary step towards control by the mass of the population which is what democracy means. What was needed at the 'Times' and the 'Nottingham Evening Post' was a programme for the expropriation and the running under workers control of these newspapers. And, at the same time, for appeals to be made for the intervention in the running of the newspapers to other sectors of the working class and to the population in general.

The reason why this was not done is shown in the discussion and debates in the trade union and Labour Party structures. They are discussions which in general, still remains within the ambit of a respect for private property and the hope that the system can be reformed. It is correct to propose demands which limit the right of capitalism to do exactly what it wants but in every field it has to go together with the development of organisms, of workers committees, of committees in the workers areas which are the means to ensure democracy by imposing control. It is already very clear that large stratas of the

population are attracted to the working class because they see it as a force for advance. This is why the trade unions continue to grow even when the working class is declining numerically. These sectors — like the doctors' organisation which joined the TUC recently — are not simply attracted by the numerical weight of the trade unions, or by the actions of the present leadership. It is the working class which attracts them and, with respect to the control of the "media", the idea of workers control is not going to alienate sectors of the population but to attract them. Therefore the demand, the programme for the expropriation of the bourgeois press and for it to be run under workers control has to form part of a programme of anti-capitalist demands in the next period.

The discussion in the trade unions on the "media" which some years ago produced a very full programme for workers control and nationalisation of the cinema industry from ACTT, is now combined with a discussion in the Labour Party on the necessity for the development of a Labour Movement press. Benn, for example, proposes local newspapers to be produced by the Labour Party and trade unions. But this is a different issue and something of a diversion. It is clear that the Labour movement needs its own means of expression but the means of production still remain in the hands of capitalism. All kinds of publications exist already which are called "alternative" and this includes trade unions and local Labour Parties. In the same way the workers who were sacked from the 'Nottingham Evening Post' have created their own "alternative" newspaper. But the question is not to compete with capitalism but to replace it. In the same way as there is no "middle road" between the economy which is based on private property and a state-owned, planned economy, so there is no possibility of maintaining islands of "co-operatives" in a sea of private property. Clearly the trade union and Labour movement in general can find the financial and material means to produce its own press. The establishment of radio stations by the French steel workers — and the support which the French Socialist Party has given them — is an experience which should be drawn on by the movement in this country. These radios are not "co-operatives" created simply to maintain employment for workers who have been sacked, but instruments of expression and organisation for the workers; means to appeal to the population. If the "co-operatives" idea continues it is because of a lack of political leadership from the Labour Party. It is the process of the organisation of the left in the Labour Party as an anti-capitalist tendency which is going to produce the publications, the newspapers and even the radio

stations. This resolution of the TUC can be taken as a basis for the trade unions to initiate a discussion of anti-capitalist ideas, programme and policy directed towards the population in general and, in particular, towards the Labour left. It is a discussion in

which the ideas and organisms for an independent means of expression — press, radio stations etc. — are combined with the demand for the expropriation of the bourgeois press and "media" and its running under workers control.

## EDITORIAL

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dispute and confusion because the leadership of the Unions stopped the vote which would have mandated it to intervene in the Labour Party Conference in the sense of voting for changes in the Labour Party. This shows that the present leaderships in the various unions — not just the engineers — are preoccupied by the coming changes in the Labour Party. They feel that this will correspond to a different type of relation Labour/trade union, in which the quiet life which these various leaders have had for years — negotiating with the boss, conciliating and bargaining with capitalism — is going to end. A new relationship Labour/Trade Union is being forged and these leaders are opposed because this eliminates the function which they have played to this day. The closing of the engineers conference to prevent a vote from being taken shows also how desperate this leadership has become, because before, it could just impede controversial resolutions from appearing, and now they appear in broad day light and cannot be 'referred to the executive'. This shows the level of preoccupation which there is in the factories for the transformation of the Labour Party. The resolution was: "we want to decide the policy of the Labour Party and not leave it to the people in parliament, the parliamentary party to elect leaders, to make manifestos and to decide in government". This is the meaning of the resolution which was not voted upon because the majority supported it. This proves that the recent elections were not a failure of the British workers but a blow at the present leadership of the Labour Party. And all this is a continuation of the political blow which was delivered by the workers to the 5% and to Callaghan in the last elections. The depth of all this is that the working class wants to determine the policy of the Labour Party. They seek a new form of Party for a new form of economy. When a discussion arises in the Labour Party about the need to 'change some statutes', to 'elect the Leader of the Party at the annual conference', to see to it that the 'Party in government applies the resolutions of the Labour Party conference', it is because this is already discussed and demanded in the trade unions. The idea of reforming the Party did not strike many leaders in the Labour Party until recently! This is because a new form of Party is being sought by the working class and the present structure in the Labour Party — weakened over the years in the monolithism and bourgeois dictatorial domination of the right — can no longer ignore or disregard the resolutions and the preoccupation which stem from the trade unions.

The present structure and organisms of the Labour Party are made for electoral purposes, not for giving programme and leadership to the struggles of the workers, extending them nationally, including in them the tenants, the hospital patients, the public transport users, etc, and linking these to the proletariat in the factories. So, a new form of Party is needed. The Labour Party is the political centre of the British workers. But its functioning is geared to dispute within the arena of the bourgeois parliament and nothing else. In remaining confined to the parliamentary outlook and dispute, the Labour Party functions ultimately in the benefit of private property. The workers want it to function for the benefit of the workers, and this means that organisms of the Labour Party have to be created so that the workers can be represented in the Party, their aspiration can be imposed all the way through, and expressed in an anti-capitalist programme and leadership. As the present leadership of Callaghan do not want to make any change, the changing of the Party will have to be accomplished against them. And this is why we call for the organisation of currents in the Labour party ready to generalise the United Front made in Corby, ready to support Corby and extend it, ready to write leaflets, booklets and newspapers about the struggle of the steel workers, that of the Lucas Shop-Stewards or the Rolls Royce workers. They must write about the need for workers control in the nationalised industries. These Labour Party currents must support the Lambeth Labour Party call for a national mobilisation against the cuts and use this mobilisation to call for a nationally organised LABOUR PARTY/TRADE UNIONS United Front, for the 35 hour week, without loss of pay, for workers control and social transformation. We appeal for this to be discussed in the Labour Party.

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## Editorial

### All the struggles against the cuts, unemployment, and nuclear weapons must be linked to the programme for social transformations in Britain

The Thatcher government shows its profound incapacity to find any solution for the problems of capitalism. It circulates in the sphere of half measures and with the perspective of having to confront powerful working class resistance to all its proposals. "U" turns or not, the conservative government is in the middle of profound political and social crisis which weaken its authority and from which it cannot extricate itself because internationally the whole capitalist system is sinking into a deeper and deeper morass. It has had to deal unsuccessfully with the Patriotic Front, limit its openings for private capital in BP and endure the victory of the engineering workers — the type of intervention the Tories aimed to smash.

At the same time the profound crisis of the system is passing through that other pillar of the capitalist system the Labour party. The last conference showed that there are quite extensive left forces growing in strength which do not find a consistent leadership, programme and policy. The "democratic socialist reform" of Benn does not represent the course of the process. But it is historically inevitable that such ideas as this emerge because of the lack of a previous orientation of the workers states towards the Labour party and the obvious limitations in the functioning of the workers states, which have cast doubt on the validity of marxism. The appeal of Benn to the "ultra left" (left groups) to enter the party is a symptom of the qualitative course of the process which is not going to be determined by the old social democratic functioning. More and more the forces of the left in the Labour party are going to be faced with the need to link their functioning as part of the

Labour-trade union united front directly with the struggle of the masses. It is this absence of direct participation with such struggles which is always marked in Labour party conferences. That is inevitable because the party in its present form with "left conferences" or not is for electoral purposes. It is not an instrument of the class struggle with its objectives determined by the need to abolish the capitalist system but an instrument for extracting reforms. It is this structure which is now in profound contradiction with reality. When capitalism is engaged irrevocably to reduce the standard of living of the masses in order to compete with other capitalisms and to prepare to confront the workers states, the Labour party cannot function as in the past. There is a contradiction between its parliamentary functioning and the actual course of the process which cannot be contained within the forms of parliamentary conclusions.

#### THE BOURGEOISIE REQUIRES A FASCIST SOLUTION

The whole process in the world, Europe and Britain demonstrates irrefutably that the functioning of capitalism as a system is at stake. The policy of the Thatcher government is determined by the total lack of any progressive function for capitalism. It is not a question of some "conservative measures" as opposed to "progressive social democratic reforms" but of a system totally exhausted and prepared to confront humanity in every aspect of life with a policy of destruction of living standards and the environment, allied to every greater repression. The reasons that prohibit capitalism from going directly to fascism — the logic of Thatcherism — is simply that they do not have the social strength to do it. On the other hand to end the system cannot be left to elections and then more state intervention. Parliament can be used but it has limits.

The whole functioning of capitalism is dominated by its competition with the workers states, Thatchers own recent remarks show this. With the expansion of the world revolution it is inevitable that the possibilities of co-existence between capitalism and the workers states sharply diminish. Correspondingly the whole capitalist economy is submitted to the production of armaments. The "petrol crisis" is simply an invention of capitalism to justify all manner of problems and excuse its counter revolutionary course. A political preparation to

confront the workers states is now in full swing and the policy of the Thatcher government is part of this. There cannot be a new development of the economy as the conservatives claimed, because all is submitted to military preparations. Inevitably there are conflicts within the European bourgeoisie especially the German, militarily dependent on the Yanks but faced with the workers states on their borders. But whatever the resistances of German capitalism, Yankee nuclear arms are on its territory and the Thatcher government is openly linked to this policy of strengthening NATO bases in Britain. This fundamental orientation of British capitalism, the NATO alliance, and the flight against the social influence of the workers states should have been central to the Labour party conference. It must be central for the development of any consistent anti capitalist sector in the Labour party. **FINISH WITH NATO! FOR A CAMPAIGN TO CLOSE ALL NUCLEAR BASES IN BRITAIN! THE SOVIET THREAT IS A COMPLETE FABRICATION OF CAPITALISM! WAR AND ITS PREPARATIONS ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF CAPITALISM!**

The tendency of the communist parties to terminate with euro communism and historic compromises and advance towards forms of

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## STRAUSS AND THE NATURE OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN GERMANY

15-8-79

The level of struggle in Germany is not determined by whether Strauss wins the elections or not. Even if he does win, he will not be able to make a policy of confrontation with the working class and the Workers States, which is the intention of Strauss. We have a very rich and living experience on which to base ourselves in this: the Thatcher case. From her initial declarations she has had to change — not because she reflected, but because she has not been able to do what she intended. Strauss will not be able to do this either. Indeed, he is less in a position than Thatcher was because he has less of the authority and political weight and security which Thatcher has. The political security of Thatcher comes from the fact that Britain has a certain independence (from the Yanks) which Germany does not have. It is necessary to make this comparison and draw the conclusion of this experience.

Strauss and Thatcher have the intention to confront the working class and the Workers States. The French (capitalists), too. But the world relations of forces do not allow them to do so. They are preparing a fascist plan, but this is not the epoch of fascism. This is because of the existence of the Workers States. Nicaragua did not imitate fascism. It imitated Cuba.

Adenauer was more important than Strauss today. He had a different human stature. And what happened? This is not the epoch of capitalism, but the epoch of the Workers State. If Strauss goes to government, whatever his policy may be, he will have to rely on the Workers States in the competition of Germany with Yankee imperialism. There are insufficient world markets in the world for both of them. The crisis which is posed between Yankee imperialism and German capitalism — through the selling of the nuclear plants to Brazil, for instance (I have posed in previous articles that it was a real dispute and not a superficial rift between them) — shows this. The Germans (capitalists) resolved to act in the way they did because otherwise there would have been a crisis in Germany. The Yankees made a scene, speaking of the threat of war (through Brazil having nuclear energy), but this was because they were not the ones who did the selling. It was, and is, like this.

There is a very profound competition between Yankee imperialism and its allies, and it was not like this in the past. Before, they could mutually conciliate because the Workers States did not exist.

Now, the Workers States deprive them of a part of the world profit which they derived from human exploitation. Now they have to divide between themselves a smaller share of the profits. Hence one cannot consider the Soviet Union as an abstraction, as the comrades of the Communist and Socialist parties do. The simple fact that the Soviet Union exists, impedes the whole stability of the capitalist system. It is not the Soviet Union which proposes to return to private property, but it is North America which has to propose abolishing private property — in oil for instance. This is the result of the world relation of forces.

The German bourgeoisie cannot develop nor prepare for war against the Workers States. The system of private property in Germany depends on Yankee imperialism for its life; but it is also with Yankee imperialism that Germany competes most! Strauss represents this duality. Strauss wants to be the one who decides the moment when he breaks with the one and goes over to the other side. The attitude of Strauss is no game. Hence he himself declared that he was not hostile to any country in the world. This was aimed at the Soviet Union, and not at the United

#### GERMAN CAPITALISM IS CAUGHT BETWEEN YANKEE IMPERIALISM AND THE WORKERS STATES

When Strauss went to Hungary it was not a manoeuvre. He went to say to them: "Don't stop supporting me, do not leave me alone". This is because, if he could no longer play games between the Workers States and imperialism, he would be smashed. Yankee imperialism wants to make Germany pay military costs, and Germany refuses — because, if it did, it would lose in the arena of world competition. The problem of the Yanks is that they have to prepare the war. They can launch it at any moment, but they cannot decide through it. At the same time, they have to be preoccupied in trying to keep the French, German or British imperialists in line. For instance, the Yanks wanted d'Estaing to act against Vietnam, but the latter posed that one had to negotiate with Vietnam. And d'Estaing did nothing against Vietnam. These are the crises of this stage of the capitalist system, provoked by the development of the Workers States and the world revolution, and not provoked by economic crises.

At the same time, there is the

States. This is the reason also why the Soviets do not launch a great attack on Strauss. It is the same with the French (capitalists).

Giscard d'Estaing, from the point of view of the system, is with Yankee imperialism. But now he cannot act as he did before. German imperialism, from the class point of view, is also with Yankee imperialism. But it has to survive and it no longer can do so by means of preparation for war in the way Hitler did it. Thus Germany — being the second most necessary part of the capitalist structure — is not a force which decides. This creates all this present situation which there is in capitalist Germany. It could not be like this before, but it is like this now. This is because we are in conditions of confrontation between the two systems (capitalism and the Workers States), and not in conditions of confrontation between one country and the other. It is not even the conditions of preparation for war determined by inter-capitalist competition, or even simply determined by the competition of capitalism with the Workers States. No. It is the conditions created by antagonism: that is to say, it has to be one system or the other.

crisis of Germany, Britain and France. In Britain there is a profound crisis of the apparatus (of Social Democracy), the same as in Germany. Thus, in the two vital centres of the capitalist system, there are profound crises of programme, leadership and objective. In both, objectives are posed which are not capitalists, even if this is only true in a limited sense. The crisis of German capitalism is very profound. At the present rhythm, German capitalism needs three times more markets than it has because its industry has developed with investments of such a size, in such a profound way and to such an extent, that it needs more and more markets. Where, however, are they going to find the markets? Thus the crisis is going to be constant. Capitalism is going to seek to lower the standard of living and a reaction will occur which cannot be contained at the level of hours and wages. There are limitations to the concessions which capitalism can make. History shows that capitalism gave concessions to maintain a certain authority over the masses

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# STRAUSS AND THE NATURE OF THE CRISIS OF CAPITALISM IN GERMANY

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and launch the war. Now it is preparing to do this, but it cannot. I have analysed this on the policy of Carter. He tries to win authority before the masses to prepare for war situations. This does not mean that capitalism is going to launch the war right now, but it is trying to win authority over the masses and give a certain order to the empiricism of North America. It could be that the proposal for nationalisations in the oil industry has been made in combination with Carter, who went to visit the trade unions, a short time ago. Roosevelt did the same before the war, with the 'New Deal' which was to win authority over the population and attract it. It is not that this is for now, but these are the plans of imperialism. This shows its weakness, too. This time round it is not the nazis that have to be prepared against, but their historic antagonist: that is to say, against the Workers State.

The process in Germany is still empirical and disordered. There is no line which determines progress as there is in France or in Britain. This means to say, the Party, the trade unions, which in France and Britain have a certain structure, with a left, with a programme and with a certain independence of action from the sectors who can impose it. In Germany it is not the same. It has an iron structure. But, between the structure of Bad Godesberg (this refers to the Congress where the Social Democrats declared that they formally abandoned Marxism), and today, who has won? The proposals of 1959 were to bury Marxism. If today they have to return to Marx, it is because the Social Democracy is led to feel that capitalism does not resolve any problem whatever. It is a step - not a programme - it is a step to the left.

Germany is one of the most developed countries economically. It is second in the league of wealthy nations. This may justify the fact that there is no political life there, there are no Party traditions because these have been crushed and smashed. This causes the present slowness which there is in Germany. However, there is the German Workers State and German capitalism has been capable neither in kicking it out nor in pushing back the boundary. Not only German capitalism had to let the German Workers State exist, but it actually depends on it. Indeed, an important part of the German capitalist economy depends on the German Workers State. This shows its weakness, and the depth of the process which is developing. The workers' vanguard sees this but it cannot express it. The German intellectual vanguard, too. They cannot express it because they do not have the Party to do this, but they see all this. No intelligent German person who is concerned with politics, or even geography or arithmetic, can help but see that the German Workers State is an indispensable ally of capitalist Germany. It may be true that the economic dividends are essentially reaped by capitalist Germany, but it is to the German Workers State that the historic social dividends return. In Africa the German Workers State undertakes projects which, afterwards, are completed with Krupp products of capitalist Germany, for instance. Thus, capitalist Germany gets a series of contracts throughout the world, which it would not get otherwise, thanks to the German Workers State. The average German person sees this and does not perceive those in the German Workers State as monsters.

The workers movement in capitalist Germany is in constant advance in programme, in policy and in conquests. It progresses

also in the renovation of the leaders so that better leaders emerge. This expresses the influence within Germany of the world process and the reality that Germany cannot progress under capitalism. It can progress quite systematically in the reduction of the necessary production time, thus diminishing production costs. But its social and political power does not increase, quite the reverse.

The fury of the struggle between Strauss and the Social Democracy is for the survival of the bourgeoisie, but this is so only in the last analysis. For the time being, these two coincide in realising that the world is structured with twenty Workers States. Neither can Strauss nor the Social Democracy live far from this reality, neither can Giscard d'Estaing live far from it(1). Thatcher, too, realises now that this is the world as it is. Hence, she had to make a complete change, in this way losing the best part of the authority she may have had, and this way feeding the internal struggle which there is in her camp. Someone such as Heath who said: 'Do not fight with the trade unions', will re-emerge. Germany is in the same position.

The struggle between Schmidt and Strauss is over who leads the country for capitalism. But neither of them wants to lead it where it is necessary for the life of the masses. They are the different currents of the capitalist system. Schmidt bases himself on the workers and has to defend the workers' apparatus. He does not represent the progress of Germany, but that of the capitalist system. For Schmidt, Germany means the capitalist system - with some improvements such as flowers in the streets maybe - but nothing more. But, within the German Social Democracy, there are currents who want to go much further. The attitude of Brandt shows that he feels that he has to go further than Schmidt, even if without proposing transformations. Brandt wants to go further, but the initiative does not come from him, or from others like him. It comes from the persistent struggle of the worker and intellectual base, from the left of the Social Democracy. In turn, these are a reflection of the state of the world relations as they are.

Germany cannot go on like this. Strauss and Schmidt cannot maintain the capitalist system and, at the same time, be representatives of a movement which - to progress - has to go against the capitalist system. There is a Christian base of the CDU which is there because it has had a high standard of living to this day, and continuous work. But, as soon as the first limitations begin to show, this base will break up. Schmidt, like the Christian Democracy, agrees with not accepting more military expenditures from the Yanks. They feel that, if they do spend on armaments and they cannot lower wages, then they will have to raise prices. This increase in prices will mean that competition will become more intense, and that the reaction of the masses will increase. Schmidt as much as Strauss sees that it is like this. They have this bourgeois interest within the country, and in world competition.

Strauss did not go to Hungary to make propaganda there. He went to seek Hungarian support and, also through Hungary, he went to say to the Soviet Union and the other Workers States: 'I'm not going to be against you. True, I have my policy, but I am not going to be against you'. It is the same as when d'Estaing went to the Soviet Union to seek Soviet support, and the Soviets did support him indirectly, in the struggle of the French with the Yanks. The French

Communists were discontented with this. They said, 'Look, the Soviets support the bourgeoisie instead of supporting us!' But the Soviets have a world-wide policy, not a local one. And, in world policy, inter-capitalist competition is fundamental.

In previous articles on the European Common Market (2), I posed that it is inter-capitalist competition which pushes European capitalism to really confront the Yanks. European capitalism resists greater investments in military expenditure, and demands that the Yanks do it. There is a struggle which reaches the point where the Yanks (imperialists) said: 'Well then, we are leaving!' (4). Neither the Germans nor the Yanks are going to do this, however. But, when such a level of mutual threat is reached in the inter-capitalist competition, it is because the competition between them grows more acute and they do not have the field of their choice to find a solution to it. It is no longer a question to be resolved like before, by means of a settlement in the inter-capitalist camp. They are all confronted with the Workers States! This is an historic antagonistic competition, and not an inter-capitalist competition.

Germany is going towards a development of the class struggle as are France and Italy also. In that sense, however, Germany is a little behind France and Italy, a little more remote. It is a little farther behind because of its economic and political conditions in which the leadership of the

## THE SITUATION OF IMPERIALISM IS CONSTANTLY DETERIORATING

The world process is more and more defined. Any given country increasingly depends on the others. Left to the decision of its own forces, the situation in Iran would have been other than what it has been. However, imperialism could not decide there. The Soviets could have decided, but they did not animate themselves to do so because they fear the war and are afraid of exciting the Yanks. But the conditions exist for everything to be nationalised in Iran. At the same time, this process indicates the revolutionary progress in the world and in the Communist parties who no longer betray the revolution. They measure out doses of support to the revolution, hoping that this will prevent the intervention of imperialism, but it will not. The reason why imperialism does not intervene is another one. It is because the conditions are revolutionary. Without intervening directly, the USSR has to intervene through the Communist parties, and it is necessary that the Communist parties take positions over Iran. If the French and Italian Communist parties acted with a logical and rational conception of this process; if they supported it, provided it with resources, called meetings all over France and Italy; if they elevated the understanding of this process and if they arranged for this to reach Iran; this would educate the masses without running the risk of exciting imperialism to intervene - a thing which the Soviet Union may run the risk of doing. But even this question of 'exciting imperialism' does not exist in this way, because capitalism is going to launch the war anyway. The Communists are wary of a rat whose strength only lies in its own need and desire to live. Nothing more than this. But this rat has no reason to live.

Imperialism is a rat. Mao Tse Tung said of it that it was the 'paper tiger'. This way, he wanted to give an image to show that imperialism could not decide

Social Democracy is a factor. Besides, the Workers States do not intervene politically with the necessary force to influence capitalist Germany. They do not do this. The bureaucracy of the Workers States, particularly of the Soviet Union, seeks not to confront the bourgeoisie but to proceed organising the forces to benefit from the crisis of capitalism and its constant decadence. The conception of the bureaucracy, therefore, is to advance without giving too much impulse to the struggle, so that no problems are created for the bureaucracy. And, in so doing, it tries to ensure that no leadership develops internally more to its left to by-pass it. But imperialism is really afraid, nevertheless. If Brezhnev disappears, who will follow him? Imperialism fears that what it calls a 'hard-liner' of the sort of a Suslov, someone who may use the crisis of the capitalist system rather more than Brezhnev did to this day, will replace Brezhnev. Whilst Brezhnev uses this crisis, he does not use it too much. For instance, none of the events - the revolutions - which impel history today has been promoted by the Workers States consciously or with foresight. These have just occurred. They are the consequence of the existence of the Workers States, but they occur without having been prepared for. Had they been prepared for, this stage of history would have been curtailed. The war would have occurred before, but stages would have been shortened. There would not have been all the losses of the thousands who died since then from causes other than war. The backwardness due to the continued existence of capitalism is that which provoked these innumerable deaths, and they need not have occurred at all.

history. But, at the same time, this under-estimated the concrete military capacity which imperialism has. And thus Mao did not give through this image a logical vision. This is why one cannot use such imagery as 'paper tiger', because it does not manage to give an exact representation and symbol of the process as it is.

All this development of the world process is going to influence Germany. Brandt is the one who sent messages to Nicaragua, received Polisario, and turned his back on Begin. This takes place at the time when a number of world leading representatives of the Church join with the revolution. The intervention of Cardenal (priest and leader of the Sandinist movement) in the Nicaraguan government shows in a decisive form an increased quality of confrontation in the relations of forces at work in the Catholic movement. We have already posed this in the article which we wrote on the trip of the Pope (5). It shows that in the Church there is already a very important wing which has no fear of Communism. It is not because it thinks Christ carried the red banner, but from its own experience made in capitalism. Basically, an important sector of the Church, of leaders in the Church, come close to the process of history.

Nicaragua does not have much strength because it has no material or economic strength. But it has the decision that, in order to progress, this has to be done by means of transforming everything. The Church of Nicaragua supports this. This is going to have a very great influence in the Catholic movement. It is going to show to the Catholic base that there is no antagonism between religious sentiments, the daily service and social transformation. The world progress of history is led in the name of social transformations, which is Communism, by the Wor-

kers States, by the Communist and Socialist parties, by the nationalist movements. It succeeds in making the world influence weigh on all the layers of society, including the old ruling layers: the army, the police, the scientists and the Church.

Although in Germany now there is no change in the relations of forces, this process is going to find its expression some time. It is expressed in Strauss going to seek support in the most accessible of the Workers States, through which he directs himself to them all, telling them: 'With you there is no problem; there is a historic one of antagonism, but there is no confrontation with you now'. This is what Strauss went to say in Hungary.

There are concrete expressions of this movement of advance in Germany, such as the appearance of daily journals of the left and the relative advance of the left in the Socialist Party. We have analysed that the Socialist International went to Nicaragua to contain the process within capitalist limits. This is so; but it was also for the Socialist International not to become disconnected from the process. It went to link with the process and not just only to try to stop it. It tried to impel it within the scope of remaining under its control, to contain, but not to remain outside of this process. That is to say, it is a direct competition with the Workers States. It is competing over the leadership of the process with the Workers States whilst it is also with Yankee imperialism. The Social Democracy has a rival, not in Yankee imperialism but in the Workers States, which are historically antagonistic. Thus the Socialist International may go further than what one may think.

The attitude of the German Social Democracy, the steps which it takes, show that it does not yield simply in forms and formulas, but that there is a process which it can no longer contain. The attitude of Strauss is relating to a movement in which he perceives the Social Democrats to be what they are. Hence he has the attitude of saying to the German masses: 'I am not an enemy of the Workers States'. This is aimed, above all, at the petit bourgeois wing. If it were the opposite he would not have gone to Hungary and there is no doubt that he would have had the slogan: 'Down with the Workers States!' But, instead of this, he means to say: 'I am a German, I am a capitalist. But I am not an enemy of the Workers States'. That is to say, capitalism has to accept a conciliation which is a lie, but it has to accept it all the same. It is capitalism which loses out of all this, and this is so even when it is being done with the bureaucracy of the Workers States. It is capitalism which loses, because the Workers States show to the petit bourgeoisie that capitalism does not make progress whereas they - the Workers States - do.

Inter-capitalist competition results in German capitalism presenting a candidate which is resisted even by a certain sector of capitalism itself. This is because Strauss represents, on the one hand, a closer alliance with Yankee imperialism but, on the other, also a resistance to imperialism which is determined by the interests of German capitalism. It is no longer a stage of a strictly defined type. German capitalism does not have the possibility of deciding on a world scale. All manner of currents and conditions are being sought within capitalism, in the search of how to develop itself. In German capitalism, for instance, there is a wing which agrees with elevating relations with the Workers States, and this wing is present in the Social Democracy. These sectors are aware of being strangled: 'In capitalism we are

drowned, whilst with the Workers States we are also drowned — but later'. Hence they try to survive. This creates fissures in capitalism, driving sectors into maintaining

## THE ECOLOGISTS ARISE THROUGH THE WEAKNESS OF THE WORKERS PARTIES

Another aspect is the appearance of the Ecologists for instance. This shows the growing intervention of sectors of the population. At the same time, when such sectors as the Ecologists appear and have much strength, this shows the lack of capacity of the Communist parties in Europe to represent all the forms which the progress of society takes. The Communist parties limit themselves and say: 'There are forms of struggle which we cannot represent'. But this is not true. The policy of the Communist parties, the policy of the Party which wants to transform society, must encompass all the needs of progress of society, and the ecologists are to be included. If the Communists do not give a lead to this, it is because they do not have an adequate policy. They have a policy of conformism, of classification of progress in what in the end, is a social democratic form. The objectives of the Communists are not social democratic, but for social transformations. But this policy which they have gives rise to the development of an infinity of movements — for example, that of the women which has a very great importance. The Communists, however, view that problem as a 'women's problem'. They do not have a programme for this or for ecology, and in the concrete events they show that they are against this programme. People do see this.

The Communists do not have a programme for unemployment. When people occupied the land and worked it (in Italy), they said: 'No, this is to violate property'. But the respect of property is antagonistic to the necessities of life!

In Germany the development of ecologism comes after various efforts to form a Socialist left in the youth. It is not that ecologism can be a movement in reply to the needs of progress of society. On the contrary, ecologism is not a programmatic political movement. It is a protest against the monstrosities generated by capitalism which are also going to increase. These movements arise because there is no leadership for social transformations. There are some declarations, but the policy for it is missing. The Communists of Italy say, 'We have to change the country', and they proceed to submit to the capitalist government. People see this! And they do not believe them. The concrete fact is when the Communists come to discuss such things as a plan for investments, they accept all the bourgeois arrangements and shut up. People see this, and thus orientate their will to struggle towards other terrains. Hence there appears such things as the Ecologists, the women's movement or the students' struggles against the education system.

A report was recently published in Italy on tourism. It showed the change in the quality of tourism in Italy, which we analysed some years ago. It showed the increase in cultural tourism, in visits to museums, to theatres, and the growth of the number of young people engaged in this. The inquiry was published in the paper of the Italian Communist Party. When the Communists have to announce that the young people are increasingly interested in tourism to elevate their cultural and political capacity and to intervene, it is because there is a protest in the Party and that it has weight. It shows the intervention of the

relations with the Workers States. This also gives them an added means of competition with British, French, Yankee and Japanese imperialism.

youth, particularly the German youth, but also the French and the British youth.

The character of entertainment changes with time. And time is measured by the progress of culture and science and art. In their particularity, however, science, culture and art contribute relatively little to the specific social movements. It is politics which deal with social movements. Hence we say of ourselves that we 'entertain ourselves politically'. In history, entertainment changes in accordance with the development of the social struggles and not in accordance with the means which arise to do so. In this stage of history it is the social struggles which give a meaning to diversion, in the sense of recreation, but there is a concentration (not a diversion) in the realisation by the immense majority, that life has to be changed. People see that capitalism is irrational. The youth see this. They see that we can now go to the moon. They say, 'We can go to the moon; but here, I have to wait one hour for the bus and my boss has seven cars'. This judgement arises thanks to the Workers States. The Workers State gives security to people. But it does not give to them political organisation, and it is political organisation which the youth seeks. Hence student movements recur in a thousand forms because they feel that this is unjust. Among the youth the egoistical preoccupations, the preoccupation for usufruct or use of property, has not yet been structured. Objectivity develops more in the youth. The young people feel secure and strong, and they see that everything can be resolved. The youth does not have the cautious attitude and the fear which develops in the older person. However, today, there are not many 'old' people in that sense. The old person of today is a youth of forty, for instance. And a young man of eighteen is an 'old' person of 18. That is to say, mature experience is already acquired by the 18 year old. Eighteen years of security — concentrated within social activity — give to the youth the security acquired by the 70 year old. This is concentrated in social activity. This is the tourism of today. The youth goes in search of knowledge, of influence, and seeks how to impel. He does not go wandering about to pass time. He is not like the bourgeois who goes in search of the bar where he can get drunk.

In the present stage of the history of humanity we are in; all the cultural problems, the political and artistic, trade union problems — all combine and unite, without mixing, and are being structured within a superior form of life. The separation in human activity occurred and developed only because the regime of private property determined life. The conception of 'specialities' — which is the private conception developed in art, culture and science — has been developed like this, because of the system of private property which itself developed in that form. But it is no longer like this today.

Today, culture, science, art, language, sport — everything — are united. If we take the best sportsman, the best champion — he is of the left. This is so, not only because he comes from the Workers States, but in any part of the world. He comes from the capitalist countries and even from the United States. This shows that the social problems are united to the problems of sport, for instance, and all

# THE DISCUSSION ON IRELAND IS A FUNDAMENTAL ASPECT OF THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS IN BRITAIN

At the end of the Labour party conference it proved impossible to avoid the question of Ireland and the resolution for the withdrawal of British troops was proposed. The Labour apparatus was hoping to avoid any discussion of Ireland but conditions imposed it. The discussion on Ireland remains very very superficial in the Labour party, as does the discussion of the monarchy but the question is not going to go away. The pressure to discuss and find solutions for it is going to increase.

The socialist solution for Ireland has nothing to do with the inter bourgeois discussion which only reflects the interests of capitalism and its tactical problems in this stage of history. The crisis over Ireland reflects different tendencies among the bourgeoisie. The top layers of high finance and the multinationals linked with the top layers of the army and the government apparatus are wedded to imperialist control of Ireland as part of the strategy of preparing the use of the armed forces for intervention in Britain in the final stages of the agony of the system. The other tendency which speaks in general terms of the need for the withdrawal of British troops reflects defeatist tendencies among the less central sectors of capitalism. But neither one or the other visualises a non capitalist solution. It is a discussion which reflects the difficulties and the tensions of the bourgeoisie in face of a situation which it is impossible to dominate because they do not have the means to develop a fascist perspective.

The struggle within the ruling class is so vicious and the desire to stimulate more and more measures of repression so acute that we have the assassinations of Neave and Mountbatten. Imperialism tries to use such events to increase with all possible speed measures of repression, and accelerate collaboration with the "South" against the "terrorists".

Within this context it is necessary to see the significance of the papal visit. The Pope is obliged to respond to ever more powerful tendencies within the church which reject capitalism and its repression. He had to associate himself with the Irish people and its desire for progress and rejection of the world of capitalist violence. One cannot look to him for specific conclusions and programme against the capitalist system — he denounced the rotten way of life in the United States — but in order to survive he has to link on a generalised human plane with aspirations for progress. On the other hand, he has to try to maintain the essential structure of the traditional faith. This reflects the tremendous tension in the church which constantly accelerates. The Pope seeks to contain, but at the same time has to relate to all the new forces which surpass the church.

## IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR CIVIL WAR IN BRITAIN

British imperialism hoped not only to train its army in Ireland for future operations in Britain but to develop large fascist formations among the ultra unionist sectors. Insane brutalities have certainly occurred but the ultra rightist sectors are little more than mafia hooligans. Even in N. Ireland it has proved impossible for imperialism to develop a basis for fascism and this where there is a high level of unemployment and great possibilities to recruit from a lumpen proletariat.

The central sectors of the bourgeoisie want to create conditions for a generalised repression of the masses throughout Britain and Ireland is a fundamental part of this. The murder of Peach by the assassins of the SPG represents this policy but it is socially impossible for the Thatcher government to follow the line that it would like.

The question of Ireland and the need for a consistent Labour party response to it is very much related to a greater comprehension of the strategy of the bourgeoisie at this stage and the understanding of the role of the bourgeois state. Bi partisanship in practice over Ireland is to connive with the policy of the bourgeoisie. The murder of Peach was the result of a policy of conniving with capitalism. It is possible to make inroads against capitalism by going to government and imposing certain anti capitalist measures as did Allende but only mass organisation and mass organs and interventions towards the armed forces can guarantee the extension of the power of the masses and the liquidation of the capitalist system. Ireland brings out the real character of the British state-coercive and assassin. To discuss Ireland in any depth means a discussion of the real character of capitalism at this stage. There is not a separate "British" and "Irish" question. The ruling cliques in Southern Ireland are busy conniving with British imperialism over the "Irish" question precisely because underneath all this issue is social change in Ireland and Britain.

## THERE IS NO "IRISH PROBLEM" SEPARATE FROM BRITAIN

Every effort is made to reduce the dimensions of the "Irish" issue by discussing "terrorism" in the abstract — as efforts were made in Italy to discuss the assassination of Moro as though it had nothing to do with the strategy and tactics of the central sectors of finance capital. The policy of capitalism and the decision of the masses will inevitably lead Britain to a process of civil war. To believe that a crisis of such dimensions will be overcome by ballot boxes is an error — the true face of capitalism is the army in Northern Ireland. They have acted there as a training ground for operations in Britain. If they had wanted to modify matters they could have done so. But it is of no interest because Northern Ireland is part of the preparation tomorrow for Britain and today also. At the same time capitalism does not have the power to dictate the timetable.

The forces of the left have to dedicate time to Ireland, to break the silence on this issue, to confront the bourgeoisie. The latter are terrified of the first sign of progress in the Labour party, and will become even more so at the first serious discussion of Ireland and the monarchy because such issue touch the real springs of the capitalist system. That fear is the degree of their social weakness. It is necessary to integrate the problems of Ireland, north and south with Britain. All the problems of unemployment, inflation, decaying social services apply to both countries. It is necessary to propose not simply a discussion of troop withdrawals but trade union rights in the army, and the unification of the struggles of the Irish and British masses in the perspective of a socialist federation in which cultural autonomy can exist side by side with a centralised economy utilising the industrial and agricultural resources of both countries to elevate their economies together. Imperialism has a vested interest in pretending that Britain and Ireland have separate solutions. There is no such separation but unification is the common need to liquidate the antiquated capitalist system.

problems are united like this.

With language the same thing happens. There is a greater unification. It is a lie to say that it is tourism which brings languages closer. The element which brings them closer is the concern of people for the universality and concentration of the problems which arise in any given language. Because there is only one problem: and so people seek to make a single tongue so as to resolve it. Language does not simply arise through necessity, it arises as a conclusion of the development of life under private property. It was not a law of nature that there should be so many of them. What is a real conclusion of nature, however, is

that every body can move alongside another without clashing with it. It is the same for human beings, even in the instance of one being thin and the other fat! We are going towards this. Germany is part of this process and it is going to be expressed quite soon.

I return to insist on the judgement which I have always expressed and which Trotsky could not develop because they murdered him. Marxism was born in Germany. If, however, what was done in the Soviet Union could not be done in Germany, what Germany is going to do will be ten times more complete than what has been achieved so far in the Soviet Union. This is so not just because there is an

historic base and experience in Germany, but because of the character of the German proletariat. It is a proletariat whose country was smashed twice, but which carried on going forward most powerfully because it was not the cause of these destructions. The bourgeoisie was. The German proletariat has an historic security which the North American proletariat, for instance, does not have. The German proletariat has a security acquired through the historic conditions of the very development and nature of the German proletariat.

J. Posadas 15.8.79

# “Not ‘Social Control’ But ‘Workers Control’”

The idea of simply extending state participation in private industry to eventually make it function in the benefit of the masses, is based on the belief that the capitalist class can be pressurised into functioning in the necessary way. However, the owners of industry under capitalism have a manner of judging, of living, of evaluating priorities, which is determined by their nature of private owners, in competition with others whom they have to push out of the market in order to survive. This determines their actions and they cannot visualise anything outside this because they cannot think beyond private property. The only class in society which is interested in putting the economy at the service of the workers and population, is the working class. It is also the only class that can do it, because of its function in production. It has already demonstrated its capacity by creating 20 Workers States and 20 Revolutionary States in constant development towards the Workers State. Workers control is a transitional step towards the Workers State.

The present nationalised industries function within the realm of private property. The state which selects its leaders, finances and invests in these industries, does so in the same way as the private bosses, because they are submitted to the rest of private property. The fact that there are managers and bankers at the head of the nationalised industries is not the root-cause of the problem, but one of the expressions of it; as it is a state of private property which directs the nationalised industries, then, bosses control them and there is no workers control. It is clear that the “workers-directors” system in the Steel industry has made no difference to the fact that half the work-force was liquidated there, in the last Labour administration. Besides, the reason why the state took over certain parts of the economy, is because capitalist private enterprise either failed there, or did not make profits. But the question is then to be asked in the Labour Party: What will happen if we “renationalise without compensations”, for example, the Oil Industry, which is quite central to capitalism? Will the courts do it? Will the police and the army do it? Or the

civil service? Allende in Chile passed laws in parliament for the expropriation of the copper industry. But the state apparatus as a STRUCTURE came down on the side of private property and murdered him. So the question has to be posed: Who will apply the nationalisations, or the “expropriations without compensations”? It has to be the working class. Workers control cannot be viewed as a humane arrangement which will come when the economy will have been nationalised through some parliamentary decree: No, it is the vital means by which the economy will be nationalised and planned, and for this, the workers need organisms of power both in the factories and in the country. They need a political leadership in their own Party, to lead this struggle, to plan it, and not to struggle against the workers! This is so because the bourgeois state as a STRUCTURE is a state for the defence of private property, and another form of state will be needed.

THE NEB

The idea of the “extension of the NEB”, now discussed in

sectors of the leadership of the Labour Party, is based on the belief that increased subsidies behind protectionist barriers, will allow industry to re-enter the field of competition. This is not seeing that the crisis of capitalism is total and global. It is also not seeing that the British economy cannot develop in isolation, in a self sufficient manner. Also, it is to hope that an increased state intervention will eventually force the private capitalist to invest. Fords however, invests where it likes and so does Chrysler. They also import cars from their other factories in Europe, and they have the right to do all these things as long as they are not expropriated. The point remains above all, that even in the instance when this could be done, an immense quantity of arms, bombers engines, cars, chemical poisons, will continue to be produced and are not socially necessary. So, the idea of regenerating the present economy which is contained in enlarging the NEB idea, is only proposing to continue to produce what cannot be sold, whilst no solution is given whatever to cuts, sackings and inflation, whilst the private capitalists continue to get state money . . . !

WORKERS CONTROL

The NEB therefore, has left both private property and the state, untouched. All the workers directors of BSC (Steel) have

been capable of doing, is ratifying the decisions of private property: sackings; and in so doing, attempting to give the impression that the workers agreed to the sackings, and that no other form of control was needed. This shows that we will not get anywhere with workers directors. Workers control, requested by the ACTT workers at ITV, has to be supported by the Labour Party left. Workers control is not a decoration to be put later, on top of the nationalised industries. It is the indispensable means by which the benefits of technology will go to the workers, the bosses will be expropriated and the economy nationalised and planned.

The idea of planning agreements with the main enterprises is a product of trying to avoid seeing that neither private enterprises nor the capitalist state, will take steps towards destroying themselves! It is an idea which stems from trying to avoid workers control. The Triumph workers failed because they were still trapped within having to compete, which shows that for them to succeed, a political leadership in the Labour Party was necessary to extend what the Triumph workers were doing and struggle for a state structure to produce for needs and not for profits. This is why it is necessary to discuss workers control in the Labour Party. The fact that workers control is the major means by which to construct the nationalised economy, signifies that one should not wait until the economy is nationalised (by decree) before posing workers control. No, the Labour left must pose workers control now, and support immediately and nationally the ITV technicians. This will provide the basis by which to advance towards the planned economy; ‘social control’ cannot do this, because it is an abstract form which does not give the lead to the working class, principal protagonist of the progress of history.

## EDITORIAL

continued from page 1

alliance with the socialist parties shows how the forms of united fronts throughout Europe develop in scope. The forces of the labour left should be based not just on the process here but the general course in Europe against capitalism. In its evolution the left is going to have to break with all the issues that tend to delimit the confrontation with the bourgeoisie — “Britain” versus the Common Market, the monarchy, Ireland and the “respect due to parliamentary democracy”.

The forces of the left have enormous opportunities to fuse the struggle in the labour party, to form a consistent anti capitalist left with the mass struggles being waged at this moment. All sectors of the working population are being oppressed in one form or another by unemployment, inflation and the reduction of social services in education and transport. The Labour party has said there should be a campaign against the cuts. Clearly there has to be a struggle to maintain the gains of the working class but at the same time this has to be associated with the development of a leadership in the unions and the Labour party which does not rest on purely defensive struggles destined to remain within the confines of accepting the system but campaigns around a programme for social change, for a planned economy and the liquidation of the private banks and key industries at present in private hands. At the present moment the various struggles against unemployment, reduction of nursery schools, closing of hospitals tend to be isolated from the programmatic struggle — yet these struggles are the greatest source of strength to give consistency to a labour party left. The proposed mass sackings at Leylands epitomise the crisis of leadership in the unions and the Labour party. It is clearly not enough to resist the sackings and leave it at that. The car industry is in a phenomenal crisis because within the terms of capitalism it is non competitive. Any serious perspective involves the transformation of the industry to produce useful goods for the community but this involves planning and an intervention against the functioning of the capitalist system as a whole. Its the same with the question of the nuclear power industry. The ecologists are right to object to the enormous dangers in uncontrolled capitalist power in this industry but the unions and the labour party left should be foremost in this field, and not confine discussion within the parliamentary arena.

The intentions of capitalism are profoundly sinister. They would like to repeat the murder of Blair Peach a hundred fold but the Thatcher government has shown in its short period of office that it is weak, indecisive and alienating forces in its own camp. The German bourgeoisie is the most anguished in Europe but British capitalism is equally mortified at its own lack of perspective and faces its opponent the workers states in fear and trembling. The left in the Labour party will advance with greater security than in the past.

## FOR A LABOUR MOVEMENT ENQUIRY INTO THE REPRESSION AT SOUTHALL

The events following the murder of Blair Peach in Southall during April have shown, beyond doubt, that the problem which has to be confronted is not primarily the existence of fascist groups but the repressive character and actions of the state itself. Whilst the “enquiries” into the death of this militant have been nothing but evasions and prevarication, with the SPG being allowed to refuse to give any information, those arrested during the demonstration have been tried — with a conviction rate much higher than normal — and even “defence witnesses” have been penalised. No action has been taken against the police who were involved in what was a wholesale and violent repression of a large sector of the population in this area. It would have been naive to expect anything else, particularly when this present government demonstrated its intentions very early on by raising both army and police pay. The death of Peach and the repression in Southall form part of a concerted policy — of which the SPG and the use of the army in Ireland are a part — to confront the working class and all the forces for progress in the country. It is surely time for the Labour left, the trade unions and other forces for progress to elevate a policy which goes beyond protest and the use of the capitalist judicial structure.

### THE SPG IS AN INTEGRAL PART OF THE CAPITALIST STRATEGY

Both the TUC and the Labour Party annual conferences condemned the SPG and, in the resolutions at this conferences, there was a recognition that the SPG was part of a preparation, by the capitalist state, to confront the working class. But it was not linked to the growing intervention of the army in Ireland, nor to the repressive laws like “the repression of terrorism act” and it did not express any coherent policy or programme. The SPG is not an aberration, and Southall was not an isolated incident, or “racist” in character. These developments, like the repression in Ireland, are logical responses from the capitalist system, from its state, in conditions where it has no possibility of advancing the economy and society, and is finding it impossible to retain any real social support. The fascist groups are small, the leadership of the National Front is in a state of constant crisis and when they appear on the streets it is only as a “front” for a massive

intervention of the police. The present government would like to pursue a consistent “fascist” policy, a policy of social confrontation but a whole range of events — from the strikes of technicians in “defence” establishments, to the uproar over jury “vetting” and the reactions to Southall itself — show that the social conditions for this do not exist. This means that the growth of state repression has to be faced not with the attitude of fear that “fascism” is around the corner but with confidence based on the fact that in this country, as on a world scale, the balance of social forces is for progress.

Nor can we wait on a change of government, since much of the laws and apparatus of repression were initiated, or continued under the last Labour government. Neither can we wait on the capitalist state to hold a “public inquiry” because this would be to rely on the state investigating itself and would serve no more purpose than internal police investigations. The Labour Party and Trade Unions have both denounced the SPG and called for its disbandment; now it is necessary to extend this denunciation by organising a public “trial”, set-up by the trade unions, the Labour left, the “immigrant” organisations and representatives of all the forces for progress in the country. This is the only basis for an “independent” inquiry; independent of the capitalist state. In particular it is the trade union organisation of the working class which is the key in this situation since it has the experience of the role of the police in the factory occupations, and strikes and of its own independent organisation like that of the “flying pickets”.

A trial, or inquiry on this basis would allow discussions and conclusions to be drawn on the repressive nature of the capitalist state in front of the whole population, and outside all the distortions and lies of the capitalist press, and the judicial system which is based on the defence of private property. But, the development of policy and programme is also necessary on this subject as on everything else — in the trade unions and among the left in the Labour Party. It has to be taken into account that the increasing reliance on repression by the capitalist state, by the forces of British imperialism goes together with its immense social weakness. The means that there needs to be a combination of the development of the independent organisms, the committees of the workers — in the factories and workers areas — with a campaign based on the demand for full trade union and political rights in the police and army. Any trial, or inquiry, then, has to combine conclusions on who is responsible for the murder of Blair Peach and the violent repression in Southall, with appeals to — and programme and policy for — the base of both the police and the army.

## Editorial

### FOR THE LABOUR PARTY — TRADE UNION UNITED FRONT ON A PROGRAMME TO MEET THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION — A 35 HOUR WEEK NOW — OUT WITH NATO BASES

The Tory government continues its headlong attack on the masses. Mortgage rates rise, factories are closed down and gas prices are to increase by 40%. They have the levers of economic and government power but what is striking is the inability of capitalism to control and demoralise the masses. The reality is that this "tough" government is demoralising its own forces, creating doubts and catastrophes for its own supporters. A former minister Rippon is obliged to attach monetarist conceptions and a whole group of Tory MPs rebel over the racist immigration bill. All this is the result of the total lack of perspective of capitalism. It has to try to repress the masses, lower their standard of life but lacks the forces to obtain a successful class conclusion to all this. Thus the resistance of the population increases and the policies of capitalism lose in power of attraction. The social and political confidence of the masses is vastly superior to the economic blows delivered at them.

The government cannot rely on a world environment which could give it support. On the contrary the whole of capitalist society and economy is in crisis. All the capitalist governments are in social, political and economic crisis in one form or another. Carter the leader of the most powerful capitalist country is totally paralysed in front of the uprising of the Iranian masses. There is no leadership in Iran and the result is that the taking of the hostages and the siege of the American embassy does not represent the true character of what is passing in Iran. The masses are seeking the total social transformation of their country and the return of the Shah does not represent this. At the same time the masses do not wish to remain in Iran but to link up with all the world forces against capitalism. Hence the appeals for the intervention of the American masses against their government. In all this American and British imperialism are impotent. They cannot intervene. Callaghan and Thatcher supported the Shah and when the latter was smashed, these were blows at them, at their running of capitalism here. Capitalism to secure authority would have to expand, bring in new layers of the population benefiting from the system and conquer overseas markets. None of this is happening. It is going in reverse. Nicaragua is freed and the Americans can do nothing and British imperialism is even more impotent. Another social system led by the Soviet Union is in existence based on nationalised property, a system without capitalists and this prevents capitalism developing its forces. On the contrary these forces decline in every sphere, in face of the competition of the workers states.

#### NO TO NUCLEAR BASES IN BRITAIN

The Labour party and the trade union leadership although speaking in general terms of resistance to the cuts have conspicuously failed to develop a series of mass campaigns and actions to confront the government. It is apparently possible to organise a central demonstration over the abortion bill but not the working class over the cuts. The abortion bill is important but more profound is the need to mobilise all possible forces to defeat the policy of the government. At the same time it is necessary to develop a campaign over the question of nuclear bases in this country. Essentially preparation of nuclear arms is the core of the policy of capitalism. The pile up of armaments is not determined by the myth of soviet aggressiveness but by the need of capitalism to confront the workers states because as a social system it cannot endure the competition. But through its weakness and the balance of world forces which does not favour it, capitalism cannot decide the timing of the war. But it continues to perfect its nuclear weapons not only for use against the workers states but against the population. The Labour party has simply said the establishment of these latest weapons in East Anglia is a "provocation". On the contrary it is a preparation for war in which the Labour masses have no interest. These weapons are to defend private property. In Germany they have been established without any discussion, and NATO is actively engaged in bellicose attacks on the Soviet Union. It is not possible to discuss the Common Market and ignore the character of NATO whose underpinning is the Common Market.

#### FOR A PROGRAMME THAT RESPONDS TO THE NEEDS OF THE POPULATION

The demonstrations on November 28 have not been centralised with all the strength that is possible from the

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## The Revolutionary Process in El Salvador, Democracy and Socialism

23.10.79

J. POSADAS

This military coup in El Salvador has been made in agreement with the government and with the bourgeoisie and imperialism to prevent the process going further. It is aimed to contain a process like Nicaragua and to impede the revolutionary movement — which is the one with the strength in El Salvador — going further, because until now these soldiers had not previously demonstrated any intention to fight, or made any declarations or confrontations. Suddenly within two or three days they said, there is discontent, unease in the barracks . . . that is to say there was an agreement between them all to prevent the triumph of the revolutionary movement represented by the Popular Revolutionary Block to prevent the process taking the form of Nicaragua. Hence the first measures which the high command took are to prevent the continuation of the revolution. The measures that were taken first were not taken to impel the development of the country by giving democratic liberties and to answer to the unrest, the needs, the will of the population and the guerrilla movement. On the contrary, the leaders wanted to stop it and the first thing they said was for the defence of private property. Anyone who went against private property would be punished, condemned and executed. The Popular Revolutionary Block was orientated to make social transformations to develop El Salvador, without which there is no development. With this coup it remains where it was before.

There is a very profound contradiction and opposition between this military junta and the PRB. While the PRB was developing, these soldiers did not hear anything. While one would see agitation, movements and intervention of people, there was nothing from them. These people did not intervene at all. This coup was a deception, a passage of power, from one clique to another to prevent the deepening of the movement against the assassin dictatorship, taking the revolutionary character of social transformations. Hence the first measure which they took was that of prohibiting strikes, demonstrations and meetings. They arrested strikers, in defence of private property. Previously they had not shown any form of desire for a change of government or for supporting the revolutionary movement, nothing. Suddenly they appear alone and not with the left but with young officers who have no better relation with the revolutionary movement. The PRB which has been involved in all the expropriations was forced to publish throughout the world warnings against the Salvador dictatorship. These people of the coup did not participate in any way in revolutionary action, not even surreptitiously.

They have neither participated or collaborated in anything . . . When they now appear in government, it is the least evil for the bourgeoisie because they feel that they are going to be defeated. The coup is to prolong the process, trying to prevent the revolutionary solution as long as possible so that there is no statification as in Nicaragua. Thus the situation is not stable. The attitude of the communists in supporting their set up does

not mean that it is correct. We believe that it is a very limited policy which does not answer to necessity. The communist party has no strength, has not intervened as a party, has not had the possibility of determining with programme or policy or anything. But the PRB which is not communist was prepared for this process and shows how the movement ends up with communist positions. To go forward the PRB has to take the roads of the workers states, of the USSR and of Cuba. It has to take the road of communism. They cannot invent any position that is scientific than that which leads the country towards the workers state, to the base of the construction of socialism.

It is very important to see that these are parts of a process in which the bourgeoisie is incapable of being able to detain or contain it. It tried to do so by massacre but the masses rebelled against this. The relation of world forces favoured the masses of San Salvador and the PRB,

#### THE JUNTA OFFERS NO SOLUTION

We believe it is necessary to draw a conclusion of support for the revolutionary movement which seeks to impel the Salvadorian revolution, not to leave it for another stage, because capitalist power is now going to consolidate itself and repress. It is necessary to give full scope to the intentions, to the will expressed through the PRB which has the support of the population, for a Popular Government in which all the tendencies intervene including the bourgeoisie, now immediately the fullest democratic liberty for the population which means consulting the population. What does the population want? Not democracy and liberty as the coup defined it, that is to prohibit every demonstration, every meeting, imposing the curfew and defence of private property. But the PRB and all the other groups demand the prosecution of the struggle as in Nicaragua. The conditions exist for social transformations, even by making agreement with the bourgeoisie which may have an interest in a certain development. It is possible to make certain agreements with the bourgeoisie to let it

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# The Revolutionary Process in El Salvador . . . .

continued from page 1

participate. Let certain sectors participate with democratic rights, let them and respect their investment but the chief sectors of the economy must be in the hands of the state.

Meanwhile it is necessary to develop as in Nicaragua, primary education for the population, school teaching, with an intense political life, to see that they discuss as in Nicaragua for one or two months on the question of what has to be done to take the country out of backwardness, a month of discussion — how do we emerge from backwardness? The dictatorship which had control of the country, did so in the name of and based upon private property. The dictatorship was imposed because if not it would not have been worth while to do anything. This junta is also based on private property the same as before. Let it call on capital to intervene. No important capitalist country is going to intervene there. Call on the local bourgeoisie to develop the country, but it cannot because it does not have the ability and the economic means. It produces raw materials for the world market and very little of fruit, bananas, coffee, cotton, and nothing more. That is from the competitive aspect, the economy is very small, has no industrial development and no means of development for agricultural and industrial work. It has to produce almost all in a rudimentary form which is very backward and at a high cost of production.

The Junta is going to do the same as before. The backwardness is going to remain. It is not with better conditions for democratic liberties that the country is going to develop, because the conditions do not exist. From the capitalist point of view there are no such conditions. You can give democracy to the whole world but if the conditions for development do not exist there is not any change. There is no capital nor economic base nor capacity in world competition. In such a case it is not a question only of democracy in the abstract, but of democracy to develop the country. In what form? One saw that before capitalism was not able to develop so it is necessary to nationalise, to make the population intervene, to make a plan of production for the population, to satisfy immediately their needs. The principle aim is to produce, to feed the population and permit some export. It is necessary to discuss, prepare and develop workers cadres, peasants, students, young people, the ten year old's so that they intervene with full right to discuss everywhere so that they may gain in capacity to develop the country. Appeal for collaboration to the rest of Latin America and to the workers states. Accept the support of all who want to support the country including economic aid from Yankee imperialism and the Soviet Union. Appeal for their support and maintain relations with the whole world and develop political rights on the basis of a programme. Otherwise there are no political rights. People have no culture, no experience, no tradition of political life. In 1930 they massacred 30,000 communists and from then, there has been no political life.

This is the basis from which it is necessary to go forward and appeal to all the communist parties and to the Salvador communist party to rectify its

position.

Although they may continue supporting this junta, they have to demand of it, freedom for all the groups, a programme of economic development and development of culture, of education and a plan of production, which they can pose within all this. Otherwise democracy has no sense. It is democracy for what? To say give me food? and then they do not give it. That has no meaning. Democracy is to develop the country, otherwise the country is not going to be developed. This is the experience which all the world process of the class struggle has given with the most recent experience of Nicaragua.

This junta which proclaimed martial law was aimed against the mass movement to repress, to prevent, the young officers preparing for power, who were supported by the PRB, which gives the political line of the process. They acted to prevent this with army power. They have been obliged to make changes, saying for example they are going to give freedom to the CP, but saying does not make it so. They are blackmailing the communists to gain their support and that of other movements. They have absolutely nothing to offer. The junta is a movement of soldiers isolated from everybody and who represent nothing. They have no economic and no political programme — simply martial law in defence of private property. This is a continuation of capitalist government with another leadership. The change which the junta has made saying

## BALANCE OF WORLD FORCES FAVOURS EL SALVADOR

Thus it is necessary to exert a pressure throughout the Latin American movement, so that it gives now a reply to the popular will, shown in the immense demonstration which supported the PRB and that wanted changes. People want changes and a government which presents a programme of changes, of social transformations and of expropriation of the capitalists.

It is necessary to see that in just a few months, this is the second movement of small groups as is the PRB, which has been animated to confront the army and the dictatorship which is an agent of the Yanks and sustained by the Yanks. The resolution of these groups has been determined by the relation of world forces which for them means that they see that capitalism and imperialism cannot intervene because the Soviet Union is concerned that imperialism does not do so. If imperialism intervenes so will the Soviet Union or the latter will intervene elsewhere, as it is also interested in the deterioration in the relations between Yankee imperialism and the rest of the world, and the deterioration in relation to the American masses who are opposed to imperialism. Also the latin american bourgeoisie sees that if the Yanks intervene, a very great movement can develop, which is also going to go against themselves. They feel this and for this reason various governments of Latin America objected to any intervention of the yanks. That is they fear that if the Yanks intervene the soviets are going to intervene and a revolutionary process is going to develop to a more elevated level than now exists. This shows the relation of world forces. Before imperialism

that it is going to provide freedom to the communists, freeing all the political prisoners which they had before, was imposed by the existence of the PRB, the need to compete with them to try to contain their influence. But these are very limited and very superficial changes, because they maintain martial law which impedes strikes, impedes every protest movement and at the same time is in defence of private property. These small changes which they have made are to defend themselves from the pressure of the mass movement and seek the support of certain sectors of the petit bourgeoisie where it may appear to be progressive. From the beginning until now, there has been a very great change in the junta which is the consequence of its weakness and of its isolation from the people. It is not because the USSR recognised them or the communists supported them. No, it is because they have nothing. Three civilians have been added to the junta without adding programme, policy or plans for the development of the country. They have added two agents of the bourgeoisie, one linked to Yankee imperialism and the other linked to certain progressive sectors but nothing more. They are all in the capitalist arena, that is to say this is simply a transposition of capitalist power. The small changes which they have made, saying that they are going to call elections between 1980-83 shows that nothing is resolved, nothing discussed and they still do not have a team to present.

sent in its forces and that was that. Now it cannot although it is prepared to intervene, as it has just sent two or three thousand soldiers more to Guantanamo with great fire power and combat strength. El Salvador is nearby. Why did not they go in? Before they intervened. All this has to be taken into account to measure the process in Latin America.

It is necessary to see thus that in this process of El Salvador, parties and sectors of the bourgeoisie could intervene. Thus it is necessary to make a discussion of a plan in which a part of the population advances, above all the petit bourgeoisie with the experience that they are going to achieve what the bourgeoisie were incapable of doing. The bourgeoisie has no capacity, no economic means either on a world scale or locally. It has no interest. And at the same time it is necessary to elevate among the masses the conception that they are the democracy not the bourgeoisie. Democracy is not that one or two or three parties intervene but what are they going to do? Thus when the masses with such sacrifices have made the revolution in Nicaragua and as beginning now in El Salvador, it is because they are ready to advance further. This relation of

world forces is going to impel another process in Latin America: Guatemala, and Honduras, and impel powerfully. It is weakening now very profoundly the assassin dictatorship of Pinochet. Thus all this has to be seen as a phase of development which is progressively more profound, and it is necessary to count on the fact that the process is going to continue. The greater freedoms which they are giving in Brasil is a consequence of what is happening in Latin America and which influences Brasil a great deal. No dictatorship has been able to resolve the economic problem. It cannot. The dictatorship encloses and rigidifies the whole process of the economy and leaves it in the hands of a small group. Thus it creates a level of discontent, reactions and general protest. A few individuals sustain the dictatorship but the country does not advance. Thus to wait for the petit bourgeoisie maturing, to understand that it is necessary to change, is not correct. It is necessary to give an impulse to show to the petit bourgeoisie the road that it is necessary to take, programme and policy, even appealing with demands which include

## FOR A CENTRAL AMERICAN FEDERATION

No dictatorship can develop the economy, culture or the general economic level of the population. Thus more and more profound problems are posed which are also insoluble. Hence it is necessary to offer perspectives that unite certain democratic demands, even economic demands of the development of the economy, of investments, together with a much more profound programme, organisation of trade unions, organisation of women and a programme. It is necessary to build hospitals, with running water, roads, electricity, production for people, houses for people, to establish proper attention for the sick and to make rapid courses in teaching, to develop cadres in knowledge together with politics, not producing simply doctors, but doctors and policy. In order to show how to develop medicine, one must understand political activity to develop the country socially. Thus the doctor fulfills a function of elevating people not of making business transactions with people. This is how they act in almost all revolutionary countries, as the doctors become involved in this process. It is necessary to foresee that other revolutions are going to come. Soon Guatemala, Honduras and the assassin Pinochet are going to fall. This is already in process. What is evident is that no dictatorship has developed any country not even to the level in which they were, before they made the coup.

Although the conditions are not mature, it is necessary now to propose a Central American Federation to develop the economy as a stage in the unification of Latin America for a later unification to develop the economy, culture, science, knowledge, and art. A proof that this is necessary is the effort of capitalism to make SELA, the Andean Pact, and ALALC. We have already analysed that these group together all the big sectors of the bourgeoisie at the cost of the other small sectors. These are the efforts of the bourgeoisie of these countries, of the coffee, banana, cereal, cattle bourgeoisie to try to develop the economy under their control. They do not have the historic capacity to confront world competition, yet they depend on the world. The masses mature more rapidly than their small efforts to change the economy. It is the same in El Salvador now. The masses mature infinitely more rapidly than the small interest of capitalism to make a small investment to develop 0.1 per cent of the economy of El Salvador. One has to take this into account that the masses are now ready to develop the economy and can do it.

In El Salvador, in Nicaragua and in all the countries of Central America the young people enter into life with these revolutions. They enter to participate consciously in the process of life, participating in the revolution because they do not have the means to live, to eat, to go to school. They do not have the means to study, to cure illness.

democracy, even bourgeois democracy and trade union rights. For example the trade unions of El Salvador have to have rights, for example, the right to strike. The first act of the junta was to outlaw strikes and arrest all those who made strikes. It had to weaken after the enormous protest which there was and because the PRB remained firm and obliged it to retreat. The plans of the bourgeoisie sought to impose themselves through imperialism, the Salvador bourgeoisie and the military sectors.

Thus it is necessary to see that in these conditions we have to intervene to see how to impel the process. It is possible to make alliances and agreements. But in this case with whom? The recognition of this new government as a step to a superior stage has a certain importance. But the government is a void and it represents nothing. It is possible to recognise a government even of the bourgeoisie as a stage to develop a more profound process. But this means to declare policy, programme and objectives otherwise what is there to expect? in the name of whom? in the name of what programme, of what perspective?

They see their brothers die and their parents and they cannot do anything because they have no solution, no resources. But here they learn to intervene as a function of the progress of society. This is a most elevated form showing the absence of egoism in the child, in the young person who struggles for objective progress. It is necessary to take this into account in the programme so as to make the will of the children intervene. Now at the age of ten, the child is a conscious leader who intervenes and very well. This is a force of progress of Latin America. The child now is not an element to be protected who has to be maintained for a long time, being educated, being attended to and protected. Now he protects the others. In place of feeling ill and being watched over he is going to elevate in experience of life and mental intellectual and physical capacity.

The revolutions of Nicaragua, El Salvador and all the others which are in process show that they are elevating human and social relations. The children, the women, the old people, are elevating, having the same participation as the man in the function of leading and protecting society, to develop life not in an individual or family form but objectively protecting the family. Even in protecting the family the process shows how it is the revolution which impels the education, culture, art and life of the Latin American populations. In this the child develops together with the adults and stops being an object of attention and



preoccupation. On the contrary the child becomes an incorporation of the living forces of society and compensates for the lack of economic resources, the means of sanitation and knowledge.

The function of the intellectuals in Latin America particularly in Central America, is determined by the influence on them of the world process of the revolution, but also through their understanding and feeling that the normal medium for their development in life is to make the revolution, to contribute to the progress of humanity. Thus they feel that as intellectuals they do not have a way to develop independently, either economically, culturally, scientifically, didactically or on the university level. They see the rottenness and thus see and develop a useful and necessary function in life, because they are the ones who can for a period in history have the possibility of leading and organising, because they are the ones who can know, travel and have contact with people and be a centre of communication.

It is important to see how a sector and a very important sector of the church supports the revolution. It is won and influenced by the progress of the revolution. Before, the church was a centre of the dictatorship, but now a very considerable part of the church rallies to the progress of life, associating with the struggle of the masses for the progress of every country and they elevate their theological understanding to unite it with social problems and they receive the influence of the simple progress of life, the living political influence of life.

In the programme for economic development, on houses, streets, transport, production, greens, meat, articles, basic foods for the population, all the population has to intervene. It is necessary to make an appeal that does not remain confined to the control of the military junta, but has to be linked to a programme of the population. It is the population which overthrew the assassin and it is the population which has to decide, and to make a programme, the population has to discuss one with social transformations, expropriation, nationalisations, expropriations of all the properties of those that supported the government, the banks, the export companies but still leave sectors in the hands of private property in those circles which have supported — even bourgeois circles — which are in agreement with throwing out the dictatorship. Then it is necessary to make agreements with them for a later stage of a greater economic progress in which the problem of nationalisation would be posed. But immediately it is necessary to seek a plan of production in which is included attention to children, feeding the old people, hospitals, houses, lighting, transport, road building, so that people live well with drains, hygienic facilities in houses, a whole programme for this. This is democracy. If they say there is, no time, that it is necessary to wait, the answer should be no we have already waited for five hundred years. That is to say that the regime is impotent, incapable of doing this, that it acts according to its interest and produces according to its interest. In El Salvador people have no money. It has been developed in the most complete poverty, in such a way there are no possibilities to develop on the basis of the capitalist system, but statification

is necessary. It is simple to understand. Now there is the maturity of people to do this. It is necessary to make them intervene, to make the trade unions intervene. The trade unions must intervene together with the students, with sectors of the petit bourgeoisie together with the church which has supported the movement and which supports now transformations. It is necessary to appeal to the church so that it supports social transformations, to appeal to all these sectors of the church which have supported unification with democratic rights, democratic demands with the economic development of the country. Otherwise it is democracy for a few, for those who govern, those with the cash. It is necessary to make the trade unions and the students intervene who participated, all who collaborated in the overthrow of the assassin dictatorship which dominated El Salvador. It is necessary to see that they intervene and discuss with the university, with the students and the teachers a plan for the development of El Salvador, a plan although it may be modest and limited and so that all may intervene, as now the young students intervene, the professional people, the intellectuals who have stimulated the movement. The workers have not been able to participate in an important form, because they do not have trade unions, nor trade union rights nor possibility of trade union life, neither workers nor peasants. It is necessary to organise immediately the trade union, the peasants and the workers so that they participate so that they discuss as peasants and trade union, the trade union, the problem of the struggle for improvements, to secure work, the issue of the hours of work but also for the economic development of the country and so that they discuss in the trade unions economic development, how to achieve it, so that the trade unions form part of the organs of the life of the country. If the bourgeoisie and imperialism say that they do not have the capacity, it is necessary to answer.

And what about them? They were great learned ones, doctors, landowners, generals and they massacred the population, this is, it is not a question of people not knowing but of learning. The basic orientation of the government is decided by whom and for what object does it work. The trade unions must intervene and also there must be a discussion with the sectors of the church. It is very important to make a discussion with sectors of the church that support this movement with the effect of impelling them to the understanding that the course of life is decided by social problems and to make them advance in this understanding of social problems.

In El Salvador it is necessary to demand the right of the trade unions to go on strike, to make stoppages, to occupy factories, to elevate all rights, factory committees, area committees, committees in the workers zones, school committees and university committees, committees which as a whole discuss plans for the development of the economy, of political and social leadership, and control of the police, so that they investigate everything and are in contact with the soldiers and the officers, who seek the progress of the revolution.

It is necessary to make an appeal to all the workers states, to all the revolutionary countries and to Cuba so that they help immediately this process, and

help to overthrow this junta which is in power and which is the agent of imperialism. It is necessary to go beyond it, to appeal for a movement which leads to a provisional government. All the revolutionary tendencies who want changes in the country and are not in agreement with submitting to imperialism and reject imperialism and submission to the form of previous dictatorship, and any other dictatorship should participate. It is necessary to see that this government is simply an instrument of imperialism which gave a preventive blow to prevent the coming of a revolutionary government. This it is necessary to appeal that this coup was organised to maintain power and that it has to make some concessions of form but it is going to maintain the same process as before.

Through the nature of the process, parties constituted with a tradition, with support of the masses, with development and experience, still do not exist because it has not been possible to have a political life. It is necessary to have this based on the experience of the intervention of the masses in struggle and of this revolutionary process in which the masses learn rapidly whereas previously it cost years and years of experience, of active participation and of experience in active participation. It is necessary to appeal for the constitution of a party, of a movement which pushes forward the struggles for social transformations, appealing to all the movements which are included in this process from the communists to the nationalist movements, petit bourgeois nationalist movements, of petit bourgeois origin, to intervene in this process. Incorporate also the trade unions. The unions must form part of the political leadership. It is not true that the union must be concerned only with work. The problem is to develop the country. The country has to be developed. They are different activities separated in practice but united in the final objectives of developing the country. Then it is necessary to intervene with demands of the workers together with measure that develop the country, beginning with protection of health, of the conditions of work, of wages, considering the poverty of El Salvador, a poverty which capitalism has maintained with Yankee imperialism above all throughout all this period.

The left, all the movements throughout the world must bring out resolutions, call demonstrations, meetings, appeals for the support to the revolution in El Salvador, so that a government is formed by a junta which represents the desires of the population to overcome the historic backwardness in which capitalism has maintained El Salvador. It is necessary to discuss, to appeal to the trade unions, to the workers parties, to the communist parties, to the workers states, the socialist countries that they organise demonstrations and call meetings that they organise discussions on this process and that explanations are made, in the workers states of China, the USSR, Cuba, Yugoslavia etc, that it is necessary to support this process, that this is the most progressive way, the best progress for the history of humanity and even to contain the efforts of capitalism wanting to intervene in Latin America or to confront it. This should be discussed throughout all the workers movement. In the trade unions of France, Italy, Britain, Japan, the United States,

there must be a support to the liberation struggle of these countries. It is necessary to make an appeal to the North American trade unions and to the North American masses so that they support this movement. An appeal! Accompany the movement which J. Fonda is making, so that it goes from ecologism to the support of liberation movements of the world, which is the most elevated, most profound and most complete form of the struggle of ecologism, that includes the struggle over ecologism without substituting for the ecologist movement. It is necessary that the trade unions, workers states, the communist and socialist parties support Salvador with a contribution, that the workers movement, the trade unions, the masses of the workers states give a part of their wages in support of the world process of the revolution. This resolution must be aimed at the North American masses who are demonstrating. This has and will have a very great effect in the process of the education of the North American masses. They show symptoms of wanting to intervene. Movements like those

of J. Fonda are not the product of chance but of a will to want to intervene. The movements of the trade unions, the protests that exist, certain efforts to propose statifications even within the bourgeois game of inter bourgeois struggle, now show a desire of the North American masses to want to intervene. Even with the leaderships still in a social democratic conception of alliance with the bourgeoisie, the North American masses show their desire to intervene. It is necessary to help them so that they participate in this process in San Salvador as in Nicaragua, as in the rest of the world to learn and develop the political understanding to intervene.

It is necessary to appeal for support to El Salvador and Nicaragua and to make a front with the revolutionary movement to develop El Salvador and Nicaragua. It is necessary to make a united front and appeal to all the central American countries and those of Latin America for support in this process.

J. POSADAS 23.10.1979

## THE VISIT OF HUA KUO-FENG

The intentions of the Chinese leadership through the visit of Hua Kuo-feng to Britain and the rest of Europe are totally counter-revolutionary. The preoccupations of this putrefying clique are to try to use the competition between the Workers States and European capitalism, to weigh against the Workers States with the utopian scheme of benefitting from some future war, that is, the vision of a 'great China' emerging from the ruins of everyone else. It is a lunatic conception, but counter-revolutionary apparatuses are prone to this. They live only the fantasy of their own aspirations, remote from the course of history.

In practice, the trip was a failure which will have repercussions within China. The world process is now so structured that the main European powers are caught in a vice. In ever-mounting competition with American imperialism, they are also in competition with the Workers States. But the latter grow in social weight and, in the event of war, European capitalism has no future. For them, whoever wins, they are the losers, either submitting to the Soviets or to the Americans. Britain is closer to the Americans in all this and tends to act as the instrument to strengthen NATO with the most vicious anti-Soviet campaigns.

The leaders of French and German capitalism made it plain to the Chinese leader that they had no enthusiasm for unrestrained attacks on the Soviet Union, because all of them partly depended for survival on the smiles of the Soviet Union. In Britain, the situation was not quite the same. This miserable functionary of the Chinese bureaucratic caste directly attacked the Soviets as equivalent to the nazis — which is the line Yankee imperialism has been pushing. On the other hand — even here — the Thatcher government did not elaborate on the themes of the Chinese leaders, and this in itself showed that there were definite limits on the expectations of the Chinese initiative in Europe. Even in relation to trade, the perspectives were restricted. It is quite clear from this visit that the Chinese leadership did not secure, could not secure, any profound benefit because its tactics fly in the face of the world balance of forces, and it cannot unseat the historic destiny of the Workers States, led by the Soviet Union, to supercede capitalism.

The policy of the Chinese leadership to associate with world capitalism, to contain the world revolution and especially the Soviet Union, cannot at this stage find the same basis that it had at an earlier period (even then only in appearance). The contradictions within world capitalism have grown more profound. At the same time, the conditions do not allow the same type of direct relationship with Yankee imperialism which were seen in the visit of Deng Peng to the United States. The process of world polarisation of forces has diminished the capacity and the interest of Yankee imperialism in attaching much weight to the 'China card'. This in no way excludes the possibility of a renewed attack on Vietnam, but the possibilities for the Chinese leaderships constantly weaken. The fact that at the same time that the Chinese attempt to attack the Soviet Union they also feel obliged to negotiate with the Soviet Union shows that the margins for their policies are narrowing. Hua Kuo-feng showed in the visit to Italy that he had to modify all talk of imminent war between the Soviet Union and the west, and underlined China's need for peace in order to develop internally. The right in China is pushed on the defensive, and this in itself corresponds to the changes internationally. The result is that, in part, the tendency of Deng Peng tends to be marginalised and the dissidents put on trial.

The forces of the left and the trade unions should have condemned this visit in the strongest possible terms and called for demonstrations against the visit of Hua Kuo-feng. But, to do this, a much better political life is necessary in Britain, and this depends on a series of factors — not least being a superior elevation in the intervention of the Workers States — simply criticising is not enough.

The forces of the left have to emerge from the shell of Britain. It is not enough to live the problems of Britain in isolation from the rest of the world. When the Thatcher government has to resort to defending itself from one Workers State by associating with the leadership of another, that is not a sign of capitalist strength but yet another example that capitalism continues, not because it has its own strength — it has precious little left — but from the limitations of the other side.

# THE INTER-CAPITALIST CRISIS IN THE EEC AND THE NEED FOR AN ANTI-CAPITALIST PROGRAMME FOR EUROPE

The clash between British imperialism and the French over the entry of British lamb into the French market and the crisis of the financial contribution of Britain to the EEC are expressions of the very intense inter-capitalist competition which exists. The demand of the Thatcher government for a reduction in contribution is not something to be applauded as if it was for the benefit of the masses of Britain, or anywhere else. The basis of the EEC is, basically, to regulate the functioning of the 'multi-nationals' — and this includes the big agricultural producers and the food distributors — in order to ensure their profits and power. The Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) which functions on the basis of taking food off the market and destroying it in order to keep prices as high as possible is not in question. All that the Thatcher government is questioning is which sector of capitalism is paying the most and how much expenditure can be shifted onto the French or German bourgeoisies. Thatcher makes her position very clear when she says, 'We have to pay less to the EEC because we have problems at home'. And the French, German and Italian capitalists are saying, 'Very sorry, but we have the same problems'. It is a struggle not for the benefit of the masses, not to ensure 'cheap food' and to raise the living standards, but a struggle over the share of the profits of capitalist exploitation.

It has to be pointed out that whilst the Thatcher government is proposing to pay less to the EEC — and being supported by a large sector of the Parliamentary Labour Party — it is also raising the financial contribution to NATO by 3%. And this gives some idea of what the order of priorities of British imperialism actually is. But the demand which is again being raised for full or partial 'withdrawal' from the EEC, or from the CAP, is no answer to the problem. To think this is to imagine that the problem of the price of food to the masses is simply a question of the EEC and the 'unfair' way it is organised. Well, it is clear that each capitalist government in Europe is seeking to ease its problems at the expense of others. For the French bourgeoisie the existence of a great many small farmers who are being eliminated by the capitalist concentration of agricultural production is a social problem. And, in part, they seek to solve it at the expense of British and German capitalism. But, the problem is capitalism. It is the concentration of the land and production in fewer and fewer hands which is eliminating the small farmer, and this continues regardless of what is exported

from 'outside'.

## NOT A NATIONAL PROBLEM BUT A PROBLEM OF CAPITALISM.

There is, then, no 'national' solution possible, there is no solution within the capitalist system. The idea which is being posed that 'Britain should trade freely for cheap food on the world market' is an illusion. In the first place, the days of the colonial empire of British imperialism has gone, and with it the possibility of determining the price of food and raw materials. In the second place, the distribution of food is determined by the big capitalist concerns and they decide the price on the market. Even with food produced in Britain, the difference between the price the farmers get and the price in the shops is in the region of 300%. The farmer receives about a third of the prices in the shops, and the farmer workers' wages are abysmally low. It would be no different with imported food, wherever it came from. Capitalism would rather destroy food than see its profit diminish, and this applies nationally as well as at the level of the EEC. At the same time, the large capitalist food manufacturing enterprises poison the food, adulterate it with chemicals in their pursuit of profit. Bread is a particular example, but the same applies to a whole range of foods.

On the question of lamb or fish or anything else, there is no clash of interests between the masses of the various European capitalist countries. The necessity exists for a national organisation for the production and distribution of food, and all the other necessities of life. And capitalism, demonstrably, is incapable of doing this because it functions on the basis of production for profit. And this is the problem which has to be discussed in the Labour movement. The Labour left and the trade unions have to raise the level of discussion above that of concern with the problem of this or that sector of capitalism, beyond an enclosed, national perspective. The problems of food, unemployment, lack of housing and social services are all part of the movement of the masses, the anti-capitalist struggle of the masses in the whole of capitalist Europe. We cannot be confined to a discussion within the apparatuses of the Common Market, within the inter-capitalist dispute. There is no 'national' solution, but there is an anti-capitalist solution. And, in part, a programme exists in the Labour Party and trade unions on the

question of, for example, a European campaign for the 35 hour week. The TUC-Labour Party liaison committee, for instance, proposes linking the fight of the trade unions and the Socialist parties of the Common Market countries for shorter working hours. There is a necessity to extend this programme to a whole series of anti-capitalist demands and to discuss them with the workers movement, with the parties — including the Communist parties — and the trade union centres in Europe — whether in or out of the Common Market — and those of the Workers States, as well.

It has to be demonstrated that, under capitalism, enormous quantities of food are produced — and destroyed — whilst the small farmers are impoverished and eliminated and whilst people go hungry or are poisoned by chemicals. The trade unions and the Labour left has to demonstrate that this is the irrationality of private property and that the solution lies in social transformation, in the nationalisation of the land, food manufacture and distribution; and in the intervention of the masses to control and plan on a European scale.

## OCCUPATIONS AND WORKERS CONTROL AT LEYLAND

The sacking of 25,000 men at Leylands is part of the criminal attack of capitalism against the working class. The ballot is part of it, in the sense that it allows no discussions and parades as the utmost democracy. With fundamental divisions between the two most powerful unions in the combine, the workers had no choice but to accept the deal without which they would still have been sacked and would not have received any compensation. When the trade unions have reached this point of inadequacy in front of the process, it is because — as a structure — they no longer respond to the need of the situation. It is also true that the Labour Party leadership connives with capitalism. This creates a situation of having to fight capitalism, the Labour leadership and the trade union structure all at once. This is the stage of the mortal agony of capitalism. A new form of leadership is needed. The old form of leading, conciliating and negotiating, making 'agreements': all this has gone out of the window. After the ballot, whilst the struggle continues, it is necessary to pose a radical programme of WORKERS CONTROL and no sackings.

Import control, 'remodernisation', getting on with Metro, is a programme that is concerned with the Leyland bosses and not with the Leyland workers. It is necessary to make the most outright denunciation of this sacking. Now we are told that the redundancy money is going to be found in the selling of assets, which is going to mean even more redundancies. The pro-

## EDITORIAL

continued from page 1

workers organisations. Support rests on a mixture of local labour parties with support from the TGWU, the Engineers and other unions but solely on the basis of being against the cuts. What is required is more of a programmatic orientation. There is no justification for a defensive policy. Resistance to the cuts has to be linked to demands which pose alternatives. For a thirty five hour week now — not just in the future; profits of automation and productivity for the benefit of the workers and not taking the form of more unemployment; for a basic minimum wage to rise automatically with the cost of living and decided upon by the unions after full discussion with the masses; all factory closures to be met by nationalisation under workers control. At the same time, such demands to meet the immediate needs of the population could be linked with demands for trade union and Labour party intervention over the environment, workers control of factory and nuclear plant safety measures and the ending of NATO bases in Britain. The events in Seveso and Mississauga in Canada show that at any moment disaster can happen because of the negligence of capitalism. The trade unions and the Labour party could come out with a whole programme on these issues, which would attract the majority of the population including large sectors that voted Tory. Other sectors of the class enemy without accepting all, would give no active support to capitalism.

More and more pressure is going to be placed on the left sectors in the Labour party and the trade unions to establish better relations with the masses and go outside the confines of the functioning of the apparatus but at the same time it is necessary to make demands with consistency, based on a consistent intervention.

The Tory summits are becoming increasingly isolated. The high interest rates tend to destroy the small businesses and a sizeable sector of big business at the CBI conference showed that it did not wish for a fight with the trade unions. Now the assassin Suharto is invited to Britain partly for trade but also to try to maintain a bulwark against Vietnam. Suharto is one who believes Vietnam should withdraw from Cambodia — whilst he continues slaughtering the inhabitants of East Timor. The government associates with an assassin who is no longer in the position he once was, confirmation of the balance of forces which constantly weakens the world capitalist system. Neither Thatcher or Suharto are going to be strengthened by this visit. By taking account of the world balance of forces, and the combativity of the masses it is possible for the left in the Labour party to structure itself and go beyond the limitations of the apparatus and its electoralist functioning.

gramme of import controls has to be abandoned as an illusion that capitalism is going to revive later, and Leyland with it. With or without import controls, Leyland cannot compete against GM and Fords. The 'liberated' countries will not return to be colonies, but are industrialising themselves. This is not the agony of Leyland, but that of the capitalist system, expressed in Leyland. A programme adequate to this has to be FACTORY OCCUPATIONS, IMMEDIATE WORKERS CONTROL, IMMEDIATE WORK SHARING AND THE 35 HOUR WEEK, end of all grades, all leaders to be elected and recalled at mass meetings, for the wages to rise with the cost of living, and all benefits of technology to go to the workers. If the boss cannot pay, or says he cannot do all this, the workers can. It is a masquerade of nationalisation when the workers in the country have contributed immense sums of money to keep Leyland going, only to find that it was to sack workers in slices of thousands at the end of it. This has to be denounced in the Labour Party, and THE LABOUR LEFT HAS TO TAKE A POSITION, regardless of the lack of interest and against collusion of the Labour leadership with all this.

The idea that one has to leave to 'political' people outside the factory the lead in all this has become most unacceptable of all. It is the old idea that political and industrial matters are separated and that workers are only voting or balloting flunkies. However, without the working class on a world

scale, without the Soviet Union, capitalism could not even talk about redundancy money because they would feel free to sack. The present form of 'leadership' in the unions has become obsolete. WORKERS MUST BE ALLOWED TO SPEAK AT MASS MEETINGS, DURING WORKING HOURS AND IN FACTORY PREMISES. Not once, but regularly and almost permanently when necessary. There should have been such a functioning to resist furiously the idea of balloting. Now the capitalists will come back for another ballot to sell off premises, more productivity, more sackings, more privileges for skill, and the end of all control on manning and rate of work, if they can. The process develops in the form of the class struggle. Only the workers can impose that the factories stay open, all men at work, and that their productive power be applied to PRODUCE WHAT IS NECESSARY.

WE CALL FOR IMMEDIATE OCCUPATIONS, WORKERS CONTROL, THE IMMEDIATE IMPLEMENTATION OF WORK SHARING, AND IF THE BOSS CANNOT PAY THE WORKERS CAN WITH TECHNOLOGY. Take over and appeal to the rest of the workers movement for support! At the same time, trade union democracy has to elevate, to develop leaders from the ranks — skilled and unskilled — and in the Labour Party. We propose discussion now in the Labour Party and in the whole trade union movement on this issue.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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monthly organ of the

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THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY ATTACK ON VIETNAM BY THE  
CHINESE LEADERSHIP AND THE NEED FOR THE UNITED FRONT  
OF ALL THE WORKERS STATES

18-2-79

J. POSADAS

The invasion of Vietnam by China is to stop and reject the influence of the revolution in IndoChina and the revolutionary process in Iran, to cut short the effects of this, to divert the attention of the Chinese population, to divert the workers vanguard and the population with the excuse of the danger of Vietnam and to try to contain and divert the great internal resistances to the Chinese leadership's counter-revolutionary policy. For a long time, the International has characterised the policy of the Chinese workers states present leadership as counter-revolutionary.

It is not a conflict between two workers states, but a bureaucratic, counter-revolutionary leadership which is allied to capitalism against the workers states and which to maintain its nationalist bureaucratic interests and counter-revolutionary interests aims a blow at the progress of the population. It is not a conflict between socialist countries but between a counter-revolutionary bureaucratic leadership and progress.

These are the normal consequences of the construction of the new leadership of humanity where there is no previous experience save the very limited form of the Soviet Union, but they are certainly the consequences of Stalin's epoch which lasted longer than the good experience of the first seven years in the Soviet Union. In the construction of the socialist leadership, the proletariat, the Communist parties, the workers vanguard and the revolutionary movements are still learning to develop and to programme their activity to construct a homogeneous leadership and thus to lead the march of history. In part, this behaviour of the Chinese is the expression of the lack of world leadership which concentrates and centralises the construction of socialism.

Socialism cannot be realised in accordance with individual wishes, but it has norms. The norms are, statification, planning, control and intervention of the trade unions, the intervention of the working class and all the population through its organs; trade unions, parties, factory committees and workers area committees. Humanity still does not have an experience developed from this necessity. There is still not a world leadership which has the experience and authority to develop this activity. Then it gives rise to tendencies in the workers states which develop based on the workers state but which have counter-revolutionary interests alien to the progress of history, interests which are in competition with capitalism but counter-revolutionary to the extent that they defend themselves from the workers states which progress in an anti-capitalist way. In order to contain the influence of the workers states, they make a counter-revolutionary policy and objectively ally with capitalism.

The policy of the present Chinese leadership is not a mistake or a mad attitude, but a deliberately calculated policy which is aimed to seek the support of the capitalist system. Hence it makes this invasion after an agreement with the Yanks, seeking the support of the capitalist system to contain the progress of the revolution. They are reactionary counter-revolutionary interests. It does not mean that they are agents of capitalism, but they have counter-revolutionary interests intermediate between the

capitalist system and the workers state. They are leaderships which fear progress and they are the consequence of the stage of transition between capitalism and socialism.

The Chinese people has nothing to do with this policy. Hence there is no trade union which brings out resolutions of support or makes mobilisations and demonstrations. Nor has there been a resolution of the Political Bureau of the Chinese Communist Party. This military action of the Chinese leadership corresponds to the counter-revolutionary attitudes of Stalin with his alliance with Hitler. The alliance with Hitler which Stalin made was a counter-revolutionary act.

#### THERE ARE NO REASONS FOR MILITARY CONFLICTS BETWEEN WORKERS STATES

In his epoch, Stalin dissolved the Czechoslovakian, Polish and Brazilian parties. The previous policy of Stalin was equivalent to the present policy of the Chinese. Stalin dissolved parties which could provoke the bourgeoisie with conflicts and create differences with the bourgeoisie of the countries with which the bureaucracy wanted to agree. This is bureaucratic interest which leads to counter-revolution. A bureaucratic policy or tendency can exist, without being counter-revolutionary. But the present Chinese leadership is bureaucratic and counter-revolutionary.

These events are not the consequence of socialism or the "evils of socialism" or the workers states, but are consequences of the political leadership of the workers state. Between the workers states and the countries which are going to socialism, there is no reason for differences or military conflicts. There can be political conflicts for various reasons of immaturity, of the pressure of one state or the other, but not of military conflict. The common nature of the workers states pushes them to an alliance, to a coordination against the capitalist system. On the other hand, the Chinese workers state leadership seeks an alliance with capitalism against another workers state which is Vietnam and now Cambodia. Vietnam showed its socialist nature in the fact that a few years after having eliminated capitalism, the country recovered and there is no effect in the population of discriminations, attacks, retreats or discrimination against the population. The people who escape from Vietnam leave, just as in their epoch, the nobility ran from the Russian Revolution because they did not accept it. In China and Cuba it was the same.

The development of Vietnam is immense, taking into account the burden that comes with having to construct a country which was destroyed. Even so, they have unified the country and are developing the country economy. In the worst conditions, the development of culture continues, education, science and politics; that is the scientific, cultural development of the masses together with the development of the economy. The people who escape from Vietnam are all rich, the former bourgeoisie and the traders. They escape, because they have no place in socialist Vietnam.

Vietnam is constructing socialism and their economic, social, cultural and political life and the support they give to the revolutionary movements of the whole world shows this. It is the reverse of China, which supports all the counter-revolutionary movements of the whole world; the junta of assassins in Chile, the Shah of Iran, South Africa and Zaire. It shows that this is not a conflict between workers states. These conflicts arise in the construction of the workers states through the lack of the masses' intervention and the lack of a Communist Party which developed the revolutionary level of the country by making the masses intervene. It is a conflict which has no perspective of lasting. It is a threat to divert, to concern the Chinese population with "the danger of Vietnam" and thus to justify the policy of the Stalinist dictatorship against the population.

This attitude of the Chinese is to conceal an internal resistance and an internal dispute and crisis in the apparatus of the Chinese leadership. It is a diversion to divert the Chinese people, to justify the absence of political, trade union life by suggesting that they are in danger or under threat of war. In China, there is no political life,

neither trade union or cultural life. The measures which have been taken in China recently, under the leadership of Teng Peng and Hua Kua Feng involve opening cabarets and cinemas with pornographic films and dances as in capitalism. They are not cultural measures, but they are aimed to create bureaucratic layers with the individual interest of bourgeois life. This aims to develop the individualism of property. Hence they inaugurate dance halls and not cultural, political and scientific discussions. There are no meetings of trade unions, workers congresses, no party life but on the other hand, they open places which are pornographic, to entertain people and thus to develop a petit bourgeois layer which supports them.

THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY MUST  
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The counter-revolutionary Chinese leadership is making provocations to try and force the Soviets to intervene and in this way, to justify before the Chinese people, "that all have to submit to military necessity before the danger of invasion". This policy of the Chinese leadership is a diversionist policy to impede and subject the political life of the Chinese masses and the Chinese Communist Party. There have not been any meetings of the trade unions or cell resolutions. This leadership which supports Pinochet, South Africa and Israel. It is the same leadership which supports the counter-revolutionary policy of world capitalism.

This leadership fears the influence of the socialist progress of Vietnam, Cambodia and Iran within China. It is trying to foresee and to extend a series of accusations and alarms to prevent the political life within China. Hence there is no trade union life, no political life, meetings, discussions and no taking positions in support of the progress of history, as for example, the struggle of the masses of Iran. The Chinese leadership supported the Shah against the Iranian masses. There is no difference between the support to the Shah against the Iranian masses and now the invasion of Vietnam.

It is necessary to make an appeal to the world communist movement, to the workers states, to the Communist Parties and the Socialist parties, to discuss the experiences of the construction of socialism and on the need for an anti-capitalist united front, where they appeal to the Chinese masses, to the Chinese Communist Party and to the trade unions, to intervene in this discussion and to reject the counter-revolutionary leadership

This clique in China is a counter-revolutionary bureaucratic clique. It works bureaucratically, in a counter-revolutionary way. It is not simply an error, but a conception which prefers to support the Chilean dictatorship and not the struggle to overthrow the dictatorship. This brings out the counter-revolutionary bureaucratic interests which stimulates this bureaucratic leadership.

The Posadist IV International appeals to the Soviet Union, to all the workers states, and the Communist parties to appeal for a world meeting together with China to discuss the problems of policy, the programme, the relations between the workers states and a planning and united front of all the Socialist countries, including China, and also with the communist parties. It is necessary to make a united front with an appeal for the world workers movement to intervene, the workers centres, the Socialist parties, the left movements with a programme of economic, cultural, social development throughout the world on the basis of the needs of humanity and not of the interest of the capitalist system, and that also all the workers states discuss these conclusions in equality of conditions.

An appeal has to be made at the same time, to discuss with the Chinese Communist Party, an appeal to overthrow, to expel the counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Communist party and of the government and to appeal to the Chinese masses, to the trade unions, to the cells of the Chinese Communist Party, to meet and to make a meeting to expel and to overthrow the counter-revolutionary leadership and to develop a revolutionary leadership in the Chinese Communist Party, to make a world united front with the other communist parties and workers states to overthrow capitalism.

( subtitles by the editorial board )

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( subtitles by the editorial board )



THE QUALITY OF THE PARTY AND ITS OPENING  
TO OTHER LAYERS. ... 27th September 1978

INSIDE PAGE

**J. POSADAS**

SUPPLEMENT TO RED FLAG - FRIDAY 19TH JAN. 1979



**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)**

**BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)**

THE CURRENT OUTBREAK OF STRIKES, THE POLITICAL ROLE OF THE TRADE UNIONS AND THE  
NECESSITY FOR THE LABOUR/TRADE UNION UNITED FRONT ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST  
17.1.78 PROGRAMME

The strikes of the road and rail drivers, the continued struggle of the 'Times' workers and those that are being prepared, including the council manual workers, express the desire of the masses to defeat the policy of the Labour government which is designed to make them pay for the total crisis of capitalism. The generalisation of the demand for the 35h. week shows that there is a consciousness that the problem cannot just be resolved with wage demands, that the problem is private property and its control over the economy. However, the planning of the economy for the benefit of the population is not simply a trade union problem, but a political one. The struggle of the class stimulates sectors of the left in the Labour Party. The fact that the Home Policy Committee of the NEC is recommending to the NEC of the Labour Party support for the 35h week shows this. The Trade Union/Labour Party United Front is a means to develop an anticapitalist political leadership which goes through the organisation of the left in the Labour Party as a coherent and consistent tendency.

THE TRADE UNIONS ARE ELEVATING  
POLITICAL DEMANDS AND A CERTAIN  
POLITICAL FUNCTIONING.

The 5% pay policy of the government has been shattered following the victory of the Ford workers; it is a thing of the past. However wage increases do not solve the problems created by capitalism in its death agony, wage increases do not increase the standard of life of the population particularly when they are quickly eroded by inflation. This is because the total crisis of capitalism is determined by the fact that the system has come to the end of its ability to develop the economy. In the hands of capitalism the advances in science, in technology, automation, do not raise the conditions of work or standard of life but rather diminish them. Automation does not result in shorter working hours and conditions improved but in unemployment and a worsening of the working conditions. In the hands of private property, science is used to produce profits, which goes against the population, as shown in the weapons of destruction like the neutron bomb or deadly viruses like the smallpox which caused the death of a worker in Birmingham, the poisoning of the whole environment as in Seveso in Italy, or the explosion at Flixborough. Indeed water, the air

and the food are being poisoned. The report of the bakery workers on the quality of bread is a good example of what capitalism is doing to our food in pursuit of profit and the lead pollution of the atmosphere through motorcars is another.

If the 35h. week was attained, it would ease the unemployment problem, and simply by allowing the worker to spend less time in the factory, it would raise his standard of life. But this in itself cannot solve the problems posed by capitalism. However, the 35h. week does raise the question of who controls industry and for the benefit of whom, in a way in which simple wage demands do not. It is, in essence, a political demand, a demand which tends to question the system of private property and its control over the economy. This is why the trade union leadership has avoided the issue, and this is why the TGWU leadership has dropped this demand altogether in the present struggle against the transport employers.

It is characteristic of the bureaucratic leadership of the trade unions that it avoids any issue which is directly anti-capitalist. This is why it does everything to fragment the struggle of the workers. The present struggle indicates that the objective conditions exist for a general strike. It is true that the centres of the workers like the engineering and car workers are not in action at the moment, but the sectors now in struggle, small as they are, draw their strength and confidence from the class in general. If the lorry drivers, or the tanker drivers can continue their struggle, it is because they feel the support of the whole class. But the concerted action of the working class, the mobilisation of all its forces are necessary to take the struggle beyond simple demands for wages. The demand for the 35h week is general now and is an indication of the desire of the masses to advance with a programme of demands.

The action of the leadership of the TGWU in the present strike expresses the attitude of the whole of the present trade union leadership, which is aware that the struggle for an anticapitalist programme, demands another kind of leadership. They jumped in and called an 'official strike' at the point where the flying pickets began to appear among the lorry drivers. And the flying pickets are an attempt by the workers to form organisms which put them in touch with other sectors of the population and to organise on a national scale with other sectors. In other words, IT IS AN ATTEMPT TO FUNCTION AS A LEADERSHIP AND THIS IS WHAT IMPELS THE NEED FOR ORGANISMS OF THE WORKERS. This is what the trade union leadership fears. It fears to be bypassed and is only moved into action when - as with the train drivers - the workers themselves have already taken the initiative.

#### NATIONALISATION UNDER WORKERS CONTROL IS NOT GIVEN BUT TAKEN.

The total crisis of capitalism demands a programme which ensures that the masses do not pay for this crisis and this means, the demand for the 35h week, for all wages to rise with the cost of living, that no worker is sacked, that factories threatened with closure are run under workers control pending nationalisation, that the economy is planned in the interests of the population on the basis of nationalisation under workers control. For this programme, the leadership of the working class is necessary and only the working class through organisms - factory committees, committees in the workers areas - can be this leadership inside its own organisations (trade unions and Labour Party). These organisms allow the workers and the mass of the population to discuss, decide and impose their control over the production system, housing, education, health, and the economy.

There is the need, then, for a discussion on the necessary programme, policy and organisms. Already a discussion exists and is raised by the 'workers cooperatives', which failed because they tried to solve the problems within the system of competition, ie, private property. But they raised the question of workers control. It is a discussion also raised by the Lucas Shop Stewards for the production of 'socially useful goods'. What it is necessary to discuss now is that this requires nationalisation under workers control, and that this is not given - but has to be taken. This is the lesson of all the advances which humanity has made and is making, in the Workers States, the Soviet Union, China, Cuba, Ethiopia Vietnam, Mozambique and Angola.

IMPEL THE LABOUR LEFT  
TO ACT AS A LEADERSHIP AGAINST  
CAPITALISM.

The struggle of the workers finds its expression through the trade unions because they are the organisations most accessible to them, but the trade unions are not a political party. They have the same objective as the Party of the working class but a particular field of class organisation. It is in the Labour Party that a left has to develop. Already the struggle of the workers stimulates the left in it. This is shown by the fact that the Home Policy Committee of the NEC has proposed to the NEC of the Labour Party that it supports the demand for the 35h week. The same has happened in Germany where the Social Democratic Party has supported the steel workers in this very same demand. The same also took place at the meeting of the Socialist Parties in Brussels which met to discuss the European Assembly. It means that sectors in the socialists, in this instance, in the Labour Party feel the need to act outside the purely electoral and purely reformist apparatus of the Labour Party. It is a very limited step but it points towards the necessity for the Labour left to act as a leadership, to propose an immediate and national campaign for the 35h week for instance with the full mobilisation of the working class and the trade unions. This is what we mean by the Labour Party/Trade Union United Front which incorporates all the forces which agree on the anti-capitalist programme.

In a form, the United Front exists already between the Labour left and the Trade Unions. This was expressed in the Labour Party Conference, when the combined efforts of the Labour left and the trade unions defeated the 5% of the government. This United Front is also expressed in Corby, in the committee organised to confront unemployment in the steel industry in which delegates from the trade unions, the Labour Party and the Communist Party function. But all these things are very limited because the workers at the base do not weigh fully to decide the programme of the trade unions and the Labour Party in this way, neither to decide their policy or actions. At both TUC and Labour Party conferences, as in the case of the Unions National Conferences, a few delegates 'vote' for millions of workers. This is intolerable. Another form of democracy is demanded, one which allows meetings in which everyone can intervene, and the right of instant recall of delegates. The Labour Party/Trade Union United Front has to have this form of functioning. It has to initiate discussions on all the fundamental issues on a plan for the economy, based on nationalisations and workers control, on the experience of the world, on the advance of humanity through the Workers State, on how the most economically backward countries in the world have advanced and why Angola can pose now "to each according to his needs" whilst economically 'developed' Britain is faced with unemployment and a constant lowering in the standard of living, a collapse of the social services, and an absence of culture, because capitalism is only interested in war preparations.

18.1.79

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## THE QUALITY OF THE PARTY AND ITS OPENING TO OTHER LAYERS

J. P O S A D A S ..... 27th SEPT 1978

(On a discussion taking place in the Italian Communist Party and in some Socialist Parties, like the french and the italian ). Edit. Board Note.

The discussion which there is in the Italian Communist Party on the need to open the Party up to new layers of people, is good; it can be done. But what has to be raised is, on the basis of what programme, policy and objectives this should be done? Lenin made such an opening when he called on Kerensky to break with the capitalist ministers, and he got support for this. This is the way Lenin won a sector. Our tactic with Allende, supporting him, already has its antecedents in what Lenin did. And Allende had a socialist programme whilst Kerensky no. But Lenin told him: "End the war, make peace, overthrow the Tsar and we support you".

On the other hand, when a lot of leaders in the Italian Communist Party say that they 'have to open the Party', they mean to open the Party to the petty bourgeoisie, with all what it means in terms of ideology; this is a policy which these leaders try to make so as to keep the Party at their level. But what the Party has to do, on the contrary, is to open the doors of the Party yes, so that other layers of society come to the level of the Party, whose level then has to be decided by the working class, by the traditions of the Party in the marxist programme... The other way, these layers will not integrate themselves in the Communist Party but will come in and change the Communist Party and adapt it to their own limitations which the Party will have opened itself to.

It is necessary to discuss all these problems of integrating new layers in the Party but within the framework of what the objective of the Party is, in doing this, because if not - it adapts itself to these new layers. Many of the latter see that capitalism has no perspective, and they come to the Communist Party to try to mould it in the shape of their own limitations and insecurity. Many intellectuals, petty bourgeois and catholic sectors have the intention to go to socialism but with all the insecurity and doubts which open the Party to conciliation and, in consequence, to give support to capitalism and allow capitalism some continuation and progress. Lenin was the most complete tactician in history. More than Marx, because Marx did not have the opportunity to be one, because in his time, there were no mass Communist movements. But even Marx demonstrated this gift too in the Paris Commune showing that the Commune had to be supported whilst criticised. Marx criticised the Paris Commune, because he had shown that it was not the stage to make a Socialist government. But the heroism and security of the communards demonstrated that this way, was the way in which to organise programme, and that there could not be a programme without this sentiment and this consciousness of the communards. Marx did not say: They should have left the government in place", but "the Communards launched themselves with the resolution which expressed the ardent class struggle which there was then" Today, it is not like this. We have 20 Workers States and the experience made even in Italy has led to the following conclusion: If we do not accomplish social transformations, there is no solution. This conclusion however, will not be brought forward by the new sectors which come to the Party, who limit social transformation to their own understanding of it, to their own level of resolution and their way of life. They may be influenced and now the whole petty bourgeoisie is influenced. But they have limitations in their capacity to understand, to work and resolve. They do not see the proletariat as the leadership of society, but rather they see that they should determine programme. They are subjective whilst the proletariat is objective. The proletariat is objective because to resolve its problems, the proletariat has to conclude: 'increase salaries' and 'nationalisations under workers control'. But these other layers, of the petty bourgeoisie, are only in agreement with improvements but as long as there are not too many improvements.

Stalin said: "for the Party to be the Party of Russia, it is necessary to open its doors", and he opened these, by eliminating the programme. So, it is not that he opened the doors, but that he eliminated the programme. Lenin and Trotsky, on the contrary, used to say: "Yes the Party must be opened up to Russia, but we have seen that we can win over millions of people without abandoning either programme, nor objectives. And if we did abandon these, we would win people over but to make things stagnate or even go backward". It is obvious that the revolution attracted millions of people and that it is necessary to win these millions. It is necessary yes, to open the Party to these millions! But to open the Party has to mean to conduct a policy, and a cultural and educational activity, for these sectors to learn not to abandon the programme and the policy of the Party, and to make the proletariat weigh more in the leadership of the Party. Lenin used to say: "To compensate for the need which we have for technicians and military advisers in the Party, who have come because they were won over by the revolution but who have also brought all their previous mentality, let us increase the weight of the proletariat in the Party." In principle, there were people in the Russian Revolution like the ultra-left, who rejected this. But Lenin used to reply: "No, we have to win the ultra-left, they are people who want the revolution, but to win them, one has to make the leadership firm and more secure". Stalin after this said: "I continue the line of Lenin". But it was not at all the line of Lenin, he took just the reverse of Lenin's line on this.

Craxi in the Italian Socialist Party, and Rocard in the french, judge things according to the sect mentality they have. They think as people of apparatus, their mentality is "Now shut the door, we take a vote". They think history is like this, they have before them the models, which are the organisms of the bourgeoisie and the apparatuses of bureaucracy and they are working just in the same way as the bourgeois apparatuses. So, they judge according to this and they believe that it is a problem of one leader or another, of top layers and of the best way to manoeuvre so as to have the leadership. They have changed the objectives from those of the bourgeois apparatuses, but they have the same functioning as them. We recommend the reading of Lenin and Trotsky, and John Reed on this topic to see how the masses intervene and lead, and how they need to find a leadership which understands and feels this. In all revolutionary stages, leaderships have appeared which understood and felt but we are not in a revolutionary stage. How conceive a revolutionary stage if the masses do not intervene and weigh!

All this is happening in Italy; it shows that the masses weigh and that they do not let themselves be intimidated. They have an enormous understanding that this (communist) leadership is weak and timid but they see that the leadership is also honest and is not a negociator. If the leadership became a negociator, it would start losing the masses who would leave the Party. But the masses see that this leadership is timid but honest. So, the masses try to push it forward. But people like this Craxi and Roccard, like the right wing in the Communist Party too, do not see things the way they are. They see the apparatus and judge through it. And if they try to bring about changes, they do it through the apparatus. This is why they can never give historic examples. Like when they say: "We have to change the Party's statutes so that it starts recruiting new people". But what historic example is there to show the need for this, what historic reason? They leave the problem of historic example on one side; but what is the historic reason for doing this? What sort of economy will be built with petty bourgeois with us who will have to be thrown out if a proletarian leadership is to be constituted? What does the talk about 'purity' mean? The proletariat cannot be anything else but pure, because "either it will be revolutionary, or it will be nothing" You can have two or three proletarians who are bandits, but the class - as a class - has to be pure because if it stops being a class, it stops developing ideas, it cannot think and act as a class and it can no longer have a class authority.

Purity is shown in that the decisions one takes, are for the benefit of the population, for the population. If the population lacks in technical and scientific ability, the technicians and the scientists have these and they are won over to the revolution. Marx was won to the historic function of the class to transform society. These people do not see this, they only see the petty bourgeois sectors round them, who have a value, who are important to win, and who have a social weight. They have either a scientific, cultural or artistic ability, but it cannot be them who are going to determine the line. The line has to be determined by the behaviour of class in front of the economy, objectivity in front of the economy; and the sort of behaviour and conduct which are objective in the economy are not conceived by any of these people. They see culture as one more wisdom, a knowledge whilst culture is: human relations, which afterwards, diversify themselves in various knowledges. Culture comes from social relations. And the social relation which has determined the given level of culture of a petty bourgeois, who feels capable, is also what makes his culture a very fragile thing. On the other hand, the culture acquired by the proletariat is secure. It is the continuation of objective thought which is the Russian Revolution. This is why there is a great importance in the vehemence and emotion of Berlinger when he said: "We will not abandon Marx and Lenin." He also posed: "We have some differences with them, in Italy, we are going to do it another way, but we want to do the same as Marx and Lenin". And this later statement means also what is contained in the first. "We will not abandon Marx and Lenin". What we are looking for, says Berlinger, is 'the other way' in which to do it, "we want the same as what Marx and Lenin wanted". On the other hand, Rocard wants to go backwards. Rocard has no weight whatsoever. He is a type who capitalism pays, in a thousand ways. They give him positions, incentives of one or other kind, so that he plays his role and they stimulate him in all these conceptions he has, to block the process.

This discussion in the Communist Party is very important and it is necessary to intervene with arguments, basing oneself on the historic experiences made.

J. P O S A D A S 26th September 1978  
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WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!



# **MANIFESTO OF THE**

## **1st MAY 1979**

### **of the International Secretariat of the IV INTERNATIONAL (TROTSKYIST. POSADIST)**

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- to the exploited masses of the world,**
- to the masses of the workers states,**
- to the revolutionary masses who struggle for the peoples' liberation from imperialism and capitalism.**

**15-4-79**

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

**24, Cranbourn Street,  
London W.C.2.**

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- TO THE EXPLOITED MASSES OF THE WORLD,
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The crisis of the capitalist system sharpens and deepens constantly; it extends, elevates and includes all aspects of the economic social and cultural life. The massive sackings which capitalism makes in all the world, show that there is not any possibility of the capitalist system recuperating. The inter-capitalist competition and the competition of capitalism with the Workers States - socialist countries - constantly sharpens and is the essential factor which maintains the crisis of capitalism and in turn, capitalism competes with the system of the Workers States and within its own inter-capitalist competition it has to increase the automation of production and so, sack, and sack, and sack wrkers.

At the same time, there develops a process of poisoning, of infection, of the waters, of the seas, of the atmosphere and the food. It is a process of an ever increasing contamination and poisoning. Now added to this, there is the direct poisoning made by the atomic wastes, by radioactivity, all this maintaining in people and increasing in them a constant and permanent state of cancer. Capitalism means that is being kept up, continued and developed all these things. Together with this, there is a very great, an enormous progress of the struggles of humanity and of the proletariat. The struggles of the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the struggles of the peoples of the Workers States, tend to show that it is possible to eliminate all the consequences of the existence of the capitalist system. This is the essential factor which domi-



nates this stage of humanity.

Whilst in the capitalist system there constantly increases the moral, economic and social crisis, the literary crisis, scientific crisis, in the Workers States on the contrary, there are constant advances made and progresses of the economic, social, cultural, scientific elevation. And in the countries which have liberated themselves from capitalism, such as Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique, there is progress in the economic, social, cultural and scientific life of the masses. There is a constant progress of the economy in the service of the masses.

It is necessary to make a comparison between the crisis of the capitalist system with the Workers States. In capitalism, the crisis increases and capitalism sinks into a murderous crisis against the populations of the world, through the medium of production in which they poison the peoples with atomic radiations, chemicals, leaks, pollution of the environment, of the air, etc. Whilst in the Workers States, the preoccupation for humanity increases. The preoccupation for human beings, for their conditions of life increase. At the same time, there is an elevation of the conditions of health, of culture, of science and of human relations in the Workers States.

Together with this profound crisis of the capitalist system, the economic, social and political crisis, there is a very great development of the struggles of the masses for their liberation from capitalist domination. In this last year, the struggles in Africa, Asia, Latin America and Europe have developed, and with a great progress of the parties of the working class, of the socialists, of the communists, the trade unions and the movements which struggle for the liberation of the masses from capitalist backwardness.

One of the pillars of the capitalist system such as Iran was, has been demolished by the advancing revolutionary process. The struggle of the masses of Africa against african racism and fascism itself supported by the capitalist system of the world, continues to go forward in Rhodesia, in Namibia, in South Africa. The struggle for the liberation of the peoples of all the ex-portuguese colonies, ex british, french and german colonies, continues with the support of the masses, and of the trade unions, of all the world. The struggle of the masses of Latin America, is being reanimated and develops in an ever increasing form. The military dictatorship of Bolivia and Brazil have had to yield under the great pressure of the struggle of the masses. They had to go on yielding by giving certain democratic liberties which, in turn, have allowed afterwards more elevated struggles of the masses. In the countries where there are dictatorships, the economy is a failure. It is ransacked and there is a retreat in the conditions and in the standard of life of the masses. At the same time, neither is there any development of their economy. Meanwhile however, in all the countries where the masses advance - with the socialist, communist, nationalist and revolutionary parties - to take the power, the economy develops rapidly. These countries have terminated the form of parasitism there was, deaths, the paralisation of the life of the masses and of their economies.

In this stage, capitalism seeks to respond with a series of measures to get out of the historic crisis it is in, by means of confrontation with the development of the world socialist revolution and the development of the Workers States (socialist countries). Capitalism seeks to make the unity of Europe through the capitalist system, which is a thing impossible for them to do because for them to unify Europe, means to transport to all the (capitalist) countries of Europe the same form of inter-capitalist competition and also, to elevate the historic antagonism of all of them with the workers states, and with the masses. There is no possibility of the unity of Europe under the capitalist system. Only agreements to submit the weakest sectors of capitalism to the overall intercapitalist competition, to the large sectors of capitalism and to the multinationals and these, to confront the workers states by means of concentration, economic competition and through the regulation of the inter-capitalist competition so as to elevate the concentration of capital and make a political leadership ready to confront the development of the masses, of the communist and socialist parties and the Socialist revolution in Europe and in the rest of the world.

Capitalism cannot unify Europe for progress, neither can it do so for the development of human civilisation, but what it does is for its own interests, of world capitalist competition, to prepare itself to confront the Workers States, economically, socially and with the atomic war. At the same time, the unity of Europe is only possible with the Socialist Soviet Workers States of Europe. This will eliminate economic and social competition and strife, and will allow the planning of everything for human necessity, the necessities of the society of Europe and of the world.

The struggle of humanity for progress is expressed in an eloquent form in Iran, the overthrow of the shah having shown the social weakness of the capitalist system. It has a large military power, but what decides in this stage of history, is not weapons - not even atomic ones - but social development, intelligence, culture, science, which are those which determine the rational use of the economy and of society so that it benefits the human being and develops human society. World capitalism had in Iran, a vital centre of counter-revolutionary espionage, of world counter-revolution for imperialism but in spite of this, it was defeated. It was defeated by the masses of Iran, who themselves were influenced by the world revolution. The same happened in Afghanistan.

There is a process of ascent of the struggles of the world masses of Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Even with small forces, the Sandinist revolutionary groups of Latin America are putting up a fight with an immense heroism against the Somoza dictatorship, which is an agent and a representative of yankee imperialism. At the same time, the retreat of the dictatorships be they in Bolivia, in Brazil, and in part in Argentina, shows that the masses are not intimidated and that they receive the influence of the process of the world revolution.

New problems are appearing in this stage of history with the degeneration and counter-revolutionary military action of the reactionary camarilla of the leadership of the Chinese Workers State. But the

failure of this attempt shows that the course of history necessitates the constant and decisive progress of history; this in the form of the expansion of the anti-capitalist struggle, be it economic, social or military, and in the form of the advance of the Workers States. Vietnam intervened in Cambodia to develop Cambodia and the proof of it is that Cambodia is developing. This is the same as in the instance of when Cuba intervened in Ethiopia to develop Ethiopia. These are the necessities of the Workers States, to extend, expand, their own structure of Workers States, to raise their competition, their world antagonistic economic and social competition with capitalism. The invasion of Vietnam by the counter-revolutionary camarilla of the Chinese Workers State was defeated by the masses of Vietnam who are supported and sustained by those of the world.

The Chinese camarilla has been defeated in Vietnam. It shows that there is no possibility for a historic retreat in any Workers State, Even the Chinese camarilla cannot make the very great conquests of the Chinese workers State retreat and soon this leadership will also be thrown out. The triumph of the Vietnamese Workers State and the support it gives to the revolution in Cambodia against the assassin Pol Pot camarilla, the defeat of the Chinese camarilla in its attempt to invade Vietnam so as to contain the revolutionary progress in South East Asia is expressed now. It is going to continue to be expressed in the impulse and influence of the masses within the Communist and Socialist parties. The Communist and Socialists' victories in France and Spain are an eloquent expression of this. Vietnam voted in France and Spain !

The development of the crisis of capitalism in Europe does not have any solution. The big struggles of the British masses, even in sectors which have less social weight, show the will and the combative decision of the British masses. They have sustained very prolonged strikes which caused very great inconvenience to the population- such as the dust-bin men's strike - and the strikers did not find any hostility from the population. On the contrary, they found that there was support and solidarity in the rest of the population. All this has very profound effects in the development of the revolutionary process.

Capitalism does not have a solution. It prepares the European elections as a means to develop a new leading European structure, from the vital centres of capitalism, with the effect of increasing the weight of the big economic, political and military centres of capitalism, to be able to develop a front against the competition of the Workers States and to have a centre of domination against inter-capitalist competition and to be able to contain the development of the masses' struggle. In front of this process, the European elections, it is necessary to intervene with a programme of planning production, planning with workers control, with state ownership of the main sources of production and exchange. All this has to be so as to organise Europe for the benefit of the masses. Capitalism shows what Europe is going to be like in a few more years - full of unemployment, loss and depreciation of science, technology, art and culture developed in the history of civilisation, because all this affects the existence of the capitalist system.

The development of the crisis of capitalism in Europe does not have any solution. The big struggles of the masses of Britain even in the sectors with a lesser social weight show the will, the combative resolution of the British masses. They have sustained very prolonged strikes which caused very great inconveniences to the population, like the dustmen' strike. And the strikers did not meet the animosity of the population, on the contrary: they found that there was support and solidarity in the rest of the population. All this has very profound effects in the development of the revolutionary process.

Capitalism does not have solution. It prepares the European elections as a means to develop a new leading European structure. It prepares this from the vital centres of capitalism, to be able to increase the weight of the large economic, political and military centres of capitalism, to be able to develop a front against the competition of the Workers States and have a centre of domination against inter-capitalist competition. And it does this to be able to contain the development of the struggles of the masses. In front of this process, in the European elections, it is necessary to intervene with a programme of planning of production, planning under workers control, with state-ownership of the main sources of production and exchange. All this has to be so as to organise Europe for the benefit of the masses. Capitalism shows what Europe is going to be like in a few years time, full of unemployed; there will be a great waste and depreciation of science of technology, of art, of culture, all these things which have developed in the history of civilisation and which affect the very existence of the capitalist system.

The European Common Market cannot do anything else but what it actually does, that is to say: increase and worsen the actual conditions of the development of the crisis of unemployment in Europe. But on the other hand, <sup>are</sup> the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe the answer to the need for the unification of Europe, to develop the economy socially and politically. It is necessary to intervene in the European elections with a programme for a Socialist Communist and Left United Front, even with the nationalist groups who are demanding regionalisation, in order to develop the region itself as a unified and planned form with the rest of Europe, so as to be able to develop society.

Capitalism does not have any answer for the crisis which it has itself provoked and the workers parties, the Communists, the Socialists and the Nationalist Revolutionary parties and tendencies, the trade unions, the workers centres, must give a reply to this process of the decomposition of capitalist society which continuously creates great destruction of the population, killing the population with atomic radiations, or with poisons in the water systems, in the air, etc.

The throwing out of the shah in Iran shows the will of the masses the influence of the revolution on them. It was the world relations of forces which allowed the masses of Iran to defeat the shah. And the attempts at containing the Iranian revolution within religious power - and under this guise, to develop a new capitalist leadership - have been defeated by the masses and also by the women. The recent struggle of the women to take off their veil was not a problem which

arose from their feminity but which they felt because they had the social resolution to intervene in the progress of the history of Iran. The women of Iran as much as those of the world, want to participate in the construction and development of history. For this reason they took the veil off and not just to put themselves in conditions of equality with men, but because they wanted to intervene as well as the men in all the problems of the construction of existence and of society.

It is a whole constant progress of the development of the revolution. It is necessary to rely upon this process, to plan out a programme for the economy, for the development of the economy, of production, of leadership, of science, art, and to put all these at the service of humanity, and to put atomic energy at the service of humanity. So that atomic energy, stops contaminating or poisoning or killing the people.

The development of layers which range from the workers, the petit bourgeois, the technicians, even lower layers of the bourgeoisie, movements of ecologists, against atomic radiations, indicate the decomposition of the capitalist system. All these people are an essential part of society; they live under capitalist influence but are won over to the progress which can only be made against the capitalist system.

On this basis it is necessary to take account of the lack of intervention of the North American masses, of the Japanese masses, in a clearer way in all this process. It is necessary to make it so that they intervene more. The North American masses must feel the effect of this force of history, which tends to organise them. The North American masses live this process, they participate in it but they do not have organisms to represent them. This is why however yankee imperialism cannot use the masses of North America against those of the rest of the world, for instance against the masses of Europe, of Latin America, of Africa, of Asia, or to use the masses of North America for an attack against the revolutions, such as the one in Iran. The North American masses do not have leadership, they do not have a class Party and mass Party; they do not have mass trade unions, class trade unions. They have trade unions which are agencies and representatives of the capitalist system, collaborators. The North American masses have to see the masses of the world, the masses of the Workers States, of the trade unions, the workers parties, and the Workers States themselves, struggle for a programme of social transformations and anti-capitalist struggle. They have to see this also in the capitalist countries, they have to see the great workers and trade union centres do this. This has to be done with interventions of the masses, of workers control under the form of commissions of control, factory councils, workers zones committees, school councils, councils in which the masses can intervene together with the workers parties and the trade unions and the main workers centres; these have to decide in the elaboration of economic policy, in the leadership of society, of culture, of science and of technology. It is necessary to address the North American masses and call upon them to intervene.

Imperialism tried to use the event of the invasion of Vietnam by the camarilla of the Chinese leadership; they hoped to depress the workers movement, to weaken and confuse the workers parties, and the Workers States. But imperialism was defeated. The inter-

vention of the counter revolutionary Chinese camarilla in Vietnam, however, has not made the masses diminish their intervention and the struggle of the masses of the world has not been limited by this. At the same time as this process, the Communists, Socialists and the Trade Unions have immediately triumphed in France, in Spain. The women abandon the veil in Iran and defeat the reactionary camarilla there. Imperialism was defeated in its intention to want to use the Chinese invasion of Vietnam as a means to make the revolutionary movement retreat, to divide it and fragment it so as to be able to find better conditions to intervene. Imperialism could not use in any way this event of the invasion of Vietnam, for the benefit of the capitalist system. This indicates the maturity of the world revolutionary movement, of the masses of the world who know how to appreciate and develop knowledge in front of such events like the intervention of China in Vietnam which they do not see as a struggle between socialist countries, but provoked by a counter revolutionary camarilla of a Workers State against another Workers State. The Workers State is a phase towards the construction of Socialism. The masses are learning to analyse, developing great qualities to learn, to analyse, to decide, resolve, plan and programme how to lead. All this experience from the masses of Iran to those of Indo-China, shows the advancing of the irreversible process of the world revolution.

Capitalism tries to use the invasion of Vietnam by China to show that also under Socialism, there will be wars; they want to show that the human being is like this: ambitious, full of desire to dominate and full of conflicts with others, all of which is not true, it is a pack of lies. In Socialism there is no place for wars because the human mind develops in accordance with the needs of the human being and not the needs of a group. Human intelligence surpasses the sentiment of private property.

In this stage of history, a situation like that of the Chinese leadership is taking place because we are dealing with Workers States and these are an inferior stage, a stage before Socialism. There still exists forms in that state - forms of relations - which allow the organisation of bureaucratic layers although it may be transitory. This is because the Workers State still includes within itself, a form of relations which belong to capitalism that is to say, a form of relation of to each according to his capacity, a form of property and power.

The Communist and Socialist parties appear divided and separated. A unified centre is necessary, a United Front of all the Communist and Socialist parties and Trade Unions to intervene in the European Parliament with a programme of Socialist development in Europe, a programme of planning, workers control and the planning of production; a programme to nationalise the key centres of production and of exchange; a planning of production to provide work for all the population and to develop the economy for the benefit of the needs of the population and not for the multinationals and the capitalists. The North American masses have to see and feel this process. A United Front is necessary of the Communists, Socialists and a public discussion on the effects and the causes of the inva -

and a public discussion on the effects and the causes of the invasion of Vietnam by the Chinese bureaucracy. This invasion is not due to a conflict or antagonisms between socialist countries. It's the consequence of the fact that the Workers State is a lesser stage in the construction of socialism which goes towards socialism. It is necessary to discuss publically this process. A World United Front of the Workers States with the Communist Parties is necessary for the unification of the world Communist movement, the unification of China, the USSR, the Communist parties of the capitalist countries. A United Front with a programme of anti-capitalist struggle, of the planning of production and the intervention of the masses and workers control.

In the last stage, there has been an increase of the struggles of the masses in the countries with social democratic leaderships, which represent the capitalist system - as in capitalist Germany. The German masses propose a series of demands for the progress of society and for the development of the human being. They have proposed and won the point, that the progress of technology in production - be it in printing or anything else - should be not at the cost of the masses but that progress should be for the benefit of the masses. They have imposed that there should be no sackings, no worsening conditions of work and if these conquests are limited, they are significant. They have proposed that progress in manufacture of newspapers should not be at the cost of employment, and not to increase the intensity of work for the masses; it should be for all staff to be maintained at work and their wages maintained. As regards the benefits of the progress of science and technology, which are the result of human society and not of capitalism, the German trade unions now propose that they should be used for the benefit of the masses and not in order to lower the conditions of life and work. This shows that the masses are seeking to intervene in the leadership of society and that they have succeeded in doing this.

All the progress of science, of technology, of art and culture, has not been supplied or developed by the capitalist system. It is supplied and developed by the Workers States, and by the countries which liberated themselves from colonial oppression, which are the countries now developing.

Capitalism is preparing the world war. It is necessary to prepare for this. Capitalism shows its weakness and prepares the world war to try to contain the world process of the revolution. Hence, it devotes all its main resources to the preparation of armaments, to the counter-revolution. Capitalism cannot offer any condition or possibility of advancing, and there is no other possibility to advance than to suppress the capitalist system. There is no condition, no example, there is no experience, no scientific evidence to show that one can go forward in a coalition with capitalism, a mixture of private and state-owned property. Private property has reached the end of the line. It has no possibility of progress and does not serve the ends of humanity any more. The Workers States show that statified property, the planning of production according to the needs of the population allows the development without limit of the population and without unemployment. On the contrary, there

is an elevation in the dedication of time and means for culture and science and intelligence in the Workers States.

A greater intervention of the trade unions is necessary in the form of factory councils and every form of trade union activity - workers councils, school councils, teacher councils, workers in the countryside, peasant organisations linked to those of the workers. This is the programme which it is necessary to propose to the European parliament, a programme which the working class - through the Socialist and Communist parties - presents to the masses as a means to progress in Europe. Also, it is necessary to help the preparation of the conditions to push forward these struggles in Latin America, Africa and Asia. It is necessary to make an appeal for a World United Front, to all the Communist parties, to all the Workers States, of China, the USSR, Cuba, the German Workers State, and of Yugoslavia. For a United Front of Socialist, Communist parties, and the Workers Centres of all the capitalist countries of Asia, Africa Latin America, in alliance and United Front with the Workers Centres and the Workers States such as China, Cuba and the USSR.

It is necessary that the Trade Unions and the Communist parties communicate to the North American masses, with an appeal for social, economic, and scientific progress, and the North American masses must see that effectively, they can intervene also. If the masses see the leaders intervene and the trade unions, and the Communist Parties of the Workers States, if they see those of the capitalist countries leading, planning the intervention on how to lead the economy of these countries - this will have an immense influence on the rest of the world.

This programme for the unification of the World Communist Movement, is necessary on the First of May. There must be a United Front of the Communist movement with the Socialist parties, with the great workers centres, with the aim of uniting through the programme for anti-capitalist struggle, all the social, economic, political and electoral struggles.

The Trade Unions must develop a campaign and struggle to impose the 35 h. week, a month paid holidays for all workers, and pension at 55. A struggle has to be waged to end so called "accidents of work", for workers control over safety, health and conditions of work in the factories, chemical plants and in the atomic centres.

The Workers States show that they are invincible because they represent the progress of humanity. Humanity defeated through Vietnam all the Chinese counter-revolutionary camarilla and is going to impel the struggle of the proletariat and of the Chinese masses to re-establish the revolutionary leadership necessary for the progress of China.

- LONG LIVE THE WORLD SOCIALIST REVOLUTION !
- LONG LIVE THE MASSES OF EUROPE AND OF THE WORLD!
- LONG LIVE THE WORKERS STATES !
- LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE OF THE VIETNAMESE MASSES AND THE WORLD SUPPORT EXPRESSED IN VIETNAM !
- LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROCESS OF THE SOCIALIST REVOLUTION!
- LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF EUROPE !
- LONG LIVE THE SOCIALIST UNITED STATES OF THE WORLD !

THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE  
IV. INTERNATIONAL

( P O S A D I S T ) 15.4.79



THE POPE'S LATIN-AMERICAN TOUR, THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH, AND THE PROGRESS OF

HUMANITY:

(INSIDE PAGES)

..... BY : .....

**J. POSADAS**

28.1.79

Page 4...

RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VIETNAMESE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC FROM THE INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT OF THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL ... p 3.



**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY (TROTSKYIST)**

**BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV INTERNATIONAL (POSADIST)**

DEVOLUTION IS NO SOLUTION TO THE PROBLEMS OF SCOTLAND AND WALES. FOR A FEDERATION OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, WALES AND IRELAND!

In spite of all the great wealth that has been developed in Britain, it has been wealth that has been very unevenly distributed. This is apparent between the capitalist who has enormous luxury and the workers who struggle in order to live. The same applies between the different parts of Britain with whole regions left out of the development. With the economic crisis of British capitalism, the conditions in these regions become more severe. It is in this situation that the demand for devolution arises. We agree with the right of self-determination, but

it has to be a right proposed with the perspective of developing the life of the population by a socialist programme and devolution does not do this.

THE CHINESE INVASION OF VIETNAM AND THE NECESSITY FOR THE UNITY OF THE WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT - 22.2.79

----- Edit. Board. -----

The events of the days in Indo-China, form part of a process in all the Workers States. The advance of the Workers States - essential to human progress - comes into collision with the narrow, bureaucratic concepts of "socialism in one country".

This process demands a clarification, an elevation of the discussion in the World Communist Movement, taking into account that this problem is not only with the Chinese leadership, but with other sectors in the World Communist Movement, and that it is not a question of "neo-facists" in China, or that "China has returned to capitalism". No, it is a problem which has its origins in stalinism.

The discussion has to elevate to the understanding that national boundaries do not determine human progress. What determines human progress is the extension of state ownership and planning, and the extension of the socialist democratic functioning of the masses in the leadership of the Socialist Countries.

There, we cannot equate the support given by Vietnam to the Cambodian masses - for progress - with the Chinese invasion of Vietnam - against progress.

The bourgeois revolution made the nation state. This was progress over feudalism, as in place of the small unit of the clan or the region, the nation was made. Scotland and Wales were incorporated into Britain. Now capitalism which made its claim to be progressive on the basis of its ability to unify the whole of Britain, discusses going back towards splitting up the regions. Scotland and Wales are in economic crisis; is this to be solved on a local basis? Is just simply the introduction of local initiatives going

.../ 7

.../2

The invasion of Vietnam by the Chinese leadership is not a struggle between two Workers States (Socialist Countries). It is the desperate resistance of a bureaucratic and stalinist leadership, in China, to the extension of the revolution, to the progress of the Workers States towards Socialism. This is because this Chinese leadership sees that this extension of the world revolution goes against its bureaucratic conception of history, its lack of confidence in the masses, its fear of war, and its material bureaucratic interests in the economy of the Workers State in the form of privileges. Their conception is that of "socialism in one country".

The problem posed by the invasion is not simply the concern of the Vietnamese and Chinese people. On the contrary it is part of a process expressed in the existence of the Pol-Pot clique in Cambodia previously, which is the contradiction which there is between the Workers States, the nature of the Workers States and the leaderships which do not correspond to their nature. The Workers State needs to become a world system, it represents progress, it is the base of human fraternity. The elimination of Pol-Pot means that the Workers States are advancing towards a superior leadership with the Soviet leadership representing, at present and with limitations, the most conscious. It is this process which the present leadership in China resists.

It is clear that the Chinese masses - who fought for the construction of the Chinese Workers State, are opposed to these actions and policies of the leadership of Teng and Hua. The resistance of the Chinese masses has to be supported but this cannot be done simply with military action by the Soviet Union or the other Workers States. It can only be done politically - which does not exclude military means but military actions have to be decidedly subordinated to the political. We, in this country, are all concerned and must be concerned primarily with what political action has to be taken now and what programme and policy has to be adopted.

The opposition of the Labour left to the sale of military aircraft to China is, at the moment, correct, as far as it goes. But it is a superficial stance. The problem is deeper than military strategy or equipment. It is a problem of leadership, of programme and policy for the elimination of the capitalist system and imperialism; it is a problem of the construction of a united world Communist movement, the unification of the USSR and China. This, therefore, is not a problem which concerns only the USSR, China and Vietnam but the whole of humanity which includes the Labour and trade union masses in this country. It is not enough to denounce the external policies of China and then to qualify the internal policy as 'realistic' - as the Communist comrades in this country have done. Both the internal and external policies of the present Chinese leadership have their origins in stalinism, in the existence of a whole privileged layer in China which finds its expression in the expulsion of the internationalists, the shooting of elements of the workers vanguard and the elimination of the Communes.

Appeals must be made to the Soviet Union to organise a world conference of the world Communist movement, the trade union centres and all the revolutionary, Socialist, worker and popular movement in the world, to discuss the problem of the Chinese leadership and the events in Vietnam. It has to be a conference to take positions, and to call for the advance of socialist democracy in China, to allow the Chinese masses to discuss and to decide the development of the Chinese Workers States. And to apply these conclusions to all the Workers States and the Revolutionary States. This will win the Chinese masses to the world system of the Workers States, to the unification of the Chinese Workers State with the Soviet and Vietnamese Workers States and, above all, it will give them the support they need to overthrow the present counter-revolutionary leadership in China, as the masses of Cambodia have overthrown the Pol-Pot clique with the aid of the Vietnamese.

"C A M B O D I A - V I E T N A M    A N D  
THE PROBLEMS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM"

..... B Y :

**J. POSADAS**

Obtainable from the Party's address, in a European  
Marxist Review: 30p

17.1.79

"... It is not an invasion of Cambodia by Vietnam but  
a popular uprising against a bureaucratic clique and  
Stalinist dictatorship ..."

RESOLUTION OF SUPPORT TO THE CAMBODIAN POPULAR REPUBLIC, TO THE FUNSK,  
TO THE GOVERNMENT OF THE VIETNAMESE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

Dear comrades of the government of the Vietnamese Socialist Republic,

We are  
addressing this to you so that you can send our congratulations to the government  
of the Cambodia Popular Republic and to the FUNSK, for having expelled the counter-  
revolutionary Pol-Pot clique. This was a necessity for Cambodia's progress as a  
Socialist country and for the Socialist unification with Laos and Vietnam.

At the same time, we show our support and greetings to the Government of the  
Vietnamese Socialist Republic and the Vietnamese masses because the defence that  
Vietnam has made from the attack of this counter-revolutionary clique has given,  
as a result, a stimulus and an organisation to the popular reaction and to  
revolutionary tendencies to rise up, confront and expel the Pol-Pot clique. That  
is, also Socialist Vietnam's action has been a necessary one to impel progress.

Therefore we greet all this action because we see it as a necessary part of  
the Socialist development of humanity and it constitutes a very great defeat for  
imperialism, the world capitalist system and also the counter-revolutionary clique  
of the Chinese leadership which has been the base that sustained and supported the  
Pol-Pot leadership.

Along with our communist greetings to the new government of **the Cambodian**  
Popular Republic and to the FUNSK, we call on them to extend all the socialist  
democratic functioning of the masses which besides being a necessity for the  
development of Socialist Cambodia, is going to have a big influence in countries  
like Thailand, Burma and the Philippines and also China. To construct democratic  
organs of discussion, deliberation and social development of the masses. This  
necessary activity will have a big influence and, at the same time, will be useful  
in order to politically elevate the masses in all these countries, so that they  
immediately feel and see the superiority of the Socialist objective.

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT, POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

1st. January 1979

- The uprising of the masses and the progress of Iran 5.11.78
- The relation of world forces and the process of the Social  
Revolution in Iran 24.1.79

BY J. P O S A D A S - 30p -

THE POPE'S LATIN AMERICAN TOUR, THE CRISIS IN THE CHURCH AND THE PROGRESS OF HUMANITY.

J.POSADAS - 28.1.79

The visit of the pope to Mexico has a very great political importance. This visit was decided following the third Latin-American Episcopal Conference, that is to say, without the participation of the pope.

The essential reason for the visit of the pope is to maintain the domination, the control of the Church over all its organisation and over this conference. As the Church continues to mature with a certain influence in the popular masses as in Iran, a political development grows within it. So, the pope goes to contain this process and to demonstrate that the highest authorities of the Church respond to pressure, or to the necessity of history. This is the way these people want to be seen, above all, they want to avoid being superceded and they want to impede a division in the Church. Already there have been quite a few reforms made by previous meetings of the Concilio (Church Council). The visit of the pope is also to turn the religious public opinion towards Latin-America and away from the fate of the big capitalist countries of Europe, or the United States. The problems of Latin-America, however, are the same as those of the United States, France, Italy, Germany or Britain; only they are more pronounced in Latin America. But they are the same. They are the problems of exploitation, of the contempt for human life, of the killing of people through hunger, pollution and through social inequality. In a word, all the consequences of the capitalist system in this stage of history; expressed in Latin-America, in Africa and in Asia. So, the pope goes to present himself as the consoler of misery, an abstract critic of the capitalist system which kills and assassinates people.

In the United States, there are 46 million super-exploited people, of whom 30 millions are in the hunger zone. It is not necessary to go as far as Latin-America to denounce something which happens in the "advanced countries". In Germany, there are 2 million workers who live from hand to mouth, foreign workers without any social, or political rights and completely exploited. France still has imperialist armies intervening in Africa, killing and assassinating. And British imperialism carries on killing and murdering people in Rhodesia. Whilst the pope makes only abstract declarations and, in no way, does he intervene with programme and policy.

His condemnation of exploitation is only a decoration, but what lies behind it is his support of the capitalist system. There is no programme against the capitalist system in what he says. There are abstract declarations but no programme such as ; there must be only six hours work a day, there must be work for everyone, against the dictatorships of Latin America which assassinate. . In Paraguay, Nicaragua, Guatemala you have dictatorships which murder every day. What condemnation of these comes from the pope ? And not just to make condemnations but what measures of condemnation does the Church favour ? Abstract declarations do not suffice, they are simply ornamentations. But what concrete measures are needed ? So, he comes out to calm the Church because the lower base of the Church, the workers and peasants, the poor petit-bourgeoisie do not think for themselves and believe that the Church accompanies them in their problems. But what measures does it propose ? What is the value of saying that we are against exploitation if no measures are proposed to prevent exploitation of man by man. Immediately, what activity does the Church undertake to impede the exploitation of man by man, when it is obvious that in Latin-America, in Africa what happens is not at all peculiar to Latin-America or Africa but happens in Europe also ? What happens in capitalist Germany is not quite the murder of workers but the oppression which prepares for murdering them. The workers of Germany - particularly the foreign workers) live in conditions which are outside human rights because they have no social or political rights. In Italy, we have had the murders at Seveso\* and there are the murders which the CIA commits there to defend the world system of capitalism.

The intervention of the pope is not to contain exploitation but to give an impression of running with the tide of history, to appear in front of the catholic masses this way. It is not to intervene but to contain the influence

of the revolutionary process of history in the actual leadership of the Church which already appeared in the previous Latin American Episcopal Conference. The pope comes out to stem this process. His intervention was not planned. He ends up doing this because the Church of Latin America is linked to exploited sectors of the population and the Church leadership tries to compete and contain a part of the Latin-American Church; a part, that is, not all of it. It is from the Latin-American Church that priests have come out who pose that "there is no antagonism between us and the marxists, we both want the same thing". So, the pope comes out to put himself in tune with the march of history; and he does not give a programme when the form in which one has to do this is by giving a programme. The Latin-American Church which met several years ago in Ecuador has adopted a programme, which was one of economic development and of defense of the exploited peoples.

That is to say that the Church comes out to maintain its authority, yielding in the form, declaring itself to be against exploitation, but doing nothing about it. They try to contain, to put a brake on any concrete organisational measure. The form in which this opposition to exploitation is measured is: what organisational measures have to be taken? This is the form in which this has to be expressed: what organisational forms are to be taken?

In Iran, on the other hand, the Church which is a branch of Islam has concrete positions for the defense of democracy, to take under state control all the properties of the Shah, to make a democratic republic which, even if it is called an islamic Republic, is a democratic one. That is to say, it adopts specific positions. This is not the most important church but it has millions of adherents, it influences millions. That is to say that the influence of the process of history expresses itself in the Church and it is this which the high command of the Church and the pope come out to contain.

It is necessary to launch an appeal to the catholic youth, showing them that the visit of the pope to that conference demonstrates that there is a great influence in the catholic base, of the world social progress and of the march of history determined by the struggle of the world masses for social transformations; and that, of all these things, the principal influence is that of the Workers States. The USSR, China, Cuba, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia. And within this the struggle of Vietnam and the victory of the Vietnamese and Cambodians against the assassin camarilla of Pol Pot, supported by the Chinese (leadership). The masses of the world see this and they acquire that this is the form which progress takes. The masses see what form progress is taking. So, it is necessary to call on the catholic masses to see that progress has to take organisational forms. The organisational forms depend on the economic relations and the economic relations depend on the regime of property. Therefore, this has to be discussed openly.

There is no possibility of progress under capitalism. There cannot be any scientific, cultural progress if there is not the economic and social base for it and, therefore, there is the need for a leadership which allows the development of the economy so that such possibilities are offered. If there is a leadership for a Workers State, then, even in the absence of an economic development, progress can take place as it took place in Angola, in Cuba, in Vietnam. This is because there was a revolutionary political leadership which had the programme for revolution, and a party prepared for this.

The catholic movement, the catholic masses want progress, they seek progress and are influenced by progress. So, this progress has to be allowed to express itself and this movement has to be linked to the trade unions, to the movements of demands but together with a programme for social progress. Not just to seek demands for one, or other trade but to pose a programme of demands for social progress, social measures which go against the capitalist system. And one has to advance as far as possible in the structuring of organisms which allow planning, to lead society and the economy, and to advance in the development of the organisms of the masses, of the trade unions, of the regions, of the schools and countryside. Organs which allow the population to unify so that it leads society. Capitalism is leading up to a catastrophe.

This tour of the pope has its main significance in this: he wants to put himself in tune with history, with the aim of counter-revolution. The aim of this isn't to favour progress but to stop it. He comes out to put a stop to it, not to favour it because the function of these people is to defend private property. If they really were against private property - and they declare that they are - then they would come out with a programme against private property and call for struggles against private property ! The pope, as the newspapers have reported, went to seek sectors of very backward peasants who have nothing else to eat but yuyos ( a weed which grows wild). The pope said: " we are against exploitation" but there is the need for a programme of employment, a programme against the pollution made by capitalism, and one has to say clearly that it is the capitalist system which opposes the end of exploitation. So, it is necessary to expropriate it, to plan as has been done in Cuba, in the USSR and as they are doing in Algeria - even if only limitedly, as yet, because it is not a Workers State but it soon will be. On this basis one must discuss and see how to interpret the tour of the pope.

It is a tour, the essence of which is to contain the revolutionary process and not to appear opposed, or of the right. In Latin-America you must take into account that there have been meetings of high ranking people of the Church, the same as the one in Ecuador, in which they posed a programme of distribution of the land to the peasants. This is concrete and clear: the distribution of the land to the peasants! And why doesn't the pope go to distribute it ? The only earth that he has to distribute is that which blocks his ears ! No more than that !

The tour of the pope shows the trend to the left, the influence on the catholic mass of the Workers States and of revolutionary struggles by the masses of the world, among them the masses of Vietnam, Cambodia, Cuba. The masses grasp that it is not a matter of noon prayers and supplications to god, but a matter of programme, of planned organisation of the economy, of property. Property put to the service of the community so that production can be planned.

When the present popes are no longer allowed to bless the fascist cannons, it is because the catholic masses of the world want social transformations, and these masses include those where the pope lives, in Italy. The catholic mass wants and seeks progress. The petty bourgeoisie, the peasants, the workers also. The pope has not condemned, nor has he called for risings against the dictatorships, or the murders in Nicaragua, or Guatemala where they massacre the people.

He hadn't a word to say ! And neither had he a word to say about Iran; neither him nor the rest of the Church ! But, on the other hand, the priests, bishops, in their particular ways, have made public condemnations. Whilst the pope goes to say: "quiet, progress will come" and that: "they should not exploit". The masses of Vietnam, of Cuba, of Mozambique and Angola are transforming society and the economic relations of property. This is not an abstraction but the search for progress, and the base for progress is the economy; so the base of the economy is transformed and this gives the social base for the progress of each country.

J. Posadas - 28th. January 1979

\* Seveso: An explosion at Chemical works in Italy which polluted the land and killed a large number of people, whilst people continue to die.

Devolution -- cont. from front page...

to enable an ending of the economic decline? The economy of Scotland and Wales, as of the economic power in England, is controlled by the big firms which transcend the national boundaries. The decisions about whether to invest in Scotland is not taken in Scotland but by decisions of the big firms based on the market conditions. Transferring certain political decisions to the regions is not going to alter that reality. The capitalist invests where it is convenient to him, if he can make more money in Germany or England rather than Scotland he develops a factory there. Therefore the discussion about having an assembly and about how much power it should be given is not a discussion that in any way relates to the need of the population.

There is a rebellion of the population in Scotland and Wales against the lack of progress, against the unemployment and the lack of facilities of hospitals, houses and schools. In front of this, capitalism proposes that this can be solved by devolution. That if 'the people of the local areas can make more decisions about how to use the government grants, all will be well.' This is a diversion. What is lacking is not a devolved parliament but a political programme to deal with all the economic backwardness. The incorporation of Scotland and Wales was because the economy had transcended the local basis. Now the development of trade has gone beyond the national boundaries. The economy demands the expansion into the world and capitalism proposes looking to the region. The problems of the regions are not caused by problems that are special to the regions. The unemployment in one region is more severe but essentially they are part of a crisis that the masses face throughout Britain. The worker in England faces the deterioration in the standard of his life and he is united with the workers of the whole of Britain. Capitalism tries to make it appear that the problems in Scotland are special to Scotland and those in Wales are Welsh difficulties. They are in fact difficulties coming from the inability of capitalism to expand any more.

With the loss of authority of capitalism all its structure begins to disintegrate, this includes its ability to maintain a perspective in the unity of the United Kingdom. Local bourgeois sectors in Scotland and Wales demand more control over their affairs. The Scots bourgeoisie claims the right to 'their oil'. It proposes to control the affairs of its area and do so 'in the interests of the local population'. There is no possibility for progress for Scotland or Wales coming through them trying to go separately. The government proposes devolution and a campaign on this issue, as it is an attempt to divert all the concern of the population over the problems they face, into a discussion of the need for local solutions. It is to try and separate the struggles of the workers movement in England and the different regions. To try and interest the population in seeking local solutions and in this way to decentralise the workers movement. In Spain the constitution formalises regionalism and the workers parties have separate parties for the different regions. This issue of regionalism is not special to Britain, it is arising in all the big capitalist countries. With the crisis of capitalism, the structure of the countries disintegrate. Capitalism is not able to offer anything to solve this crisis therefore it makes use of this situation in order to try and contain the class struggle by stimulating regional differences.

It is necessary to discuss the problems of regions but understanding that their advance is linked to the progress of the whole of Britain. England will not advance within capitalism and nor will Scotland and Wales. Within the structure of private property there is no progress for Britain. Socialism requires the progress of not just one region, therefore Britain has to be kept united but this can only be done on the basis of a Socialist Republic. The struggles in Scotland and Wales form part of the struggle for Socialism. There needs to be the unification of the workers struggles in these regions with the masses of the rest of Britain. To respect the right of self-determination but within a federation of Britain. There are within the nationalist movements, sectors that are anti-capitalist. In the Scottish nationalists there is a Republican tendency. So propose a federation in which there is no place for the monarchy. The present unification of Britain does not work. But this not because it is a mistake to be unified, but because capitalism is incapable of developing unification. It is not unity that has to be discarded but capitalism. To solve this crisis the regions must be maintained united within a Socialist Republic. This is the way to solve the underdevelopment of the regions.

Workers of the World, Unite!

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THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY OBJECTIVES OF THE CHINESE INVASION OF VIETNAM

J. POSADAS

25-2-79

The counter-revolutionary and reactionary attitude of the Chinese leadership is very profound. The behaviour of the Chinese leadership obeys their local interests; for them what happens in the rest of the world is simply a support. This leadership sees as a possibility their own development against those that they consider as their enemies and principal opponents. Capitalism is an enemy but at the same time, there is a bureaucratic development—as was the case of the Soviet bureaucracy—dependent on national structures of feudal or land-ord origin. These feudal sectors and landlords make an alliance with a part of the workers state leadership. They have been incorporated into the Communist party and they have lived without developing the conception of the construction of the workers state. These sectors make an alliance with revolutionary sectors that are marxist but that do not have a party nor the strength nor the security of the party and feel weak.

This policy of the Chinese leadership does not come from a mistake of the Chinese but from the old Stalinist policy which for a large time was the policy of the leadership of the Soviet workers state. That meant the development of local interests of submitting the rest of the revolutionary movement to them and making use of the revolutionary movement to progress as the most powerful, ie the USSR. The difference is that in the USSR there is now a leadership based on a party which has the basis in Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky and which has the communist consciousness from that. The Soviet bureaucracy developed as an apparatus, but at the same time the conditions of history impelled it to see that to advance it has no other way than to go through the communist road and besides because it has the communist understanding. Hence the Soviet Union progresses but the Chinese leadership retreats.

The struggles which they had in the Soviet Union with the purges and assassinations were greater—up to now—than those of the Chinese but in China there was never a real communist party, a Bolshevik party. There were alliances of small groups, displacement of groups and there is a parallel development not identical in depth with the events in the USSR under Stalin. In China they have liquidated all the previous leaders including Lin Piao. Mao Tse Tung died (or they killed him) and the programme was



liquidated, not only that of the cultural revolution but of the "hundred flowers" and "the great step forward". This corresponds to the killing of the Bolshevik leadership which Stalin made.

The Chinese leadership is a leadership which seeks to progress and develop in competition with capitalism and the workers states, but sees that the way to develop is through the workers states, not capitalism. It does not have the Communist conviction but it cannot be capitalist. From communism, it takes the structure of the workers state to defend bureaucratic interests in the form of a caste which corresponds to the function of a class. It corresponds but it is not the same, hence it cannot play the same function.

In the Chinese Communist Party, there is every type of element; revolutionaries, revolutionary petit-bourgeois and layers of Communists who fought Chiang Kai Shek against imperialism, but at the same time are opposed to the advance of the construction of the workers state.

They are problems which arise in this stage of history and of the conditions in which the workers state develops. If the Soviet Union had developed a Communist policy, the development of ideas, positions, and marxist policy, it would have helped to educate the leaderships and would have won a tendency; but even so, they would have clashed with the Chinese. It was not only Stalin and Khrushchev who were responsible for the clash with China but also it is a consequence of the existence of the nationalist interests in China. The great disputes were not only due to the bureaucratic policy and absorption of Stalin and Khrushchev. Their policy certainly was to prevent China developing as a political competitor thus impelling the masses, and also as an economic competitor.

These problems do not arise as a consequence of the creation and development of the workers state, but as there has not been a consistent marxist leadership in the workers state, there is now a bureaucratic structure in China. The Chinese leadership is not a socialist marxist leadership which seeks to develop socialism and confronts and meets antagonism and competitors in the workers states. There is no place for a workers state to clash with another workers state. There is room for clashes over differences or divergences, but it does not annul the workers state to favour capitalism. There can be territorial disputes and for a long period there are going to be disputes like this, but this does not reach the level of historic confrontations, social confrontations of war and favour above all the capitalist system. When the situation reaches the level of an invasion of Vietnam, it is because the leadership which is responsible has nationalist interests. It is not a revolutionary but a nationalist interest and it has a nationalist programme which acts so that it can have a foot in capitalism and a foot in the workers state. The foot in capitalism is the policy of alliance with capitalism, but the economy is of the workers state. Thus there is a difference and contradiction which the Chinese leadership does not resolve by invading or annexing Vietnam.

This invasion of Vietnam is a product of the absence of the organised life of the party, of the development of marxism. It is a consequence of the reorganisation of the structure of the new society and the fact that there is no leadership constructed through the different function in the economy, but through political struggles and the party which educates. It is a recent fact in the workers state when the working class exercises the leading function in the economy, but earlier it was not so; the leadership developed in the political and social struggles.

The policy of the Chinese leadership is not new. From 1948, the Communist party attracted a great number of soldiers, intellectuals and bourgeois. It won them from the movement of Sun Yat Sen. It developed an anti-capitalist movement but without the construction of the party. Thus it left a void and the sectors who came with good intentions of constructing a workers state developed ideas, bureaucratic and nationalist thoughts, without the dominion and the consciousness of the world development of the process. Thus they see as the principal objective, the development of China and that they can do it against all the rest. They do not see that this is impossible, and that to develop China can only be achieved under socialism. The same happened with Stalin. They are all the consequences of the lack of functioning of parties with a revolutionary policy, of the lack of the Communist International and of the marxist revolutionary life of the Communist parties.

The attitude of the Chinese leadership is very serious. Although it may not succeed in conquering or annexing Vietnam - its not to the interest of the Soviets for this to happen and they cannot allow it - it shows to what level this Chinese leadership can reach, because it is a stage of the total crisis of the capitalist system, of a brutal competition and this leadership comes to defend and support the capitalist system. Thus this Chinese leadership has local national interests; it is not of marxist origin nor does it have this behaviour through conflict and or mistakes. It is a leadership which does not answer to the workers states nor is it part of socialist thought. It is a nationalist representation and utilises the structure of the workers state for its own interest. Hence it then develops petit bourgeois layers in order to link them with the workers state; to associate with them and make them live, when these layers repudiate the workers states. The Chinese leadership is associated with a million and a half Chinese that escaped from Vietnam because of its socialist development. It wanted them to remain there so that they make a capitalist pressure on Vietnam to contain it so that Vietnam does not influence within China.

For this Chinese leadership, the principal aspect, the most dangerous aspect is the influence in China of the socialist development of Vietnam, of Cambodia of all the neighbouring countries and of the Soviet Union. From this arise the conflicts with the USSR. It has to defend itself so that they do not influence it. Thus they try to make the problems appear as conflicts of frontiers, invasions, to make the people believe, to diffuse and to maintain the political belief in the Chinese population that they cannot do anything more because the Soviets prevent them. But they do not explain politically why the Soviets support Ethiopia and why they do not support them. Thus they are not conflicts which come from socialist leadership as such, but from the construction of socialism in this stage of history, and of leaderships which do not correspond to this need. With the absence of leaderships which are prepared for this task, these leaderships assume this function and intensify the nationalist, egoist, local interests and to defend their interests, they have to give way to social layers which have an interest in this policy, that is, the petit bourgeois, the landowners and proprietors. Thus the proletariat does not intervene at all in China, neither with cell nor communes. They have eliminated this intervention, just as Stalin eliminated the Bolshevik Party.

It is a policy which has no perspectives, although they occupy Vietnam. It is a policy which is the product of blindness of the Chinese bureaucracy which believes it possible that through its intervention, it will succeed in making the Soviets attack them and the Yanks to attack the Soviets. They all fight and the Chinese come out on top. The intervention of the Chinese is to make the Soviets intervene so as to provoke a conflict between the Yanks and the Soviets, to block and nullify the Soviet Union. Thus the Chinese will develop. Capitalism knows, feels and understands this, and tries to take advantage from it.

Carter's policy is uncertain, vacillating and is not absolutely secure in support to the Chinese. It fears the consequences, not the Soviet reaction against the Chinese, but that a war with them, with the Soviet Union, will destroy the capitalist system and Teng Peng will not win, nor Brezhnev, but world communism will. Capitalism tries to benefit from this but does not have the policy to do so. Hence the differences in the capitalist camp. But if they were secure about the future, they would have united to support China, to stimulate it. On the other hand, the rest of world capitalism is against the invasion, because it sees that the consequences are going to be against it. This shows the contradictions of the capitalist system. The European capitalists are all against the invasion, even the British who gave arms to the Chinese are also against it. Half the Labour Party is against it. It's dubious about the Labour government continuing to give arms to China.

Capitalism does not have security in a policy to use the differences in the workers states. This same attitude of the Chinese was the counter-revolutionary attitude of Stalin against Yugoslavia, when he proposed that Mao Tse Tung shared power with Chiang Kai Shek. Stalin failed. This means that there is no perspective for capitalism to use this situation because if Stalin failed all the time that he wanted to expand

the counter revolution as he did in Spain, it is because the conditions are already mature to overthrow all these efforts of the Chinese bureaucracy. Even the Chinese to contain this invasion are going to have to justify politically within China why they are doing it. Vietnam is not an aggressor country. It has no strength and no military or economic force. Then why the invasion?

The defence of the Chinese leadership of the Cambodia of Pol Pot has the objective of making it a pressure against Vietnam so that it does not advance in the revolution because this will influence within China. The expulsion of a million and a half Chinese from Vietnam weakened all the Chinese apparatus because they counted upon this in order not to launch the war. The flight of these sectors weakened all this apparatus. Hence they make this policy but politically it has no perspective because it is based on military actions and not on social historic necessities. They can invade militarily and after? When the invasion does not correspond to a need, the invader loses, is absorbed by the progress of those who are invaded. The Chinese wherever they go, will have to make the workers state, otherwise they have to confront the population.

If the Chinese invade Vietnam and occupy Vietnam, they need at least three million soldiers to maintain it under their control. That is, it is an insane policy of the Chinese who want to make a great blow to give the security that it can contain Vietnam to try and reanimate the old clique in Cambodia. It is a completely insane policy and capitalism has doubts about supporting the Chinese, because it feels that the problem cannot be resolved in this way. Capitalism knows that a war between the Yanks and the Soviets will be a war of all the capitalist world against the workers states, in which all the workers states are going to be at the side of the Soviet Union against capitalism. Even in China, it is absurd to suppose that the immense majority of the masses and the Chinese army is going to support the Yanks against the Soviets; there are going to be rebellions, uprisings as there was also with the Hitler-Stalin pact. It must be remembered that the Soviet military of the communist party were against the Hitler-Stalin deal which afterwards allowed them before the nazi invasion, to react in time. If it had been left to Stalin, the nazis would have reached Moscow. It was the army which prevented him.

This attitude of the Chinese leadership is the consequence of the crisis, the product of a lack of the party, programme and marxist life, the lack of Communist International, where it could be clearly seen that it is not possible to construct socialist society, when everyone takes the road that he wants and that it is necessary to develop and extend the experiences of each country and above all the greatest experience which is the intervention of the masses, soviet democracy, trade union democracy, and planning as a function of the interest of all the workers states. The necessity for the Communist International is not to respond to the need for more control but to co-ordinate the life of the workers states against the capitalist system. This situation is going to make this necessity appear. The need for a world leadership and co-ordination is going to arise.

The attitude of the Chinese leadership shows that there is a very great bureaucratic layer and in Rumania and Yugoslavia also. But in China there is a bureaucratic layer which is not new. It comes from 1957, of the hundred flowers, which is a layer which comes from a long way back, of capitalist origin and not assimilated. It was won to the marxist conception. They used marxism to oppose Chiang Kai Shek and imperialism but at the same time to develop sentiments and national interests as Stalin did. It is the same conception and interests which the Yugoslav and Rumanian bureaucracy have and the bureaucracy of all the workers states, with a certain difference as in Czechoslovakia, Poland, Hungary and Bulgaria because they depend on the Soviet workers state (hence the agreement with them) and because there is a greater communist understanding. It shows that this process does not only exist in China, Rumania or Yugoslavia, but also in Czechoslovakia. The troops are still in Czechoslovakia because there is a structure which can allow the development of new layers seeking a combination between capitalism and the workers state, as now with Ota Sik who invented a society half capitalist and half socialist. This shows

where this previous leadership of Czechoslovakia would have reached, which has as a conclusion a society which is neither workers state or capitalism but a mixed society. When Ota Sik speaks of this, it is because he has no confidence in socialism or marxism. All these sectors are also within the Chinese leadership. A very great number of Chinese leaders do not have confidence in the future of socialism (hence they develop bureaucratic interest) neither did Stalin nor the layer which followed Stalin. They took the workers state as their property and hence they do not diffuse the revolution throughout the rest of the world.

This Chinese invasion is going to bring with it very great consequences of discussions on all the workers states and world war is not excluded because the Yanks can use it or a tendency to unleash the war. It is not a simple calculation but war is not excluded and in a short time. Thus one has to anticipate this situation.

An appeal must be made to the whole world communist movement to discuss the situation of China and to aim at the Chinese communist movement, and the Chinese masses, the Chinese trade unions, the Rumanians and the Yugoslavs. It is necessary to appeal for a discussion in the world communist movement to make a united front and develop a planning of all the workers states. Let the USSR make this appeal aimed at China and all the workers states and make a discussion to develop the united front and a unification in policy and a planning of the economy of all the workers states.

Capitalism extracts advantage from this because it impedes the unification of planning. The Chinese invade Vietnam to prevent them planning with Laos and Cambodia. This planning would show to the Chinese masses that on the basis of only 10% of the conditions which the Chinese have after being devastated by war, they develop the economy in a form which is infinitely superior to what the Chinese are doing; thus the Chinese want to impede this. But at the same time they do not want to impede it so as to make another form of communism but because they are bureaucratic layers who have an interest in wanting to impede progress, they are the layers who are developing the cinema and forms of capitalist life in China. Alright, the capitalist cinema is allowed in but they are not calling upon the capitalist cinema as a novelty but to include it in the relation with the capitalist system. They do not call upon the capitalist dance as a means of distraction but to draw the masses away from communist customs. Why do not they develop communist customs instead of this? It is not the West which must give lessons and examples of culture, of science and human relations. It's the workers states who must do this. The capitalist world gives nothing.

The capitalist dances are means of perversion, of development of private interest, of private life, of individual interests something which the capitalist system did as a condition of private property. Such relations which the Chinese want to create, cannot be done in the workers state.

In the USSR there were novels, authors, poets and painters who did all this and they are left on one side. Up to Khrushchev they had to say that they were painters who painted with the tail of a donkey. But they were painters which the bureaucracy had created because they created the relations which permitted their appearance. One can see that the painter, the poet the dances create the scientific, social and political development. The Chinese leadership is using the Soviet-capitalist struggle to try to develop themselves in competition with the workers states. Otherwise they would make an agreement with the Vietnamese. They would propose a planning together, a thing with which the Vietnamese showed that they were in agreement, and ready to complete because it is part of their interest.

All this shows the absence of marxist development in the Chinese communist party, in Cambodia as also in Rumania and Yugoslavia. For them marxism is a mention or a reference to the capitalist economy, against capital but not to anti-capitalist policy. The simple fact that they develop an individual, isolated policy indicates that they do not apply marxism. Marxism means a society which needs unification and centralisation. and to impede and workers state dominating over the others with a planning in common.

The Chinese leadership changes the conception and criticism against the Soviets.

First it defended them as "social imperialists" and now "hegemonists". The change is not anything. It's aimed at the bureaucratic sectors within China, by saying "they are hegemonists because they want to absorb us, they want to be the only ones who develop, they want to be the canalisers of all the progress of the workers states". Hence they speak of hegemonism. But hegemonism in what? This definition is aimed at the bureaucratic layers to give them a vision, an understanding and a political clarification of why they opposed the Soviets; not simply that it is social imperialism because they see that it is not like this and that this is rejected by the population, by the petit bourgeoisie and important layers of the army and the party. What is this social imperialism if it's smashing imperialism? "Ah no they are hegemonists- they say- because they want to be the bosses". Thus the Chinese leadership develops the local interest of the previous policy, which the Soviets had also in order to justify their actions.

The Vietnamese also appeal to the Vietnamese hegemonists and in this sense the Vietnamese are right because the Chinese want to hegemonise all this movement to prevent it developing; whilst the Soviets are not hegemonists, they do not do this in Vietnam. It is not hegemonism to allow and impel the development of Ethiopia, Cuba, Angola and Vietnam. What is social imperialism and hegemonism? This does not exist.

The break of Albania with the Chinese shows that the Albanians see where the Chinese are going, that the Chinese want to use them as a base against the workers states. Hence the Albanians break from them. The fact that they still do not put themselves in agreement with the Soviets is through differences and lack of a correct policy of the Soviets to win the Albanians and through the existence of a bureaucracy in Albania which fears all this and has no marxist understanding. The same happens in Rumania and Yugoslavia where there are sectors who are in agreement with the Soviets, but they do not see Soviet policy as a centre to lead.

This attitude of the Chinese is not a consequence of the construction of Socialism but they are the problems of the construction of socialism through lack of leadership, of party, of marxist life. Hence we have called for discussion on the "problems of the construction of socialism". The consequences and where this struggle is going to end one cannot say. We have said that there cannot be a complete war between China and the USSR, but a war of this type, there can be. There cannot be a war in which they smash each other to bits and capitalism gets the benefit of it, but there can be wars of this type. The Chinese leadership can go quite far. But at the same time as it can do this, the decomposition of the internal apparatus is going to increase. To continue with this, the Chinese leadership is to justify itself internally. There is no party functioning in China. Hence they do not feel obliged to explain but at the same time, the masses live all the process and a reaction in China is going to come. Hence now Hua Kuo Feng has reappeared.

It is not true, as Hua Kuo Feng says that they have calculated all the risks. Why didn't he speak the first day? If it had been as they say, then the Chinese Party's leadership would have appeared massively giving support. When Hua Kuo Feng appears in this way, it is because they feel affairs are going quite badly and besides, to justify more aggressive actions, because their plan was to finish in four days. But it has gone on for more than ten days. They have advanced very slowly and the Vietnamese still have not used their most prepared troops. Moreover, the Cubans still have not entered and they can enter.

All this shows the blindness of the Chinese bureaucracy which believed it possible to rely on the Soviet bureaucracy being afraid and defending themselves. It did not see that the Soviet bureaucracy is not the same as in the time of Stalin, nor as in the epoch of Khrushchev. It is a bureaucracy which now has more notion of the progress of history. The Chinese leadership's fear was also that the progress of Vietnam with the Soviet Union was going to influence China. Soon all this Chinese leadership is going to be questioned. Teng Peng is still alive because he belongs to the apparatus which comes from the time of Mao Tse Tung, otherwise they would have liquidated him. On the other hand they liquidated Lin Piao and the layer which was linked to him and which would have gone quite far. They wanted a development which would have ended in fusion or in agreement with the Soviet Union.

These are the problems of the construction of Socialism. Also capitalism, in its turn is confronted with a problem which it was not expecting. Capitalism was not expecting it in the form in which it has happened. The Yanks hastened the recognition of China because all this was already implicit and the trip of Teng Xis Ping to the United States prepared it. Thus the Yanks sustained them in an indirect form, allowing them to follow this policy. But there is also a limit and the reason is that the Soviet Union cannot allow them to continue advancing and destroying, because then they lose authority and this would stimulate fractionalist bureaucratic centres within the USSR and regional tendencies, thus creating a thousand problems in the USSR.

The Soviet Union cannot allow this for much longer. It has to intervene. The consequences cannot be foreseen now but war is not excluded. A sector of the Yanks can see the opportunity, using the confrontation between two workers states and thus intervene. But this sector also understands that it is not easy, that the two workers states may fight but the principal arms are against the Yanks. Hence the Chinese do not speak against the workers state or against a socialist country, but against hegemonism of one country or another. But even so, a capitalist sector can be impelled to use the conditions to go to war, or the Soviets may be obliged to intervene in China and then the Yanks may also impose the reinforcement of the workers states.

This policy of the Yanks is not new. Since the year 1960 these talks have been going on. In 1972 Nixon went to China. Imperialism prepared for this for a long time Mao Tse Tung allowed it all and the policy had no more success because the camarilla which was in China was divided and because there was the tendency of Lin Biao. Hence they liquidated the cultural revolution which was an essential condition to make the present policy and Mao Tse Tung allowed it. Thus it was not something against Mao Tse Tung, but he let it happen. But it shows that they need seven years to pass from the cultural to arm this apparatus which is new, and now they can continue to liquidate people. There still an internal struggle in China where they make bureaucratic calculations on the ability or decision of the Soviets to intervene.

Before this situation I propose international aid for Vietnam as for Spain. Like a new Spain, the masses go to Vietnam to make a new Spain. It is not absolutely excluded. We have to see that the workers states and the masses of the world go to defend Vietnam against the Chinese. At the same time, we make an appeal to the Chinese Communist Party, to the Chinese masses to cease the war and to make a discussion to decide on planning in common with the rest of the workers states in accordance with the interest of the construction of Socialism.

All these possibilities are open, but also those of world war. One cannot exclude that soon at any moment the war will break out. Neither the Yanks or the Soviets want it now, but the world course of the revolution does not wait on their calculations. The Chinese and the Yanks do not expect a world reaction but there is now. Countries like capitalist Germany, Japan, France, Switzerland, all Latin America and almost all of Africa are against the invasion of Vietnam. Thus the Chinese do not have points of support and a movement of support can develop in Spain and against the Chinese. It is in no way excluded. This will also hasten the war because the Yanks will see a world relation of forces which will augment the camp of the revolution enormously and influence the North American masses. Hence also it is possible to have a world united front of the masses to go to Vietnam as they went to Spain, as they helped Yugoslavia. Within the course of events, there is this possibility and we are going to propose it.

One has to propose that the USSR and the Communist parties make appeals to the masses of the world and to the anti-capitalist struggle. It is necessary to affirm the united fronts of the Communist and Socialist parties in each country to go to the government, to oppose this Chinese action and the capitalist system. Appeal for discussion in the world communist movement to discuss the invasion of China. This is not a struggle between socialist countries as occurs between capitalist countries, but it is a struggle between a counter-revolutionary leadership of a workers state against another workers state. This is totally possible. The workers state is formed more rapidly than its leadership. But the leadership cannot get away with things as Stalin did. Stalin was as much an assassin as Pol Pot. But the workers state remained. These are the problems of the construction of socialism. One has to construct leaderships

in the workers states and it has to be done on the basis of marxism and living political experience.

One of the essential reasons for which capitalism cannot draw advantage from this is that the entire process of history is revolutionary. Thus capitalism cannot order calm, respect for private property, demoralise or repress the struggles in every country. It increases and maintains constantly the revolutionary political maturation of the masses and the relation of material world forces, favourable from every point of view to the development of the anti-capitalist struggle and the defeat of capitalism.

One has to aim at the Communist parties, the workers leaderships, the Socialist parties, to the Communist vanguard, to the trade union leaderships, to educate the vanguard, the petit-bourgeois leaderships, revolutionary nationalists, so that these events do not have a depressing effect on them, one of retreat.

Although the invasion has only been about ten days, there is no proof that it is having a depressing effect on the workers movement. The German and British workers are in open struggle and there is no detention of these movements. Constantly the will to struggle of the masses of the world and its experience is the anti-capitalist struggle. In Britain, Germany and France, which are the vital centres of capitalism, the struggle continues. In Britain, there has been a process of dual power, limited to local problems, but a process of dual power. In the last struggle of the engineering workers in Germany, although the triumph was not complete, the line is one of triumph because they forced concessions from the management and the workers felt capable of advancing. They saw that they could advance and that it was their leadership which prevented this. Thus they are discussing how to change the leadership.

The world course of the revolution is one of relations favourable to the development of the revolution, of the defeat of the Chinese counter-revolutionary leadership. This invasion is not a conflict between Socialist countries but between the counter-revolutionary leadership of a workers state and Vietnam. It shows that the formation of the workers state is much more rapid than the formation of its leadership.

J. POSADAS 25-2-1979.

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS' PARTY  
(TROTSKYIST)**



**BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV. INTERNATIONAL  
POSADIST**

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***IMPERIALISM'S «DEATH AGONY»,  
AND THE NEED  
TO AID THE DEVELOPMENT OF AN  
ANTI-CAPITALIST LEFT IN THE  
LABOUR PARTY.***

***J. POSADAS*** 30.12.78

EXTRACTS FROM THE SECOND PART OF THE

SIXTH EUROPEAN CONFERENCE

... It is necessary to deepen our explanations, particularly in Britain. The trade union and Labour bureaucracies make accusations, cries and threats against the Workers States to defend themselves. They say, 'The Workers States exploit, they do not let people speak, there is no liberty there'. They say this in a country where, if someone goes to demand an increase in wages, he is put in jail. This is what the apparatus is saying but not the class, because this is not the form of thinking of the working class. This is not a thought which expresses the opinion of the working

class. It is the bureaucratic form of thought. It is necessary to write simple and didactic articles in which one analyses that 'democracy in Britain' is simply non-existent. In Britain there is oppression as much as there is in the United States. There is a bureaucratic apparatus which has democracy for itself, not democracy to develop the country but democracy for the bureaucracy, because it is a bureaucratic structure. It is a bureaucratic structure which has various rungs inside it, but when there are disputes, and very sharp disputes, inside of this structure, it is because these rungs no longer

serve. And, as in the instance of the ladder, it is the rung which is most used which creaks the most; such rungs show that the ladder is no good.

So, it is necessary to discuss and clarify that, for Britain to advance, it is necessary to develop the economy, and develop production; to develop the intervention of the class and, in consequence, to elevate the rights, the participation, of the working class. This does not mean to increase the participation of the leaders, but of the working class itself. Let us discuss in the whole of Britain, in



the districts, in the schools, in the houses, in the football grounds and in the shopping areas, and in the factories, the programme for economic development, for participation, for workers control - which will allow the workers to demonstrate their will and their desire for intervention, for control and for political leadership, letting them give their opinions. For this to happen, the working class has to be able to discuss, to supersede the narrow, very limited and very rigid trade union and political democracy it has, and have the right to speak in the meetings. The way it happens now is not democracy at all, it is a disgrace, and simply a simulation of democracy. Democracy must mean that the working class has the right to prepare itself, to read and to have time to intervene. So, it is necessary to make a plan of the democratic forms of its intervention from the nucleus of the district and of the factory and the large enterprises, so that the workers discuss in the districts, in the houses, the schools, the workshops and the offices. From the workers to the CIVIL SERVANTS: Is this not a superior form of democracy?

At the same time, to develop the thinking that for the development of Britain it is necessary to have the participation of the population, and that it be allowed to intervene in the leadership of the country. It is not true that the Labour Party and the trade union leaderships are those who represent the popular will. It is not true that the Labour Party represents the will of the country. Even in the farce of elections, as they take place in the trade unions, the bureaucrats are defeated. And moreover, these elections are anti-democratic, not just a farce, because one man can cast a million votes. It is necessary to develop the democratic functioning necessary and to plan it. And to pose that the condition for the de-

velopment of the population in Britain is not capitalism. They would have us believe that the condition for life in Britain is that the capitalist system functions, and that we have to depend on the boss for work. If he cannot offer it, the workers have to stay without work! So, one has to pose this: If we are left without work because the boss cannot give any, out with the boss! We take over the firm and we make it produce.

This means that one has to develop the discussion, developing it towards the practical effects of knowledge, not staying with the ambiguity of the trade unions, of their leaders or of the delegates.

This is ambiguous, it does not represent the will of the struggle of the masses, because the immense majority of the Labour and trade union workers do not participate in the life, the programmatic preparation of the trade unions, or in the policy making of the trade unions. It is necessary to see to it that they do. One has to counterpose the national and collective interest to the private interest. And to counterpose the power of the democratic right of the workers to decide on the omnipotence of the whims of the leadership.

British imperialism is the oldest and it has therefore the most solid structure. But it had this also in India and in Pakistan. And history has carried all this off. So, one has to discuss, with arguments, against the idea that imperialism has an inevitable force, or that 'such is the British mentality'. This is what the Socialists say, 'the British mentality', or 'the British workers have a monarchic mentality'. No, it is the mentality of the bureaucrat, of Callaghan, who - in order to justify himself - would have us believe that everyone has his mentality. The workers do not represent such a mentality. But, at the same time, it is necessary to help the Labour

left in this process. It is necessary to make a left in the Labour Party. One must not expect a complete left with a political, trade union, social and economic programme that will be complete. One has to advance the need for the left to progress in the social struggles, to take Britain out of backwardness - out of the backwardness of its backward political leadership. Backward it is because it represents interests which impede the unfolding and development of "Great Britain." And it is capitalism which is responsible for this. For their part, the trade union and Labourite bureaucrats are the representatives of this backwardness.

So, one has to advance the need for a left. And one has to direct oneself to the Communists, for them to intervene to make a left in the Labour Party. The development of the Labour Party, the development of Britain towards Socialism, leads to it becoming Communist. It is not possible to have a Socialist development comparable to that of the Workers States and the Communist parties; or that competes with them, or which takes the same form.

This is because the programme, the policy and the objectives of the Communists are Communist, and cannot be social democratic. But, if the objective is really Socialist, then, it has to end up being Communist. There is no difference between Socialist and Communist, that is between the Communist Party and the Socialist Party. Of course, there are differences between them, but between the programmatic Socialist objectives and the Communist ones, what there is is a difference in qualifications of the same programme...

**J POSADAS**

EXTRACTS

30.12.78

title by the Editorial Board. Full text soon to be published.

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

## BASE THE ORGANISATION OF THE LEFT IN THE LABOUR PARTY ON THE ANTI-CAPITALIST STRUGGLE.

The recent disappointment of the Labour left that Callaghan seems to have manoeuvred in the Labour Party so as to ignore the Labour Party conference resolutions, comes from a naivety of thinking that the Party's apparatus could be somehow 'captured' and made to serve the interests of a struggle for more anticapitalist policies. It is necessary to take all the opportunities in the Party to discuss that the Labour Party was constructed for reforming capitalism and therefore, its structure and functioning are determined by this. The comrades who want to advance have to seek to support themselves directly on the struggle of the working class and elevate an anti-capitalist programme themselves.

Capitalism has no proposal to make to improve the life of the masses. It only seeks to defend itself, by means of the use of force, the law, the police, the army and war preparations. But we are not in the 1930's, making a defensive struggle as if it was the stage of the war against the nazis. Large sectors of the population in the 30's supported their governments against fascism. But today, the struggle is against capitalism. The world is set for the elimination of the capitalist system, and private property. In his speech to the Polish Congress of the Communist Party, Suslov of the Soviet Communist Party said that the crisis is that of private property, not of civilisation. The Soviet Union sees that humanity has entered a new era, since its construction and now, the whole world up to El Salvador and Grenada are doing like the Soviet Union. The USSR is giving confidence to the masses of the world, and of Britain also, that the crisis is not a preordained result of life, but of the capitalist system. So, the capitalist system has to be overthrown.

The British Labour base and trade union vanguard are very much aware of this. This is why - in spite of a leadership which is not favourable to the USSR - the Labour Party has come out against the boycott of the Moscow's olympics and against the siting of yankee missiles in Europe. Meanwhile the TUC has not broken relations with the USSR. The Soviet Union is the centre of the struggle of the world masses and the socialist masses feel that the Soviet Union is not a problem to them, but capitalism is. The confidence of the steel workers cannot be separated from the elimination of reaction - local and international - in Afghanistan, thanks to the intervention of the Soviet Union.

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READ PAGE 3: -

BY J. POSADAS:

THE INSTALLATION OF MISSILES IN EUROPE AND THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION. 27.10.79

The British working class acts confidently against capitalism, and does not submit to the fact that its leadership is constantly procrastinating. The refusal of the workers to come out again on strike for Robinson, is not a sign of backwardness, but of their rejection of leaders who have shown themselves parochial and indecisive. They are looking for a leadership which links the trade union organisation with the programme against sackings, closures, unemployment - and the government. The fact that the Welsh miners did not support their union strike call has the same sense. The workers are seeking leaderships with an anticapitalist preoccupation and programme.

The flying pickets show that the working class is capable of raising a struggle on an anti-government and political plane in spite of their union leaderships who did not. They proved capable of organising the struggle nationally with other unions and the population (housewives, students, etc), without breaking from their unions, the TUC or the Labour Party. This shows that if the process of anticapitalist struggle against the government does not advance faster it is not the fault of the workers but because of the reluctance of, or the lack of leadership. The left in the Labour Party must organise itself as a tendency which is prepared to put itself programmatically at the head of the struggles and call for occupations, workers control, the extension of nationalisations, and the planning of the economy. The workers are demonstrating that it is not them who impede this, but that the Party has not the structure and leadership for this. Therefore, that leadership has to be formed.

The S.D.A. is not an excrescence or a cancer in the Party. It is the image of the structure of the Party itself. All these people in the SDA were leaders of the Party. They highlight the structure of the Party therefore, and the problem is obvious. It is common knowledge that Owen, Chapple, Weighell under the previous Labour government received NATO funds for the financing of a right wing publication. This is not the deed of the SDA but of the actual Party and Unions' leaderships as they stand. These base themselves on the structure and functioning of the Party which puts them in the leadership, and which are determined by the Party's objectives of the reform of capitalism. It is necessary therefore to re-appraise objectives not just at the national conference, but to seek support for an anticapitalist programme in the factories, the steel workers at the mines, the Leyland workers, the Shop Steward Committees, the trade unions and the masses of the people who are opposed to the poisoning of the air, of the water, of the food, the atomic threat, transport of nuclear waste on the railway, the siting of the nuclear missiles, etc.

The Socialist masses of France are not anti communist or anti Soviet. Recently, they voted for Communists in the regional elections in Picardy, allowing a Communist to be president of the regional assembly there for the first time, and this in spite of a virulent anti-Soviet campaign by the French government over Afghanistan. The British Labour masses do not want to boycott the Olympic games because they see that life, the athletes, human relations, and the economy of the USSR are superior. They also see that it is capitalism which is trying to deny life. Outside the Labour Party, Ecologists anti-nuclear, anti-missiles, anti-dioxin groups are being formed, women movements, students movements, and those of the doctors, nurses and teachers. Even the housewives intervene. It shows that conditions are mature for a functioning anti-capitalist tendency in the Labour Party and the Trade Unions. One must seek to function together with the trade unions, the Communists, the groups, to elevate a Labour anticapitalist left with an anti-capitalist programme.

The organisms of the functioning of the Labour Party have been constructed for the defense and reform of capitalism. Some of them can be used for discussion and parliamentary dispute. But the Soviet Union, Cuba, Grenada, El Salvador, Ethiopia, have

THE INSTALLATION OF MISSILES IN EUROPE AND THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION.

J. \_ P O S A D A S \_ \_ 27.10.79

The world process is taking various aspects, like Nicaragua, El Salvador, Vietnam - or the declarations of Mugabe who poses that there is only one solution: that of the adoption of the socialist road - all of these things showing a very great maturity.

The decision of Vietnam to confront the Chinese also indicates the confidence of the Vietnamese Workers State which grasped that a further intervention of the Chinese inside Vietnam would mean unfavourable repercussions in China itself (for the Chinese leadership).

At the same time as this world process develops, the crisis of yankee imperialism continues its course. The French, German, Belgium or Dutch capitalists, and even the Italian capitalists in part, question the decisions of North American imperialism. They aren't against imperialism, but they feel weak. This is the reason why they do not want to confront the Soviet Union. The Germans, as much as the French, show all their weakness in what they do in relation to the Soviet Union. The weakness of yankee imperialism as well, is revealed in the fact that it cannot impose itself and must limit itself to exercising pressure in order to install nuclear missiles directly against the Workers States in Europe. The siting of nuclear missiles in Germany, is a very pronounced sign of war preparation. It may not be for immediate war, but it is aimed at stimulating the German, French, and European bourgeoisies to confront the Communist and workers movement with the objective of a more intense war preparation. This is their objectives.

Also, Yankee imperialism hopes to draw greater advantage in the inter-capitalist competition with European and Japanese capitalisms. The siting of missiles is a way of forcing the European bourgeoisies to make a greater contribution to the cost of war preparation, and in this way, to hinder their ability to compete because they will have to increase prices to make up for it.

All this affects the capitalist system and sharpens the class struggle. It accentuates the development of the workers struggles and the struggles of the peasant and petit bourgeois also. It stimulates them to seek support in the Communist and Socialist movements and the other movements of the left. Capitalism acts in this way because it could not act otherwise. This measure to increase arms expenditures, affects capitalism

on the economic level. However, capitalism has to do this because of the danger which comes from the Workers States.

It is not true that the Workers States have increased their armaments so much. The superiority of the Workers States resides - and will reside - in their world relations with the masses. This is the most important weapon in the arsenal of the Soviet Union and the Workers States. However important military armament is - and it is decisive - the necessary basis for it to be decisive lies in the world support of the masses. It lies in the coordination which already exists, even if it is not planned yet between the masses of the world, the development of the struggle of countries to emerge from backwardness, and the development of the Soviet Union itself. All this is part of the same process, even if there is not as yet, a unified political leadership for it. There is a coordination between the interests of the exploited masses of the world and the backward countries - and the interest of the Workers States; the Soviet Union in particular.

Imperialism sees all this and it is why you can hear it scream. This debate about armaments comes after the 'SALT 2' agreement with Carter and Breznev. It is the right which imposed this on Carter. Carter was not absolutely against this, but imperialism sees that its own existence is in danger. Therefore, it has to resort to means which clearly show its war preparations against the Workers states. The Workers States are going to react quite justly in front of the conclusion that imperialism is therefore, preparing for war.

The installation of the missiles is also an attempt to intimidate the mass movements and the Socialists. It is intended to contain them and to make them clash with the Communist parties. A sharpening of inter-capitalist competition expresses itself in the attitude which the Social Democratic government of Germany is taking. Indeed, it has rejected the plans of imperialism and appealed for conciliation over armaments with the Soviet Union. And it does this, to gain a certain respite.

Imperialism prepares for war. The Workers States are fully justified in seeking to profit from all this. The Workers States may continue with declarations for peaceful coexistence, arms reduction, etc... , but they cannot go on believing this; and this is what counts. The Workers States must prepare themselves militarily and above-all, socially. The campaign for the reduction of armaments must be accompanied by the greater development of the anti-capitalist struggle, and the revolutionary struggle.

One must continue in the direction of what Breznev did on the occasion of his meeting with the leadership of South Yemen, where he reaffirmed Soviet support for any movement which struggles against imperialism and capitalism. In this statement, Breznev made a correct appeal for an alliance with the masses of the world. All this indicates the process of crisis of the capitalist system, and the character of the relationship between the capitalist countries and the Workers States.

This crisis is going to increase even more over this question of the siting of missiles. Imperialism could not intervene to liquidate Nicaragua or El Salvador. Naturally, it is looking for a compensation by attempting to make all the capitalist countries centralise around its own power, around the increase in armaments and around the military structure and command which they have.

The European bourgeoisies feel that it is not just a matter of missiles, installing nuclear weapons - and of course paying for them - but that in doing so, they will have to try to confront the workers movement and contain the influence which the Workers States are having on the world masses. Capitalism feels that the increases in war expenditure limits its capacity for negotiation with the workers movement. Yankee imperialism has increased its war expenditure quite considerably, and it has forced the European bourgeoisie to cover an important part of the costs.

In general, the European bourgeoisie agrees with all this, because it is the capitalist system as a system which decides, and the decisions which one, or other government takes are temporary; but it does not mean that the capitalist system will succeed because struggles may develop and increase the weight of social democracy against US imperialism, and these struggles may develop in the whole of Europe, in France, in Britain, etc..

The Communists, the Socialists, the Social Democratic movements, the petit bourgeois clearly see that imperialism prepares for war. The measures which are taken now are not just measures of intimidation. They are real measures of war preparation. Yankee imperialism prepares it with certain precautions, with indecisions, and with uncertainty. It does not quite prepare it openly. It tries to camouflage and hide it from the North-American people, who are against. The Yankees cannot really say that they are preparing for war against communist barbarism, because the North American people would say; "Communist barbarism? Have you seen what is going on here? The barbarians are... ourselves!". The masses of North America do not yet have the means of contact between all sectors of which they are composed, but those who have organised movements such as the anti-nuclear ones, or against the intervention in Vietnam, or against the construction of atomic weapons, have received the support of hundreds of thousands of people. In spite of all the trade union bureaucrats, who are in its service, capitalism has not been able to organise a single movement in the US in support of atomic weapons, or for the siting of nuclear weapons in Europe, or against "communist barbarism" as they call it.

The world process shows the weakness of the capitalist system, the very elevated conditions for the progress of the anti-capitalist struggle and a very decided intervention of the Soviet Union, which confronts imperialism. The Soviet Union today is not the same as under Stalin, who yielded to imperialism in the belief that this would stop imperialism attacking the Soviet Union... Stalin allied himself with Hitler, believing that in this way, he was defending the USSR against the 'democratic' imperialists of France, Britain, the United States. But on the other hand, today, the Soviet Union seeks conscious allies. It does not make alliances just with one against the other, but alliances to impel the revolution. This has to be taken into consideration.

The Soviet Union must not be measured according to an agreement it makes in Germany, but in the light of the support it gives to Ethiopia. The USSR impels the revolution in Nicaragua, El Salvador, Ecuador, etc. If it still takes limited measures, it is because it does not have direct access to the revolutions; it doesn't have the communist parties through which it could intervene.

But the Soviet Union today, supports the revolutionary movements whilst Stalin treated with Hitler. With this treaty, he prevented the (Soviet) army from weighing in the decision to confront the nazis. Stalin believed that the nazis would not attack. Today, the USSR prepares itself and it will not let itself be taken by surprise. It is also impelling, at the same time, the revolutionary movements which it supports. It does not abandon them, but its activity is limited because it does not accompany this support with a global anti-capitalist policy.

J. POSADAS 2.10. 1979.

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BASE THE ORGANISATION OF THE  
LEFT (FROM PAGE 2)

shown that the progress of humanity is being done in the form of the class and anti-capitalist struggle, not through the parliamentary one only. The force to change society is the working class, which cannot become a new owner but has to change society on the basis of its collective nature. The comrades of the Labour Party who have repeatedly sought to elevate the Labour Party through each national conference, will naturally seek the working class to effect the changes there were looking for. The steel workers strike, the flying pickets in particular, are offering to the Labour Party left an opportunity to link directly with them, giving a programme, a leadership, for no sackings for 35 h week, for occupations and workers control. The same goes with the rejection by the TGWU and many other sectors of the working class and masses of the siting of nuclear missiles in this country. The Labour comrades can then make a struggle with these sectors, against the plans of war, against NATO, and in this way free themselves of the imposition of the right and capitalism.

The anti-nuclear movement provides an unprecedented support for the Labour left to organise itself, to develop itself as a tendency against capitalism and against the capitalist policies of the present leadership in the Labour Party. The Owen/Williams/Callaghan etc. policy with regard nuclear arms is not a mistake, it is a sign of their class commitment and adherence to the bourgeois class in every respect. This is why such people cannot be expected to overthrow the government, because they do not really struggle against it. And when they do it is only to carry out similar policies. The dispute about who writes the Labour manifesto only shows procrastination and vacillation with regards objectives. One has to seek support outside parliament, in the struggle which the masses are making, for instance the Irish masses. Whilst the bourgeoisie intervenes with troops in Rhodesia and Ireland, why do we hear only about the Soviets in Afghanistan? Isn't Ireland invaded? If the sovereignty of countries is so paramount, what is to prevent the Labour left from calling for the withdrawal of british troops from Ireland, and send support to the Irish masses to develop themselves? We propose that the comrades seek the support of the trade unions, the Communists, the groups, the masses, to adopt an anti-capitalist programme, and to implement it. In this way, one can raise the slogan for the Socialist Republic of the British Isles, based on the nationalised and planned economy, all parts of which will be allowed to develop fully. The force for doing this does not lie in parliament - parliament can help - but outside of it. We call on the comrades to discuss this.

27.2.80

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## THE STEEL STRIKE, THE PREPARATION FOR A GENERAL STRIKE AND THE LABOUR/TRADE UNION UNITED FRONT.

The fact that the steel strike has been extended and continued despite the efforts of the trade union leaderships to limit it to the level of wage demands, shows the preparation which exists in the working class to advance the anti-capitalist struggle. If the leadership of the steel unions and the TUC have been unable to settle this strike it is because of this and because the Tory government's policy is one of confrontation. It is a desperate policy which expresses the total crisis of the capitalist system on a world scale. What, above all else, provokes this crisis is the extension and growth of the Workers States and the support they give to the world anti-capitalist struggle. The Soviet Union intervenes in Afghanistan, in support of the masses against all the backward and repressive elements of that country and yankee imperialism, and its allies can do nothing about it. It is the same with the advance of the revolution in Iran. All the weakness of the system is expressed in the attempts to stop the Olympic games being held in Moscow. All this has resulted in is that all the divisions and weakness of the system are made more obvious. Nowhere in the world has capitalism been able to stimulate a movement among the masses against the Soviet Union. On the contrary, what is seen is the natural identity of interests between the Soviet Union, the system of the Workers States and the world masses,

The "economic" policy of the Tory government, for steel, coal or the railways, has little to do with the economy - which capitalism is unwilling and unable to develop - and everything to do with trying to break the force and organisation of the working class; and its links with the Soviet Union. In these circumstances the steel strike - even without a prepared leadership or programme - is profoundly anti-capitalist. All the conditions exist for a general strike and this is shown in the fact that the steel strike has become a centre of struggle. It is also shown in the fact that the TUC of Wales has called a one-day strike and that the leaders of the TUC are talking of "the danger of a general strike". These leaderships are being pushed both by the pressure of the working class and by the fact that capitalism has no possibility - and as the Tories are demonstrating no intention - of giving partial solutions or reforms. It is the base of the trade unions which, as the steel strike demonstrates, are taking the initiative.

The extension of the steel strike has been decided by the actions of the workers on the pickets and the leadership has had to follow. The use of the "flying picket" has a greater importance than simply winning the strike by gaining the support of other workers and stopping the movement of steel. Of course this is part of it but, in depth, the "flying picket" expresses the necessity for a new form of organisation and in this



the workers vanguard seek to act as a leadership in a way which the structure and apparatus of the trade unions and Labour Party do not allow. As with the miners and the lorry drivers in a previous period, the steel workers are imposing elements of workers control over the movement of steel for example. And, beyond this there is a process of contact and discussion which tends to put the workers vanguard in touch with other sectors of workers and the population.

All this develops at a time when there are struggles against factory closures, against the "cuts" in the social services, against hospital closures, and against the nuclear installations and war preparations of capitalism. These struggles express the aspiration of the masses for the economy and society to answer their needs and not the interest of profit and war preparations of capitalism. This aspiration needs to be formulated in a programme which unifies all the demands being made and which includes all wages to rise with the cost of living, the immediate 35 hour week without loss of pay; that all aspects of safety at work are controlled by the workers, that all factories threatened with closure are occupied and run under workers control (pending nationalisation), and (as in part the National Union of Students have demanded) that all luxury and empty property is occupied to ease the housing shortage.

This is the programme which has to be discussed together with the development of the functioning of the "flying pickets" into a permanent form of committees, discussion and contact with the widest possible sectors of the population. In the immediate sense, and in the absence of a leadership in the Labour Party which is capable of answering to this stage of the anti-capitalist struggle, the trade unions have to play an independent, anti-capitalist role of leadership. Not waiting for the developments in the Labour Party but stimulating those elements of the left which are open to advance. And the attack being made on the "Militant tendency" by the bourgeois media, by the Tories and by the Labour right-wing shows that what they fear is the possibility of the organisation of the Labour left as a tendency which functions independently from the apparatus, supports the Soviet Union and is consistently and consciously anti-capitalist. Clearly, this does not exist at the moment but the uproar over "Militant" is a symptom of the process in the Labour Party.

Already the mobilisations against the Tory attacks on the social and health service have taken the form of united actions and mobilisations between sectors of the Labour left and the trade unions; together with the Communists and Left groups. The development and elevation of these actions and the "flying pickets" give the basis for the organisation of a United Front Labour/Trade Union based on a programme of anti-capitalist demands and social transformations.

24.1.80

THE WAR, AND THE WORLD WIDE ELIMINATION OF THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM. J. P O S A D A S. 6.12.79

The present process is one of inevitable preparation for war by imperialism. This is going to require time but war could break out any moment because it does not depend on the military preparedness of imperialism, but on the development of the world anticapitalist social crisis. And this crisis, will crush capitalism from every point of view Capitalism is going to prepare and enter the war, in full revolution.

The Communist parties of the capitalist countries do not discuss this. The Workers States have in part, a notion of these problems - not all - but partly. The war is going to be very short and the revolution very fast; the world revolutionary upheaval will be very fast. All Europe, Asia, Latin America and a part of Africa are going to emerge as Workers States from this. This is going to be a whole world process of development - even if not immediately.

Imperialism sees this. It prepares the war, not only because of the economic crisis but because it sees this process. Even if there was not the economic crisis which there is, imperialism would still prepare the war. A process is coming which will overthrow the whole social fabric of capitalism. The communist parties are not used to think about all this. They are used to an idyllic way of thinking, hoping to persuade the capitalists, to displace them, to make them change or just to annul them. This is the way they think. They have developed a whole layer of compromisers. History, however, will not put up with this, because it cannot go forward on that basis. The Workers States do not yet have a genuine leadership; their leadership is bureaucratic but it comes near to what is necessary, even if it does not express this necessity fully. More and more, that leadership will tend to approximate to necessity, eliminating those who are a block on its way or a perturbation to a better integration of people in the Workers States. The depth of the criticism of Breznev to various soviet ministers, lies in the fact that these elements whom he criticised separate the population of the Workers States from the plan and the conclusions stemming from the Workers State itself, and not just because they are thieves.

The Workers State necessarily has to prepare for the historic antagonism with capitalism. This arises naturally and people in the Workers States are educated in the way of antagonism with the capitalist system. They do not feel antagonistic to the people of the capitalist countries but with the capitalist system. At the time of Stalin, it was already thus, in spite of all the limitations of Stalin himself, and in spite of the fact that he tried to crush marxist thought, thought as such, even if it was only empirically dialectical. But the element that ended up being crushed was the soviet bureaucracy of the Workers State and Stalinism, which is the assassin side of the bureaucracy. Meanwhile, the present bureaucracy of the Workers State has to impel the revolution. Today the Soviet Union is the natural ally of progress and not its circumstantial ally. Its historic objective roots determine that it is the ally of progress. The bureaucracy does not have either the understanding of this or the necessary social interests as yet But it is not opposed either. This can be seen in the new Soviet Constitution.

None of this is discussed in the Communist parties, when it should constitute a fundamental preoccupation for them. Whilst they don't discuss - however - the mother of

Carter wastes no time saying publically that someone should kill Khomeini! In the face of all this, Breznev is telling his ministers that they are working for themselves only whilst the people of the country need to have basic services at their disposal.

In this process, the evaluation of the significance of the working class, as a class, in the capitalist countries and the working class as expressed under the form of Workers States which are the superior forms in which the working class is expressed, has great importance. The Workers State represents the historic interests of the future and this cannot be done by the proletariat of the capitalist countries, however important it may be. The proletariat of the Workers State represents its historic interests for it has already constructed the Workers State. The proletariat of the Workers State impels the world revolution. There are no discussions of this in the Workers States or in the Communist parties.

But in any case, the proletariat of the capitalist countries is important because it is the centre which impels the social struggles in these countries and for the preparation to bring down capitalism when it launches the war.

We have had confidence not in the strength of one or the other Communist Party in the capitalist countries - even though we are confident that they are going to elevate, and this has already started in the Italian Communist Party - but in the proletariat of the Workers States. It is the latter which has authority in the world, not the German, the Italian, or the French proletariats. These proletariats have an important function to play but it is that of the Workers States as such - which includes the proletariat and the whole population of the Workers States - which has influence. Humanity sees in them a leadership, and it sees the Workers States as the proletariat in the form of a world leadership.

Neither capitalism nor the bureaucracy has the possibility to make history retreat because already the necessary intelligence, the world structure of knowledge, the necessary human relations and the knowledge of scientific and technical structure, exist for progress. All these can be destroyed but will be reconstructed, and better. All that is material may be destroyed but the knowledge already reached, the security, the organisations, homogeneity and cohesion acquired by humanity, cannot be destroyed.

May 1968 was the expression at a given moment of a stage without leadership, but of a resistance to, and rejection of, the Communist and Socialist parties, by an immense number of people who became revolutionaries outside the Communist and Socialist parties. But because they had not received a programmatic response, leadership and policy to go forward, they later dissolved. These sectors were neither crushed, nor smashed, nor made to retreat, nor dissuaded, nor disbanded by capitalist repression. They were only limited by the lack of political leadership, programme and objectives.

It is not true that May 1968 is long in the past. The present process is a new May and this means that many sectors who are not organised by the workers parties, or the trade unions, come out to struggle. A part of these are the Ecologists. Society is already mature for changes. Hence the urgency of capitalism to prepare the war. Society is about to change, change and change.

Imperialism prepares the war in conditions of the resistance of some capitalist countries, not to the use of atomic weapons in themselves against the Workers States and the proletariat, but to their weakening as capitalist countries in their ability to compete with the yanks because they feel that they are being weakened in this competition. Such are the contradictions of the capitalist system which the Workers States

do not have.

There is no antagonism or contradiction between China and the Soviet Union. The problem is another one: it is a problem of political leadership. On the other hand, in the capitalist system, that is not so. The latter have the problem of the structure of each separate capitalist country, with each bourgeoisie clashing with the other. In the Workers States, the problem is one of leadership and not of the structure of the country.

On the other hand, when it starts changing, the Chinese leadership is going to change very fast. In China, there have been perpetual changes in leadership, from the time of the 'Hundred Flowers' up to the period of the enormous exaggerations about wheat production which the leadership invented. They made complete reshuffles of leadership, because of the lack of functioning, lack of structure of the Party. All this has resulted from the Soviet bureaucracy itself, and not from the Chinese. This is not a Chinese weakness but the result of the Soviet bureaucracy, which strangled the Chinese leadership in its formation, pressurised it and imposed upon it to keep them dependent on the Soviets for arms, for military leadership and for all kind of necessities.

The war will be a desperate act on the part of imperialism, which still has the means to launch it because of the limitations of the Workers States and the bureaucratic interests of their leaderships who did not create the necessary Communist currents. The Communist parties of the capitalist countries -with their limitations- are the result of the Soviet bureaucracy, of Stalinism. But the war is the end of capitalism and this has to be posed, to educate and win over the petty bourgeoisie. It must be posed to prepare the working class, the Communist parties, the scientists et technicians for this period before the war and to help to make the war as short as possible and allow the most rapid reanimation after the war.

This war will not be like the others. In previous wars, revolution ensued only in the final stages of the war. Today, revolution will break out immediately because the Soviets are going to promote it and support it. The conditions are not going to be as imperialism would like them to be. This is why imperialism seeks to make a 'blitzkrieg' (lightning war); it realises that it cannot maintain itself otherwise. The war is not going to be the disaster which the Communist leaders imagine, but will mean a rapid revolution. The revolution is not going to be delayed for four years as in the last wars, but will be very rapid. Moreover, the Soviet army and the Workers States have as a part of their strategy, the support of the masses. The proletariat of the United States is not submitted to capitalism. In the same way as the Russian proletariat who appeared to be submitted, took power, the North American proletariat reads. It does not have political or trade union life, but it is learning.

Capitalism is preparing the war but the capitalist world cannot determine the consequences of the war. On the other hand, the Workers States can decide and are already prepared. The war is going to be very short and it will mean the destruction of the principal centres of the capitalist system because capitalism will not have the strength to recover, whilst the Workers States will recover, and naturally. If in the previous war and under Soviet influence, half Europe became Communist, now the process will be all the more profound and in China, this leadership is going to be liquidated.

The war of 1870 brought the Paris Commune in its wake. The war of 1914 brought the Soviet Union. That of 1939 brought 20 Workers States and the war in Vietnam, three more Workers States. The war which imperialism is preparing will bring the end of the

capitalist system and the bureaucracy. It will not be automatically so, but this is the programme of history. This is why imperialism would like to do something tremendous, and involve everyone. It realises that it cannot just make a war in which its rivals will come out on top, for imperialism does not only have to deal with the Soviet Union but with its competitors too. These are Germany, Japan, and the other capitalist countries. It is true that it is its class interests which will prevail in case of confrontation with the Soviet Union, but capitalism has to deal also with inter-capitalist competition, which is a historic one.

The missiles which the yankees want to install in Europe, do not alter this situation very much. This problem alters it a little, but not much. The European countries who have already such weapons want to install others, to reach the USSR. This will oblige the USSR to liquidate all these European countries which is very easy, because it has already the missiles for it. The interest of imperialism is to ensure that the European countries pay for the missiles. This why capitalist countries like Germany resist and feel that they could do without them. But they can achieve little that way, because as capitalists, they have to confront the Workers States in any case.

This is going to stimulate a tendency in European capitalism to become harder against the trade union struggles, against the Communist parties, in order to prepare the war apparatus. But capitalism, in its stupidity, does not see the difference between an inter-capitalist war and the war against the Workers States in which, although they have repressive means, they will have no support and there will be a very swift uprising, because invaders and invaded will unite. As part of its strategy in the war, the Soviet Union will need to unite with the country which it enters. It did this in Germany, and this time, it will do so in a very much superior way.

The European bourgeoisies want yankee missiles to defend their own German or Italian interests etc. as capitalists and not because they want to defend or render a service to the Yanks. But the yankee bases are not there only for the interests of the yankees, but to defend the capitalist system of the European countries. The missiles sited in Europe, will be controlled by the Yanks. But to control all this network, from Naples to Belgium, they need an instrument of coordination which can only be formed when there is historic confidence in the regime.

This level of coordination cannot be achieved by military command only. It can only be achieved when people have confidence that what is being done is a good thing. But there is no such confidence in yankee imperialism. Half of those who compose the apparatus are going to run away. They have neither security, nor confidence. They are there because they are paid or they have an interest of sorts, but they are moved by the fear which interest induces and have developed the consciousness which is the product of fear. Such a situation does not occur in the Workers States. In spite of all the limitations of Ceausescu for instance, he has had to declare in the Congress of the Rumanian Communist Party that if the Warsaw Pact comes under attack, Rumania will be with the Warsaw Pact. Tito is also going to have to do the same.

Many European Communist leaders feel satisfied when they say: "We have not had any war for 30 years" They think that it is the result of the ability of the Communist Parties; but they do not speak, at the same time, of the wars which have occurred in the world, where millions have died, and they do not speak either of all those who have died as a consequence of the evils of the capitalist system. They say this because there has not been war in Europe and because they - for their part - have not suffered the consequences of the wars which have taken place elsewhere. These leaders believe that people are frightened by war. But it is imperialism which is afraid of it.

These comrades believe that it is themselves who have avoided the war up to now! But it is the Workers States and not them who have impeded it. Capitalism has managed so far to do without war, but now it cannot do so any longer, because the crisis is deepening. Now together with the war preparations, capitalism is preparing to defend itself from unemployment also, lowering unemployment pay as it does in Italy. It feels that big struggles are to come, and so, it prepares the war. This is the combined plan of capitalism: install the missiles and no unemployment pay. If the workers do not work it is not because they don't want to, but because there isn't any work. This is being generalised. It is starting in France also, where they have already started to send the foreign workers back home. When the bourgeoisie takes such measures -- which are going to mean losses in votes also, it is because they prepare for something else: the war. They have all this in mind. As they cannot launch it when they want, or as they want, and above all they feel that this will mean their own liquidation, they have fears, hesitations, doubts and slowness about going about this process. If it wasn't like this they would have already made this armaments plan a long time ago.

Capitalism seeks an equilibrium in the economy to prepare for the war. Its crisis advances, advances, advances; and the depth of the revolutionary process increases. Imperialism enters the war in the worst possible conditions. It does not have any real allies in the world; in every capitalist country which is its ally, the people are against them.

J. POSADAS - 6.12-1979.

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