

**Editorial**

**THE CRISIS OF THE THATCHER  
GOVERNMENT AND THE NEED  
FOR AN ANTI-CAPITALIST  
POLICY**

The resignation of Heseltine has brought out yet again the precarious nature of the Thatcher team and the failure of its policy. It is an important blow at this government, but it cannot be seen in terms of a narrowly 'national' event or as just some ministerial dispute; it has to be seen as linked to the whole context of the confrontation between the forces of progress led by the Soviet Union and the workers states and the camp of imperialism led by the United States. Heseltine has stood at the right hand of Thatcher, and in the implementation of the policy of imposing Yankee missiles and using brute force against the women of Greenham Common he was foremost. He is clearly an enemy of the Soviet Union, human progress and movements for nuclear disarmament, and now he goes in a blaze of anti-Yankee sentiments, posing as the defender of national integrity and European links. Such a change shows the element of defeatism and lack of perspective at the heart of the sectors most hostile to the Soviet Union and most receptive to the alliance with the Yanks.

It is these fissures in the ranks of imperialism that the Workers States seek to widen and stimulate. Gorbachev has tended to deepen this policy, seeing full well that imperialism — preparing as it is for war — is deeply divided and, as the process develops, the lack of initiative of imperialism and its inability to cope with the social, economic and cultural weight of the Workers States provokes within its ranks many doubters. Although they cannot break links with their class they lack security and seek compromises with the Workers States, or delays. When Gorbachev intervened towards Livingstone over the proclamation of nuclear-free zones in London etc. it was primarily an intervention towards the bourgeoisie in Britain, underlining that it was not the Soviet Union which wants war, and that agreements to eliminate nuclear bases meant that the Soviet Union has no interest in pointing its missiles at Britain.

Essentially, the Heseltine crisis and the general failure of the present government is due to the influence of the Workers States. They act as a perpetual guide to the masses of the world, lay a solid basis of resistance to capitalist policies, even when the workers' leaderships in any particular country may be woefully insufficient. The initiatives of the Workers States over a period tend to demoralise and make insecure even apparently resolute members of the various teams of imperialism.

Recent events have shown very clearly the profound incapacity of imperialism to succeed in encounter with the Workers States. In the Middle East, in Lebanon and over Libya, all the massacre and provocations of Yankee imperialism have failed, while the presence of the Soviets has grown. Intimidation has failed. Elsewhere, in Poland for example, all the massive intervention by world imperialism, the financing of Solidarity, a whole world campaign to destroy the Polish Workers State has collapsed utterly and, in spite of many impediments and difficulties, the Polish Workers State advances and the reactionary Solidarnosc falls.

At the same time, while imperialism undergoes crises of decomposition, the Soviet Union proceeds on the basis of crises of growth. Thus the purge of bureaucrats continues everywhere. Through their work collectives, the CPSU seeks a better relation with the population on every plane, both economic, political and cultural.

Turn to page 4

**CONTENTS**

- Page 1 Editorial: Massacre in Palace of Justice, Colombia
- Page 2: The Communist Parties and the Soviet Union: J. POSADAS
- Page 3: The Heseltine Crisis
- Page 4: Teachers' strike

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**THE MASSACRE IN THE PALACE  
OF JUSTICE AND THE PROCESS  
IN COLOMBIA.**

**RESOLUTION OF THE EUROPEAN BUREAU**

The criminal reaction of the most reactionary sector of Colombian capitalism in occupying the Palace of Justice in Bogota, the paralysis of the government of Betancourt and his 'flexible' tendency within the conflicts of the national bourgeoisie, gives a very vivid image of the crisis of a system which shows itself to be incapable of elaborating a progressive solution to its crisis as it tries to justify its existence in alliance with imperialism and the profitable traffic in drugs.

The massacre of the Palace of Justice was done not in the name of the formal democracy of the bourgeoisie but of the order, the tranquillity and the peace of the oligarchy, of the fascist military reaction, and of the drugs traffickers. It was aimed at the ministers and magistrates of the democratic tendency, revolutionary leaders and militants. The same paralysis of the government 'aid' to the population affected by the volcanic eruption is within the social crisis of the country, in which neither the masses nor the bourgeois government of Betancourt, nor the reactionary oligarchy linked to the army, sustained by imperialism, have been able to provide a solution. Hence the intervention of the army in the massacre of the Government Palace constitutes in reality a coup d'etat against Betancourt and does not limit itself to the defeat of the timid policy until then conducted by the government of Belisario Betancourt. In reality, it's the internal social relations in the country which impede the stabilisation of a democratic progressive and socially advanced policy which could find support in sectors of the nationalist bourgeoisie. This would mean greater stimulus of the economy and the development of society where the masses must not only be able to express themselves but also resolve the severe problems of work, of

health, of education, and the home. CHANGES IN THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION.

The truce declared by Betancourt with the guerrillas, and in particular with the M19 movement, was linked openly to the relation between movement, masses and government. Situations of the time of the reactionary government of Turbay Avala, like the impossibility of the expression of opinion by the population and the occupation of the Dominican Embassy on the part of the M19 movement, have been surpassed by the world and national process of the Socialist revolution. Hence the historic document of Cde Posadas on that episode considered the taking of the Embassy as an expression of social progress. Today, the conditions have changed. Indeed, as Posadas affirmed, even if the internal repression and the absence of organisms of leadership of the masses justified the action and the guerrillas of the M19 expressed the sentiments of the population, they lacked the organic participation of the masses and thus they were not the instruments to affirm and sustain the objective and social necessity of that intervention.

Betancourt is the fruit of all the social conditions of 1980 when the occupation of the Embassy on the part of the M19 movement moved Colombia and the world. Even, being militarily less important than actions made by the guerrillas in the last forty years in Colombia, this — as Posadas declared — had the historic strength to occur at a specific moment when almost all the principle countries of Latin America were governed by dictatorships and when the struggle of the Latin American masses and the progress of the Workers States struck violently at the policy of internal security and of military alliances with the Yanks, and their attempt to install a

direct strategy of the Pentagon for Latin America. This came, on the other hand, after the Sandinista triumph in Nicaragua that allowed the Cuban Workers State to intervene in the continent on a political and social platform. The line of the M19 reflected in that moment this situation, which is also part of the origin of all the successive events and of the advance in Colombia for the first time of a government which broke with the traditional form of the bi-partisan alternative: that is, the coffee oligarchy and the liberal bourgeoisie (between conservative and liberals)

**THE COUP AGAINST BETANCOURT**

The occupation of the Palace of Justice on the part of the M19 movement occurs within the political crisis which was maturing within the government of Betancourt, which was losing the leadership of the political and social relations. On the other hand, the M19, and part in other sectors of the guerrillas such as the FARC, were not prepared politically to create a revolutionary Socialist leadership, a party at the level of affirming their policy and giving to the masses not security in the gun but the security which comes from ideas, from the programme and from the accompanying arms with political intervention.

The signals of the coup d'etat against Betancourt lay in the paralysis of his internal policy. Even if Betancourt in foreign policy had adopted the line of the anti-imperialist front of the national bourgeoisie, and had supported Contadora against Imperialism (to affirm the right of Nicaragua, which means indeed to impede Yankee imperialism with arms more powerful than thousands of atomic bombs), this line did not find internal reflections of progress since the government yielded in the important aspects of economic policy. It

Turn to page 3

# THE COMMUNIST PARTIES AND THE FUNCTION OF THE SOVIET UNION.

## J. POSADAS

The final crisis of the capitalist system is intensifying but also the crisis of the Communist parties and in the Workers States. But, as opposed to capitalism which is decentralisation of all its power, because it confronts the Workers States it cannot choose the stage to concentrate and launch the war in these Workers States there is a very great progress of concentrated planning. In the Communist parties of the Workers States there is a very great progress towards the understanding of the stage of history in which we are living. They fear the war and avoid it, but they prepare also for the war and, at the same time, develop the programme and the conception that the war is the revolution and social transformation. The masses of the world also reason in this understanding.

Between the Workers States and the masses of the world, there is a process of integration. The masses understand that it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. They see that small countries like Granada and Nicaragua pass from social, scientific, technical and cultural backwardness which is very great to the organisation of a leap (on the basis of the knowledge of the world which is the dialectical leap) to achieve economic knowledge and development, and to develop Socialism. These are examples: Ethiopia, Angola and Mozambique.

It is this centre which concentrates all the countries, the will of the masses and of all the countries, in obtaining progress with the Workers States. This is the result of the crisis of the capitalist system and of the progress of the Workers States which sees that the masses of the world mature, mature and mature.

The process is of such a nature, mature and growing, that the Soviet Union cannot be indifferent to any revolutionary process, any democratic process which tends towards historic changes. It has to intervene. It says so in its Constitution and it goes forward. Stalin avoided the Constitution, eliminated it. He eliminated everything which referred to the support and the world struggle for Socialism. Only Socialism for the Soviet Union. But the present Soviet Constitution proposes that the USSR supports all the movements of a national independent character, of national liberation, and also those of a social character; and the Soviet Union has the objective of world Socialism.

When the Soviet Union does this, it is because it is a logical necessity to extend itself throughout the world. This is what determines the course of history, not the atomic war of imperialism. The masses of the world see and perceive this process and it is the basis of their world confidence.

The Communist parties follow a chauvinist parliamentary electoral policy and do not understand the

This article of Cde Posadas still has striking relevance to the relation between the Workers State and the Communist parties. The former advances even if the leadership does not sufficiently represent it. But the Communist parties in general do not grasp this, nor the transient character of stalinism, and this impedes the capacity to gain much more authority in their particular countries. At the same time, the failure of euro-communism shows that there is no perspective outside the central guiding role of the Workers State. The debacle in the British and Belgian Communist parties and the crisis of the apparatus in Spain are the results of submission to bourgeois notions of special and national roads.

tactic, but in the future they are going to have to do it. If they don't do it the Soviet Union and the other Workers States are going to do it, because it is a logical necessity of social progress. Thus, as the social progress of Bolivia means social transformation, for the Communist parties social progress is to construct the Workers State. When they want to launch a 'national' Workers State without link with the exterior, independent and pluralist, they are going to have to make the construction of a Workers State - as is the Soviet Union, China, and all the others; that is to say, the structure which provides bases for economic, social, scientific, cultural and technological development.

Let the leadership contain, impede or make difficulties, this can occur; but it is not possible to oppose it historically. Less now that there is an experience in half of humanity that a Workers State is an immense progress of humanity and of how it is constructed. Now there is an experience of this in humanity, and every war is an enormous impulse to the world experience, because then the masses can intervene.

As Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky said, revolutions like wars develop qualities in the population, resolution, sentiment and capacity, which in ordinary life cannot be made. The revolution develops in the population resolution and qualities which are called instincts, which are sentiments and principles of capacity in a qualitative form and scientifically very elevated.

This is the inexhaustible ability of the revolution. It is for all the population, because this feels itself able to intervene: organising, deciding, constructing and leading. It does not seek to intervene for itself, to dispute power or to lead the forces of power for its own benefit, but to organise.

The Communists do not understand this. People are going to develop millions of initiatives Mozambique and Ethiopia have shown to the children of the world what is the organisation of life in which they have to participate and create. They have shown it. That is to say, the preparations of war by imperialism are at the same time the preparations for the unification of the human race to resolve rapidly

the last important obstacle for the progress of humanity, which is the capitalist system with its war.

This conclusion exists already and should be discussed in the Communist parties. There are a thousand examples to give instead of saying 'Beware of the atomic war' The war is going to be very short. We cannot foresee if it will be a month, two months or ten days, because it is possible that as the Soviets say in forty minutes they will demolish the USA. Then the war will terminate, because it is going to produce a catastrophe in the thought of the world bourgeoisie and among the military also. But, as this can be more distant, it is necessary to discuss what to do now and to see what it is necessary to do, to prepare the parties in advance of this stage, impelling for example in France and Italy the United front in France and Italy the united front of Socialists and Communists.

Capitalism is preparing war in an accelerated form in the middle of its crisis. It is necessary to evaluate the life in the Communist parties, explaining what it is necessary to do in each country; not defending the Soviet Union in abstract but saying what it is necessary to do in each country, seeing that the masses may intervene in planning, in the leadership, in the discussion, and continue learning. In this way they advance, acquiring confidence, and they are going to see, to distinguish, to separate between the Workers State and the conduct of the leadership of the Workers State, and will learn to defend, sustain and seek to construct objectively the Workers State, trying to develop the better leadership.

But the Workers State is not determined by the quality of its leadership but by its social and economic structure. The Soviet Workers State had Lenin, and the Bolshevik Party after it had Stalin, but it maintained itself as a Workers State because of the first seven years of the USSR which left a structure. The masses of the world see and intuit this; there is no literature of the Communist parties on this, but the masses intuit and understand this.

All the stage of Stalinism educated the Socialist and Communist vanguard in believing that Stalinism is a logical consequence of the Workers State. There is no time to educate a new world vanguard so

that it understands that this is not the case; but, yes, to educate part of Socialist and Communist leaderships so that they may understand that it was an historic condition which led to Stalinism, and that this was not the result of the Bolshevik Party nor of centralisation, nor of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

If there had been the dictatorship of the proletariat which produced the evil of Stalin, it would have produced also the retreat of the Soviet Union and counter-revolution. Why did it not produce this? Not to take this into account is not to treat these problems scientifically, and then there is no scientific conclusion; the treatment is superficial and the conclusion very bad and inaccurate, the result of a superficial understanding. If the Workers State put up with Stalin on the basis of what did it tolerate him? If the Bolshevik Party generated Stalin why did it not return to capitalism?

There are no explanations on this because the Communist leaders do not have the scientific preparation to make them. Their sentiment and method of analysis are idealist. They are idealist materialists and, in part, metaphysical idealists. All this cannot endure the tests of war. Hence those who approximate most to dialectical materialist method are the Soviets. They have to do it because they represent the Workers State.

The Communist leaders do not see the importance of the Soviet vanguard and of the proletariat which was the force which truly put up with the stage of Stalin. It is due to this that Stalin was not able to retreat through the existence of the proletariat. If this had not opposed the retreat towards counter-revolution, the retreat would have been made. It did not come to that because it could not, because Stalin feared the revolution.

There is a process in history recognised by the literature, by science and by the political leaderships of the big parties which is Thermidor. In this type of process, the leadership which makes the revolution and then contains it and retreats. The fact that gave origin to the definition of Thermidor was the affirmation, the ascent of Napoleon from the French Revolution. In the USSR there existed all the prerequisites for all the steps of the Thermidor stairway, and why was not the Thermidor retreat completed? Neither could Napoleon go back, but had to maintain certain gains of the revolution.

Thermidor is not then the completion of the counter-revolution but is a phase which goes to the counter-revolution. Who contained Thermidor, what was the force which prevented the sectors placed within the CPSU continuing Thermidor and using the revolution for them? During the war and the revolution, during the retreat of the economy, an immense layer of technicians and scientists, experts in the economy, occupied positions in the Party. What prevented them continuing Thermidor? It was the force of the revolution which gave the economic structure and the weight of the proletariat in this process which prevented the continuation of Thermidor. The weakness of the relation of world forces allowed Stalin a retreat towards Thermidor, and the presence of the proletariat impeded the counter-revolution. Thermidor is not counter-revolution but is an intermediate stage which prepares the counter-revolution. This is the scientific analysis.

But the Communist leaders write in an abstract way. They explain nothing, but simply arrive at the conclusion that Stalin is a result of the Bolshevik Party.

All these positions are going to be overcome because neither analysis or the action of history sustains it.

J. POSADAS

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the role of cinema  
in history  
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ceded in the confrontation with the IMF and stabilised a semi-truce with the guerrilla groups and, in general, with the masses; but a truce not recognised by the right wing of the army, which has continued to assassinate systematically leaders and sympathisers of the guerrillas.

The strike which affected the most important productive sectors of the country strengthened a current favourable to the social struggles, of which the guerrilla is an expression even if not the most mature and profound, because it is not born from the political and social organisation of the masses but certainly responds to their need for progress.

The world process shows a constant extension of social consciousness relating to the final settlement of accounts. The maturity which the Soviet Workers State expresses with its firmness in confrontation with imperialism, with the internal measures against the methods and forms of the bureaucracy, and in the external policy with support to the world Socialist revolution, are an integral part of the internal Colombian process. Today, every analysis is impossible if not based on the struggle of the anti-imperialist governments, like that of Alan Garcia in Peru on measures against the military right of the Alfonsín government in Argentina, on the Sanguinetti process in Uruguay on the crisis of the right and on the affirmation of the anti-imperialist current in Brasil, on the crisis of the AD (Democratic Action) in the government of Lusínchi. It is a question of a social and political growth which is concretising in the policy of these governments towards

imperialism and the IMF which in turn has given an impulse to the line and progress of the Cuban Workers State and of the Sandinista movement and to the unconditional defence of the Socialist process and of its revolution.

The action of the M19, the paralysis of Betancourt, and the political blow to the Government Palace from the military right, from the financial oligarchy and from the drug manufacturers, have a common root. The fact is that it was impossible for Betancourt to apply really the points of the agreement, measures which socially correspond to an advanced revolutionary state which the bourgeoisie itself — which supported Betancourt — was not able to concede, while the M19 movement believed it was able to obtain successes on this line from which to be able then to develop a political strategy.

The basis of the agreement was the fact of profiting from this conjunctural phase of the crisis of the capitalist system in Colombia to make the organisms of the masses grow, utilising all the possible experiences (as, in part, the guerrillas had done well), trying however not to fall into left opportunism, which objectively sustained the real possibility that this situation could last and be consolidated. Those who thought that the taking of the Palace could be the detonator throughout Colombia and the world made an error of evaluation. The provocation to which the guerrillas were submitted on the part of the right arm of the coffee oligarchy and of the drugs traffic, has given the immediate fruit of a blow at the guerrillas and the wing of the nationalist bourgeoisie which sought a front against the traditional economic and military policy of the right.

#### THE NEED FOR DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS IN COLOMBIA.

The electoral perspectives which open in five months will evidently not be any solution. The political clientelism and the absence of a strong nationalist left will emerge from the electoral result. In Colombia, however, the elections are not decisive but the political growth of the masses is. Abstention has been a constant instrument against the system, against hunger, against repression, against the lack of perspectives for the population, for the millions of young people who have no place in the economy, and against the planning of a capitalism in crisis and without a progressive solution.

Hence, in Peru, the government of APRA poses the necessity of making the Socialist revolution in Latin America, seeking a form of alliance against the oppression of imperialism, and does not find a solution in world capitalism. Being a government allied to the national sectors of the bourgeoisie, it does not find a solution in the classical capitalism allied to Yankee imperialism. Colombia is like Socialist Chile which roars like a lion with always more strength and security, and is in the right direction to defeat the dictatorship.

It is necessary to elevate the political life and the actions of the guerrillas. The M19 movement must open a debate within its movement and with the masses, as a moment of necessary reflection on the experience which opens after the attack on the Palace of Justice. That is part of the construction of the revolutionary leadership towards the masses and the movement itself.

The elections and the political intervention are not closed. The

right has made a coup, but also — using its claws — has not been able to make the government of Belisario Betancourt fall. It has only been able to make a massacre as it has done hundreds of other times, but without succeeding in smashing the masses in their political security. If the right had been able to utilise all the elements in their favour, including the internal factors involving all the structures of the armed forces, it would not have needed to postpone the fall of Betancourt.

The Colombian masses, and not only the military experience of the guerrillas, are in constant advance and maturing. The phase of the dialogue and the peace agreement have made the masses understand that they could and would develop the struggle with their own organisations, breaking the structure of the bi-party system. They have seen the possibility of exerting pressure and of extracting important conquests; from that derives the centralisation of their movements, with a greater capacity of compelling alliances between the city and the country, including large sectors of the urban petit bourgeoisie, of the student movement and of the middle and small capitalist owners, with part of the armed forces. The experience which is not closed by the sectors fed by Betancourt has not been able with this defeat to advance more deeply, but is compensated at the world level by the development of the forces of the world Socialist revolution which, as in Chile, Peru, Uruguay and Argentina, contrast with the counter-revolutionary strategic policy of imperialism.

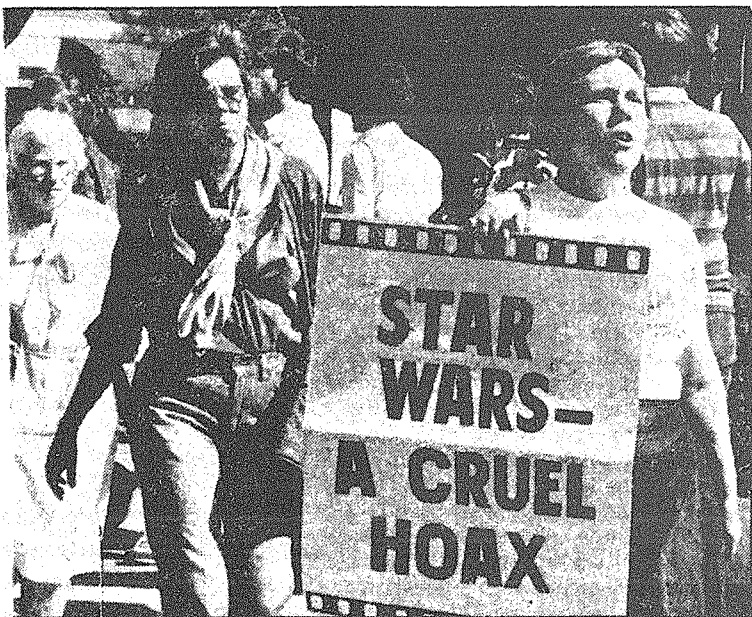
A central task for the country is the construction of an anti-imperialist united front with a pro-

gramme to make Colombia emerge from backwardness, from the drugs traffic, from poverty, from illiteracy; a programme of alliances with the rest of Latin America, of struggle for a federation of popular anti-imperialist peoples which breaks the circle of the unpayable foreign debt, expels the IMF, and develops a policy in the leadership of the Workers States. Hence, to maintain Contadora means to maintain an independent struggle against Yankee imperialism and its criminal plans, aimed not only against Nicaragua and Cuba but also against El Salvador, Peru, and Chile freed from Pinochet.

We propose this conclusion as the basis of a discussion which must take place in Colombia and in Latin America, not only on the attack on the Palace of Justice but also on the hecatomb following the eruption of the volcano. In this the criminal incapacity of the capitalist system is responsible, which not only did not foresee the phenomenon but which did not accept the scientific foresights made by others, and then was paralysed in the course of it and allowed the loss of crucial time to warn the population of a disaster which it could have impeded. The result has been letting people die under the eye of the television, like the baby Moyra, a fate shared by thousands submerged by the mud, and by the victims of the massacre in the Palace of Justice. But the population has not let itself be crushed. This is the state of the country and the consciousness of the Colombian masses is alive to the fact that, in spite of the feudal backwardness of 160 years of the oligarchy, they will be capable of winning and constructing progress of the country and of leading consciously the struggle for Socialism as part of the progress of the world.

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### HESELTINE'S RESIGNATION AND WORLD INTER-CAPITALIST COMPETITION



United States demonstrations against war policy of imperialism.

The resignation of Thatcher's Defence Secretary, Heseltine, represents more than Tory internal differences. It is an expression of the intense competition between Yankee imperialism and its European capitalist allies. This is part of the contradiction of the capitalist system for, whilst the European bourgeoisie is an ally of Yankee imperialism in confronting the Socialist Countries (Workers States) and the world revolution, it is also a competitor.

We are talking about the European bourgeoisie in this context because the three companies involved in the European consortium interested in Westlands are substantially owned by the respective governments of France, West Germany and Italy. It is not unimportant either that this crisis arises in a sector of the 'defence in-

dustry', because this is where the interests of the British bourgeoisie is mainly centred.

Every other sector of British industry is in decline, which shows that capitalism is not interested in advancing science or the interests of the population. It is only interested in war preparations and the profits which come from arms production in these circumstances. It is all part of the overall crisis of the capitalist system, which cannot unite itself because it has no historic perspective.

The depth of the crisis in the Thatcher team is not to be underestimated. Heseltine does not represent the disgruntled industrial sectors of British capitalism which are being pushed to the wall by Thatcher's policy of war preparations. He is a representative of the top financial circles, and financial mani-

population is the only other sector of capitalist interests — other than arms production — which is growing. The Yanks were completely isolated with not only the European capitalist governments but the Muslim countries, and even Israel, opposing military action against Libya. In other words, Heseltine's resignation is a symptom of the crisis at the heart of the Thatcher team. It is a crisis of choice between supporting the war preparations of Yankee imperialism fully, or resisting the competition of Yankee imperialism which is designed to push the other bourgeoisies out of the world market. Indeed, inter-capitalist competition is at a level which would, in another stage of history, have resulted in a world inter-imperialist war. Today, they cannot afford war between themselves because

## THE TEACHERS STRIKE AND THE CRISIS IN EDUCATION

The strength and duration of the teachers' strike cannot be explained on the basis of a simple trade union conflict. In the same way, the miners' strike was an effort to extend the anti-capitalist struggle and stimulate anti-capitalist policy and programme, not just a struggle to prevent pit closures. Thus the character of the strike was revolutionary.

The teachers' strike has been in many respects a continuation of the miners' struggle, with less social weight and with a far inferior leadership. But it is a rejection of capitalism by sectors of the petit bourgeoisie. The leadership of the miners' union had a clear class position; that of the teachers is more in the tradition of reformist trade unionism in a situation which allows such a policy no margin. The tenacity and resolution of the teachers is at complete odds with the limited leadership. That leadership has been forced to go along with the determination of the teachers, but without ideas or initiative to develop the struggle. The NATFHE leadership abdicated from the struggle at an early stage, accepting a salary offer but without extending discussion or proposing alternatives to the capitalist mode of education.

The character of the struggle shows the absence of a class and revolutionary leadership in Britain. Where is the Labour Party and labour left in all this as a coherent force? The Labour Party is so involved in the administering of the system that its representatives on the 'negotiating body' are actually in the middle, between teachers and government; at the same time, there is no coherent Labour left tendency expressing a consistent line, policy, or giving programmatic orientation in the struggle. The Kinnock leadership wishes to utilise the

electoral competition with the Conservatives, to show how bad the government of Thatcher is - which is common knowledge.

The attack on education by the Thatcherite government is unprecedented and expresses the destitution of the capitalist system and its total lack of perspective. Clearly, the structure of education needs transformation but for whose benefit, and with what objectives? British imperialism is now a system which is contracting very fast. It is intimately linked and dependent upon Yankee capital and is simply a forward base for the Yankee attack on the Soviet Union. Competition is more and more aggravated on the world market, military costs soar, and hence capitalism must reduce and reduce. In practice, the argument that capitalism uses about giving greater weight to 'practical' subjects, more weight to technology, does not mean a great expansion for these areas but only devoting more resources to them at the expense of other areas.

The unions involved in the struggle must look beyond the structure of the capitalist system and base their claims on the need for a re-structuring of society, planned economy in the interests of the population, workers' control, etc. It is necessary to take the example of the Workers States, where the latest programme of the USSR is one of an immense expansion of the educational and cultural horizons of the population. What is capitalism offering? Only reductions of teaching staff and complete lack of interest in the thousands of youth unemployed who see no perspective under capitalism.

The struggle should really have been aimed not only at applying pressure on capitalism, but develop-

ing contacts with parents and school children, developing discussions which link education directly with the struggle against the system. Is education simply to help capitalism in its economic struggles, or should it be linked to the issues that concern the communities in which the children are educated, to discuss the problems of unemployment and nuclear bases, so that education is not just a means to prepare for whatever job capitalism thinks necessary, but a social relation. It is necessary to raise the whole nature of the governing bodies in schools so that they exclude the representatives of capitalism. Parents, children, teachers and trade unions must control the education process. It is deeper discussions of this type that the teachers' strike should raise. If the representatives of capitalism want to discuss 'change' and 'modernisation' and 'new conditions', let it be placed in the context of what capitalism is about - impoverishment of the population and enrichment of the few. There is no possibility of serious transformation of the immense crisis of education, the down-grading of teachers, the deprivation of the mass of the population of better education without confronting the system.

Capitalism is not in a position to make any profound concessions to the teachers. It can only wage a war of attrition. But it is terrified of ideas of social transformation, and a discussion of ideas on education related to the needs of the population would be a powerful blow at the system, and take the struggle out of the realm of a narrow trade unionism which has no answer to anything, and raise the most elevated issues which link education with the necessary development of society. Without such discussion the strike is diminished in quality.

The Heseltine crisis presents much opportunity to the Labour Party, particularly the Labour left, to explain to the population what this crisis means and to batter the government. But the whole case is discussed as though it were one of constitutional propriety in which we are 'all concerned'. It is a crisis of the imperialists and should be diagnosed as such. It is not just a crisis of 'presidential government' but the crisis of a policy which binds British imperialism to the Yanks and, as was disclosed recently which means that, approaching war, Yankee troops can take command against the British population. Heseltine is linked to all this, and now clears off.

The only way it is possible to take advantage of such a crisis - which has revealed considerable differentiation in the Conservative ranks between the pro-Yankee and the pro-European sectors, is by a much more substantial and public discussion and intervention by a coherent Labour left. It is necessary, for example, to discuss throughout the Party the document on planning and full employment, the policy of planning agreements and committees to develop a minimum wage, the policy of greater investment and whether this will solve the problem of advancing towards a Workers State. It may disrupt capitalism, but does it really open the way to a socialist economy? What is this third road with which Kinnock is associated. What is the reality of 'democracy' and 'individual freedom' under capitalism? It is necessary to go beyond these bourgeois categories. It is absurd to speak of some peculiar 'British' tradition quite different from Marxism, and which mysteriously provides an answer to the concepts of the class struggle and the inevitability of Socialist revolution. It is necessary that the Labour left discusses the experience of the Mitterand government which now seeks to pass a law on 'flexible hours' which is a blow at the working class, justified by the need to 'modernise' the economy. Naturally, there is no suggestion of a mechanical projection of the Mitterand experience onto Britain, but ideas of the third road are inevitably linked to forms of conciliation with private property, and the class enemy is not to be outwitted by superior sentiments and democratic committees. It is precisely ambiguities and lack of an imaginative bold argument for Socialism which takes account of the Workers States which provides the Liberal and SDP parties with elements of support from technical layers which could be attracted to the Labour Party. Instead, they see the trade union bureaucracy sunk in the torpor of passivity and parliamentary games by the Labour Party which present a picture of giving capitalism authority when it is decrepit and beleaguered.

Britain now presents a devastating picture of capitalist decay. All the aura of imperialist power has gone. The forces of order now appear with sub-machine guns at Heathrow. This is not symbolic, this is the way imperialism lives now. Northern Ireland is here. The dispute between the pro-Yanks and the pro-European forces in capitalism is a problem of capitalism which the forces of Socialism can take advantage of, but not associating with one or the other, that is to participate within the borders of capitalism.

The cracks and fissures will increase within capitalism. The crisis with the Unionists in Northern Ireland is an example of the decomposition of the bourgeois united fronts, but these are the conflicts of the class enemy and require alternative policies not subscribing to one or other bourgeois policy.

We appeal to the Labour left and all the intellectual and cultural layers in capitalism to develop discussions on all these themes, because the whole veneer of capitalism is falling away. Its vaunted culture consists of missiles and super-profits from vast military budgets. The Soviet Union is preoccupied to develop human relations and culture. It has no need for war and on this security the Labour left can develop policies and discussions with the population to develop a united anti-capitalist front of Labour Party and trade unions to bring down this crumbling Thatcher regime which has succeeded in none of its fundamental objectives and, as the last few days have indicated, is beset with disorder and disintegration.

ism tries to put more of the cost of war preparations onto its capitalist rivals - thus making them less competitive on the world market. As the gulf between the European (and Japanese) capitalists and Yankee imperialism grows so Soviet foreign policy is designed to make the gulf even wider and thus to weaken the imperialist war alliance. It is a policy which has met with a great deal of success. Thus capitalism is increasingly weakened and disintegrated by its own internal competition and the damage it can do to humanity during the war is subsequently reduced.

From page 3

the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States exist and any inter-capitalist war would only be to the advantage of the Workers States and the progress of humanity. World capitalism sees this very clearly.

The intensity of inter-capitalist competition has shown itself in relation to Libya. There is no doubt that the military threats made by Reagan against Libya were prompted by the most belligerent sector of Yankee imperialism, and was intended as a push towards the war. The Soviet Union, rather than Libya, was the real target. Since, for imperialism it is never the right time to launch the war, the Yanks retreated from the original threat to a position of imposing trade sanctions on Libya. The Westlands affair is being used by Heseltine as an excuse to distance himself from the

policies of both Thatcher and the Yanks, because he has lost faith in both. It is an expression of the defeatism growing within world capitalism. This secondary position serves the other interest of Yankee foreign policy, which is to damage its capitalist rivals. There is little trade between Libya and the United States, but there is a great deal between the European bourgeoisie and Libya. Italy and West Germany rely a great deal on Libyan oil. The value of EEC exports to Libya is £3 billion. This is to say nothing of the thousands of Europeans who work in Libya. Italy has around 14,000 nationals working in Libya at the moment. Obviously, effective sanctions imposed on Libya would considerably damage the European bourgeoisie. Not surprisingly, they would have nothing to do with the Yankee sanctions, as they

would have nothing to do with the sanctions Reagan tried to impose on the Soviet Union. Even Reagan's right hand, Thatcher, does not support him in this - as she did not support him over sanctions against the Soviets.

This is the state of world capitalism today. It needs to concentrate itself in a war alliance to confront its class enemy, the Soviet Union and the Workers States; but the more this becomes imperative, the greater are the pressures which drive them apart. In the first place, they are not at all certain that they can win a war; in fact, capitalism sees no future for itself. Therefore each move made by Yankee imperialism towards the war stimulates a reaction of fear and defeatism from its allies, the European bourgeoisie. At the same time, inter-capitalist competition intensifies, and Yankee imperia-

## Editorial

# THE INCAPACITY OF THE THATCHER GOVERNMENT DEMANDS A CAMPAIGN FOR ANTI-CAPITALIST SOLUTIONS

## Out with the American bases

## For a Labour government with a policy of social transformation

The resignation of Heseltine and Brittan, two of Thatcher's leading ministers, has been followed by an avalanche of crisis and disagreement inside the Conservative leadership. Thatcher insists that she will not change her policies. Hurd says that the Tories have to change or lose the next election, and Heseltine - of all people - wants 'caring capitalism'. The Tory leadership speaks in a dozen different voices now. This is because all its authority in front of the population disintegrates. A sector of British capitalism tries to maintain some links with the population, which is what Heseltine's 'caring capitalism' is all about. A sector of the Tory Party is worried about its electoral interests. National capitalist sectors, like those in the West Midlands that feed off British Leyland, are worried about being eliminated by the intervention of the Yankee 'multi-nationals'. This latter sector form part of the wider, but no less vicious, competition between Yankee imperialism and the European bourgeoisie. Thatcher's apparently pigheaded determination to continue her policy is not the result of some individual characteristic, but the fact that the system has no other policy it can follow. The nature of capitalism, of the system of private property, determines that it cannot 'care' for the masses, it cannot develop the economy for the benefit of the population, and it cannot eliminate its vicious internal competition in which the weakest go to the wall. All it can do is prepare for war and dedicate everything to that end. This is the nature of the capitalist system and this is why

- in the end - the Thatcher policy predominates.

### THE SUPERIORITY OF THE WORKERS STATE.

At the root of the process of decomposition of capitalism lies its fear of the war. The system drives towards war but growing sectors of capitalism see the superiority of the Workers States, in a historic sense, and feel that the war will be the end of them. They are quite aware that Yankee imperialism is prepared to sacrifice the European bourgeoisie in a war with the Workers States. For capitalism allies are also competitors to be eliminated. When the European Parliament proposes the closing of the Sellafields nuclear re-processing plant, it is not from concern over the safety of the population in the area. These European parliamentarians know that nuclear re-processing is to extract plutonium for nuclear weapons. This is part of the war preparations of Yankee imperialism - which receives most of the plutonium - and the Europeans propose to close the plant in order to limit these war preparations. They are motivated by fear and defeatism rather than humane motives, but they are also influenced by the superiority of the Workers States and the need to maintain links with them. In this context it is interesting to see that Healey, Labour's 'shadow foreign minister' and one of the Labour leaders most linked with capitalism, now denounces Reagan over the SDI programme. He says that the United States is looking for nuclear superiority over the Soviet Union and has prevented any agreement being reached over arms limitation.

### CONTENTS

Page 1	Editorial
Page 2	The Dissidents: J. POSADAS
Page 3	The Programme of the CPSU. The Elections in the Philippines. Fiasco of the Space Shuttle.
Page 4	Crisis of T.U. Bureaucracy

# THE 'DISSIDENTS' AND SOCIALISM

Page 2

## J. POSADAS

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Imperialism prepares for war because that is the nature of the system, but it does so with uncertainty. It is unable to decide when or where the war will be launched. The provocation against Libya was a tentative step towards the war by the most lunatic elements in the Yankee leadership. But it was immediately followed by another policy. In withdrawing support from Marcos in the Philippines and Duvalier in Haiti, Yankee imperialism hopes to replace them with a more 'liberal' bourgeois regime that might divert and limit the struggle of the masses. It is a very dangerous policy in the Philippines because Cory Aquino heads a popular movement which might well endanger military bases. The logic of this policy is to try to gain historic time, a breathing space. If imperialism needs such a space it is because it is not confident about launching the war. If, on the other hand, it was certain about the war, it would hold on to dictators like Marcos and Duvalier.

The response of the Labour leadership to the overt decomposition of the authority of the capitalist leadership is to dispute with 'Militant'

It is a dispute carried on inside the Labour apparatus without any serious political discussion. Militant for its part, simply insists that it is not a tendency. This is of no use to the Labour left, or the struggle to transform society, because the right of tendency is a basic democratic right which is necessary for the development of ideas and political leadership.

The dispute is to intimidate the new left forces in the Labour Party

The reaction of the Labour leadership, of Kinnock and Hattersly, is of those who are afraid that Labour might win an election by a large majority, with the masses mobilised - and then they would be placed under pressure to take measures which would damage the interests of capitalism. This Labour leadership

is dedicated to maintaining capitalism and they are looking for a weak Labour government - perhaps in alliance with the Liberal/SDP bunch - which would be ineffectual. In the Westland and British Leyland argument the best they can do is to support one capitalist tendency against another, when they should have posed the alternative of nationalisation under workers' control and the necessity for a planned economy.

### A PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

This Labour leadership was, of course, put there by the trade union bureaucracy which supports British capitalism by remaining completely passive in front of it. Trade union funds are confiscated and the TUC does nothing. It gives no support to the teachers who continue to confront the government, as it gave no support to the miners. All it does is lose itself, as does the Labour leadership, in internal squabbles over marginal issues. If the TUC had been serious over its opposition to the traitorous activities of Hammond and the EPTU leadership at Wapping, then all it need to have done was to expel Hammond and company from the TUC and then called on the membership of the EPTU to reform the union under a new

leadership. But that would have meant mobilising workers, and this bureaucratic apparatus fears that above all else.

The world crisis of capitalism has to be responded to with a programme for the transformation of society, and this is a responsibility which rests on the left in the Labour Party and trade unions. Now is the time to bring forward the programme which they have adopted. But, to have the confidence to do this means to understand the role of the Workers State in the advance to Socialism. They have to recognise that all the problems that the British masses confront under capitalism - in housing, transport, health services, education etc. - have been solved in the Soviet Union. The Workers State has solved these problems on the basis of a state-owned and centrally planned economy. Indeed, even bourgeois commentators recognise that the Workers State is superior to capitalism. They say that the Soviet Union is fifteen years ahead of the Yanks in space exploration.

It is light years ahead socially, culturally and economically. Given the honesty to recognise this basic fact, the Labour left can make a leap in the process of transforming society. 22.2.86

## THE STRUGGLE IN THE SOUTH YEMENI REVOLUTIONARY STATE.

The recent sanguinary confrontation in the South Yemen revolutionary state between what have been called the two 'pro-Soviet' factions has to be seen essentially as the result of the historical process being more rapid than the necessary construction of the Party and leadership. Jose Posadas has analysed this process in many articles.

In 1967 South Yemen finally threw out British imperial-

Continued on page 4

# THE DISSIDENTS AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF SOCIALISM.

J. POSADAS. 7.3.78

The 'dissidents' are not Communists because their object is individual interest. When they speak of liberty they should be asked 'freedom from what? To defend what?' They ask freedom in defence of their individual interests to oppose the development of Socialism and to pronounce in favour of their own 'Socialism'. This means to say that in the Workers State they will allow the bourgeoisie to give an opinion, allow a bourgeois opposition, and let the economy be decentralised. What is this? This is not dissidence but antagonism to the Workers State. Trotsky was a dissident leadership of the Workers State, but he defended the Workers State and taught us to defend it. This is genuine dissidence. But the so-called dissidents have nothing to do with the disagreements which exist within the Workers State. Really Trotsky was not a 'dissident' but a critic of Stalin, and he did not criticise the Workers State. The so-called dissidents all go against the Workers State.

The Workers State is an instrument of the progress of history

If one is going to change anything, it is the leadership. Since it is not possible to effect change by overthrowing everything it is necessary to intervene to make a new leadership mature and capable of advancing in relation to the need for a better development of centralisation and of economic planning. Hence a political leadership is necessary which allows everyone to develop fully their capacity to think, to reason and to integrate themselves in the Workers State, as part of the leadership, beginning from the trade unions.

The 'dissidents' do not make criticisms to help the Workers State progress, otherwise they would understand the necessities of the situation and, on the basis of that, would give an impulse to the Workers State or its leadership, seeking to make it advance, to develop and to progress. It is absurd to conceive the leadership of the foremost Workers State as an insensible apparatus. It is neither an insensible apparatus nor the owner of the State.

If Stalin was eliminated then there is reason enough for all those who oppose the progress of the Workers State to be eliminated. But today it is not possible to act as in the time of Stalin, who was eliminated by the progress of history. Then it is necessary to correct these limitations

The period when the 'dissidents' were making a great song and dance in the Soviet Union has been over for some time. They have failed to develop because the progress of the Workers State clashes with their objectives. They are the rear end of history. In analysing their functions, Cde Posadas brings out the indispensable function of the Workers State, the major leap of the October Revolution which has put human history on an entirely different plane. The elaboration of this analysis is the continuity with the thought of Lenin and Trotsky.

but, just as Stalin was eliminated from history these aspects will also be eliminated. The 'dissidents', on the other hand, are not interested in this but are taken up with their personal disgust, by their discontent which carries them to reaction against the objective development of the Workers State.

The 'dissidents' express, through individualist forms of thought, the private property which still exists in the Workers State. They are dominated by individualism. They are in disagreement among themselves, because none has a programme, policy or necessary historic objective, but only individual objectives. Then, when they wish to decide to do things, it is evident that each has in mind something different from the other. Meantime, the Workers State progresses.

It was the planned economy which in the last resort got rid of Stalin. It is necessary to improve planning, but also to develop the role and intervention of the trade unions, developing trade union democracy. While defending intransigently the Workers State it is necessary to participate in this leadership to help it understand, because we are in another stage of history from which it is not possible to retreat.

It is necessary to ask the so-called dissidents who they represent, because they represent only themselves, their own disgust and individual rancour in front of the objective development of the Workers State. They represent individual interests which the Workers State developed - in the epoch of Stalin - through lack of Marxist thought. They represent the tail end of the Workers State, so they are worthless. They correspond to the stage of Stalin; they are the Stalinists of today - because they prefer, in the last resort, that the Workers State falls and capitalism wins rather than the Workers State. Thus they associate themselves with any activity against the Workers State.

The Communist parties in the capitalist countries do not intervene on these problems because they participate in part in this thought of the dissidents. We appeal to the

world Communist movement to be concerned with these problems. The dissidents of the USSR do not exist as a necessity of history but as representatives of individual interests, of all those individuals who conflict with and who are against the Workers State, because they are antagonistic to the collective centralised development of the Workers State. Hence, none of them discussed what function the Workers State has, what the Workers State is. They demand liberty, but to

do what? Those who have gone to the capitalist countries now have freedom. But what do they say? They are allies of capitalism against the Workers State. They are against the intervention of the Workers State in Angola and Ethiopia; they have nothing to do with Socialism. They are 'dissidents' in the name of the alliance with capitalism against the Workers State, because there are no 'dissidents of the Workers State'. There can be a critical attitude towards the political leadership but, at the same time, committed to the unconditional defence of the Workers State, against the capitalist system, to help the Workers State to correct its defects. What we see instead, in the case of the 'dissidents', is the antagonism between the Workers State and the individual interests of people who are the remains of Stalin's epoch.

The principle enemy and obstacle to progress is capitalism, not the Workers State. The bureaucracy in the Workers States is an impediment but does not resist or create obstacles. The dissidents clash with the Workers States instead of the capitalist system, because they are in agreement with the capitalist system instead of the Workers States. Otherwise they would call on the instrument of progress, which is the Workers State, and would seek to cleanse it. But these, no! they defend the capitalist system, they ally with capitalism, and they stimulate the capitalist system in order that it may progress with their criticisms and objections, with their rejection of the Workers State. But the situation is the reverse; the enemy of progress is the capitalist system. It is imperialism which is pre-

paring the atomic war, not the Workers States, with whatever bureaucracy. The enemy of history also is not China, with its enormous bureaucracy; because it is a question of apparatuses which must yield in front of the progress of history. The enemy is imperialism and the capitalist system. The problems of the Workers States are resolved differently from those proposed by the dissidents; this means supporting, stimulating the development of the Workers State, intervening and collaborating so that conditions for a new leadership are prepared in the process of confronting the capitalist system. It is not possible to stimulate capitalism to progress; it is necessary to eliminate it.

We appeal to all those who have criticisms to make of the USSR and the other Workers States, for the unconditional defence of the Workers State and to give the appropriate ideas to improve the functioning. At the same time, supporting the leadership of the Workers States against the capitalist system does not mean to participate in the errors, real or not, of that leadership. We make an appeal to live all the problems of the leadership, seeking to correct it, understanding that in the present phase new leaderships are forming which arise from this same process. There is much to correct, for example in the RDT 'inter-shops' (big stores) where it is possible to buy with foreign currency. But how to correct these deformations? It is necessary to help the Workers States and the leadership of the Communist parties to advance in understanding the necessity to eliminate the capitalist system and to ally with the Workers States, including China, against capitalism. It is necessary to appeal to China to do the same. In this discussion it is necessary to see how to improve the Soviet organisms of democratic functioning, so that they can give ideas on the economy, on distribution and the participation of the population. The more the population advances and participates, the less the need for the existence of the apparatus and the bureaucracy. Thus, the more the Party progresses, the less the need of an apparatus of paid function-

which grabs the best positions. Instead, planning is in conformity with the need to finish off the capitalist system but considering that, at the same time, imperialism is preparing war. It is necessary then to take into account the difficulty of all the leaderships of the Workers States and of the Communist parties who are not prepared beforehand with the understanding that the war capitalism is preparing is inevitable.

Capitalism is preparing war. It will not leave history without having recourse to all the means at its disposition. Then it is necessary to understand and to learn to intervene on this reality. The more the Workers States develop, the more the masses participate in culture and science, the more cultural and scientific life they have, the more democratic Soviet rights are increased the more the working class will advance as a conscious leadership. There is need of theoretical and political capacity to be able to intervene.

Soviet democratic rights means to defend and enlarge Socialism throughout the world as in the USSR and Ethiopia. But it is not a question simply of voting and saying 'yes' or 'no', but of everyone arguing and intervening. The more the capacity of the population will advance, the less necessity for an apparatus.

The instruments of history are the Workers States and the Communist parties. It is necessary to be based on these, to intervene together with them in the task of finishing with capitalism and developing Socialism.

It is necessary to transmit this to the small sectors of Communists who associate with the so-called dissidents who have nothing to do with Communism. These are not dissidents in defence of the truth or of Socialist development of history, but defenders of their individual interests; and thus they draw closer to capitalism and to any type of criticism of the Workers State. Thus, among the dissidents there are currents from Solzenitsin who aspire to the victory of capitalism against the Workers State, to the tendency which aspires to a system half capitalism and half Socialism. None of them have ideas or analyses which demonstrate that the Workers State is the historic solution to advance to Socialism. Whereas Socialism means the total elimination of the capitalist system and of any apparatus and, in a later phase, also of parties - because if

# THE NEW PROGRAMME OF THE CPSU AND THE DISCUSSION IN THE SOVIET UNION.

It will be important to measure the outcome of the coming Congress of the CPSU but, even before seeing all the conclusions of this meeting, it is possible to measure in part the process in the Soviet Union studying the programme of the CPSU.

The text is very ponderous and lacks the necessary agility of this stage of history, but it registers very important aspects of the progress of the Workers State. One thing is quite clear, and that is the programme shows a society immensely superior to imperialism. The latter has nothing of this type to offer. All the big banks and multi-nationals can offer is more technology, leading to more war and more human impoverishment. The Soviet Workers State is in a process of gigantic technical, social and political change, an infinite prospect of human progress is opening up. The human being is central in this programme — the only centre for capitalism is the welfare of the missile.

The text is a notable improvement on that of Khrushchev. The latter represented the conservative sector of the bureaucracy, which thought it was possible to enter upon a perpetual peaceful competition with capitalism and that in twenty years the Soviet Union could have entered a magic world of perpetual goulash. In other words, the future was seen in an arbitrary bureaucratic way. This new text shows an essential progress. It is clear that the Workers State is in process of purging the industrial and Party apparatus to develop an economy that is more rational and improves the quality not just the quantity of production.

The analysis of the capitalist system is good and shows, in fact, the inevitable advance of capitalism to war. Suddenly the need for peaceful co-existence is stuck on — which does not correspond to the rest of the argument.

They re-emphasise the interest of the 'community of Socialist States' in raising the level of the others — in itself a basic principle of Communist organisation.

The process of advance from what Cde Posadas called Partial Regeneration to the most complete regeneration requires a return to the most complete Bolshevism functioning in the Party, and the most complete intervention of the population. It is clear that the Soviet leadership is seeking means to develop superior forms of communication with the masses, using especially the 'work collective' which is said to have economic, social and cultural functions.

At the same time, by far the most important aspect of the discussion is the reference to the problems of material moral incentives. In a recent article by an economist of the state planning committee,

it is said... 'stimulating efficiency. This should probably be accompanied by a greater wage differentiation, depending on the quality and quantity of the work done'. He also speaks of 'pay disproportions... to skilled personnel'.

He speaks of the 'wider use of material incentives as a means of accelerating economic progress', and also speaks of freeing consumer production from 'administrative restraints'. This draws attention to other quite constricting aspects in the text of the CPSU which speak of other, not to say opposed, conceptions. Thus, although the official line is that the Soviet Union is already a mature Socialist society, the programme speaks of the need to promote the 'elimination of social and class differences' and the 'establishment of a structure of society essentially without classes'. Reference is made to the 'refinement of relations in the sphere of distribution' and 'overcoming class differences and forming an

homogeneous society'. In other words, the object of Communism is being posed at the same time as the opposite theme of material incentives is being emphasised. Thus there is the continuation of the discussion already noted by Cde Posadas in the time of Breznev of 'reward according to work done', or from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs'.

The text also reiterates other themes on the maximum support to countries fighting imperialism, and the need for the role of the Party to augment in the leadership of society.

The programme still in form maintains a national integument, speaking of the advance to Communism in the Soviet Union when clearly Communism is a world phenomenon, and no country is an island. But this is a formal aspect, because in reality the whole text speaks all the time of the intervention of the Soviet Union in the world. The most important conclusion of this text is that the discussion of Communism is going to be extended and, without doubt, will clash with those who are pre-occupied with material incentives within the terms of the planned economy. It is these forces which tend still to lack confidence in the social stimulus of Communism and the superiority of Communist social relations. But the cleansing of the economy is not going to remain at an economic discussion. Economic efficiency in a Workers State is not just a question of economic incentives but of superior social relations altogether, profounder than purely material gains. The Workers State is advancing rapidly, and the discussion within the Soviet Union will have a world impact.

*everyone intervenes there will be no need of them.*

*Thus it is necessary to tend to elevate the cultural life of the population of the Workers State, of the workers' and peasant leaders, so that they can intervene. These are the instruments that history has in order to progress. Meantime, these miserable dissidents unite with capitalism to criticise the Workers State and demand pluralism; that is, the alliance with capitalism. Anyway the logic of pluralism inevitably bears them totally to capitalism. It is necessary to appeal for a united front of all the Communist parties, Workers States and Socialist parties, left movements and trade union centres, to finish with what remains of the capitalist system.*



Part of the world-wide demonstrations against SDI

# THE ELECTIONS IN THE PHILIPPINES AND THE CRISIS OF IMPERIALIST POLICY

None of the economies grouped in the ASEAN alliance can offer a solution to the masses, to those in the towns or the oppressed peasantry, as has been analysed elsewhere by Cde Posadas. The countries such as the Philippines, who came late to develop as capitalist countries, find the paths to success irrevocably blocked. Even when industries develop such as car manufacture they are competing with rivals even in Malaysia, let alone the main capitalist countries. The generalised world slump in capitalism has further exacerbated the situation, such that the external debt has grown to 26 million dollars. Raw commodity exports such as sugar remain among staple exports and thus the country falls into the category of dependence — in the case of sugar receiving 'favoured' treatment in the American market.

A tremendous campaign has been conducted by various imperialist sectors against Marcos. Constantly imperialist circles have been extolling the Aquino opposition. This is basically not because Yankee imperialism has any interest in the people of the Philippines, but because they see the advance of the Communist forces of the New Peoples Army and are seeking to develop a new regime which could appear to make some form of change to delay the genuine forces of social progress. The essential weakness of Yankee imperialism in this area is shown by the fact that the advance of the Workers States has affected even the Marcos regime. Thus he has developed increased trade and diplomatic contacts with the Workers States.

The programme of the bourgeois opposition has been superbly vague so far as it is possible to see, being mainly preoccupied to criticise the elements of fraud in the elections and denunciation of the concentration of powers in the presidency. The Yanks have been using maximum pressure on Marcos to reduce his political role, to get someone much more amenable to their direct will. Thus there has been talk of a coalition government, and after the results of the election talk of a peaceful 'general strike' to force Marcos to capitulate.

Yankee imperialism, as elsewhere in the world, is in a considerable dilemma. The removal of the military bases at the Subic Bay is not necessarily the most profound preoccupation for the Yanks because, in the stages of the nuclear war, such bases are not so fundamental as in previous periods of warfare. But the social and political results of further successes for the Communist movement in the Philippines would be disastrous. They are seeking some form of deeper military opposition to the Communists, allied to projects of 'reform'. There is no possibility of this, but that is the explanation of their campaign against Marcos and their desperate search for a new form of pseudo-leadership to maintain capitalism in the Philippines. They are failing elsewhere in the world as regards replacement leaderships, and the case will be no different in the Philippines. Developing an anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist programme based on land reform and social transformations, the guerrillas can make a fundamental contribution to the new leadership for the Philippines.

# THE FIASCO OF THE SPACE SHUTTLE AND THE INCAPACITY OF IMPERIALISM

The explosion of the space shuttle, killing all on board, is a devastating and quite accurate picture of imperialism in this stage. Desperate to show the world it is still 'in charge', fearful of the social superiority of the Soviet Union, pressurised by the antagonism of its own masses, imperialism accelerates feverishly its war plans and counter-revolutionary preparations. The disaster shows that nothing can substitute for being in the right. All that is being done to keep an unjust system alive by means of horrifying weapons only serves to increase the opposition of the masses. Sectors of the bourgeoisie attempt to contain the vastness of the military budget — the masses, apart from demonstrations against 'Star Wars', have no means of developing a political life against capitalism.

The bourgeois press has openly admitted that the shuttle needed to be manned for operations of

surveillance and observation against the enemy which no robot can do'. It proves conclusively that the Soviet Union was right, the shuttle was part of a military programme in space, and that people were used in the United States to that end without being told.

The masses of the United States see that their rulers prepare for war clandestinely and use them — as in the case of the people on the Korean Jumbo — as pawns and hostages in provocations against the Workers States.

As the funds were sought through a commercialisation of the space shuttle, the military aims of imperialism became dependent on extremely imponderable and empirical factors. Pressurised by the need to 'save', by the need to show off against the USSR and 'be first', the fever to compete with the Workers States, the shuttle programme — like all the other

## TRADE UNION DEMOCRACY AND THE CRISIS OF THE BUREAUCRACY

The divisions in the TUC between the majority and the EEPTU, and in part the AUEW leadership, is not a crisis of the trade union movement but of the bureaucratic apparatus at the top. The trade union leadership fights amongst itself because it has reached a historic impasse in which it can no longer play the role of go-between in the class struggle. This is because the capitalist system, in its final crisis, has no concessions to give and is forced to confront the workers directly. The bureaucracy of the TUC does, it is true, make verbal statements in favour of one workers' struggle or another - the printers' or the miners' - but it does nothing to confront capitalism. In the end, this bureaucratic apparatus has an integral interest in the maintenance of the system of private property, because it has no role in a classless society. It depends on capitalism, and capitalism is coming to the end of the road. Hence the current crisis which is, like that of capitalism, terminal-

The attitude of the trade union bureaucracy as a whole can be seen in the fact that it was very vocal in attacking the Polish Workers State for

supposed limitations in workers rights, but remains quiet in front of the anti-trade union laws in this country which allow capitalism to rob trade unions of their funds. In the bureaucracy's eyes, strikes are to be supported so long as they are in Poland. The TUC has, however, done nothing to support either the print workers currently, or the miners previously.

There is no crisis in the trade union movement. What we see now is a crisis of the bureaucratic leadership. The workers, supporting themselves on a favourable world balance of forces, continue their struggle. They intervene with confidence to confront the problems caused by the total crisis of capitalism. Thus the miners previously maintained their strike for over a year and mobilised the country. The teachers currently have maintained their strike for a year or more, and there are numerous small local actions. The crisis lies in the absence of a leadership for this struggle. The miners' strike showed us that the process can throw up a better, more political type of trade union leadership prepared to confront capitalism and its policies, but even this advance is impeded by the weight of a trade union leader

ship which is profoundly linked to the regime of private property.

This bureaucracy is particularly powerful in Britain and the struggle against it has a profound significance in this country. The removal of this apparatus is a prerequisite of the advance of the struggle for social transformation. It has to be replaced by a leadership and organisational forms which answer this stage of history, which is not one of conciliating with capitalism in the hope of gaining concessions. The essential conditions for advance are a programme for social transformation, nationalisation under workers' control, the profits of automation to the workers in the form of higher wages and shorter working hours, all wages to rise with the cost of living, and the cost of living index to be compiled by the workers' organisations. And trade union democracy, with all representatives, local and national, subject to instant recall and paid the average workers' wage, all decisions taken at mass meetings, facilities for meetings and discussion in the work place and in working hours. This is the basis on which the widest possible discussion has to be raised in the trade union movement now.

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J. POSADAS

### ON THE EDUCATION OF CHILDREN J. Posadas

It is not true that the aggressive attitude of the child is a defence; it is so last of all. In reality, the child is developing relations which come from the relation of forces:

and, partly, through knowledge. The children are 'savages' when they have such a relation but, at the same time, when they find a means to they educate themselves, help, impel and develop. It is the relation which comes above all from the teacher, when there is aggression on the part of the child who goes to school.

The problem for the child is not that they are with him and give him orders, give him or her orientation to do this or that; but the relation which exists in the home, in the

family, in the street, in the college. Now these are relations determined by individual preoccupations, not so much through economic or social interests, and the relation of forces which exists is that he who has more, the more he gets. The one who can do more tries to impose, does not seek reason, but imposes. It is a relation which comes from the social relation of the system, and thus the child in the college has to live this relation. If in the home there is a development of superior relations, then reasoning develops.

But now in the family there is no reasoning. The parent is accustomed to the relation which the capitalist system imposes on him; he has to finish something and, hence,

imposes on the child: and he imposes on the child as others impose on him. The problem is not only to explain this to the child. This also forms part, but it is the less important aspect. It is the relation which exists and the explanation lies in the relation. The form of scientific, cultural, artistic relation gives the basis for understanding and reasoning in front of any problem. In the college the teacher has to put himself above the students because he is one for thirty or forty children, and in forty every child has his problems.

J. POSADAS. 2 January 1981

From page 1

though these are general parallels. In the case of South Yemen the forces of the left, associated with Fattah Ismail - killed in the outbreak - have won definitively and receive support from the Soviets, although they appear to have wished to seek an agreement at one stage between the fractions. We have the impression that the Soviet Union was not prepared for this outbreak. The struggle of left versus right factions had been a continuous process and Ismail had been in exile for two years in Moscow before returning to South Yemen in 1983.

It is important to see that in the whole of this episode imperialism has been totally incapable of gaining anything to its advantage. South Yemen is an example of how the forces of progress advance in the course of the struggle itself. Thus the country, like many other countries in this region, is immensely poor. It has been said that only one per cent of this barren, stony territory is capable of cultivation. Imperialism, in all its long hegemony in this state of the world, did nothing but develop Aden as one of its bases and to hell with everything else. But the Soviet Union has sought to incorporate South Yemen into COMECON and has helped to transform the country with many state industrial enterprises, state farms and co-operatives.

The tendency of the sector which attempted to perpetrate the massacre of the left was to establish links with Saudi Arabia and to extend elements of private property in South Yemen in association with backward feudal and tribal influences.

The construction of the Party which corresponds to the decision of the masses in these countries to progress is particularly difficult given that the continuity in Bolshevism was broken by Stalinism. Thus it is clear that in the original struggle in South Yemen the struggle against imperialism brought together various groupings by no means united on the tempo of social advance and, moreover, developing in conditions of great material indigence and backwardness. Tendencies could develop in the absence of a mature party and political clarity who would yield to the immediate pressures of the surrounding hostile ambience. It is necessary to remember that, even in the case of the successful Chinese revolution which actually established a Workers State, the great void is still the absence of a real Party life. The struggle in the Yemeni Party has been essentially between those who have security in the need to advance towards a complete collective function, i.e. towards a Workers State; and those who see only the difficulties, wish to conciliate, or still have links with backwardness. No doubt the Soviets tried to diminish the struggles but, in the absence of a real, constructed Party, this was impossible. The masses actively intervened in a form of political revolution in a revolutionary state advancing towards a Workers State.

We salute the comrades who fell in the struggle for the progress of South Yemen. We salute Cde Ismail Fattah. The progress of South Yemen will accelerate immensely all the progress in the Middle East and Africa, acting as a torch for all the peoples in that region to advance towards Workers States.

## VIVA THE 'MIR' UNMANNED MODULE IN SPACE

From page 3

programmes of the United States - was a fiasco'

Imperialism prepares the war in the way it built the shuttle. Feeling that it has lost initiative in history it continuously tries to show that it is better than the Workers States - and it fails each day more obviously in this. All its actions are determined by the fear of the social superiority of the Workers States and the successful economic, political and social competition of the Workers States. Meanwhile the advance of the world revolution forces imperialism to retreat from everywhere, and no amount of military build-up can compensate for its loss of social support.

The explosion of the shuttle crowns a phase when Reagan and Thatcher have lost their crusades against 'Russia'. The advance of the world revolution, that of the Workers States, and the total crisis of capitalism are combining to create the conditions for such abject defeats.



## THE STRUGGLE AGAINST CAPITALISM DEMANDS A LEADERSHIP OF THE ORGANISED LABOUR LEFT INTEGRATED IN THE STRIKES AND DEMONSTRATIONS.

The perspectives of capitalism, whatever the bland glosses of the defenders of the system, are those of decline and degeneration. The central sectors of capitalism are only concerned with overseas investments, banking profits and war contracts. The continuous fall in industrial capacity in comparison with other capitalist countries cannot be arrested in terms of the priorities of capitalism. The capitalist budget is indeed their budget, and the mass of the working population only feature as the source of exploitation. The fact that the Thatcher regime shows not the slightest concession, and indeed boasts of no concession, represents the nature of the system. The subordination to the line of Yankee imperialism in the global conflict with the Workers States is the most complete expression of the dead end of British imperialism. It continues on the level not of raising the standard of life of the population or preparing for the next stage of human investigation of the cosmos but on its class determination to survive, not to abandon the scene of history without using all its organism to resist liquidation.

The rumblings and stage sets of parliamentary debate do not correspond to the reality of the various struggles of the population against the criminal and antiquated system of capitalist ownership. The interventions of workers and their allies against the Wapping citadel of Murdoch's press is in marked contrast with the passivity of the trade union apparatus and its respect for capitalist legal power. There have been major demonstrations by the students and the fight of the teachers on the political and social plane is very much alive. The result in Scotland, where the teachers achieved concessions even on the economic plane, shows the possibility of success despite the repression of the government and the inadequate leadership of the workers' movement. The population, even under the heavy pressures of unemployment and impoverishment, has not abandoned the struggle against the system. The committees of miners' wives who sustained the strike continue in action, as does the anti-nuclear movement.

### CONDITIONS OF CIVIL WAR.

Capitalism has not the slightest interest or capacity to resolve any of the mounting problems of the country. All its propaganda is devoted to using the pretext of increasing crime, itself an expression of the supporation of capitalist decay, to extend the atmosphere of repression and fear. This 'new order' of capitalism reaches its apotheosis in cries for 'law and order', as the conditions and atmosphere of civil war develop in the big cities. Capitalism really seeks to 'lumpenise' the population, to develop a new submissive labour force in the 'service' industries, to increase part-time workers, to de-unionise the working class, and to turn the unemployed youth into a beaten generation. But they do not succeed, and their lack of success is seen in the fact that they cannot develop a mass fascist movement despite all their efforts at racialism and their attention to the hooligan layers.

The Labour Party apparatus, through its present spokesman Kinnock, has no interest in developing a serious answer to these problems, because this apparatus lives and dies with the capitalist system of government. Confronted by the resistance of the population they retreat into parliamentary denunciation and speak of being realistic and learning from Japan, and associating with the industrial wing of capitalism. At the same time, they refuse to mobilise the masses around the programme of unilateral nuclear disarmament. This sector, on the other hand, especially through Healey, reflects those sectors of capitalism - rather like Brandt in Germany - who see themselves being dragged remorselessly into a nuclear disaster.

Continued on page 2

The 1986 January and Feb/March issues of Red Flag have been incorrectly numbered as 368 and 369. They should have been 362 and 363. This number of Red Flag is consequently 364

CONTENTS	Page 1	Editorial;
		Assassination of Olaf Palme.
	Page 2	Resolution on 27th Congress of CPSU
	3	FUNCTION OF CUBA IN THE NON-ALIGNED MOVEMENT.
		J. POSADAS
	Page 4	Article on CPSU; Nuclear Waste.

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# RED FLAG

Monthly organ of the

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

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## LETTER FROM A SWEDISH COMRADE ON THE ASSASSINATION OF OLAF PALME.

The assassination of Olaf Palme is the work of imperialism. Whoever or whatever individual or so-called terrorist group claim to have done it, either the RAF or whatever, it is necessary to see that imperialism is behind all of it, directly or indirectly. This is the fundamental conclusion in this stage of history - acts of terrorism like this reflect the desperation and panic of imperialism in front of the approaching confrontation with the Soviets. The Soviets have also replied very quickly - two articles were published in Pravda, signed by Arbatov who worked with Palme in the 'Palme Commission', and another by Chingis Aiytmatov, the famous Soviet novelist; in which they both said the murder was the work of the CIA. They both drew a parallel with the assassination of Indira Gandhi, which, they said, was also the work of the CIA. This has been reported in the Swedish press. It shows the profound advance in both the level and the structure of thinking of the Soviet leadership which can make such a clear response.

Palme was walking home unarmed and without bodyguards from a cinema, together with his wife. A man approached them from behind and shot him once, and then fired at his wife - wounding her slightly. The gun and bullet were very powerful: used by the police to stop cars. The assassin wanted to make sure that even if Palme was wearing a bullet-proof vest it would go straight through and kill him. The man then escaped, running, and was picked up by a car. The assassination was planned in detail beforehand, and the police say they were followed on the way to the cinema and waited for. It was a professional killing, not the work of a maniac.

This event shows the complete desperation of imperialism and the closeness of the stage of final confrontation. When they kill a leader like Palme, they have lost

any lengthy period of peaceful co-existence. Palme was killed - like Kennedy - because he sought to conciliate with the Workers States. He was about to visit Moscow in three weeks' time despite the criticism of the bourgeois press and parties, to strengthen the links with the Soviets. Palme represented also a progressive support for the revolution in Vietnam and in Nicaragua, against the intervention and interest of the Yanks. He was not a revolutionary but a Social Democrat who came from a bourgeois background and who thought it was possible to keep on reforming capitalism and to come to an agreement between the two social systems. In this way he was a weak link in the imperialist chain, too sensitive to the oppression of the masses. This is why they assassinated him.

The murder of Palme is a signal to the rest of Europe, revealing the murderous intentions of imperialism at this stage, and it will worsen the crisis, the divisions, the vacillations. There has already been an enormous reaction and outrage. In Sweden massive demonstrations by the labour movement have taken place. In Goteborg alone, the biggest demonstration ever in the history of the labour movement took place to protest - about 80,000 people, many from the immigrant organisations, held a torchlight procession. Nicaragua, Cuba and Vietnam have all declared a state of public mourning for three days in memory of Palme's support for their revolutions. At the same time as the masses have given this unified and gigantic response, it is clear that this act of imperialism will shake the bourgeois leaders of Europe who see that imperialism has brutally eliminated an important channel for prolonged discussion and agreement with the Soviets. Palme was involved in negotiating nuclear disarmament and nuclear free zones in Scandinavia and in Europe, in the Palme Commission

together with Brandt. Whatever the limitations of Palme's policy within Sweden, this function as a progressive support outside Sweden was the reason for his murder. It is the same for Indira Gandhi who represented the link between the Soviets and India.

Palme will be given a party and not a state burial. The discussion after his death has emphasised his youth when he was more to the left, and his open support for Vietnam against the Yanks. The Swedish king refused to lower the flag on the palace, but has now been forced to agree to it when Palme is to be buried. This is significant also, and shows the true interest of the monarchy even though they try to concede. Basically they all hated Palme, as did the Yanks.

The SDP leadership is severely weakened by the loss of Palme and his replacement by Ingvar Carlsson, who comes from a working class background and is a centre-left candidate, reflects this. The revolt against the right-wing policies of the SDP government will continue and this massive reaction against Palme's death is part of it. The masses show their left-wing mood and all of the bourgeois press, and even the bourgeois party leaders, have been excluded from the debate. They are silenced by this mobilisation. This shows the true balance of forces in Sweden, as Posadas analysed. Palme walked to the cinema without any protection, as he did not fear the masses. It is imperialism which has to hide and to act in this covert way. This is the conclusion of this brutal assassination.

3.3.86

# THE IV INTERNATIONAL SALUTES THE 27 CONGRESS OF THE CPSU

INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT

25 2 1986

Dear Comrades of the CPSU,

The Posadist IV International salutes with all its revolutionary fraternity the realisation of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. This takes on historic importance in this stage where the forces of world imperialism concentrate their preparations for war at the same time that they know the crisis of their final disintegration. The function of the USSR in the service of the progress of all humanity, working as guarantee and in defence of this progress, is more and more fundamental.

This 27th Congress registers and makes known to the progressive forces of the whole world the extension of the changes in process and the resolution of the Soviet people to contribute through all possible means to achievement of the Socialist transformations which affirm, yet again, that these are the only way for the peoples of the world to be able to develop. At the same time, the resolution of the USSR is affirmed not to allow imperialism and the reactionary forces of the world to impede the completion of these Socialist transformations when the peoples have resolved to make them. The USSR, simply through its existence and also through the existence of its military force — and through the agreements established with the different revolutionary countries in the world to defend their Socialist conquests in front of the counter-revolutions — gives confidence to the masses to continue on this road. This decided defence of the revolutionary conquests of the peoples of the world is joined with all the forces of the USSR to convince and to win in the heart of imperialism itself some sectors who feel lost, seeing that Yankee imperialism continues with its mad course towards the atomic war.

We consider as essential the fact that the CPSU and its leadership, beginning with Cde Gorbachev, seek to assume fully this historic responsibility. Thus, as Cde Posadas posed some years ago, the function of criticism also changes its significance. Always taking into account, and having consciousness of the profound limitations and obstacles which the existence of the bureaucracy still represents in the political and economic apparatus of the Soviet Workers state, the determining aspect of this process of change lies in the regeneration of the functions of the USSR of 1917 and of the first seven years of its life.

The greater and greater consciousness of this function in defence of humanity in front of the war which imperialism is preparing is united to the necessity of profound internal changes in the construction of the Workers State. The element which appears to us to be the most important in the reforms which have been discussed in the Congress is the necessity to make the population participate at all levels of the organisation of the economy, of the social life and of the leadership of society. The necessity to cleanse the immense potential of the Soviet economy of all the bureaucratic obstacles is very important, and this can be done only with the support and active participation of the working class, of all the Soviet workers.

The demand for a moral Communist conduct for all those in leading positions is also a stimulus so that the workers produce more and intervene in the economic and social life. For this also we consider as very important the decision to affirm the workers' collectives, to generalise them in all the factories and in the different spheres of social and economic life, and the development of their role as animators and controllers in front of every new attempt to instal privileges, corruption and bureaucracy.

All these measures and proposals contained in the report, as in the project of the programme of the CPSU represent a great progress. We believe that it is necessary to follow it more in the sense of a much greater participation of the Soviet masses through these organisms and of a renovation of the Soviets in the elaboration of the internal and external policy of the Party and of the Soviet Workers State. It is necessary to complete the return 'to the simplicity of Lenin and of the revolutionaries of his epoch' through strength of example and the impulse of all this process in the USSR.

The Posadist IV International intervenes in all the countries where it has its sections, and also on a general plane to emphasise the historic importance of the present progress and of the changes which we live and salute in the Soviet Union, to publicise and to discuss the new programme of the CPSU, to make the nationalist, Catholic and Socialist leaderships — and the leaderships of the Revolutionary States — understand; and also the Communist parties, who have withdrawn into their national conceptions of Communism, the nature,

the return to the complete functioning of Soviet democracy as during the first seven years of the existence of the Soviet Union. This will have even more effect over the masses of the world, and in particular over the masses of the big capitalist countries, of the United States, in accompanying the measures and propositions of the Soviet Union in relation to peace and disarmament agreements, and the dedication of the forces of humanity to the development of the economy, of science, of the technology which will allow the solution of all the problems of humanity.

We believe that it is necessary to propose concretely new steps towards the unification of the Communist and revolutionary and progressive movement in the world. Thus, as we support the proposal of Cde Gorbachev in the Congress to realise a world congress for the development of the economy in security, we also propose to appeal for a world assembly of the liberation movements, of progress, of anti-capitalist struggle, to exchange their experiences from all sides of the planet and to fix common objectives of struggle. We propose to generalise, through the entire world, the Latin American Congress and meetings which have occurred in the past year under the impulse of Cuba to confront the problems of the external debt of the under-developed countries.

We propose, at the same time, an organic meeting between the Posadist IV International and a delegation of the Central Committee of the CPSU in the framework of the proposals of the 27th Congress to develop links with the progressive organisations in the world. We have already held fruitful relations, among others, in the World Festival of Youth and the International Book Fair in Moscow. We expect also to be able to discuss the publication and diffusion of the work of Cde Posadas in the Soviet Union.

Dear Comrades of the CPSU, we hope to arrive at the best conclusions in the Congress and salute through you the magnificent Soviet people, which is the guarantee and hope of the Communist progress of all humanity.

IS of the Posadist IV International.

From page 1

The attack on the 'Militant' tendency is the attempt of this apparatus to guarantee to capitalism 'we will control the left'. But the Militant group, in fact, does not represent the left and what it does is against the left. It is hostile to the Soviet Union and submits to all the bourgeois norms of democracy and parliament, and apparatus mentality. Kinnock does not have the strength to deal with the Labour left who, in fact, augment in weight quite logically in the Labour Party. Capitalism is socially so weak that neither the Labour Party nor the Liberal-Alliance Party can provide a viable alternative to Thatcher

Imperialism is more and more faced with conditions which it cannot control. The most recent example of this was the case of the Philippines, where all manner of Yankee manoeuvres cannot alter the fact that they cannot dominate the situation whatever their possession of atomic weapons. In South Africa slaughter is their only 'solution'. But such massacres only re-double the will of the blacks to confront the system. The tendency towards war of imperialism inevitably increases, because capitalism has no other way out of its impasse and the recent Yankee incursion into Soviet waters and the renewal of threats against Libya are characteristic of the approach to confrontation, in which the lack of stability of the Yanks prevents a consistent policy. Thatcher's repudiation of Gorbachev's recent proposals is an example of the submission to the Yankee line; but, at the same time, there is no capacity to justify such a position which underlines the social and political weakness of imperialism.

## THE INTERNATIONAL SITUATION FAVOURS THE LABOUR LEFT.

The left in the Labour Party has to consider the international ambience in its struggle against the capitalist dinosaur. The anti-strike laws in West Germany, the coming to government of the Chirac clique in France — the result of Mitterand's submission to French imperialism — and the vote for NATO in Spain (on the basis of massive abstentions) say no more than that capitalism is nothing but a reactionary regime which has no possibility of being reformed. There is no third road — least of all now, when capitalism cannot tolerate even trade union freedom such as the right to strike and support other workers.

The 27th Congress of the CPSU has been a great blow at world capitalism because it makes no concession to Yankee imperialism and it encourages all the masses of the world with the example of a better life for the population of the world as opposed to wealthy cliques. The forces of the Labour left must develop much more discussion outside the Labour Party and trade union apparatus. All the practical interventions of the masses in the miners' strike and the struggle of the teachers shows an ambience which has great possibilities for the development of an organised anti-capitalist current in the Labour Party and trade union apparatus. Where was the organised left in the teachers' strike? This need for a left clearly seen with a unified policy and programme which is articulated in the direct struggles of the population and is not confined to the closed life of the Labour Party functioning is the essential problem which the left in the Labour Party has to consider in the phase which is coming.



Dutch children against the missiles

From page 4

stimulate more vital positions in the conduct of Soviet policy. The Political Bureau that Orgakov criticised has gone.

The text rightly puts a great deal of weight on the need for the increasing role of the Party. Gorbachev himself speaks of Leninist and Bolshevik norms, which means that only Communist morals but Bolshevik discussion.

The text says 'You cannot be a

master of your country if you are not a real master in your factory or collective farm, in the shop or livestock farm'.

Equally it can be argued that it is not possible to control all that passes in factory and workshop unless there is much more popular intervention in the Soviet Union on all the political

issues of the day, all the inter-

national issues which, in fact, decide the future of society. This discussion has to be seen by the rest of the world as democracy in action, not only voting for new Deputies in the Soviets. To do this the role of the Party is essential as the Soviet leaders themselves argue. It is necessary to discuss what to do about Nicaragua, how to discuss with China, how to in-

fluence the masses of the United States, so that politics is taken out of the offices onto the streets of the Soviet Union, so that the masses are seen to weigh with all their immense force against world imperialism. The more this type of discussion is developed, the more the pressure for a Communist solution to all the economic problems and the elevation of moral — as opposed to material

incentives, and the economy itself will be impelled. The Soviet masses and armed forces are seen on the anniversary of the October Revolution. They must be seen similarly engaged in political life. The line of this Congress is in that direction and it is necessary to facilitate it.

# THE REVOLUTIONARY FUNCTION OF CUBA IN THE MOVEMENT OF THE 'NON-ALIGNED' COUNTRIES.

J. POSADAS

26 July 1978

The discussion on the non-aligned countries, the criticisms which are made in the small circles of countries linked to imperialism or of leaderships which fear to be influenced or to be taken into positions more in confrontation with imperialism — as in the case of the leadership of the Workers State of Yugoslavia — of the Soviet or Cuban intervention is unjust, incorrect and anti-scientific, totally anti-scientific. Who is going to decide the course of history? The non-aligned, the small countries who altogether do not constitute more than 1% of the large countries? These countries who socially and militarily decide absolutely nothing? Who decides the course of history? The Workers States or imperialism? It is these forces who are deciding the course of history. Those who intervene are deciding the bases which will decide later in a global form.

To analyse and take positions in accordance with the interest of a small country, or that each should do as it likes, is taking an absurd and anti-scientific position. Take Yugoslavia. If the latter had just kept to itself there would be no Yugoslavia today. If the Soviet Union had not triumphed in 1943 against nazism, Yugoslavia would not today exist, because imperialism had the strength to smash it. The USSR intervened in the organisation of the Yugoslav Workers State. It intervened directly very little, but it intervened — blocking capitalism in two of its most aggressive aspects, which were German and Italian imperialism. Without that Yugoslavia would not exist.

It is incorrect to pose that each country should act on its own account. That is to say, Ethiopia should decide for itself or imperialism should smash it. To say that if the USSR does not intervene, the Yanks will not intervene is a utopia, to be ingenuous, and it is a biased ingenuousness to believe that no one will intervene. They have to intervene. That is the process of history. To demand an intervention of justice, of 'respect', of 'equality' is absurd. We are in the regime of classes. Capitalism has an interest in stopping the progress of history because for it progress corresponds to the interest of developing and a conception of life different from the Workers State. It is false to see this in another way. That is to make identical the one country with the other, the USSR with the Yanks, as fulfilling identical functions in the world; this is to believe that asking the non-aligned and the great powers not to intervene in the problems of Asia and Africa means they contribute to weakening imperialism.

*The role of the Cuban Workers State in relation to the Latin American revolution will constantly elevate not only on the level of concrete leadership but on the basis of example. Capitalism has failed utterly in Latin America, and is in full process of disintegration. The masses in these countries find in Cuba an example of social progress — the expropriation of the bankers, the industrialists and the landowners. The repudiation of the debts in Latin America must be accompanied by social transformations. There are no non-aligned masses. They are all aligned with the Soviet Union and Cuba.*

## WHAT IS THIS 'HEGEMONY'?

The definition which they give of hegemony is absurd. What is hegemony? To use this term expresses a lack of scientific understanding. It is an invention of the Chinese, because they cannot attack history. They cannot attack from the historical or objective point of view the USSR. Hence they say 'partly imperialism' or 'Soviet super-imperialism', or then they say 'hegemony'. When they speak or defend in this way it is to justify themselves.

The Soviet Union intervenes in Ethiopia; freedom for Ethiopia. They intervene in Cuba; freedom for Cuba. They intervene in Vietnam; freedom for Vietnam. What do the Chinese have to say in front of this? Why don't they speak about this? They say nothing. They make an abstraction of this 'hegemony', aimed at the small countries. 'Take care the big power does not absorb you'. They cannot say that 'they are going to prevent you developing'. They are not able to say 'Stalin betrayed Spain', or that 'the Soviet Union freed Vietnam, Cuba, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola'. Thus they have to present it as a super-power and nothing more. But as they have to give a definition of historic function, they say 'hegemony' — which is an abstraction to justify a counter-revolutionary policy. What do the Yugoslavs say about this? They do not have any designation or definition. On the contrary, they adopt the definition of the Chinese because it serves them to be isolated, believing in this way they will preserve Yugoslavia. But, on the contrary, in this way they isolate Yugoslavia from progress. The progress of Yugoslavia is an insignificance in relation to what it could be if this was in relation with the Workers States, against the capitalist system openly, and supporting countries such as Cuba, the USSR, Mozambique, Angola or Vietnam; and if it was integrated in the anti-capitalist struggle.

To defend themselves from this process they invented the 'third world', which does not exist. There exist two systems, two forms of the economy; private property and statified property. What is the third? Where does there exist a new form of property, and consequently a new class? Where? It does not exist. This is the arbitrariness achieved through the superficiality of all these currents.

The definition of 'super-power', of 'hegemony', is absurd. It is incorrect, and it is necessary to define 'Yankee imperialism'. To say 'super-power' is to admit that such a power can exist. But what is the function of the Yanks? To impede the development of powers towards Socialism. What is the objective of the history of humanity? Socialism. What does the USSR do? Is it opposed to this? No. On the contrary, it supports it. How then put them on the same plane? And how say then that the USSR does not intervene to free a country? If it had not intervened there would be no Laos, Vietnam or Cambodia, and what would these countries be? If it had not intervened in China, where would that be? And Cuba?

This is a bureaucratic and superficial attitude on the part of the Yugoslav leadership in defence of the interests of the group, of the country seeking to invent a conception of history which does not exist, a 'third way'. What third way? The progress of humanity is expressed in this way: statification, planning — and this is in the service of the development of the anti-capitalist struggle, as the USSR does. It does not do it consistently, nor in the necessary form of history, but neither does it negate it. Such that what is necessary to correct is not the function of the Soviet Union but, yes, its political leadership, to elevate it, not to smash but to elevate it.

It is necessary to discuss based on this, and to call upon the comrades of the Yugoslavian Communist Party and of the Yugoslavian leadership to understand that they have to correct themselves because with their ways they sustain a series of reactionary countries, including the Arabian Emirates and Saudi Arabia, which are reactionary centres, and also Israel. Thus they permit and sustain these movements which are launching pads and centres of the capitalist system. It is necessary to call upon them to intervene and not accumulate doubts or vacillations in relation to the Soviet intervention. It is necessary to call for a Soviet intervention. It must intervene. And, at the same time, let them propose the Soviet form of organisation and function, and call upon the masses of the world to smash the capitalist system. This is what the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America

must do. Yugoslavia and Cuba an influence over this.

Not everything of the Yugoslavs is incorrect. In part they push forward this policy to maintain their authority in the movement, and they have a certain strength. But not for this policy; but yes, for the process of the relation of forces which develops in these countries. It is a process of development of liberation from the feudal regime, but through the lack of decision of class bases of sectors which lead this liberation from the anti-capitalist form. This is the limitation of these countries.

## THE THIRD WORLD.

The Yugoslavs must make a bridge between the Workers States and the 'third world', but a bridge is not in the intermediate road a stage. An anti-capitalist policy is necessary. If they do this, 'third world' policy, it is not because it is correct. If this policy is maintained it is not because it is correct but because capitalism is contained by the advance of the Workers States and by the advance of the world Socialist revolution. It is contained because it cannot intervene. The development of the Workers States, on the contrary, creates in the Arab countries currents and tendencies attracted to develop the economy based on nationalised property. The Workers States know how to support directly and indirectly the anti-capitalist struggle.

What has to be discussed is that if the USSR had not intervened in Cuba where would we be now? And if in 1948, in spite of Stalin, the Workers States had not advanced, where would Yugoslavia be? Where would the Workers States be?

The movement of the non-aligned exercises an influence against the capitalist system, not for itself; it is a consequence of the relation of world forces which cannot favour capitalism. It was due to this

that it was possible to create the movement of the non-aligned. It is not a question of a current which has its own historic base but of a current which is formed through the indecision of the Communist parties and the Workers States which did not win; and which allowed in the countries of Asia and Africa and in the Arab countries the existence of governments which are reactionary and which present themselves as 'third worldists', countries which are completely reactionary, and thus in all this movement there is anti-capitalist struggle and progress. These reactionary movements receive a welcome support which allows them to maintain themselves in their countries. It is evident that if the 'non-aligned' exist it is due to the force of the Workers States; otherwise they would not exist. To survive they base themselves on centres all linked to the Workers States, the ones that determine like Cuba, Yugoslavia or Vietnam, not the 'non-aligned'.

There is no country of Asia, Africa or Latin America which has an economy essentially capitalist which is determined by the movement of the non-aligned. On the contrary, it is countries like Yugoslavia, Cuba and Vietnam which succeed in influencing and rightly because now they have anti-capitalist economies. However, it is necessary to be based on conclusions from the process as a tactical stage, but one which does not correspond to the needs of history. It is a transitory tactic, also through the indecision of the Communist parties and of the Workers States, otherwise they would not exist. They would proceed to fight directly against imperialism. The proof lies in the resolutions of the non-aligned. They are all anti-imperialist and not against the Workers State. The position of Yugoslavia is one of timidity which is explained through the bureaucratic apparatus which still exists within Yugoslavia. It is not because there exists a necessity to differentiate the Workers States and imperialism.

J. POSADAS

26.7.78

USSR: The role of the Soviet Union in this stage of history

War, peace and the function of the Socialist countries

The historic function of music and songs

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

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J. POSADAS

## NUCLEAR ENERGY, IMPERIALIST WAR PREPARATIONS AND THE NEED TO TRANSFORM SOCIETY

A series of radio-active leaks at Sellafield's nuclear reprocessing plant, the leak at the Trawsfynydd nuclear power station, and the plans for nuclear dumps at Bradwell and South Killingholme have brought the question of the nuclear energy programme to the fore once again. A new wave of opposition to the war preparations of imperialism – the underlying motive for the nuclear energy programme, and the disregard for the lives and health of the population displayed – has been generated. Even the Conservative 'chief whip' John Wakeham, has joined the chorus of opposition to nuclear dumps but only after a dump in his own constituency at Bradwell was proposed. He has, of course, really let the cat out of the bag on the question of nuclear dumps because, if they were safe, as the government insists, he would not object to having one in his own locality. Of course, he is also under pressure from his constituents who, in common with the majority of the population, are opposed to the whole nuclear programme. This opposition stems from the fact that it is obvious that the nuclear programme forms an essential part of the war preparations of imperialism. What is being opposed is precisely these war preparations and, it follows, the capitalist system itself which produces war as a consequence of its nature.

This understanding of the Workers States. However, the nature of capitalism and its perspective of cheap power war preparations underlies much produced by nuclear reactors of the protest and opposition to has proved an illusion to date. the system, but it is generally This is primarily because the not clearly stated. The whole programme of research into nuclear energy programme has nuclear energy was distorted its origins in the military use of by its basic military intentions. nuclear science. The very fact If the research had originally that British imperialism ex- been to produce cheap power ploded its first atomic bomb at then it is very possible this Monte Bello, in the Pacific, in point might have been reached October 1952, but only produced by now, although it has to be electricity from a nuclear reactor added that cheap electricity – at Calderhall in October 1956, like North Sea gas – means speaks for itself. The drive in cheap for the capitalists and research in nuclear energy was not for the population. Also, for military purposes and elec- there is no doubt that the idea tricity was a by-product. Indeed of producing power without the the Attlee Labour government intervention of large numbers of after the war spent £100 million workers, like the miners, is very on this programme to produce attractive to the capitalists. All these factors exist, but they are secondary. The prime moti- tions of stringent austerity for the population. Given the his- vation for nuclear research and toric context, the need to con- production is military. This is the basis on which we have to deal with the question of nuclear energy.

Capitalism acts, in its nu- clear programme, as in all else: with complete disregard for the lives and health of the popula- tion. This is because the popu- lation becomes increasingly a nuisance and a menace as far as capitalism is concerned. In the first place, the working class is a menace because it is the force which will remove capitalism from history. It is even more so today because it attracts ever wider layers of the

for a great portion of the popu- lation. It has little use for any- thing it cannot exploit, and this is how it views people. British capitalism has four million un- employed which it has to main- tain – not very well, but it has to maintain them because it is socially and politically too weak to do anything else. Therefore it is not so much a question of capitalism disregarding the lives of the population, but more of it having a decided interest in eliminating as many people as possible. Thus it is not really too worried if radio-active material is leaked. Even the government of the Irish Republic is expressing concern at the way in which Sellafields is being allowed to pollute the Irish Sea. The attitude of British capitalism is expressed in the refusal to allow nuclear workers to be tested for sensi- tivity to low doses of radiation. This was proposed by the Natio- nal Radiological Protection Board because it might help to explain four cases of leukemia at Sizewell and the high inci- dence of cancer among the popu- lation in the vicinity of Sella- fields. It was refused by the CEBG on the grounds of 'stringent financial constraints'.

The catalogue of horrors associated with the programme has tended to produce a current of opinion that condemns nuclear energy lock, stock and barrel. However, capitalism has always acted with complete disregard for people and nature. The events at Seveso, Bhopal, and Flixborough are only three exam- ples. There is no doubt that humanity will deepen its under- standing of atomic structures – now a very little understood subject – to the point when it can produce a cheap source of renewable energy. At that time, the present nuclear reactors will seem like something 'out of the Ark'. The problem does not lie with science or with nuclear energy, but with society. The capitalist system, the system of private property, is completely incapable by its nature of ad- vancing science for the benefit of humanity. Therefore the movement of opposition to the war preparations of imperialism and to the current development of nuclear science and its appli- cation in the nuclear energy programme has to be based firm- ly on a programme of social transformations. Above all, it has to be based on a perspective of a state-owned economy under workers' control and centrally planned. This is the first and essential step to the develop- ment of nuclear energy for the benefit of humanity.

There is no end of woolly popula- tion to it, and because it is expressed, in the Workers States, as a world force on the energy. It is a many-sided level of a state. This is why issue, as most things are. There is no doubt that British capita- lism prepares war both against the Workers States and the world masses. Also, with energy to compete with other the decline in markets and with capitalists in the economic field. the rise in the productivity of It also has to compete with the labour, capitalism has no use

**CLOSE THE NUCLEAR BASES!  
OUT OF NATO!**

## THE 27th CONGRESS OF THE CPSU AND THE ADVANCE OF THE WORKERS STATE

The Congress of the CPSU the general discussion that Gor- will act as an immense stimulus bachev himself poses a large to the masses of the world in question mark over the possibi- the struggle to liquidate imperi- lity of avoiding the nuclear war- alism and build Socialism. The This is now in such a public Congress gave a sense of the texts and points to a much more Workers State as the centre of elevated discussion in the Soviet human progress, which sets an Union, and also the need to example for the rest of the world: amplify the intervention of the In the full tension with the Soviet Union towards the world pathological forces of the mili- revolutionary process. Thus, tary-banking oligarchy of the he says, 'The arms race started United States, who are fully by imperialism has resulted in embarked on a policy of war that the twentieth century, in preparation to confront the Soviet world politics, is ending with the Union, the Soviet Union shows question of whether humanity. Its concern with the all round manages to elude the nuclear improvement of life for all the danger or whether the policy of population and the capacity of confrontation will take prece- the planned economy to develop dence, increasing the probability an immense perspective for of nuclear conflict.' Normally humanity. Whilst all the leading there are unequivocal declara- capitalist powers stagger from tions over peaceful co- one interminable crisis to the existence. It is clear that this next, whether social, political or position becomes more and more economic, the Workers State em- untenable with the lunatic barks on an enormous campaign schemes of Yankee imperialism of rectification to eliminate all in 'star wars', and their homi- the obstacles which obstruct the cidial interventions in the Middle harmonious advance to Socialism. East, their attack against Libya, At the same time, the appeal of the way they try to sustain the leadership for ever greater Botha in South Africa, and more intervention by the masses of the recently the assassination of Soviet Union in the construction Palme as a means of intimidating of Socialism will act also as a the European bourgeoisie and the stimulus to the masses in what social democracy.

remains of the capitalist world; because in those states there is a continuous extension of the powers of the state apparatus and the restriction of what small democracy exists under capi- talism.

The assault on the antiquated bureaucracy in the Soviet Union continues with the repudiation of the 'distinct proprietary men- tally'. There is no question that from this Congress it is possible to see that the Soviet Workers State is in a great fer- ment of discussion, and as a re- sult of this Congress the ferment will not stop involving the fun- damental issues of how to con- front Yankee imperialism in the stage that is coming.

The Soviet leadership, at the same time that it repudiated the Reagan proposals which attempt to impose the 'star wars' concept as a non-negotiable aspect, is concerned to continue negotiation with the Yanks as a means of in- fluencing the large current in sectors of the Yankee bourge- oisie, like Kennedy, who see their interests are being elimina- ted by the military financial oligarchy. There is in Gorbach- ev's speech a repudiation of the 'revolutionary war' conception attributed to the 'Trotskyists'. This must be primarily to con- tain tendencies in the Soviet Union itself which seek for a more vigorous political applica- tion of Marxism in the inter- national arena; that is, the ex- tension of what the Soviet Union has already achieved in Angola.

Moreover the constant eleva- tion of the world process, the crisis of capitalism and its representatives in Latin America, the appearance of movements such as that in the Philippines, the advance of Zimbabwe, do not diminish the aggression of imperialism but lead the most insane and homi- cidial sectors to the point of a desperate launching of the war. The discussions on these themes will continue as the Soviet Union in the same way as earlier the Red Army took initiatives with Orgakov to

# MOBILISATIONS FOR THE IMMEDIATE REMOVAL OF ALL YANKEE BASES AND ON A PROGRAMME TO TRANSFORM SOCIETY

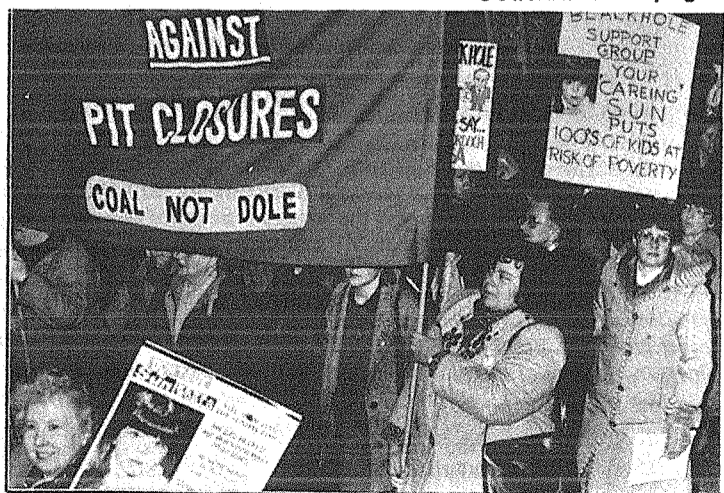
The aftermath of the terror bombing of Libya by Yankee imperialism has been the confirmation that Yankee imperialism — with Thatcher in the rear — is totally isolated in the world. The Yanks have been condemned by virtually every country in the world. The slavish support given by Thatcher to the Yankee terror has served to drive the process of social disintegration of British imperialism that much further. Thatcher — as representative of the most powerful sectors of capital — takes decisions in almost total isolation and without reference even to her leading Ministers. Her slavish support for the Yanks and dictatorial attitude come from the simply and increasingly obvious fact that the capitalist system has no other perspective but war. A whole stratum of what could be called national bourgeoisie, of which Heath is but one representative, object to the war perspective which they see as suicidal, and to the negation of 'national sovereignty' implied by Thatcher's statement that the Yanks can decide what they like in the bases they have in Britain. Britain has now declined from being a powerful imperialist world force to being little more than a military base controlled by the Yanks. And the bourgeoisie don't like it. Powell's statements show this very well.

The whole capitalist structure in this country — as in the rest of the world — disintegrates rapidly. The attack on Libya which the majority of the population opposes is only one instance. The majority of the population opposes Yankee Cruise missiles. A sector of the industrial bourgeoisie opposes the wholesale selling of 'national assets' to the Yanks, and has forced the government to think again over the Range Rover company. Every organ of the state has its oppositional tendency. The press, once a solid support for the system, can no longer be trusted. The NUJ conference voted in support of Libya. A sector of the prison service is now on strike. It is reported that some police at Wapping have been refusing to act as a repressive force against pickets. The Unionists in the North of Ireland, once a solid social support for British imperialism, are in complete revolt because they are being sacrificed in the interests of the imperialist war alliance.

utilised as a screen behind which the bourgeoisie tries to conciliate its internal differences. But the monarchy draws its authority from the capitalist system, and that loses authority. In its desperation to use the monarchy as a facade, it has reduced it to the level of a television 'soap' which people may watch but don't take seriously.

The balance of social forces in the country, as part of the world balance of forces, is reflected in the Labour victory at Fulham. This was not a vote for a 'moderate' Labour candidate, but a vote against the government against the system, and an attempt to push the Labour Party forward in a struggle to transform society. The Labour leadership is already using Fulham to push a line of vague liberal policies. Hardly policies because 'freedom and fairness' is not a policy but just a meaningless slogan produced by some advertising agency. It is not that the Kinnock circle in the Labour Party fail to see the actual balance of forces but that they fear where the process goes. They know that mobilisations on

Continued on page 4



Women's march to Wapping, International Women's Day

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## Resolution on the Imperialist attack on Libya.

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The attack on Libya by American planes, sustained by the use of British bases, has to be seen as part of the preparations by world imperialism to attack the Soviet Union and the other Workers States, and to confront the advance of the whole world Socialist revolution. The pretext about putting an end to Libyan terrorism is cynical and transparent lying in view of the Yankee support for Israel and its nazi-type invasion of the Lebanon with all the vast casualties and destruction that caused. The hand of the CIA is involved in many of the so-called terrorist attacks including those at Rome recently, and the murder of Olaf Palme was another act of the CIA.

The confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States is occurring all over the planet, one moment the accent may be on Nicaragua and the next may be on Angola, but there is a constant accumulation of struggles dominated by the inevitable conflict between the two rival systems of private versus collectivised property. Undoubtedly the attack on Libya is prompted by the augmenting failure of imperialist policy in the Near East. Yankee imperialism suffered an immense disaster in Lebanon, and Israel itself is now in a protracted internal crisis of decomposition from the point of view of a stable bourgeois leadership. Recently there was a riot among the police in Egypt, whose economy is in ruins, and at the same time the Sudan has freed itself from Numeiry — another stooge of the IMF. South Yemen has liquidated a reactionary sector of the leadership. Moreover, the influence of the Soviet Union has increased in Syria, and imperialism has been unable to take substantial advantage of the Iraq-Iran war.

anyway without them if it so chooses. The Libyan incident is to show them 'when we decide to hit the Soviet Union we will do it whether you like it or not, and if you get destroyed in the process that will be most unfortunate for you, but not for us.

Naturally, in the world process that is occurring now, the Yanks and their British allies display all their enormous social weakness. All the world condemned this episode, apart naturally from Israel, Canada and the government of Thatcherosaurus. The Spanish and French governments refused to give aid, and all the bourgeoisie of the world quaked in their shoes and moaned with a very great moaning. It is clear that the spectacle of their universal ruin at the hands of the Yanks is not pleasing to them. In this confrontation with the Yanks large sectors of the bourgeoisie were closer to the camp of the Soviet Union than to the Yanks. This does not alter their class nature, but shows how the decomposition of world capitalism is accelerating,

and how each bourgeoisie seeks to save itself.

The response of the masses in protest in Europe has been very powerful. Massive demonstrations have shown the opportunity for great anti-capitalist movement outside the control of the apparatuses. In Britain, the CND movement took the initiative and mobilised enormous numbers, whereas the Labour Party apparatus did nothing. Kinnock was obliged to speak of the Labour Party's will to remove the American bases whilst, at the same time, conniving with Thatcher in denouncing Ghadaffi. It is clear that major sectors of the bourgeoisie, including large sectors in the Conservative Party, are against Yankee bases which can quite clearly be used by the Yanks without any consultation with the British. Howe evidently knew nothing of the decision at his meeting in Europe. The way in which the bases have been used will augment the disintegration of British capitalism and open the way also for more vigorous initiatives from the Labour left.

The existence of the Soviet Union has without question restrained the Yanks who, a long time since, would have invaded Libya, as indeed they would have invaded Nicaragua. It is clear such is the indecision of the Yanks that they suddenly put a

Continued on page 3

Possibly there was an attempt to encourage a dissident sector in Libya itself with this raid, but all has failed. The attack may be renewed again, because Yankee imperialism is desperate. It is in full course of creating an atmosphere of conflict to justify further efforts in its preparation for world war against the Soviet Union and humanity. One of its principle concerns is to drag its European allies behind it, and also make it clear that it will act

### CONTENTS

Page 1	Editorial: Resolution on Libya
Page 2	The problem of the Environment: J. POSADAS
Page 3	Treatment of Handicapped Children in the Workers State.
Page 4	The Philippines Crisis

# The problems of the environment and the anti capitalist struggle.

J. POSADAS

The ecological concern is necessary because it answers to one of the results of the existence of the regime of private property, of the capitalist regime. The ecological movement was formed to combat, contain and limit the consequences of the poisoning of the environment, of space, of the earth, of the animals and of humanity. The struggle of the ecologists is just and correct, but the pollution is not the work of one or other capitalist industry; it is the natural result of the capitalist system. It is necessary, then, to denounce the policy of capitalist exploitation which is at the base of ecologism.

In order to combat every form of pollution it is necessary to eliminate the source of pollution. Capitalism thinks and concludes according to the logic of exploitation, not in the humanitarian sense of the concern to be human and of civilisation but of its own survival as a system. It is this which determines its action, its thought and its interpretation of life. The capitalists do not change by seeing men die; they have already made two world wars and killed millions of people and, beyond that, they kill in work places, in factories, and with pollution. They killed men in Guyana to make experiments, and finally in the United States to test atomic arms.

The behaviour of capitalism is not then determined by reasoning and laws. Some laws are important to try to contain it and win time but, in order to exist, capitalism will find the means to escape the law since that is part of their system.

At the same time, the Workers States have not yet achieved a sufficient development whether in the economic, social or ecological camp. But capitalism has no perspective of eliminating pollution, given that its system is to produce it; while the Workers States can succeed in eliminating it. In these states it is necessary to improve the government, the leadership and the policy. The capitalist state, on the other hand, however much it is improved, remains the same; its vital condition is that of killing people, its only concern is to accumulate profit and re-invest to maintain itself in a competitive position. It is not possible to put capitalism and the Workers State on the same plane. The Workers State is not yet Socialist but, in spite of the fact that it has not reached a level to allow a full development of the economy and the healthiest conditions, it lives a process of growth. The Workers States are the instrument of improving and advancing in the world. They will eliminate every form of exploitation, of corruption and poisoning created by capitalism. Capitalism cannot do this, even if it were to change its personnel it would always be a question of

capitalists who would act as their predecessors did, and as a function of their system.

The Workers States live an important phase of progress. It is enough to compare the period of Stalin with the present period. It is necessary, then, to explain to the Ecologists - which in considerable part are of bourgeois origin and led by sectors who have money, relation and access to means of communication - that it is true that the atmosphere must be purified and the poisoning of people must be prevented, but that it is not possible to do this in the orbit of the capitalist regime. To eliminate the cause of the poisoning of the atmosphere and of living beings, it is necessary to fight against the capitalist regime.

The pollution which harms people does not come only from this atmosphere. The capitalist regime kills and destroys every form of life, of plants, of animals and water - containing a mass-acre which it led before in another form. Thus it is necessary to overthrow this system. It is not thinkable that capitalism can give a view-point on the problems of pollution and propose a law which eliminates this calamity. Capitalism can launch dozens of laws on pollution without, by this, abandoning the practice.

Athens, for example, is an example of a symbol of human history. It concentrates in itself a past which is closed, where private property has not been able to go beyond. Athens is, then, a symbol of human activity and a permanent memory. As capitalism has machines which, on pressing a button, produces memory, people - when they think of the structural base of human civilisation - think about Athens without pressing any button. Well, Athens is among the most polluted cities of the world and must alter the Caryatids - female statues which are part of the portico of Erechtheum on the Acropolis - under risk of collapsing from the corrosion brought about by pollution. What does capitalism do? It has taken the Caryatids and has sought to substitute copies for it. This is a false solution, and it is only a deception. It is the same logic when capitalism presenting a beverage affirms 'it is the best drink in the world' when really it poisons people.

It is good that the Ecologists put forward all the criticisms necessary to the Workers States and the Communist parties, but they must be based on the consideration that for them to be effective and become involved in the Ecologist movement, the latter must be united to the struggle against the capitalist

system, for workers' democracy, for trade union democracy, to win Socialist democracy for all in the trade unions, in the workers' parties, and in the Workers States, for an anti-capitalist programme which foresees the intervention of people in the factory commissions, in the workers' areas, and in the schools.

It must, on the other hand, discuss pollution and revolution without waiting on parliament to resolve the problems, given that it will never do it. Many would like to save Athens from pollution. In France a commission has been formed for the defence of the Acropolis, and then also of the Caryatids, which has spent much money and has proposed to construct another city different from that at present. But capitalism listens to no one, has no interest in cultural issues.

We must invite the Ecologist movement to continue their effort and to maintain their criticisms. In the revolutionary movement the right to criticism and the critical processes is necessary, but as an instrument of progress. Given that today problems are being confronted for which the Ecologists lack experiences, precedents, knowledge and tradition - if without a certain tradition of bureaucracy - the debate must be based on the Ecologist experience to be able to progress, realising that the future is Socialism and not of every single party.

The future of history belongs to humanity, not to a party of the Communists, Socialists or Capitalists which may exist. But, given the structure constructed by human intervention based above all on private property, the parties are necessary. In the future, then, these will disappear as capitalism will disappear. To define the role of the Party would open a very interesting discussion. The Communist Party itself cannot deal with it, not because it does not wish to but because it does not have the necessary preparation, and, besides, because within it there are social bureaucratic interests; (it is not only a question of errors) which do not tend to ferocious exploitation but impede a limpid discussion

In the full process of the Russian Revolution, when the Bolsheviks were in retreat and it seemed that defeat was facing them - we refer to 1918 when they were forced to sign the pact of Brest-Litovsk - a sector proposed to suppress discussion. Lenin was opposed, affirming that on the contrary debate must be allowed. This occurred in the full course of revolution while the Bolsheviks did not have bullets. Also today, they should discuss - and, even if the Communists avoid it, they will do it in the future. It is very important to make the Ecologists understand that their movement, taken individually, cannot resolve any problem. The single fact that

an ecologist movement has been created means that the parties do not play their role because, in that case, they would be proposing ecological battles to support them. Besides, in Greece there is very little industrial development, the struggles of the Ecologists are not so much against industry as in the defence of the Parthenon.

It is important to conduct the battle against pollution because it is a form of combatting capitalism. It is necessary to invite the Ecologists to aim at the Communist and Socialist parties and to the left groups, to discuss the creation of a united front against capitalism, with a programme of anti-capitalist struggle which also includes the Ecologists, and to help them to proceed on this road - not discouraging but convincing them to intervene with an anti-capitalist programme. Then these will make a great contribution in educating the population and influencing the Communist Party. They will stimulate the Communist militants who, becoming curious, would like to see what the Greens write. Hence they will have a notable influence and then an important role to develop.

The Ecologist movement presents itself in a somewhat naive form as regards the past, because the struggle against pollution has always existed. We record from the nineteenth century the struggle in Britain against coal gas, when children of eleven and twelve worked in the mines, dragging the carts full of coal,

and were overcome with the noxious conditions. The workers movement, which in that epoch was reformist, opened dispute on this situation and from that type of struggle the Labour Party was ultimately born. The struggle against pollution came from then, but was very limited. Today, it is not a question any more of combatting coal gas but against the capitalist system which poisons the population with its production, with its disasters and with the diffusion throughout the world of atomic weapons which, if they do not poison the atmosphere today, will tomorrow produce an immense damage.

It is necessary to explain to the Greek Ecologists that it is not possible to compare the Workers States with the capitalist countries. The Workers States are an instrument of the progress of history even if all is not perfect among them. They are proceeding to correct themselves, freed from the situations that are hardly clear, and their functioning and their leadership are improved. In the past the instrument of history was capitalism, the functioning of the capitalist system was based on profit, and

its progress was linked to investments and the capitalist necessity of creating technical and scientific means to realise profit.

Conversely, capitalism has developed culture, art and science without being able to assimilate them. Culture goes beyond capitalism. The culture of big business is that of assassination. To live, capitalism must slaughter and any one contrary is killed. In the Workers States matters are different, because the same conditions do not prevail. In spite of a powerful bureaucracy, like that of China, the Workers State cannot create within itself the situation of capitalism, because the conditions on which it is based - certainly with limits - is human progress. In the capitalist system, on the other hand, the progress of the individual predominates over the others.

Ecologism is an aspect of the struggle for human progress. To defend this progress it is necessary to invite the Ecologists to struggle against war. Ten atomic weapons are worth as much as a thousand factories, and to fight against war and in favour of peace it is necessary to overthrow the capitalist system. War must be opposed; peace and disarmament supported. But explaining that it is not possible to do this within the orbit of the capitalist system. We are in agreement with the objective of the Ecologists but, without overthrowing the capitalist system, they will never achieve their aim. It is the capitalists who make war, not us. They are the ones who prepare the massacres, and to disarm them it is necessary to use force.

The problem of disarmament and of peace is more important than the ecological issue in itself. In order to disarm capitalism, it is not sufficient to take arms; capitalism must be overthrown. The ecological battle against war, against capitalism and for peace, is then a single battle. We support peace. Lenin said: 'I am in agreement with peace, but peace means revolution and war against capitalism.' We want peace; we are agreed, and struggle for this. We also want disarmament, but to obtain it one must first disarm capitalism, and the only possible way is that of overthrowing it. It is necessary to make this reasoning which, moreover, is very simple; without being confined to parliamentary appeals in favour of disarmament and peace. Parliament is important as a place of agitation, not as a place of decisions - given that it is the class struggle which decides.

Continued on page 3

From page 1

stop to their naval attack in the gulf of Sirte from apprehension or a greater Soviet response. But we appeal to the Soviet Union to augment their response to the Yankee attacks. It is not sufficient to denounce or contain them moderately. Imperialism is not going to 'abandon old policies', as some Soviet spokesmen seem to hope for. The imperialists are going towards world war, but in very bad conditions for them. Every failure is disastrous particularly for their high command and armed forces. We appeal for a greater political intervention of the CPSU and the political command of the Red Army addressed to the world masses, and to abandon this chatter about peaceful co-existence. It does not exist, and Lenin's use of the term was for a very particular situation immediately following the aftermath of the Russian Revolution. Lenin always knew that imperialism means inevitable war and that the Soviet Workers State did not live for itself but for the extension of the world revolution. It is correct to take maximum advantage of divisions within the ruling class and to seek to contain them, but not at the expense of necessary measures to associate with the world revolution.

We propose that the Soviet leadership organises a continuous flow of public discussions with the Communist and Socialist parties and the progressive governments throughout the world, to make Moscow a vital centre of public political activity, much as the World Youth Festival gave opportunities for open political discussion. At the same time, the Soviet masses should be seen mobilising on the issue of Libya. It is possible to organise international brigades to be sent to Nicaragua and Libya to fight. We know the Soviet Union gives much aid already, but there must be much more public display of this, particularly with Yankee attacks such as these.

At the same time, forms of military response should be made not only with the demonstrable presence of the Soviet Fleet, but offensives against the Golan Heights, which Israel has no right to hold, and the

liquidation of the Unita imperialist forces in Angola. It is particularly important to hit back in every way because this will actually create immense anguish and disorder in the ranks of the Yankee and associated assassins. Being moderate is no response to a top ruling clique who are now in a permanent pathological condition. The top layer of Yankee capitalism is insane. Logical concern for humanity does not arise. It is elementary Marxism that no ruling class surrenders its power without doing everything to remain where it is.

From reports about the bombing it is clear that a sector of the Yankee Air Force did not function through breakdown of equipment etc., and the raid was not a competent attack. In fact, the conclusion was that, if this level of incompetence took place in war, it would be disastrous. Exactly. The Challenger episode, and now this, show that in the event of war the armed forces of imperialism will disintegrate. Whatever their plans, there will be universal desertion, sabotage and the ruination of their plans. All the more reason to show the Yankee high command and its armed forces that they cannot get away with anything. They are on the way to decomposition and demoralisation, and this should be impelled by firm policies.

We salute the immense heroism of the Libyan masses. We appeal for a full discussion on this Libyan attack by the Yanks in all the mass organisations throughout the world and the reanimation of the anti-nuclear campaign and the anti-capitalist programme and policy in the Labour Party.

**MASS MOBILISATIONS FOR THE CLOSURE OF ALL NUCLEAR BASES !**

**YANKEE BASES OUT !**

**OUT OF NATO !**

**FOR THE WORLD ANTI-IMPERIALIST, UNITED FRONT**

From page 2

The progress of humanity, the progress of culture, of science, of art, of relations and of human love, is an antagonism with private property; not with the single proprietor (some of these are really revolutionaries), but with the system of private property. It is an antagonism that is with the existence of factories and of capital, and of the capitalist army, because capitalism is not concerned with developing culture, art and objective science. It develops science subjectively and for its own production. Thus it is not science but a form of technology, given that the drive for this to make science progress is linked to the progress of the human being. Capitalist science must, on the other hand, only make production increase; and thus, then, only one of the more advanced forms of technology.

The progress of science, of culture, of art, of love and of human relations, which is expressed in love between human beings in harmony with nature and with the cosmos, is antagonistic with the capitalist system.

In order to survive it must amputate, cut, break up science, art and culture. It must destroy because they are not part of its need to accumulate capital, while its life is linked to robbery and accumulation and the functioning of the system through human exploitation.

We Posadists raise these problems and propose the way of resolving them not through partial fights but in the course of the struggle against the capitalist system, and we invite the

Ecologists to set out their problems and discuss them. In turn, the Communist Party must insert in its programme the struggle against pollution.

15 May 1980 J. POSADAS

## TREATMENT OF HANDICAPPED CHILDREN IN THE WORKERS STATE.

The BBC documentary 'Standing up for Joe' that praised the marvellous results obtained by the Andras Peto State Institute for Conducive Education in Budapest, Hungary, in almost curing children affected with cerebral palsy, spina bifida and other crippling diseases, was a public demonstration of the tremendous achievements in the Workers States, through the application of human love. Children affected by these diseases in capitalism are confined to solitary lives and end up in wheel chairs. There are 100,000 people in such condition at present in Britain. Whilst in Budapest such people have been made able to walk again and, if not cured, they are taught to function despite the illness. This method leaves no child in any wheel-chair; it has now been applied in Hungary for over forty years and the whole world accepts the superiority of the method. The moving BBC documentary showed the case of the little Joe Horsley who is being re-educated in Hungary free of charge. His case was a very unpromising one and he would have been totally immobile without the treatment.

What is remarkable is that conducive education is not a secret, and it has been known for forty years in this country that such methods existed. However, not only are no means provided for it to be introduced, but the DHSS claims that there are 25 schools using this treatment. As conducive education is unknown in these establishments it can only be said that the DHSS is not even trying to know what is being talked about. It highlights the attitude of the capitalist system, which has neither the interest nor the resources, nor the social relations to carry it out.

Worst of all, it is not interested in any of this because it costs money, and money today is for war preparations.

In the face of this, Hungary has been known to take foreign children and apply the method on them, to stimulate the rest of the world. It accepts British medical staff to come and 'be trained' in Hungary to become 'conductors'. The Workers State is interested in the children not only of Hungary but of the world. In so doing, it shows that it has the social organisation, the interests and the human relation of love to carry this task out. These are precisely all the characteristics of Communism, whatever capitalism may like to say against it.

To re-educate such children requires total dedication of time and human interest to the individual child, without patronising or neglect. It demands not technology and advanced machinery but a collective, caring and creative inter-relation of the handicapped children among themselves, and between them and a very united and single-minded team of nurses, doctors, psychologists, physiotherapists etc., all at one with the task, and united to the parents who can be present at any time. It is not money that the Workers States have, it is human love - and this is why they triumph over all the trials and difficulties of society and of nature. The BBC documentary was the most moving experience one could make of the operation of human love. Capitalism calls this 'miracle', but really it is only what could be done everywhere in capitalist countries with the social organisation of human love and human care.

In capitalism, and in Britain particularly, children are treated as one more burden. Hundreds of children are known to be beaten by their parents, and there is an average of seven deaths a month at the hand of adults in Britain.. Society at large uses their frailty

to take advantage of them, and this shows most in institutions, but it is a feature of capitalist society. Young girls are known to be prostitutes in central London and sex abuse has risen by 90% in the last year according to the NSPCC which bases itself only on the reported cases. The doctors, scientists, the psychologists, the parents and the children all feel the superiority of what is being achieved in the Workers States. There is the case of the Birmingham University psychologist who felt moved request funds from the Education Secretary to start a 'Standing up for Joe' pilot scheme (and was turned down). There is also the fact that we could see such a programme of unmitigated eulogy of the achievement of a Socialist country on television. This shows that the Workers States influence deeply inside the capitalist system.

Most of the hysteria against Communism is to divert attention from its achievements and contain the social influence of the superiority of the Workers States. However, the showing of such a programme and the immense interest this experience has awakened, shows that this is ineffectual. What moves humanity is the necessity to progress and overcome all difficulties, and the Workers States are the form of economy and society that allow this to be done. It is even all the more moving when one realises that the Workers State dedicates such infinite qualities of human interest and devotion, in the very midst of having to arm against an antagonist that bristles with nuclear weapons. It shows the superb confidence of humanity, and this is one more factor that influences within the capitalist countries. Capitalism thinks it will decide because it has technology and weapons. But what will decide is human love and the superiority of human relations. The Workers States have already won in the heart of humanity.

**OUT WITH THE MONARCHY!**

**FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!**

### CORRECTION

Final Paragraph of Editorial (No. 364)

Line nine should read: 'possibilities for the development of an anti-capitalist current outside the control of the Labour Party and trade union apparatus'.

The flight of Marcos is a very great social triumph of the masses and, at the same time, a defeat of Yankee imperialism. It has not been imperialism which has determined the change of government in the Philippines. It was the result of a profound social mobilisation which began long before the coming of Aquino, and his later assassination. It comes from a previous process of mobilisation and of guerrillas against the dictatorship of Marcos, with the development of a political movement of the masses going towards anti-capitalist objectives.

Imperialism seeks to stop this situation which arises from the weakness and debility of the Marcos regime, supported for twenty years by the Yanks. The United States tries then to make changes which allow it to maintain a base of influence in the government to be able to decide later how to intervene. But imperialism, which assassinates in Nicaragua and throughout the world every day, has no interest in the progress of the Philippines. If it was imperialism which decided, why did it not sustain Marcos who was their friend and ally? Imperialism had to accept this change to gain time and prepare to make the counter-revolution in the next stages. But the profound popular mobilisation which has influenced the soldiers, and part of the officers, is going to have very profound repercussions in the later political and social life of the country.

The Yanks have had to work in this way, but having to accept a social process which is soon going to turn against them. Hence their immense weakness. At the same time Marcos, within the crisis of capitalism, had made a series of concessions to the Soviets which they could use quite a lot in a very important strategic region. Any way the Soviet Union did not bring out any declaration of support to Marcos. It was only a formal attitude of the ambassador to the Philippines, which does not constitute a political position of the USSR, and much less of the CPSU. The USSR limited itself to denounce the interference of the United States in the Philippines, but without seeing still the importance of the mass movement which was developing. In Iran, when the Shah fell, the Soviets had a similar attitude in front of the religious movement of Khomeini which, at that moment, J. Posadas analysed not as a mistaken political position but as a weakness of understanding which in part led later to an adaptation of the Iranian Communist Party (Tudeh) to the religious leadership.

It is necessary to understand this process in the Philippines as part of a new advance of the revolution at the same time as a new demonstration of the incapacity of Yankee imperialism to contain the intervention of the masses. If the Yanks were in the Philippines for twenty years with all the power at their disposition, with the most important military bases, and now they have to tell Marcos to go, how believe that an influence of the Yanks in the government of Cory Aquino can annul or contain the profound social mobilisation which is developing at present in the Philippines?

The perspective is not one of retreat but of a greater

deepening of the process, because the Soviets are going to have to intervene to impel the social movement. The conclusion which the masses of the world take from this experience in the Philippines, like that of Haiti, is that sooner or later all the dictatorships fall apart like those of Latin America. Imperialism, sustainer of the dictatorships - as in Argentina, Uruguay and Brasil - has had also to accept the new social democratic processes in these countries. But this is not as the consequence of a new tactic or change of attitude but because imperialism has no other remedy than to follow behind the process of history without being able to determine it.

But the USSR, if certainly because of the needs of its global policy of confrontation with imperialism, was obliged to support itself on the commercial contradictions with Argentina in the period of the dictatorship, does not prejudice either its function or its policy of support to the world revolution. The proof is that no one accuses the USSR that with the policy of relations with the dictatorship of Argentina it was fortifying the regime. The latter events show that it was the reverse and that the USSR has improved its relations with all the countries of Latin America.

The Philippines expresses mature conditions to impel more profoundly the anti-imperialist world process, and that, even with bourgeois leaderships like those of Aquino, it is not going to be possible to contain the revolutionary path of the masses towards social changes and transformations. The front which was formed to support the candidature of Cory Aquino includes both the sectors of the rich bourgeoisie

and the oligarchy (UNIDO of Laurel) and the social democratic and moderate sectors of Agapito Aquino, brother of Benigno Aquino) in the Bandidilla movement who maintain good relations with the sectors of the left, and particularly the Philippine Communist Party and the political organisations of the guerrillas linked to this. From this, it is possible to foresee that in a short stage conflicts will arise and confrontations over the future of the Philippines. On the other hand, the movement of the organised left is very profound, both through the guerrillas of the NAP (peasant movement of the Philippines) and the new democratic alliance of Bayan. It means that the profound social mobilisation against Marcos did not arise as a result of the electoral triumph of Cory Aquino (the electoral triumph arose much more as the result of the social mobilisation), but is part of a process of struggles and of the political organisation of extensive sectors of the vanguard who represent objectives and programmes of social transformations which are going to clash rapidly with the intentions of the bourgeois sectors who want to develop only some economic

reforms. It is their growing influence and progress of the mass revolutionary movement which forced Marcos to make concessions to the USSR, trying thus to prevent the Soviets becoming more involved in supporting the revolutionary movement. The Yanks saw this as a danger anyway, and thus impelled this change - trying then to weigh with the more right wing sectors to modify in their favour the relations of forces. But the policy of the USSR is not limited to the relations with Marcos which anyway they used quite a lot, but is linked to and supports the revolutionary movement.

Now an inevitable process of revolutionary deepening is opening up, marked by the formidable intervention of the masses, and because a revolutionary political movement exists with strength and ability of action, which is not only the guerrilla movement which controls 20% of the territory, but a political movement of importance in the mass movement which posed a programme of social transformations and the withdrawal of the Yankee bases from the archipelago. This means that the attempts to make the Philippines the same as Taiwan or South Korea - that is,

allowing a certain industrial development based on exports only and maintaining the population in the most absolute misery - has failed. It is the intensification of the capitalist crisis which annuls these projects. What are they going to export and to whom? Otherwise they would have tried and solved the issue. But, on the contrary, the masses of the Philippines are going to demand a programme of transformations which elevate the level of life and their participation in the leadership of the economy and the struggle for a programme with these characteristics is going to link more and more with the USSR, Vietnam and the whole of the Socialist camp. This is the perspective, although not in an immediate form now, and it is necessary to pass through a period still of internal struggles in the very heart of the coalition of Aquino and in the conditions of the pressures of imperialism through the external debt or the existence of the military bases which are a counter-revolutionary centre for the Philippines and all the Asiatic South East.

IS of the Posadist IV International

28 February 1986.

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From page 1  
even a small demand can, in present conditions, lead them to a situation of confrontation with the system. They are very frightened that they may end up in government with such a majority that they will be under pressure from the masses to take anti-capitalist measures. The decision against 'pay restraint' taken by the Scottish TUC in direct opposition to Kinnock shows that the workers - and their allies - are not prepared to pay for the crisis of capitalism under a Labour government any more than they are under Thatcher.

The timidity and fear of the Labour and trade union leadership

is well expressed in their refusal to mobilise for the immediate removal of the Yankee bases from this country. All the conditions exist for a massive mobilisation of the population on this demand. The majority of the population has rejected the terrorism of Yankee imperialism directed against Libya and the use of bases in this country for that purpose. It is criminal that the Labour leadership has missed this opportunity. Wapping, like the miners' strike, has shown that the workers' vanguard is prepared and anxious to mobilise against the government. On a demand for removing the Yankee bases they would be joined by the population in massive num-

bers and the Thatcher government's days would be numbered.

This is an opportunity that the Labour and trade union left should not let slip.

They have to base themselves on the fact that Libya, a progressive revolutionary state engaged in constructing a new society, had been attacked by the most reactionary force in the world - Yankee imperialism - and it is in this country. Then it is necessary to demand that the Yankee bases have to go immediately, and link this demand to a programme for the transformation of society. We appeal for mobilisations on these demands.



## Editorial

# Demonstrations and meetings on the LP programme to close all nuclear bases.

The confrontation between imperialism and the Workers States is being augmented by the proposed schemes of the war tendency in the Reagan outfit to abandon the limits of the Salt treaties on missiles. This is the tendency which has no wish for discussions with the Soviets and wishes to act with maximum decision to prepare for the war and ignore those which do not accept their position. The Soviet leadership pursues the policy of influencing sectors of the European bourgeoisie, particularly vis a vis the visit of White-law and Healey to the Soviet Union: in this case offering agreements to reduce missiles between the Soviet Union and Britain. This is a genuine desire of the Workers State, but it is also an effort to diminish the forces of world imperialism which seek to unify against the Workers States. After the attack on Libya, imperialism has been incapable of consistently pursuing the offensive. It was obliged to delay, but it is clear they are contemplating action against Syria, especially as the Tokyo conference showed the attempt to organise the resources of world imperialism under the guise of moves against 'state terrorism'. Moreover, the attacks on nearby African states by South Africa, especially the attacks on Angola, is part of the same imperialist policy of intimidation. The massacres continue in South Africa and that summarises imperialist policy - destroy to the maximum, because they have no other policy. These are the actions of people whose only solution is to attack the Workers States.

The events in Chernobyl illustrate the true direction of imperialism, with the unleashing of a nazi type of campaign of slander. It was a campaign of lies from beginning to end and has been shown to be such all over the world. The hatred shown by the press of imperialism comes from all their resentment of a superior social regime. Their pretended concern for the health of the citizens of Western Europe is belied by the fact that there is a constant lying and secrecy over their own nuclear establishments and, moreover, the system that has already used nuclear weapons was Yankee imperialism at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and they are preparing to use them again. Even here, such is the overwhelming social weakness of imperialism that discussion over Chernobyl has reacted against imperialism in all countries.

### THE TOTAL FAILURE OF THATCHERISM.

The government of Thatcher has only continued so long because of the incapacity of the Labour Party and trade union apparatus to destroy it. In fact, this joint apparatus was above all concerned to prevent the centre of the miners' revolutionary strike gaining the direct support in other industries. The massive defeat of the Conservatives in the Local Elections and in the West Derbyshire and Ryedale constituencies are the result of the objective weakness and incapacity of British imperialism. It has nothing to do with the Labour Party apparatus or the new humbug of the leadership. The fact is that the masses seek a solution to the problems caused by capitalism, and seek to impel a policy of social transformations and the activation of the anti-nuclear arms programme

of the Labour Party. In every aspect of life the regime of Thatcher has shown that capitalism is totally incapable of solving anything, and all its problems are to be paid for by the masses. The fall in inflation is, in fact, a sign of the decrepitude of the system - the result of falling employment, falling purchasing power and the fall in oil and commodity prices; i.e. exploiting the less industrialised countries of the world. All the conditions of life - education, transport, urban life, medical care - are deteriorating, but the arms budget soars. This tendency is also developed in the rest of European capitalism, because it has no other way out than war against the masses in conditions of ever greater inter-capitalist competition and preparation for war against the Workers States.

It is important to see in this process in Britain the relative success of the teachers' union. Capitalism has been obliged to concede on the wages front. It was unable to risk further encounters with the teachers because it was clear that the fight would be disastrous for the system. In part, the teachers benefited from the previous battle of the miners. It is necessary to appreciate in all of this that, although the miners' strike did not win economically, it was a political and social success; and helped accumulate the forces of resistance to Thatcherism which are coming to fruition now.

Seeing that all is desperate, the Conservatives are trying to prepare an electoral struggle which will not impinge on the most fundamental issues. Thus, they would like to keep discussions to general issues of 'education' or 'law and order'. They hope that Labour will participate

in this and not discuss social transformations, and certainly not out with Yankee bases. The Labour apparatus sees that, despite everything, they might find themselves in office with or without the Alliance, and this has its dangers when the system is in such a degenerate condition. Thus they seek lamely to control the left but, as they cannot do this seriously because the left is very considerable if not homogeneous, they kick at another apparatus - the Militant - but this signifies their weakness, because Militant is a backward tendency and, moreover, anti-Soviet.

### THE LABOUR PARTY LEADERSHIP SEEKS TO CONTAIN THE POPULATION.

The Labour Party apparatus relies on the trade union bureaucracy to blockade the direct intervention of the working class. Thus, the printers' struggle against that hero of culture, Murdoch, has been systematically sabotaged by the TUC in the same way they sabotaged support

for the miners' strike. Murdoch's latest offer upgrading the compensation money by millions of pounds shows the weakness of his position, but the trade union bureaucracy is not interested in a struggle which disturbs the comfort of their lives as a wing of capitalism in the workers' movement.

The principled organisation of the left in the Labour Party is the basic answer to these issues. The left remains incoherent and divided. It has to develop a greater clarity on main issues such as a mature understanding of the role of the Workers States in history and the need not to be limited by the functioning of the Labour Party, which is an electoral machine rather than a party of the masses. It does not have to be dominated by the restrictive games of the apparatus. The balance of world forces favour Socialist ideas. It is necessary that before and during the election the forces of the left intervene on a programme of social transformations, pointing out that all social changes - in whatever sphere, education, housing etc. -

## CONTENTS

- Page 1 Editorial The Chernobyl Explosion.  
Page 2 Libyan Revolution: J. POSADAS  
Page 4 Tokyo Summit

Workers of the world, unite!

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## CHERNOBYL AND THE SOCIAL SUPERIORITY OF THE USSR

The accident at Chernobyl was nowhere near the disaster capitalism wanted it to be. No doubt there are those in the USSR who do not sufficiently represent the masses, but the USSR is putting this to rights. The conduct of the Soviet masses is an example to the whole world and defies any comparison with the conduct of the masses in the individualistic organisation of capitalism. Whilst the US doctors and scientists have been allowed to participate everywhere in Chernobyl and see everything from the beginning, we still do not know any precise history of the 1961 explosion of the SL1 Portable Nuclear Reactor in Idaho (US) or the 1957 graphite fire in Britain's Windscale. Every day that passes brings new details of how long and how completely we have been lied to, and nuclear clouds were allowed to pass overhead without even being told. In this latest instance of the anti-Soviet campaign - an attempt, naturally, to create the necessary sentiment to justify a war - it is the opposite, once again, that has resulted. The anti-nuclear movement has not become more anti-Soviet but more anti-capitalist; it has not started movements against the USSR but against nuclear plant for war purposes of capitalism. The social authority and superiority of the USSR is there to stay, and makes a boomerang of any step that capitalism chooses to take.

BBC television in Britain - like official TV in Italy - broadcast false pictures of Chernobyl in a haze of speculation about thousands of deaths and impending disaster for the whole of the Ukraine. This added to newspaper reports of people in Kiev going wild and radiation slowly covering the whole of North West Europe and creeping into Britain, whilst thousands of bodies were secretly duffdozed in lime in the USSR. A US satellite even saw two fires! As soon as the Soviet leadership allowed the US doctors and scientists to enter, a swift end was put to the propaganda which was not turning out

Continued Page 4

TRANSFORMATIONS.

Extracts

The problems which emerge from the Libyan process are of the greatest historical importance. In the ambience of the struggle for the progress of humanity the Libyan process is one of the forms in which the most extended world process is expressed. Libya shows the relation of forces which have been created. When they are active they show that a very backward country, from every point of view, can make a great leap forward — a leap which is not measurable in metres but in centuries. Libya, indeed, from an almost total absence of cultural, scientific and athletic life has reached the level that it has today.

Libya did not have the possibility of evolving by itself because, in the world process, the country depended on the capitalist system. Society did not then have an organised force (party and trade unions) to make the process of social transformations. The country was dominated by an oligarchy which founded its power on the army. Their relations with British, Italian, and in part French imperialism, assured them the necessary military power to exercise their control. The task of the army was not indeed that of defending the frontiers from external enemies, but of intervening against the population.

Libya did not have the tradition of parties, trade unions and the elaboration of ideas. Books were scarce and illiteracy almost total, women had no rights, none in the family; until Ghaddafi a man could have five wives.

The progress of Libya has been made possible through the world balance of forces and the influence of the Soviet Union and of the Workers States in the Middle East, in particular on the Libyan soldiers from whom the young officers led a coup d'etat on nationalist positions. At the beginning the leadership was

divided and it was necessary for a struggle of some years to arrive at a leading homogeneous group on the programmatic plane which tried to make the country advance on the basis of petroleum which is at the foundation of their economy. This process has been led in close alliance with the Workers States, if without their written agreements. The contribution has consisted in the guarantee and the security that Libya could develop its own process without imperialism being able to intervene, thanks to the presence of the Workers States.

Libya is a backward country which is progressing in history, making an extraordinary step forward thanks to the existence of the Workers States; no historian has analysed with this lens the historic process. Generally they say that the officers who undertook the coup were brave soldiers. It is true; but the process did not depend on their bravery; it was not linked to the relation of military forces but to social forces, and that means to possess orientation, experience, ability and conviction in the need for the progress of history. This is the reason why Libya has been able to complete such a leap forward.

We republish extracts from this article of Cde Posadas on Libya because it characterises the nature of the process in Libya which is highly progressive, anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. The Labour Party apparatus is hostile to Libya although obliged to condemn the Yankee attacks. The Labour left has a very confused attitude to Libya and at the best a patronising one; 'Libya has made some progress, but is very backward and Ghaddafi is mad.' We are not in agreement with Ghaddafi's every word and deed, but the fact remains that he has participated in a highly progressive process, has advanced in ideas, and is a leader of a state which possesses much more advanced social relations than Britain. In Libya there is no ruling class which murders Argentiniens, murders Irish people, and tries to smash the poor into the ground. The patronising attitudes to Ghaddafi are a direct reflection of imperialist attitudes. Libya is in the front line of struggle against imperialism and capitalism, and must be defended unconditionally on this basis.

Before, the Yanks did not communicate to the great countries 'the breaking of diplomatic relations' but ignored that, simply ordering bombardments (reference to the diplomatic break between the United States and Libya in which the United States gave Libya five days to withdraw its diplomatic representatives. Today, on the other hand, they have to limit themselves to intimate to Ghaddafi that he should leave, giving further time. They say that Ghaddafi has replied: 'We are used to buffoons'.

Yankee imperialism has shown its impotence in front of Libya. Behind its breaking of relations lies its desire to influence other countries to do the same and to isolate Libya but, in so doing, it got the contrary of what it wants — to show itself strong. People, indeed, see that it is weak and incapable of adopting measures against the Libyans.

The Libyan process has much more significance than is given or conceded to it; every small country indeed resolves henceforth that the Soviet Union is a centre which sustains any progress, and draws close to it. They realise also that Libya is not a poor country in need of economic help. Its resources in relation to the number of in-

habitants make of it one of the richest countries in the world; it has an immense wealth although only a few millions of inhabitants, and is utilising it for progress. People understand and answer critics: 'It could be as you say, but the country advances, the population has work, home, food and all that is necessary; while before they had nothing.' Before, it was King Idris: a degenerate with a hundred women and concubines. Objectively, today Libya develops because the Soviet Union exists, and on the organisational plane because it again seeks support from it. All the countries who have asked for support from the Soviet Union have developed; while Egypt, which has preferred to leave Soviet protection to turn to the Yanks, goes backwards and is led by a clique. It is only a question of time, but Egypt will again have to change direction.

No process of development is achieved in the world by setting out and then turning to the point of departure, affirming its validity. This can be seen with Pinochet and Castelbranco (former dictator of Brazil).

Part of the progress achieved by the Libyan revolution is the liberation, if incomplete, of women and their incorporation into the activity of the country. Before, this did not happen; while today women have removed the veil, study, work and can walk alone in the streets. In the Muslim world this is a revolution which Mahammad did not achieve. The example of the process of the liberation of Libya is a demonstration of the world relation of forces.

Imperialism has shown itself to be impotent to impede this process. It has tried to do so but has not found the way, and even less the strength, because the Soviet Union exists. The advantage of the Libyans lies in their determination sustained in the world relation of forces which, without the direct intervention of the Workers States, has allowed the development of the Libyan revolution and all the other revolutions in the Middle East. The existence of the Workers States has given protection to this progress of

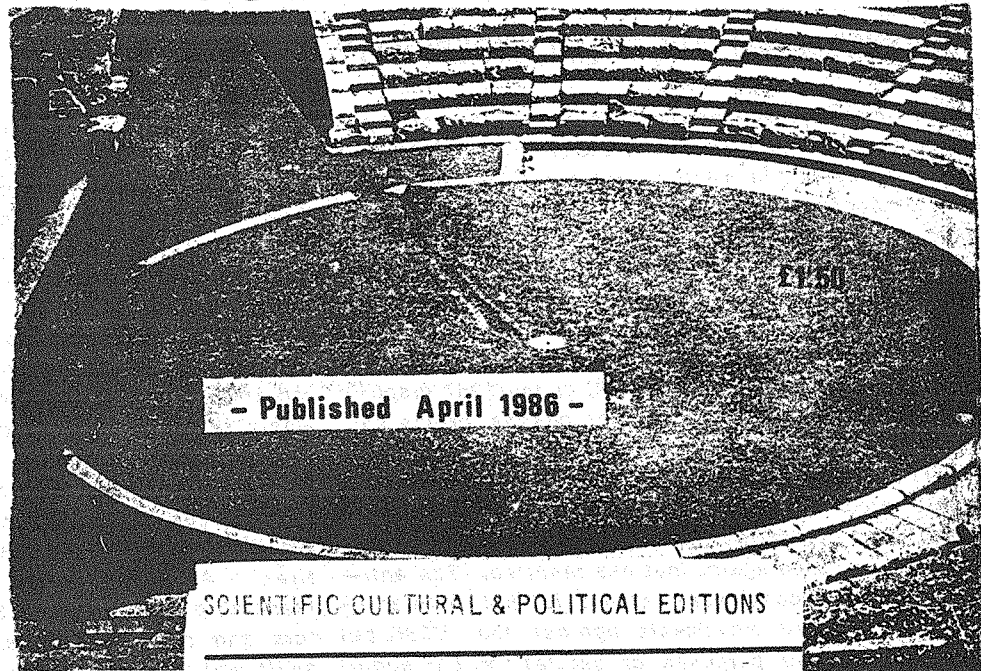
history; this is the real basis of every step achieved before by Libya.

The programme of Ghaddafi and of the group close to him has been enriched and become outlined in the course of the revolution. They were parties to the general consideration of expropriation and statifying without yet having a clear programme. They have made and remade it in the course of the struggle. There was conflict within the leadership, and they did not adopt programmatic decisions; but a few months after the assumption of power by the Ghaddafi group a programme was presented which came close in certain forms to a Workers State, and which has made of the country a revolutionary state with all the conditions to become a Workers State. Everything has been statified; private property is very scarce, and confined to trade and artisan work. The main resources — oil and other minerals — are in the hands of the state. The Libyan leadership has based the economic and social programme on the experience of the Workers States. This is the real nature of the progress of all the countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

The Soviet Union does not represent a model but a programme. To pass from privations to development it is necessary to statify, to plan, and to make the masses intervene. The Libyans have effected this policy only in part. They do not yet have a Marxist programme, but already the conditions exist: because in a few years there is posed the necessity of a coherent programme, then Marxist — coherent in the sense that production must be planned and also statified, but to do this a leadership is necessary convinced of this process.

The progress of Libya being very important makes clear a limit in the leadership — political as much as military — of the country, in its limited historical and political understanding. It is a question of a Muslim leadership which was conditioned in its social and human vision from the teleological and religious conception so as not to be directly influenced by the Workers State.

**THEATRE AND SOCIALISM** J. POSADAS



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## THE FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DEATH OF COMRADE POSADAS

On this, the fifth anniversary of the death of Comrade Posadas, the relevance of his ideas and method of analysis in understanding and elevating the world process becomes more and more central. Since his death it is clear that the whole conception which he elaborated over the partial regeneration of the Soviet Union has been exemplified in the changes most associated with the advent of Gorbachev in the leadership of the CPSU. This does not mean that the Soviet leadership is revolutionary but it is obliged more and more to correspond to the underlying structure of the Workers State and to open the way to greater discussion and greater participation of the population in the running of the Workers State.

The Workers State more and more acts as a leadership for humanity and contrasts completely with the stagnation and criminality of imperialism whose only solution is manifestly the launching of war in the worst possible conditions for them.

The incapacity of world imperialism means that new processes develop in continents such as Latin America where indigenous capitalism finds that

its possibilities for development are closed and the analysis of the revolutionary state made by Cde Posadas has importance in measuring the course of the process in such countries.

More and more humanity perceives that Communism is the only possible way forward. The heroism of the Soviet citizens who died in the attempt to mitigate the effects of the breakdown at Chernobyl, the resolution of the South African masses in face of the mindless slaughter of the apartheid fascism sustained by Yankee and British imperialism, and the way in which Libya has confronted the assassins of the United States: are examples which confirm the fundamental insight of Cde Posadas that humanity is ready for Communism.

In this sense the presence of Cde Posadas is everywhere. There is no team at this particular moment in history which represents the new stage of human history in the way he did, but nonetheless, human history goes inexorably towards the conditions of Communism which Trotsky described. The average of human intelligence will be equivalent to that of Marx, and beyond that new peaks will arise.

The process achieved by Libya will be the future of Iran. The Libyans, indeed, have not chosen their policy as Muslims but as human beings who have conciliated their religious beliefs with the need for development. This is the fruit of the world relation of forces, and constitutes an example for all the Arab countries and for Afghanistan.

There is a principle which develops on the road of historic necessity, and on this road the basis is Marxist. The programme of Libya is not Marxist but that is the base of its development, the form which it has adopted. This is a fundamental consideration for all the Arab countries which do not derive from the Muslim conception but from the social example given by the Soviet Union, by Cuba, by Ethiopia, by Vietnam, by Algeria, by Angola and by Mozambique, to which all these countries look. Such a process demonstrates the tendency of history to unify all the decisions of progress attained by the various countries on the line of the Soviet Union, not only through its economic and social structure but through its historic function which encourages all the small countries.

### ISLAM AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

The progress of history is not determined by Mohammad and by Muslim tradition but by the programme, policy and intervention of the population on the basis of the scientific interpretation of progress given by Marxism. The Libyans are not Marxist, but all the choices operate from this. They are not anti-Marxists, do not attack Marxism directly, but limit themselves to have relations with it.

The Libyan process is fundamentally for the Muslim world. It is the proof that for the progress of history, for that of humanity, it is necessary above all to decide what to do with the economy and society; that is to say, what to do with the capitalist state. Libya shows to the other Arab countries that its leap has been possible because the country took the road traced by the Soviet Union. The Arab masses, not being able to affirm it publicly have understood it; they knew the situation of Libya before the revolution, when it counted for nothing; while today capitalism fears it. Today, they

are afraid of the 'mad' Ghaddafi who one day said: 'All must do as Libya. The owners of houses do not exist. All have a house, school and work Before, they had nothing, and a step forward has also been achieved in the liberation of women.

In Arab society and in Libya particularly as in Egypt women were sexual objects, exactly as in China. She was not an instrument of man as

much but of sex. Society created from the Libyan revolution has eliminated all this; woman is not a sexual instrument of man. The capitalists say: 'Look, they put women in trousers', but they do not speak of the extraordinary progress achieved by these countries in a few years, and it is a real progress because the country has had to grow culturally to accept this change.

The child is an integral part of Libyan society, while before the child was considered an object and the adult regretted that he had to be concerned with children. From the serious limit of the religious conception (not from Islam itself) they have gone to a great opening of ideas. Movements like those of Libya are indeed moved by ideas and not by a religious faith, which would monopolise and reduce the development of the human being to some rules dictated by some divinity. Social development is beyond that: it does not destroy the gods but goes beyond them. Thanks to this the human being elevates social and scientific knowledge through human love and overcomes the religious conception.

In Libya this process is in development, not to cancel Islam but to go forward to flow together in the ideas of social progress as much as the right in Islam. Some principles of Islam are very valid, much more so than in the Catholic religion which is in the service of the ruling class of the capitalist world. Islam has a series of very advanced con-

ceptions which its ruling class has used to its own advantage.

Today, Libya is Ghaddafi; which means anti-imperialism and development, friendship of the Soviet Union, and support to the revolution. This process comes keeping the Muslim spirit, and it is not the first time that it has happened; it was the Soviet Union which was the first to favour the development of the Muslim minority, which it incorporated in the revolution; considered first Soviet and then Muslim. Libya is making great progress: before it was a harem immersed in oil and the most arid desert - until a group of the military, supported by civilians, decided to find the strength to transform this desert in a process which is an integral part of the world revolution. The Libyans do not do it for themselves nor for Islam, but with the aim of creating the conditions to achieve a new step in advancing towards Socialist measures. People realise that for the moment it serves just this: the programming, the planning and the development of industry, the alliance with all the Workers States, and the unconditional support to all revolutions. Ghaddafi does this in spite of some incoherences caused by the lack of a Party.

Islam is being overcome by social progress, intellectual progress, and the cultural progress of the revolution. This always appears essentially as a process of economic relations. In this historic phase the revolutions have fundamentally a direct and immediate repercussion in social relations: the child, still before being born, intervenes with the mother.

Humanity seeks a harmony with itself. This consideration has an infinite scope, but the essential point is that humanity realises that it is not at war with itself and has no reason to be.

### FROM REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALISM TO THE PROCESS OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The Libyan process is one of the most important historic events because, thanks to this, the progress of the revolution - even without Communist parties - has penetrated the Arab countries. Libya did not have a Communist Party.

Notwithstanding, thanks to external influences, the revolution reached a military sector. This process shows that in the most backward countries of the world there are the most advanced forms of progress; that is to say, the world relation of forces. When the process has reached this level it means that the necessity of progress has been imposed, and that an example already exists. Thanks to that, Libya - from the dictatorship of Sultans - has rapidly become a Revolutionary State. This process advances in spite of the fact that the country may be taken away from the Muslim conception. That depends on the world relation of forces, and shows that all the forms of Islam cannot impede the thought of Islam progressing in contact with the progress of daily human relations.

The Muslim masses know the experience of the Soviet Union and of the Socialist countries who have followed its example. That means that the experience of humanity does not depend on the precepts of Mahomet but on the existing social relations. It is not a question of overcoming Islam but of making it adequate to the social necessity of history. The oil present in Libya, in spite of it being 'wealth' for the capitalist world, has been a source of progress. The instrument which has allowed this has been the programme of the revolution. The Libyan process was preceded in Egypt by the coup d'etat against Farouk of 1952. Before then,

Continued Page 3



SOVIET PEOPLE IN DEFENCE OF PEACE  
AGAINST THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

## THE TOKYO SUMMIT AND THE INCAPACITY OF IMPERIALISM

The Tokyo summit was ostensibly an effort to stabilise the world capitalist economy to mitigate the worst of its economic contradictions following the previous conferences which had all failed to solve the profound inability of the system to develop harmoniously. In fact, even more clearly than other conferences, its objectives were political: to impose an adherence to Yankee political positions over Libya.

One of the objectives of imperialism in its extended and oscillatory preparations for war is to attempt to contain the immense contradictions of the competing capitalist economies, so as to smooth the way for better political unity under the control of Yankee imperialism. These objectives are impossible to achieve. Thus, previously the Yanks raised the value of the dollar to monstrous heights, raising interest rates to such a level that it caused a flight of capital into the United States although this bore no relationship to the quality of the Yankee economy. The objective was to submit the rest of world capitalism to Yankee blackmail and help pay for the gigantic Yankee arms budget. It also increased the debts of the weaker capitalist economies in Africa, Latin America and Asia. As such a 'revaluation' weakened the exports of the Yanks other economies were able to take advantage of the American market. But none of this has altered or can alter the incapacity of the capitalist

economy to expand. There is much talk of falls in inflation and increases in growth, but only by ignoring reality is it possible to speak of economic progress when unemployment is increasing all the time, and budgets utilise vast resources in war expenditure

The only gains of the 'developed' economies in the last period has been to force down oil prices and receive the benefit of lower commodity prices from the overall fall in the world capitalist economy. Naturally, this is at the expense of the frailer capitalist states, such as in Latin America, Africa etc.

In practice, the Yanks refuse to do anything about their deficit and they shove the responsibility for 'improving' the world economy onto their allies, and then everyone condemns Japanese capitalism for vast trade surpluses and not allowing sufficient imports. Such is the pitiful ineptitude of a social system with vast resources whose social relations clash with the needs of society. But all the 'economic' discussions are a facade, because imperialism is dominated by the need to confront the Workers States and humanity by force, and all the 'economic conferences' in the world do not alter this.

The Tokyo summit was obliged to make ritual noises about the need for negotiation with the Soviet Union, whereas the anti-Comintern pact of Hitler was open in its plans against the Soviet Union.

Here they are obliged to wrap things up because of their social weakness, long since analysed by Cde Posadas. Yankee and British imperialism achieved a declaration in naming Libya as a source of 'terrorism' and various limited measures against 'states supporting terrorism'. But the Yanks and their British stooges failed to get approval of the raid on Libya or 'preventive armed action' as the imperialists had desired, not even economic measures against those supporting 'terrorism'.

In all the Tokys summit was another example of the insolubility of all the economic problems of world imperialism, its inability to develop new fields of economic progress, and the inability to impose a centralised line. But it also marked a step in the Yankee plans for 'preventive armed actions' when the torpedoes in the Pentagon think it is necessary. The allies of the Yanks do not welcome the plans of Yankee imperialism and are not dependable allies; constantly they seek to assert their own interest, but also through the ties of capitalist private property all the links of the banks and transnationals, they are obliged to go along with the centre of world imperialism - the United States. The reply to summit meetings such as Tokyo is greater and greater political intervention of the Workers States, with anti-imperialist conferences in Moscow, which tend to mobilise all the masses of the world against imperialism in a massive united front.

From page 3

in Egypt, there was in force a regime similar to the Libyan, and the coup in Libya was stimulated and helped by the process achieved by Egypt. This shows that the most difficult conditions created by religion are overcome by revolutionary progress - which does not refute religion but impels people to understand the indispensable value of the economy, of society and of human relations. Religion comes then adapted to this process. The revolution does not reject or combat or oppose religion, but leads and contributes to make it disappear. On the path of the revolution, religion does not find points of support and is overcome by the consciousness of people who certainly do not abandon their religious belief but subordinate it to the necessity of progress.

Libya is a clear demonstration of how a country, a Sultanate deprived of everything, can choose a very elevated progress. In the other Arab countries the situation is different. The social and military conditions have not been created to make it advance. This has happened

only in two countries of the Middle East: Iraq and Egypt. They had the example of Algeria, which was freed from French imperialism, besides knowing that the Soviet Union supported every process of liberation. The determination and combativity of the military comrades who have led the liberation of Libya, Egypt and Algeria was based on the Soviet support and the knowledge that capitalism had lost historic strength and the capacity to contain progress.

The construction of the Assuan dam has been the example for all the Arab world showing that the Soviet Union certainly - at the cost of great effort and of enormous investments - sustained the progress of history and itself. This is the reason for which world capitalism, headed by the Yanks and the British, murdered Nasser via Sadat. But, while in Egypt they killed Nasser, other men were born elsewhere. Death is not definitive; death means other ways are found.

It is very important to understand this process because part of the Communist movement is not prepared on these problems. On the other hand, the Soviets, through the objective necessity of their existence, tend to be based on this knowledge.

Today, Egypt is used to impede the revolutionary process throughout the Arab world and everywhere. That is why it yields to Israel, while Ghaddafi makes the revolution advance throughout the world.

J. POSADAS 29 April 1981

From Page 1

at all well for capitalism, in any case.

In the USSR, on the other hand, Lyubov Kovalevska, a senior manager at Chernobyl, had warned that the completion date of the construction of the plant had been advanced by one year to satisfy the ambition of some minor local officials. That there had been a lack of proper building materials, and sub-standard ones had been used. That the workers who had built

the plant had been opposed to all this. Clearly, when Moscow intervened to remove the guilty

officials it acted in vindication of the workers, and in this activity allows the workers to be heard better. This process is not new and has been going on for many years now. It was analysed by J. Posadas as 'partial regeneration' and,

this crisis has only served to rectify further the leadership of the Workers State. The process that leads to the war of capitalism is the one that provokes the necessary correction in the USSR to the point when the masses of the USSR will be completely and genuinely represented at the level of leadership.

Meanwhile, everything reported on how the Soviet Union is coping with such emergency is a eulogy of its system. Fleets of lorries and helicopters were immediately found and reams of volunteers, firefighters and workers of the plant, fully aware they were fighting radiation, went in to save the lives of others at the risk of their own. Ingenuity and initiative allowed the blaze to be soon covered with tons of cement, boron and lead; whilst, underground, an operation of 'flooring' was started. A road linking the plant to the Vilcha railway station was immediately built.

All surrounding factories worked day and night to provide supplies. If the population had not known it was radiation there would not have been this mobilisation. A very swift and efficient evacuation was effected and there was a thorough screening of all those involved, in which the US bone marrow expert, Robert Gale, participated. He had brought with him Armand Hammer, a US businessman, who was struck by the human teamwork of the doctors, the specialists and the firefighters. He praised the hospitals too. Professor Gale, replying to journalists' questions, noted the high degree of preparedness of his Soviet colleagues and the Soviet medical establishment for this kind of event. He said that the preliminary estimate of radiation doses and therapeutic strategies were, as far as it was possible, exact. The work of these people was heroic. They risked their own lives to save the lives of their compatriots. This is not new from a place where no one knows what is happening. The only one that was not informed of what was happening in Chernobyl is capitalism, because it hoped that it could indict the regime where the state organises life, and show it as ill-equipped and incompetent. It also wanted to show that a Workers State uses nuclear energy for electricity and nuclear weapons at the same time, hoping this would indict it in the eyes of the masses in capitalism. However, it hardly need saying how all this failed, and how the bourgeois press has been bristling with reports on how capitalism does the same and worse; capitalism had denied repeatedly that accidents had taken place in 1961 and 1957 - even when a nuclear cloud actually travelled South East across England and then passed

over Europe, following the Windscale 1957 accident.

The masses of the USSR clearly knew, and they did not panic. If local officials were slow in informing Moscow it is because they feared for their posts, which they knew would be filled by people more careful of the lives of others. In the 'closed society' of state control the hospitals and fire brigades were all highly equipped for the nuclear emergency. But, in the open society of ours there has never been any talk of letting the Soviet scientists come in as soon as an emergency arose.

The Energy Secretary, Peter Walker, declared that there have never been emergencies in Britain involving radiological hazards to the public in any civil nuclear installation. This argument stands only because Windscale was then classified as a military installation, and radiation was strenuously denied. The 'open society' of capitalism is the one in which it took 26 years to know anything about the radiation cloud released from Windscale in 1957. Up to 1976 reports on nuclear accidents in Britain were banned. And now that the ban has been lifted only 15 cases have come to light in four years when 300 had been reported between 1976 and 1982. It took three Parliamentary Questions to get an admission that radioactive release had taken place from Hinckley Point.

The masses of capitalism see that in the 'open society' of ours those who lie and deny that others are being contaminated stay in their posts of power and are defended by government bodies. The Atomic Energy Authority, the Medical Research Council and, of course, the press also assist. Honest or more truthful reports by scientists are being hidden or discarded, or remain unpublished. It was reported in Parliament that not even the Irish government had been informed in 1957 when there had been a graphite fire in Windscale, and clouds of radiation passed across Britain and Ireland. One correspondent to the 'Guardian' felt better informed about Chernobyl than about Windscale.

All that capitalism has said against Chernobyl applies to itself, and indicts it a thousand times more than it does any other country. The masses learn and have put the Labour Party in a position to demand that the US invites the USSR to discuss a test ban treaty in London. This means the masses support the proposal of the USSR and the reference made by Gorbachev to Hiroshima.

Soviet masses show that they are prepared for any emergency. They have at least an equal technological base to that of the Yankees and, more than that, they have an infinite resource of courage and invention in their masses who will never allow capitalism to roll them back. In any emergency, the masses of the USSR will rise to support their regime. The masses of the capitalist countries will rise also - but to bring down capitalism.

## Editorial

# Demonstrations and mass assemblies to bring down the Thatcher regime.

The magnificent and ceaseless struggle of the South African masses compounds all the problems faced by a dying world capitalist system. The centres of big capital will not let go their massive investments in South Africa, and the sectors directly related to imperialist war preparations and the arms industry need South Africa as a military base. At the same time, such is the social weakness of capitalism that it cannot associate itself with the rotten South African regime in front of its own masses. The European bourgeoisie at its recent EEC meeting tried to have it both ways: it called on South Africa to free Mandela and to recognise the ANC, but declined to impose economic sanctions. Of the two, the most important is the call to recognise the ANC because this is a sign of weakness. Not to take measures of sanctions against the South African regime is in the nature of capitalism - it supports its own class. Thus South Africa is not a local issue nor a nationalist struggle, but essentially part of a world process.

The vocal opposition to the South African regime is a face the bourgeoisie puts on for its own masses, a symptom of its social weakness. The real face of imperialism and the capitalist system is the decision by the Yanks to support the 'Contras', the counter-revolutionary gang in its terrorism against the Nicaraguan masses. This decision is part of the war preparations being made by imperialism. It is all done with complete uncertainty, with the Yankee leadership speaking in two voices constantly, and with Reagan saying that he still supports the SALT Treaty when his aides publically express the opposite opinion. But the only option the system has is war. This prospect, a war it cannot win, compounds all the divisions which exist between Yankee imperialism and the European bourgeoisie, inside the Reagan administration itself, and between capitalism and the majority of the people in the capitalist countries.

### SOVIET POLITICAL LEADERSHIP.

It is all these divisions that the Soviet leadership seeks to exploit in its current diplomatic offensive. It is bombarding capitalism with proposals designed to show that the Soviet Union does not want war. Amongst the latest of these has been the proposal by the Warsaw 'pact' for a mutual troop reduction in Europe, by 500,000 on either side in the next decade, and the proposal by the Soviet Union to create a World Space Organisation (WSO) to 'explore space to the benefit of the whole of humanity'. The Soviet campaign is designed to exploit the divisions within imperialism and world capitalism, and to disrupt imperialist war preparations; but it also has the secondary effect of attracting the petit bourgeois masses of the capitalist countries towards the Soviet Union and disrupting the electoral basis of capitalism.

It all strengthens the enormous attractive powers of the Soviet Workers State over the world masses. The result is, for example, the organisation of a monitoring service for nuclear tests between Soviet scientists and scientists from the United States. This has already resulted in the United States side (the Natural Resources Defence Council) announcing that the Yanks have conducted as many as nineteen secret nuclear tests in the 1980/84 period. The proposals for unilateral agreements on nuclear weapons between the Soviet Union, Britain and France - refused by both the French and British bourgeoisies - are also part of the same campaign. The effect on the masses is powerful, whatever the response of the European bourgeoisie; and thus the Kent miners invited Soviet people (and were accepted) to spend holidays in Britain following the Chernobyl accident and firefighters in the United States publically praised the courage of the Soviet firefighters at Chernobyl. The Soviet offensive is good, as far as it goes, but the fact remains that imperialism prepares the war and will eventually launch it; and therefore we cannot talk about 'peace' as an abstract concept. The Soviet Communist Party, in particular, has to translate the obvious world authority of the Soviet Union into a political leadership for the world masses - not least for those of South Africa today, by showing that the class struggle continues today in the form of a system against system confrontation.

The Soviet Union constantly undercuts the social authority of capitalism, and not least of the issue of imperialist war preparations. The Liberal/SDP Alliance which is representative of layers of petit bourgeois and even bourgeoisie is at odds over nuclear weapons.

It is, of course, impossible for a dying capitalism to sustain its social support any way. Not with eleven million

people living below the official poverty line. This is about 20% of the British population! The BMA - not the most progressive organisation - says that the NHS is in a state of collapse. Its chairman says that the NHS is in chaos resulting from 'grocery-store type management'. Two hundred hospitals and twenty-eight thousand beds have been eliminated. The Thatcher government is forced to talk with representatives of the South African ANC because it is socially weak. But, perhaps, the most telling aspect of all is the repression by the forces of the British state against the Northern Ireland Unionists. After all, it used to be the Conservative and Unionist Party, and now Thatcher turns the police on a sector of the Unionists because the Yanks insist on concessions to the Southern Irish bourgeoisie to gain their adhesion to NATO.

The conditions are ripe to confront the Thatcher government and to prepare for its removal. It is time to mobilise against the Thatcher gang, to weaken it, and to prepare for a Labour victory at the next General Election. Labour can exploit all the social weakness of the system, the divisions in the 'Alliance', and all the rest, by campaigning on the central issues of social progress, particularly the question of war and nuclear weapons. Labour has to bring its programme against the Yankee nuclear bases to the forefront, and to mobilise on it. There is massive support in the country for the removal of these bases.

Clearly, the Labour/trade union apparatus is not very interested in winning an election

in any decisive way. This is why the Labour/TUC liaison committee is now proposing to maintain the anti-trade union laws brought in by the Tories and a wage freeze on too. This means the major responsibility lies with the Labour and trade union left. It is now time to raise a discussion and to mobilise on all the fundamental points of social progress and transformation. They must go to the masses directly, calling meetings in factories, work-sites, workers' areas and places of education. But, to do this effectively, they have to see Britain as part of a world process which includes the struggle in South Africa, imperialism's war preparations, and the central role in the progress of humanity played by the Soviet Union and the other Workers States.

## CONTENTS

Page 1 Editorial South Africa;

Page 2 Article on Automation.  
J. POSADAS

Page 3 Article on Culture and Science:  
J. POSADAS

Page 4 The 'Wapping' crisis;

Workers of the world, unite!

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## THE REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

### THE BLACK MASSES OF SOUTH AFRICA FEEL THE SUPPORT OF THE SOVIET UNION AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION.

*The process in South Africa is not solely a racial or political crisis. It is an expression of the need for social revolution. The liquidation of Apartheid is inseparable from the termination of the capitalist system. Apartheid, with its vicious policies of segregation, pass laws, phoney 'black settlement areas', is an expression of a ferocious policy of class war in which the under-class has black skins and the master-class is white. South African capitalism is a form of fascism, unable in this stage of history to impose... total suppression which Hitler achieved for a period, because the world conditions do not allow it.*

*Even if Apartheid were largely dismantled the black masses have no perspective of development within the confines of the capitalist system. To obtain an infinitely superior standard of life would require massive transformation of industry and agriculture which can only be done under a planned and collectivised society.*

*The South African process brings out the polarisation in the world between the forces led by Yankee reaction and the progressive role of the Workers States. It demoralises the forces of imperialism and capitalism who are incapable of controlling the problem and are besieged by it.*

*The isolation of the Reagan Thatcher and EEC governments is an index of the isolation of world capitalism. Whatever their hypocritical condemnation of Apartheid, they fear measures against it because the South African capitalist state, which is basically run by Yankee and European capitalism, is a vital centre for imperialist counter-revolution in Africa. As the internal fight sharpens the counter-revolutionary base of South African capitalism is ever more active. This in itself brings out again the global aspect of the South African struggle. When the assassin Botha says that he is fighting Communism, he is*

Continued on page 3

# TECHNOLOGY, SCIENCE, AUTOMATION, CAPITALISM AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

J. POSADAS 16 5 1973

The introduction of automation in the factory will reduce manpower by 15% to 20%. It is a question of machines and electronic equipment which can make numerous operations, which have programmes of production, and which function taking account of distance, heat and time. They conduct operations which before were undertaken by workers, and this has been made possible from the fact that the machines do not have need of thought and are limited to calculating movement and rhythm.

Today the worker in the factory makes a rhythmical work no longer based on his experience. His functions can then be perfectly substituted by machines and this can eliminate an immense number of the present manpower.

Capitalism, on the other hand, faces the problem of who will consume and how much will be produced, given that reducing by half the employed work force will also reduce consumption. Capitalism is not in the position to solve this problem. On the contrary, this contradiction will always become more acute.

At the present moment, for example, the electronic industry has grown a great deal under the stimulus of the space industry, in particular, that linked to the satellites; which is the shape of the future.

The satellites can coordinate the terrestrial, semi-terrestrial and lunar spheres, and working at speed can in three or four years reach a total coordination at various levels. This technological and scientific progress leads to the overcoming of direct human work for the machine which is substituted. Thus, either people will die of hunger because of unemployment — as in the less economically developed countries — or each will work two or three hours per day with the possibility of a decent life for all.

Thus the problem is posed as to what the capitalist system intends to do. In reality, capitalism is outside the issue. Technological progress will lead in a short time to the elimination of half the workers

in the factory and the offices, given that the machine cannot only be substituted for the work of the workers, but also for the technicians and for the office employees.

If this has not yet occurred it is because the capitalist regime is not yet interested in doing it, and because the Soviet Union develops a policy which partly consists in showing the superiority of the Workers State as regards capitalism to avoid in this way the nuclear war.

The essential point to sustain is that every progress in automation and electronics, or in any other sector, must be for the benefit of humanity. Capitalism cannot tolerate a series of demands.

The problem is thus them or us, and for us it is a question of humanity — the future of life — while for them it is a matter of war, assassination, suffocation and the negation of every progress of humanity in precisely technological gains. Indeed the machines and robots represent a gain of humanity, not of capitalism alone: a conquest of scientists, technicians and of workers. Each contributes with his own industrial experience, and this is the result. All that is the result of human knowledge and experience, which is based essentially on the Workers States and the behaviour and the work of the masses, of the technicians and the scientists who live in the capitalist regime and understand the necessity for centralising this progress.

Who can centralise it? Certainly not the capitalist regime, which negates the life and objective of humanity; nor the bureaucracy of the Workers States. But the scientists, the Soviet and Chinese mili-

tary, the Catholic nationalists, and the Communist world vanguard are realising that this type of life has no meaning and that it is absurd that by pressing a button it is possible to launch a satellite to control space and change in part communication with space while capitalism is still on its feet.

Very quickly it will be the question of what to do with these forces and this capacity. Humanity sees that all its potential in science and relations with nature is used to construct atomic weapons; that the application of electronics or cybernetics, and of the knowledge of the atom, is used to kill people. This weighs on the minds of the scientists and of humanity.

## THE TECHNICAL AND SCIENTIFIC ABILITY DEDICATED TO WAR.

The progress of the scientific organisation of human thought and in production demands in an ever more decisive way that there is an end to this system of life, the capitalist system, which does not allow the utilisation of this strength. In Africa twenty five million people are close to death because they do not have water and food, when the United States, Australia, Argentina and the USSR can by themselves produce enough to feed the world.

Utilising all the scientific and technological capacity which we have at our disposal these five countries could in one year produce enough grain to feed humanity for ten years. Instead, from thirty to forty per cent of the labour force involved in production must defend itself from the brutality

of capitalism: from the poisoning of water and air, from the adulteration of food. The research on the resistance of the human organ to chemical products used in food such as meat, fruit and milk occupies the time of a very extensive layer. Even if the milk is not adulterated directly, this is poisoned indirectly by what is absorbed by the cow, and it is the same with the fish.

The behaviour of humanity is based on intelligence and reason. Many North American pilots who are well paid have said that they did not want to fly over Cambodia (this refers to an episode in the Vietnam war) and denounced the imperialist war plans. If they make these declarations it is not only because they realise that the war in Vietnam is unjust, which is evident, but because they understand that it is stupid to have studied science and use it to kill people. The formation of these soldiers is that of considering the Vietnamese and the Cambodian of the third category, which is of no use to any one. But today they ask why they must kill so many people. To kill a Cambodian for them is the same as killing a black or a pest. To kill a black had no importance because he was not a person but a black. Now instead they ask why they are forced to kill: it is a progress of reason.

The attitude of these soldiers has much influence on the Generals and the Officers of the colonial and semi-colonial countries, who go over to the revolution and stimulate the Yankee military to reject the role of killing people. This progress moves in favour of the revolution, of the destruction and substitu-

tion of the capitalist system, and this influences a great deal the scientists of the capitalist countries. In the United States the scientists against war, who denounce the preparation of the atomic conflict, gain in number.

There are the conditions, the scientific knowledge, the mechanical means, and the mechanical means and the raw materials not to be forced to attack and combat, to be able to live.

Soon the workers' movement will find that the trade union demands do not answer to the level of the consciousness, and the will which the masses show. That means, for example, that the introduction of automation in Fiat is used to compete with European capitalism, in particular German capitalism; but, above all, to compete internally with the workers and with their conquests.

Capitalism automates production, stimulated by inter-capitalist competition. It is necessary that all the benefits of automation, of the introduction of automatic machines serve to improve the standard of life of the masses. No factory must be closed, no workers dismissed! There has to be the sliding scale of hours, and a general increase in wages. To every progress of automation there must correspond a progress in the standard of life of the masses. But, since everything would last very little in the capitalist regime — because it would make more acute the inter-capitalist competition, with the Workers States and with the revolution — the masses must fight to take power.

16 May 1973 J. POSADAS

TO THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE CPSU, 10.6.86

Dear Comrades,

We express our most complete solidarity with the Soviet government and people over the events in Chernobyl, and our deepest emotion in front of the loss of life. At the same time we also render homage to the sublime conduct of the Soviet comrades who gave their lives to stem the effects of the disaster. This whole experience shows the most elevated Communist sentiments of the Soviet people, the historic achievements of October 1917, and will have a powerful effect on the whole world.

With warmest Communist affection,

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Private property has split apart, in form and content, all human activity; so much so that culture, science and politics — like art and the economy — have become separate worlds. However much the necessity of life united them, they have evolved very specialised functions. In the future, however, they will combine into a single whole, all except politics which will be left behind, having become obsolete.

Artistic, scientific or cultural activities today are all the more limited for being separated from each other. However, when they motivate political aims they tend to become united again, and can even be almost integrally expressed. This happens when the political aim is at the service of human need and of the human future.

Science, culture and art are wide apart now because of the world division of labour, of society and of classes. The fact that they are separated and scattered in varying degrees everywhere does not mean that they have not a single origin. In the future they will cease to be diverse and will become one, because in the future a simple thing like human labour will serve purely and simply the satisfaction of human need, unlike today. When this is reached culture will encompass the best ability of humanity.

As the social relation of private property has determined the separation between science, culture and art, in capitalism these have become so distinct as to have developed almost independently. It is not that capitalism planned it so but that the relation of production, and therefore its social relations, caused them to constitute different spheres. In practice, however, you can see that they are a single entity. Life itself tends to bring them together all the time, but it can't alter the organisation created by private property. In Socialism there will no longer be any such separation. Humanity will become capable of perceiving in

great depth the very particular or peculiar aspects of reality, without ceasing to see them as part of the whole, as part of objectives. This is not so today. For instance, the objective of (discovering and opening up the universe will draw on every partial or particular element of knowledge. Art will be the central medium through which to express the enormous perspectives of humanity. It will have as vast a scope then, as vast as it has a limited one in present day social relations. Culture will be the actual road along which to attain this objective, and science will provide the knowledge of how to travel along that road. As regards politics we will not have to consider it, because it will have ceased to exist.

Art, science and politics, like the development of culture, have been necessary realisations for humanity to organise itself, from the tribal stage to when humans could foresee. The fundamental role of culture has been to provide the bases for knowledge, to grow and reach the point of foresight. Marx took this ability to its limit, further than Columbus himself. In capitalism there has been a development of science, art and culture; but always empirically, under the spur of the necessity of life and above all life dependent on the economy. In various systems of production and regimes of property, passing from slave societies, through feudal to capitalist, the economy remained within private property. In consequence, the regime of private property could not produce anything else but a form of culture, art and science to serve its aims. When, today, we witness the revolt of science, culture and art against the capitalist regime, it is because that regime is finished. The most accomplished analyst in capitalism cannot help being totally inferior to Marx, who has dealt with this problem exhaustively and from every point of view. There is generally a great disregard for Karl Marx, who is hardly ever

mentioned in works of art or theatre, but whose contribution to human thinking would justify it.

The insight of Columbus that the world was round — and that going to the end of the earth must mean the return to the point of departure — was of world-shattering importance. It shows how much he was passionate in his search for the ideas to serve the development of science, and to serve the human being in nature. But Karl Marx dealt with more than humanity and nature. He dealt with the movement of social relations at a time when it appeared that there was no such movement; that the sort of life induced by the (capitalist) regime of property was the sole and only way of living; when capitalism was in a great economic and military development; when its political expansion appeared unlimited. However, Marx foresaw eighty years before the first (anti-capitalist) revolution that the capitalist regime would come to an end; that the relations induced by capitalism would not last. What Columbus had managed to grasp in a partial manner, Marx developed fully and concentratedly. The development of scientific knowledge, culture and art find a powerful expression in general science. Politics is one of the forms of science, and this is so because the progress of humanity passed through the development of the economy. Social relations have arisen through the economy. This being so, the instrument the method to foresee future progress has evolved through politics, and revolution is the highest point of politics.

For any scientific ability to transcend, it must have an application organisationally. This applies to all spheres of science and, therefore, to politics. A 'scientific ability' which does not foresee the course of its own actions or the processes outside itself is nonsense. Any real scientific endeavour seeks a

voice, seeks to manifest itself and to communicate itself. So it does in politics. Marx showed that the material expression of Socialism is the 'government of the people'. The fact that the USSR today is not quite this does not mean that Marx was wrong. It means that the Workers State is not yet the same thing as Socialism. When Marx enunciated principles he was showing that the ultimate form of Socialist organisation would be the government of the people. At the time there was not the smallest concrete materialisation of Socialism; the role of the working class and the construction of the Party were still to be observed and analysed. What Marx gave was the principle of the essence of Socialism: 'It will eliminate all forms of imposition and of government'. The Workers State is not yet this because it is not the same thing as Socialism. The reason for this is very simple: as long as there remains capitalism in the world Socialism will be essentially limited and will not pass a certain point. But, as many Workers States have managed to emerge and develop, this has changed: for instance, the fact that many Workers States are there today makes it more easy to advance against capitalism in a place like Switzerland. Marx or Trotsky may not have said this but it is so. Capitalism itself underwent a process of revolutions, as in France and Italy, that obeyed similar laws.

The most persuasive and assertive document in history is 'The Communist Manifesto'. The assertions made there are based on analyses, persuasive and conclusive — like history itself. It is not saying that history should be according to the taste of Marx and Engels, but that it is going to be the way analysed. 'The Communist Manifesto' marks a height from which it has been possible to prove the organisational ability of human thought — able to intervene in

history and to lead it. It is the most complete document in history. There is no other that has even tried to equal it, even though the Utopians have been important — and others before, who wanted human equality. But they all sought to make history according to their wishes whereas Marx, using the best of their contribution and without mocking them, showed how history was actually going to be.

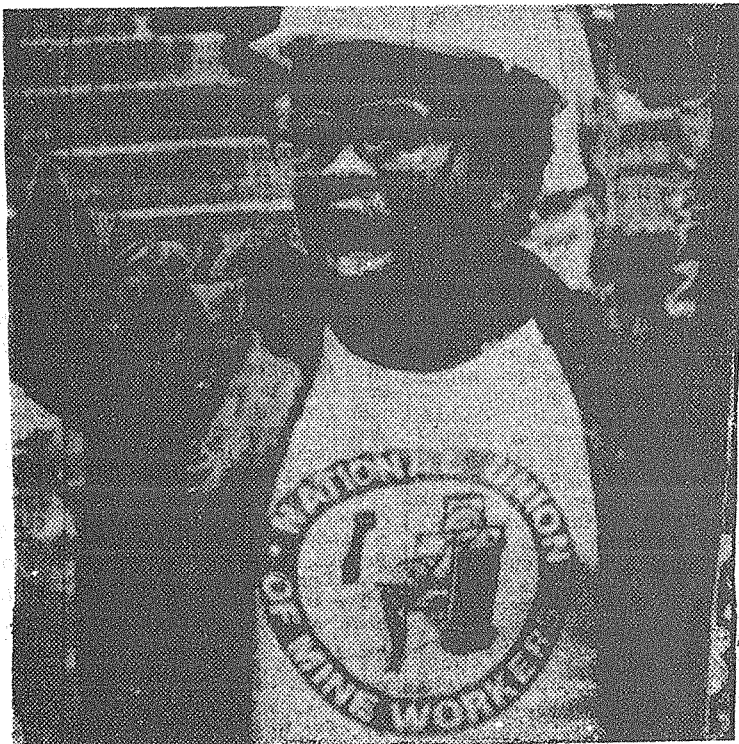
Marx had to be polemical because he had to impress others and give them confidence at a time when capitalism still had great force. It was not to show that he was better than others, but to establish firmly the bases upon which to build scientific thought. Today, this confidence does not need to be built; it is already in existence.

People can see that those who are not Marxists understand nothing. The polemical tones of Marx and Engels are no longer called for in the circumstances of today. Neither is that of Lenin and Trotsky, because that was against the conciliators and the Stalinists. This is no longer important. Today the situation is thus: Workers States against capitalism. The instruments of history today are the Workers States. The realisation of this is as important now as the Communist 'Manifesto' was in its time.

The most elevated culture is contained today in the realisation that it is Workers States against capitalism, and that it is the Workers State which is the instrument of history. This is politics but it contains the best of culture, of art and of science. So much so that the most sweeping preparations by capitalism for the atomic war do not stop the Workers States operating and experimenting in all fields — the field of genetics, biology and many others — with utter confidence; and in all fields they are making the most complete discoveries.

J. POSADAS 6th June 1980

South African  
miners  
against  
Apartheid



From page 1  
*fighting Communism, he is right. The overthrow of Apartheid is part of the struggle for Communist expropriation in South Africa. This may not be immediately on the agenda, but the essence of the fight is there.*

*South Africa is a vital centre in the global conflict of Yankee imperialism against the Soviet Union, and all the forces of human progress throughout the globe. The violent aggressions of South Africa against Angola — the forces of Unita are directly armed by Yankee imperialism — the murderous interventions against Mozambique and Zambia are part of the*

*attempt to block progress to Socialism. That is why all the main capitalist powers are with South Africa, although they are obliged to conceal their real intentions.*

*After hundreds of blacks were murdered the Emergency Laws were lifted in May, but it is clear that — despite the massive and bloody campaign of the imperialist-financed governments — the revolutionary process continues. Hence the latest clamp down, preceded by the fascist razing of the shanty town, Crossroads. There is no prospect of any serious alternative to social revolution, to a prolonged*

## WAPPING AND THE NEED FOR THE TRADE UNIONS TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE

The struggle of the trade unions to defend the print workers sacked by Murdoch's News International over the move to Wapping gives a fairly representative picture of the unequal and combined character of the class struggle today. Here we have Murdoch's company - an enormous concentration of capital in very few hands - virtually under siege in a plant at Wapping which resembles Hitler's Berlin bunker. He is under siege as world capitalism is under siege by the forces of progress, notably the Workers States. The labour movement is pretty well mobilised at the base to confront a ruthless boss, as it was during the miners' strike, without any glimmer of leadership, programme or militancy from the top of the trade unions and Labour Party. Whilst the isolation of Murdoch is paralleled by the world isolation of Reagan and Thatcher, the workers mobilise - buoyed up by the favourable balance of world forces - and attract other sectors of the population. The workers now grasp any centre for struggle against a dying capitalism which is offered. The fact that the miners' strike lasted over a year and mobilised the whole country; the fact that the teachers' actions continued for over a year; and that Wapping is following much the same pattern; speaks volumes for the spirit of the workers which is based on a favourable world situation.

The print workers of Wapping certainly need this favourable world balance to sustain them in front of a leadership which is fully prepared to settle the strike at any cost - to the workers! In particular, Brenda Dean (of SOGAT) and Willis (of the TUC) are to the fore when any possibility of conciliation with Murdoch presents itself. It is an intolerable situation when a union leader like Brenda Dean

has to be told - as she was at the SOGAT annual conference - that the fight at Wapping is for union rights and jobs.

What kind of trade union leader is it that has to be reminded what the struggle is all about? The ballot over Wapping was, as all ballots are, a device to give weight to the most inactive, timid and conciliatory elements in the trade union. Also, in this instance, the agreement between the unions and Murdoch, on which the ballot was based, contained - as the SOGAT London Machine Branch reported - supplementary clauses, not revealed to the membership, which would have allowed the reinstatement of union members expelled for blacklegging, and not have ensured union recognition at Wapping. In the event, the workers threw the whole rotten deal out. All this proves, if additional proof be needed, that the trade union apparatus and the current leadership of the Labour movement, has been overtaken by the course of history. We are not in the era of gaining concessions from a powerful capitalism any longer, but in conditions of the most naked class confrontation nationally and on a world scale. Capitalism will not give concessions. Therefore a new trade union leadership, a much more politically conscious leadership, is needed, and improvements made in trade union democracy - including the right of instant recall of all representatives - which would allow the workers to weigh much more in policy and action.

The women's actions in support of the printers - like the demonstration on International Women's Day - symbolises the continuity of the class struggle. In the forefront of this were the Women's Support Groups organised during the miners' strike who had previously made contact with the 'peace' women at Green-

ham Common. In a whole range of actions these women try to formulate a programme for social transformation by linking such issues as peace, unemployment and discrimination against women in capitalist society. In so doing they also demonstrate that the base of the workers' and mass movement is infinitely more advanced than its leadership.

Murdoch is as weak as the system he represents. It is ironic that the Thatcher government which mobilised massive forces to allow a few miners to work during the strike, is now mobilising the same forces - and using the same brutally repressive measures - against printers who want to work. Of course, the Thatcher government takes these measures of repression against workers - and any one else who questions the lunacy of the capitalist system - because the system is too weak to do anything else. It turns to repression - and ultimately war - because it is totally unable to use the advance of science and technology for the benefit of humanity, or even for its own class interests in any effective way.

Murdoch, to add to his problems, has had to deal with a revolt by his journalists and considerable doubt on the part of the TNT drivers over breaking picket lines. The decision of the NUJ at Wapping not to continue to work there was an expression of the way in which layers of the population which previously supported the system now find themselves attracted to the workers and their struggles. If the journalists were finally 'bought off' with a sizeable pay rise, it is not surprising. Journalists are not a vanguard sector and they did not find a leadership in the trade union movement in which they could have had any real confidence. This is why Murdoch

decided - or at least part of the reason - to offer his old print-works at Gray's Inn Road to the labour movement so that it could print its own newspaper. This is why he also raised the total redundancy payment from £15 million to £50 million. A totally inadequate payment in any case, but a considerable increase. It is all an admission of weakness on Murdoch's part because, regardless of any other consideration, it is a very expensive way of ending a strike. The offer has not been accepted, and the Labour Party and trade union leaders are correct to reject it; but they have not drawn the conclusion that it is an admission of weakness on Murdoch's part and therefore the time is ripe to increase the demands and mobilisations. This is too much to expect from a leadership (or rather non-leadership) which knows that any advance on its part will be taken further by the workers and their allies. All the apparatus people in the labour movement know is conciliation with the bosses and submission to the capitalist system.

Murdoch's offer of the old print-works at Gray's Inn Road is something of a double-edged weapon. A sign of weakness, yes; but also a way of showing the inability of the labour and trade union apparatus to produce its own newspaper. What sort of leadership is it that has to be offered printing facilities by a Murdoch?

The truth is that the labour movement could very well produce its own daily newspaper which would be supported and read. The reason why the Labour Party and trade union apparatus has talked about producing a newspaper for years and done nothing, is that they fear discussion. These people are integrated into the capitalist system

this is why Maxwell (owner of the 'Daily Mirror') is quite happy

to be a member of the Labour Party, and the Labour Party apparatus is happy to have him. The financial and human resources exist in the Labour movement to produce a daily newspaper, but the leadership and ideas do not. The labour movement leaders have turned down Murdoch's offer, and it is of course no basis to end the strike anyway; but their prime motive is that they have no use for printing facilities. They feel a paper could actively promote a discussion and fear the outcome.

The current struggle around News International at Wapping is an example of the need for a programme to transform society and to mobilise the forces of progress. The workers, and those of the population attracted to their struggle, constantly signal their readiness for this. All the issues raised by the movements for peace and the environment, by unemployment, bad housing, the run-down of the health and social services and education, racism and police repression; are all motives for action, and demand a programme.

A politically conscious leadership capable of answering the current situation will eventually emerge from the advance of the Labour left, but the trade unions cannot wait inactive for this eventuality. There is now a crying need for the trade unions the left within them

to play a political role. There is no solution in simple trade union demands. The trade unions really have to raise their sights now and mobilise on a programme to transform society, based firmly on the perspective of a state-owned economy, centrally planned under workers' control, the immediate removal of the Thatcher gang from office and its replacement by a Labour government committed to a programme to transform society.

From page 3

*anti-capitalist struggle; because there are no extensive intermediate layers on which imperialism can rest.*

*The small sectors of blacks incorporated by the system are being wiped out in the course of the fight, and the abandonment of a political position by van Slybbert shows the lack of perspective of the white 'liberal' opposition.*

*Recently the South African government was so hard pressed that they felt obliged to modify a little the pass laws, and even to 'return' South African citizenship for the 'Bantustans' (segregated areas for blacks, with no prospects of progress). But, even here,*

*it was made clear that separate residential areas, education and compulsory classification of the population according to race, would remain unchanged. The continued insurgence of the population, which is fundamentally sustained by the world ambience of support, has led to the latest ferocious repression on the part of South African capitalism. Years ago the system could have been modified if imperialist capital in South Africa had made it plain that changes were necessary. The attitude of Reagan and Thatcher upholds the regime because it corresponds to their class interests.*

*Imperialism is going to do all in its power to retain power in South Africa - apart from its being a vital centre for half of the Yankee strategic war materials. With this prospect, it is necessary that the Soviet Union elevates its intervention politically, giving in their publications the class direction of the whole process. combined with military preparation in the other states such as Angola, Mozambique etc. These states depend on the Soviet Union which has maintained them against attacks and with economic aid. But this has to be centralised even more.*

*The ANC and the COSATU (miners) are the central leadership in the fight against the exploiters; that is, the central sectors of the proletariat and the Communists. The nature of the revolutionary struggle has given rise to the spreading of popular committees. Sometimes the struggles have been of a most spectacular order; that is, for example, in the three day street battles for Alexandra.*

*There is no doubt that, even without more direct confrontations with the Soviet Union, imperialism is decomposing and is racked by internal divisions, but the*

*whole tendency of imperialism is towards war; the SDI confirms it. The South African regime will be swept away as part of the whole process of the final encounter, of the war revolution. For a while it can continue with repression, and the ruling class will cling on to their wealth as did the old Tsarist ruling class in 1905 to 1907, but in this case 1917 is very close behind. The Tsarist regime was disrupted by a combination of internal decay and external disasters which made it ungovernable. The same is the perspective for the herrenvolk in South Africa.*



# The Labour left must unify the industrial and anti nuclear arms struggle on a programme of social transformations

The international scene continues to be dominated by the diplomatic initiatives of the Soviet Union as part of the efforts of the Soviet leadership to contain imperialism and influence the weaker sectors of capitalism who wish to survive on the basis of extended time through trade etc. But the latest proposals of the Soviets to renew their moratorium on nuclear tests also signals limitations of a policy designed to limit imperialism. Fundamentally the only way to do that is through making use of the superiority in the balance of world forces; that is, leading the world revolutionary process through the unstinted support of the world revolution by the Workers States. At the latest announcement of the continuation of the moratorium of the Soviets on nuclear testing the Red Army had its own meeting firmly pointing out that this policy did mean an advantage to the Yanks. This was a way of showing that the Red Army is, in fact, very dissatisfied with Soviet policy in this domain, and this announces new forms of crisis of growth in the near future in Soviet policy. The conclusion is that there is an objective need for a more dynamic policy of the Soviets on the world plane, a turning from concentration on negotiations with imperialism with a more profound identification with the world revolution. This identification already exists, but has to be deepened - above all on the plane of ideas, policies and programme.

At the same time, although imperialism seeks to bog the Soviets down in interminable negotiations, it has little margin to use because all the time the world revolution advances in South Africa, in Uganda, etc. and imperialism cannot organise its forces to contain this process or the advance of the Workers States through the political revolution especially strong in the Soviet Union. Imperialism is attempting to renew its strangulation of Nicaragua, it makes more provocations towards Libya, it murders in South Africa, it sends in more planes to bases in Japan and Britain, but it lacks the strength to pursue a consistent policy or win social support in its own countries. Thus, the masses of the United States make no mobilisations in support of Reagan. He speaks for the wealthy and that is all, and only restricted circles of them. The relation of forces is clearly seen in the recent conference of the Socialist International in Lima, which took positions totally hostile to the imperialist policy of exploiting the economies of Latin America etc. and supported the proposals of the Soviet Union

against war. In the past, the Social Democracy was an instrument of imperialism, now it seeks to associate with the Workers States.

## THE DISINTEGRATION OF BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

Britain, once the prime imperialism which plundered the world, is now simply an off-shore base of Yankee imperialism to hit the Workers States. Its massive decay, however, is an expression of the decay of world imperialism as a whole. Marx, speaking at another stage, nevertheless in an apposite way summarised the monumental degeneration of capitalism. 'The finance aristocracy in its mode of acquisition as well as in its pleasures is nothing but the resurrection of the lumpen proletariat at the top of bourgeois society.' Thatcher's policy expresses the basic issue that imperialism has nothing creative to say. It makes profits on the Stock Exchange which bear no relation to real production and plunders the Budget for military profits. This is in line with the policy of supporting Botha, and thus electorally it has no concessions of any importance to give. It seeks to retain its own wealthy base, but is socially besieged and relies on the limitations of its opponents as the only means of survival. The open emergence of the fascist element which even Tebbit was obliged to contain, a fascist element which finds no perspective is a symptom of the impotence of the Thatcherites. The crisis in the police over Stalker is another example of the crisis of the bourgeois state apparatus.

In all this, there is no leadership in the workers' organisations which corresponds to the needs of the masses. The Labour and trade union apparatus has shown that it is preoccupied to block the independent functioning of the masses at all costs. Thus, the present trade union conference is dominated by the crisis of this apparatus, by the need to stop the printers demanding the expulsion of the Electricians Union on the basis of its conniving with Murdoch over Wapping. The Print Workers have had to combat their own leadership to fight against Murdoch, just as the Miners had to confront the rest of the trade union functionaries in the Miners' strike. The Labour Party and trade union leaderships are trying to maintain pre-strike balloting, again as a means of containing the workers and conciliating with capitalism. But, in spite of this and because of the advance of the whole structure of the world revolution,

Continued on page

## CONTENTS

Page 1 Editorial

Page 3

Political revolution in the USSR.

Page 2 Ecology and the crisis of capitalism: J. POSADAS

Page 4

Burkina Faso;

Workers of the world, unite!

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## SOUTH AFRICA - PART OF THE WAR STRATEGY OF IMPERIALISM

The struggle of the South African masses continues despite the repression they face, with 96 people killed and 5,000 jailed in the first twenty days of the 'state of emergency' declared in early June. This repression is a measure of the weakness and isolation of Botha's fascist regime, and has done nothing to prevent the increasing mobilisation of key sectors of the South African proletariat. The general strike of July 14th showed that the trade union organisation of the South African workers remains unbroken, confident and increasingly active. The fact that the South African masses are able to attract support on a world scale - and isolate Yankee and British imperialism - is not simply due to the courage and dedication of the South African masses but to it forming part of the world confrontation between the two social systems. The struggle in South Africa is part of a world process and has to be viewed in this light.

The 'commonwealth' conference came to no unified conclusion because there is no possibility of any intermediate 'Zimbabwe' type of

settlement in South Africa. The character of the regime has prevented the emergence of any structured black bourgeoisie that could take over and keep South Africa within the capitalist system. There are black elements - in the 'homelands' for example - that profit from the system, but are simply agents for it. These people have little faith in any intermediate solution, which is why the reactionary Chief Buthelezi is now calling for the release of Nelson Mandela and taking a certain distance from Botha. Certainly there are some capitalist industrial sectors which desperately want an intermediate solution that would enable them to retain their investments in South Africa, and who fear that the intransigence of Botha will lead to a Workers State and to them losing everything. This sector has been quite vocal in the British Conservative Party recently.

But these sectors do not decide - they are simply voices crying in the wilderness. World capitalism, led by Yankee imperialism, is preparing for war because this is its only option and this determines all

its policies. Whatever public face they put on, Yankee and British imperialism - and also sectors of the European bourgeoisie - continue to support the South African regime because South Africa is a military base. Indeed, it is the only firm military base capitalism has on the African continent. It is the base from which imperialism confronts the progress of the African masses by direct attacks on Zimbabwe and Botswana, on Mozambique and Angola; and indirectly by supporting the terrorists of UNITA. World capitalism may announce some formal sanctions against South Africa but they will do nothing effective to damage it. It has to be clearly understood that South Africa is a base from which imperialism confronts the forces of progress in Africa and the growing influence of the Workers States in that region. Botha never ceases to remind world capitalism of the presence of Cuban troops in southern Africa. In these circumstances the spectacle of the TUC leadership standing outside the Commonwealth Conference hoping for some inter-

Continued on page 4



Nicaragua confronts American imperialism

# Ecology, the crisis of capitalism and the socialist solution to the problems of humanity. J. Posadas 29.3.76.

No bourgeois party can accept the alliance with the ecologists because one of the essential conditions for the continued existence of the capitalist regime is the pollution of the water, of the air, the plants and of food. The development of competition demands that capitalism — to maintain accumulation and profit — accelerates: the turnover of production, the utilisation of chemical elements and the reduction of the stage of production. This results in pollution of the air, of water and of the land, the creation of raw materials and industrial products that are toxic, including textile products which can be full of poisonous material.

Capitalism needs to shorten the time of production to maintain the level of profit, to compete within its system, to defend itself from the workers' movement and the Workers States. This means that the capitalists are more and more stimulated to pollute everything because, to shorten the time of production and to increase profit, they have to 'modernise'. This poisons people, produces industrial waste which contaminates water, and diminishes the quality of production — because there is a reduction in the quality of raw material. The level of profit is maintained and the use value is reduced. With all this as a whole capitalism has to advance, accentuating the criminal character of daily production. It is not only a question of the preparation of war but of production for immediate consumption, food and clothes, everything.

The crisis of capitalism is the normal crisis of its system of production: inflation and unemployment, increase in the cost of living, greater elimination of capitalists, greater concentration of capital in production, greater productivity; but, on the other hand, there is no increase in consumption. There are millions who remain outside the market and capitalism cannot incorporate them. The development of the Workers States, of the policy of the Soviet Union of support to the anti-imperialist revolutionary movements of liberation, demands of imperialism an ever greater investment which weakens the capitalist system. Soviet intervention in support of the liberation movements is part of the preparation of the war, and also to contain imperialism. As all this forces imperialism to make a much greater investment to be able at the same time to maintain its level of profit, this weakens the quality of production. All this is going to increase.

The contamination through industrial-chemical waste, or the manufacture with contaminated radio-active elements as in Seveso in Italy, is produced by all the factories of the world. All! They tend to introduce, to develop, to apply in a more and more constant and extensive way chemical elements which poison people, whether through food or any other object of use. In turn, this object of use releases daily part of the poison. This cannot be rectified by capitalism. It has to continue on this road.

Thus all these ecologists'

atomic energy for the benefit of the population. But capitalism cannot do this. It poisons people and kills them, makes atomic arms and prepares the atomic war. Thus it is necessary to take power.

It is necessary to unite these movements in the need to see that, to prevent capitalism poisoning people and to use atomic energy conveniently, it is necessary to overthrow it.

The use of atomic energy eliminates the utilisation of objects and things which are backward, costly and damaging. But, at the present moment in capitalism, the use of atomic energy causes as much harm as progress — beginning with the fact that it makes atomic arms, and secondly through the waste from the atomic energy which poisons people. Thus, it is necessary to develop the understanding that progress is necessary. But who does it? Capitalism kills people; thus it is necessary to overthrow it. A very good example is that the Graphical Workers of Germany who are on strike say: 'We are not against the progress of science, technology but not against us'. They have succeeded in winning their demand that during eight years the factories pay them the same salary although the job disappears. They have to pay them the wage corresponding to the job that they had. This is a good example.

The deficiency is the workers' parties which do not have a consistent policy and understanding. For example, they have still not discussed the use of atomic energy — because there are differences — when it is necessary to discuss that atomic energy is a danger because capitalism is preparing atomic arms, produces waste which kills people. But what is it necessary to do then? To prevent the utilisation of a means of enormous progress, or overthrow capitalism which produces the pollution? The conclusion is simple, but lacks the political co-ordination of the Socialist, Communist parties and of the trade unions to lead to this conclusion. This leads to the confrontation with the capitalist system.

It is necessary to take as example the triumph of the printing workers of Germany which is very important. At the beginning it seemed that they were going to lose. It is interesting because not a single worker went to work. The management believed that the fifth or sixth day would see the end of the strike through lack of money on the part of the workers — but nothing ended.

The same was the triumph of the strike of the miners in the United States, which was a great victory and a tremendous defeat

for the bureaucracy and Carter himself.

These problems are going to increase in the principle capitalist countries, as for example in Japan. This peasant movement in Japan (referring to the struggle against the construction of an airport) is beautiful because it defends a standard of living which has been won, together with the need for a clean environment. Besides, these are airports made for war purposes, as is Narita. The element which determines the peasant movement is not sentiment and patriotic consciousness, but arose from the necessity of the class struggle. Thus, it is necessary to take into account that this peasant movement of Japan, like the ecological movement, has a justification to be as it is .. they have a concrete and a very deep basis. It is the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions who must make a united front, with a programme of united front against the capitalist system, incorporating these struggles. Thus it educates them in the consciousness that to succeed the objective of using atomic energy for the benefit of humanity, to use the earth and production for the benefit of humanity, it is necessary to overthrow capitalism — otherwise it is going to continue polluting everything.

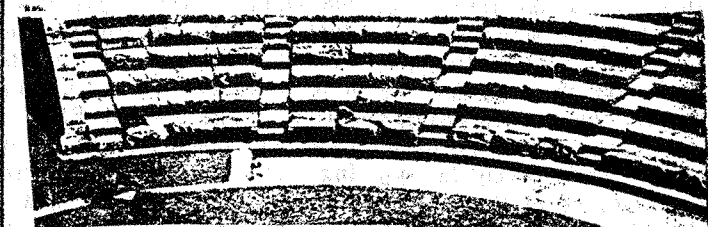
It is very interesting because these are movements of still relatively little weight, but they are growing. For example, the ecologist movement attracts intellectuals, scientists, who in origin are not Communist but they reach the conclusion of the necessity of Communism because they see what capitalism is doing. This means a great progress of the influence of the Workers States, of the revolutions in the world in all these countries. But the force which gives security of struggle is the Workers States, their progress and the struggle for liberation in Africa, Asia and Latin America; but, above all, Africa where, for example, Ethiopia has a very great influence. This unifies and impels these movements to the

understanding of the anti-capitalist struggle, which means a very, very great defeat for capitalism which is going to increase. It is not only a question of the peasants of Japan but of France also. Great sectors of the middle peasants, and some well off elements, are also in agreement. They see that the workers' movement gives a guarantee to them; capitalism gives them nothing and people are more and more poisoned.

The ecologist movement has a reason to exist. It is an historic necessity to which the Communist and Socialist parties and the trade unions should have responded. They should have carried out this task. They should have been concerned not only with ecological problems but with the health of the workers in the factory, which is a complete pollution. The exploitation of the workers is tremendous and more and more brutal. In some countries — as in France and Italy — the workers succeeded in getting a 40-hour week, but on the days they work they work like slaves so that they need not work on Saturdays. Hence, there is an increase in absenteeism by the workers because they cannot work. In a hundred workers five do this to avoid work, but a hundred because they cannot work. They have to rest because the work is killing. More and more the system of production on the track is accompanied by radio-active and chemical elements which pollute. Such that it is not only a question of 'work, work', but of the polluted environment, and more and more the level of contamination, sickness, infections, pulmonary sickness, cardiac and stomach diseases increase. In Italy, for example, it is atrocious. One of the greatest evils of the working class is the poisoning of working conditions.

Thus, one of the essential points on which to struggle together with the ecologists is to elevate the conditions of life of the working class in the factory: the women, men and children. J. POSADAS 29.3.78

## THEATRE AND SOCIALISM J. POSADAS



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# The process of the political revolution in the Soviet Union and the need to accelerate the political intervention of the masses.

The changes in the Soviet Union dominate the scene of world history. Imperialism is pre-occupied to understand them and to try to take advantage of whatever it detects as any weakness; for example, in the realm of foreign policy. The masses of the world are impelled by these changes when they see whole layers of functionaries in the Party, the trade unions and factories liquidated in the effort to develop a new path in the economy. Imperialism had hoped to see the Soviet Union taking the road of the Chinese national-socialists in Peking, weakening the state plan, extending the market economy and oppressing the masses thereby. This has not occurred, and cannot occur.

Cde Posadas analysed the process in the Soviet Union as one of partial regeneration of the Workers State, in which there is an extended process of political revolution. This is not a linear condition and, although the Gorbachev period is part of an advance of the Workers State, it cannot be idealised – and this government though superior to past governments is far from representing all the forces and capacity of the Workers States.

Gorbachev and his team have been imposed essentially by the objective need to develop a better relationship with the masses and improve the functioning of the Workers State to meet the war preparations of imperialism and develop the economy. The changes of the political revolution cannot help but meet many obstacles because the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union is very large and compacted through years of Stalinism and, although it is now subjected to great pressures, there is a great resistance. Bresnev had given great priority to the Party and was the first to respond to the underlying necessity for the Workers State to cleanse itself of layers of functionaries who had no interest in the Workers State save to live off it. At the same time, the leadership delayed the need to confront the problems of the economy precisely because the weight of the conservative apparatus was so heavy.

and in part the lack of security in Marxism through the previous education under Stalinism.

Gorbachev has been essentially imposed by the situation. It is not the result of foresight and a command of theory by the Soviet leadership which has done this, but the reality of the objective need of the Workers State to be thoroughly overhauled.

Clearly, the failings of the bureaucracy have led to all manner of unnecessary economic backwardness, but the elevation of the planned economy to concentrate on much more modern technology cannot substitute for the massive intervention of the Soviet masses on all aspects of political and social life. The fact that a whole layer of functionaries are thrown out is to be applauded but the reasons for malfunctioning still exist – the absence of sufficient intervention by the masses. The Soviet leadership has called for this intervention, the problem is to implement it.

The strength and limitations of the Gorbachev team find their expression very clearly in the realm of foreign policy. Before his being elected the new leader, the foreign policy of the Soviet Union had gone through a severe crisis owing to the breakdown of the policy of detente with the entry into the presidency of Reagan. A whole series of negotiations over arms control ended at Geneva with the entry of Yankee missiles into Europe as part of their active preparation of the war. The incident of the Boeing

snowed the intentions of imperialism to test the Soviets and go to war at any moment. Soon after this there arose the crisis with the Red Army, signified in the removal of Marshall Orgakov who, it is reported, criticised the then Soviet leadership for lack of policy after the collapse of the Geneva negotiations. This crisis is still on in modified form because objectively the Workers

State requires a vigorous revolutionary policy to combat the preparations and provocations of imperialism. The crisis cannot be so severe as in the epoch of Stalin because that counter-revolutionary policy ceased long ago, but elements of this exist and arise through the limitations of bureaucracy and its fear of disappearance.

The Soviets finally opted for negotiations yet again, and with Gorbachev a whole record of diplomatic offensive was made. It was essentially a deepening of the policy of Gromyko, the policy of dividing the European bourgeoisie from Yankee imperialism, and also exploiting the differences within the Yankee ruling class which are now so severe that the British Liberal leader, Steele, has to say that the Yanks speak with different voices and no coherence is available. We would add that the one coherence is that the war tendency is the most decisive. This policy of the Soviets has been quite dynamic and, in many respects, profound. They have tended to exploit every conceivable means of influencing sectors of the bourgeoisie who grow increasingly petrified at the lurching of the militarist most highly concentrated sectors towards war.

The tendency of Gorbachev has refracted the characteristics of the Workers State – the logical desire for peace, the concern to develop a world without war and exploitation, and expressed these features in a policy aimed to affect capitalist States. The extent and depth of this policy certainly can have substantially efficacious results in the sense that it weakens the united front of capitalism; large sectors of the petit bourgeoisie see through the camouflage of lies by capitalism, and in the diplomatic sphere the imperialists look what they are – deceitful and pathological, hell-bent on war. The initiatives over the moratorium and over all-round reductions in nuclear weapons are blows at the capitalist system, in one sense, but serve the purpose less and less.

This is the external expression of the internal policy of attempting to re-structure the economy

faced with the inevitable need of the Workers State to develop and expand to meet the war preparations of imperialism.

It reflects the growing security of the Workers State, which nonetheless does not find sufficient expression in these changes. Gorbachev and

the organs of communication have developed a whole series of penetrating criticisms of the actual working of the system. This continuous regime of criticisms and the expulsion of the bureaucrats is quite unprecedented and cannot be brushed away as the usual policy of making criticisms and then going on in the same old way. But it is also clear that there is an extensive resistance to the full implementation of these demands. At Khabarovsk, Gorbachev was obliged to speak of the need for a 'revolution' in face of such resistance from those dug in the trenches. Also, the agrarian issue has again become prominent because, whatever the investment, the problem remains unresolved.

At the same time, Gorbachev was obliged to comment on the lack of interest in the social infrastructure to satisfy the needs of the population in the veritable transformation of Siberia. The Soviet press records protests by members of the population who say that criticism can lead to victimisation by the bureaucrats. But, whatever the problems, the process which is developing in the Soviet Union cannot be stopped. It goes beyond any intentions of the leadership because the structure of the Workers State prevails against the apparatus of the bureaucracy. A profound struggle undoubtedly exists, and this will lead to a fundamental shaking up of ideas.

The new programme of the Soviet Union and the various pronouncements and resolutions which went with this, shake up and need to develop the function of the Party and, on the other hand, the role of work collectives. These are intended to stimulate the population against the corrupt bureaucrats. But, problems of the advance of the Workers State cannot be resolved without a complete intervention of the masses, and one profoundly linked to the nature of the Workers State, that is its tendency to expand into the world, to develop a Socialist world system as opposed to the capitalist world system. Partial interventions are insufficient.

Soviet policies place great emphasis on the need to maintain material incentives, but the fact is that material inequalities in the Soviet Union are on a far greater scale than in the first seven years of the Workers State. It is impossible to mobilise the mass of the population sufficiently unless they see a control of privileges, a reduction in privileges, and can also directly affect the discussion of all the necessary and political issues in depth. Although the new programme of the CPSU extensively discusses the form of disintegration of capitalism and its tendency to war it still tends to place the advance of the Soviet Union as being in some sense independent of the world revolution. In reality, the whole process of the Soviet Union is taking place under the shadow of the war which Gorbachev himself has more or less acknowledged.

In the sphere of agriculture, the policy of larger agro-industrial units and massive investment has been further developed; but, at the

same time, the policy of maintaining private plots continued – with the result that two markets continue to exist: the state shops and the large private market with different, higher prices, for the privileged (analysed in extenso by Cde Posadas). The lack of a complete collectivisation means also that, in fact, food shortages continue to exist because, for the peasant, time for the state is of less benefit than time devoted to the private plot. Insufficient food means also that prices on the private market remain high. The sole reason for maintaining this preposterous system is as a support of private interest for the rest of the bureaucracy in the state apparatus, the Party and the economic administration. On the other hand, the continuation of the anti-bureaucratic struggle and the failure of the system to solve the food crisis already referred to again by Gorbachev, will mean that the system will be questioned again and the struggles within the apparatus become more severe. The desire to respond to the social needs of the masses shows sectors of the apparatus more responsive to the masses are at war with the cynical, ossified sectors.

The outstanding limitation in this very rich process in the Soviet Union is the comparative lack of initiative which comes from the Party and the absence of a serious public political discussion.

## ECONOMY AND POLITICS BELONG TOGETHER.

It is not possible to separate the problems of the economy in a workers state from the political objectives

Economic privileges of the bureaucracy developed on the basis also of the political expropriation of the masses. The further development of the political revolution demands that the masses are actually mobilised by the Party in forms of mass democratic functioning, forms of assemblies which can discuss without restriction and impose their decisions. At this moment of writing it is difficult to assess the work collectives, but confined to purely economic issues limits their role, faced with the inexorable need of the Workers State to develop and expand and to meet the war preparations of imperialism. Thus when, for example, there was the case of the Boeing or the attack on Libya, the Party should call out the masses in their millions. Decisions of this type cannot be left to the closed meetings of the Party functionaries. Similarly, earlier, the revolutionary strike of the miners had a great effect in the Soviet Union but, its full force was restricted through the absence of a full

Party life lived with the Soviet masses and living the world experiences of humanity.

The diplomatic offensive of the Soviet Union has had good effect, although in a very limited way.

But, as with the present changes internally, they do not represent the depth of the needs of the Soviet Workers State. By concentrating on moratoriums on nuclear tests, offers to negotiate over Afghanistan, in some respects they actually make it appear to the criminal maniacs who dominate the Yankee ruling class, that it is possible to bog the Soviets down in negotiations and suddenly hit them, as Hitler did in June 1941. It is true that these are insane delusions but, on the other hand, these negotiations give a certain margin to the imperialist cretins. The fact is that Soviet publications themselves show that the Yanks are all the time trying to tighten the noose of bases around the Soviet Union. Thus, they have just accelerated their plans for nuclear bases in Japan. They are developing their chemical warfare weapons in Europe. They are accelerating the attempt to strangle Nicaragua. The recent sending of Yankee special troops into Bolivia ostensibly to intervene against the drug traffic is part of this active preparation for the war. There is no way on this earth that these criminals can be 'changed'. It is the ineluctable tendency of the capitalist system to launch war against the Soviet Union and all humanity.

It is necessary to expect further crises of growth in the Soviet Union. The policy of just negotiating with imperialism is well past its prime. It is necessary to turn decisively to the masses of the world externally in the same way as the needs of the Soviet Workers State require mass participation and discussion, free of restraint and functionaries. It is necessary to accelerate the anti-nuclear missile and Green movements in Europe against capitalism. support openly the ANC with constant resolutions of the CPSU. At the same time, one of the most powerful weapons which can be used against the hit-men who rule the United States is for the masses of the USA to see directly the intervention of the masses in the Soviet Union. The actions of the Soviet firefighters in Chernobyl excited the admiration of the firemen of North America. Imagine the effect on the American masses if they saw the whole Soviet people in action over Libya or in support of measures to prevent the starvation of West Africa.

Continued on Page 4

USSR: The role of the Soviet Union in this stage of history War, peace and the function of the Socialist countries

SCIENTIFIC, CULTURAL AND POLITICAL EDITIONS

B. C. M. 6220,

LONDON WCIV 6XX

**J. POSADAS**

**WE SALUTE THE THIRD ANNIVERSARY OF THE TAKING  
OF POWER IN BURKINA FASO,  
FOR THE EXTENSION OF THE REVOLUTION!  
FOR THE INTERVENTION OF THE WORKERS STATES  
TO COMBAT STARVATION AND THE PLAGUE OF LOCUSTS!**

We salute with enormous joy the anniversary of the revolution in Burkina Faso. The military team which has arisen, oppressed by the backwardness of their country due to the lack of interest of world and French imperialism, has to confront the inevitable problem of developing what is now a revolutionary state towards the Workers State. Like South Yemen or Ethiopia, Burkina Faso is obliged to develop in conditions of great backwardness in material resources and lack of trained personnel, and in conditions in which imperialism tries to exert massive pressures through the IMF, and also with threats of military intervention.

Burkina Faso is in great social ferment. The land, in town and country, has been statified and in 1985 in Ougadouzu all the payment of rents was suspended and then re-fixed on the basis of the decisions of the popular committees, the CDR. Thus even in an undeveloped country the measures of the revolution led early to a concrete benefit for the population. The range and scope of the popular committees is quite spectacular, and they tend to have much more power than a similar development - for example, in Cuba at an earlier stage - and the result has been a great construction of public works, railways, hospitals etc. At the same time, as in Cuba, great efforts are being made to overcome illiteracy, again on the basis that the masses feel an urgency to overcome these problems when they feel that the country is theirs and does not belong to their class enemy.

**THE NEXT STAGE.**

This has been a great progress, from nothing to a revolutionary state

The problems are naturally going to exacerbate in the next stage, because the problem of the precise course to follow is going to weigh more and more. All this will be refracted in the discussion around the Five Year Plan. These problems arise from the situation analysed in great detail by Cde Posadas that states like Burkina Faso develop with their particular features because the leadership of the Workers States have failed to give an adequate response in time to the development of the world revolution. The absence of prepared parties, and the limited response of the Workers States, tends to hamper the progress of these countries, which is further complicated by the interventions and obstacles of the imperialist states. Capitalism can be no solution for these states - indeed, all their process is against private property - but delays and obstacles from the imperialist ambience limit the path and make it less smooth.

The IMF is clear in its demands, the liquidation of popular controls of enterprises, privatisation of state enter-

prises, liquidation of state control and, even if they do not concentrate on this stage yet, they will block further progress on the plane of collectivised agriculture.

The development of farms, communes, the settling of nomads and small industrial enterprises linked to agriculture will be blockaded.

They will block progress to the monopoly of foreign trade and statification of commerce. To become linked to the IMF is to be submitted to a system without a future, even in the so-called developed nations, and only small cliques benefit. All this has to be discussed with the masses, in the army, in the countryside and in the cities. The IMF is simply one side of the coin - the other being direct military intervention.

**OUT WITH THE IMF!  
OUT WITH THE FOREIGN  
DEBTS!**

**UNIFICATION WITH THE  
ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND  
ANTI-CAPITALIST FORCES  
IN AFRICA, WITH THE PRO-  
GRESSIVE FORCES IN  
GHANA, WITH THE OTHER  
REVOLUTIONARY STATES  
IN AFRICA, WITH LIBYA,  
ETHIOPIA, ZIMBABWE AND  
WITH THE NEW FORCES IN  
UGANDA AND THE SUDAN.**

**AUDACITY AND THE ROLE  
OF THE SOVIET UNION.**

There is no doubt the leadership of Burkina Faso confronts many difficulties and we do not underestimate them. But, at the same time in such a situation, there is only one course! As was the phrase in the French Revolution: Audacity, audacity, audacity! The Communards in Paris had much courage but, as Marx analysed, they did not have programmatic courage enough. Their only possibility for success was to have expropriated the banks and launched an agrarian programme for the whole of France. Naturally the world conditions for Burkina Faso are not the same, but the leadership can only confront such problems with the full force of audacity.

The Soviet leadership, whatever the pressures from sectors of the bureaucracy for peaceful co-existence, cannot allow a decisive victory for imperialism in West Africa, or indeed anywhere in Africa, although - as in the case of

Mozambique - their efforts may be more restricted than is objectively necessary. Similarly, they cannot allow the destruction of Nicaragua.

Africa is now in full larva flow of revolution. In spite of the immense backwardness maintained by capitalism in the form of tribal divisions which have wrecked havoc in countries such as Uganda and Zimbabwe, such is the progress of the world process that the most backward parts of Africa receive the force of the world Socialist revolution, and this despite the appalling conditions of poverty and starvation. More than any other country, Africa is an example where restriction to national concerns has no future, only in forms of Socialist federation is it possible to make the minimum progress. The construction of this process will impose the need to develop the revolutionary party which itself has to be based on a clear perception, not only of national problems but of the whole international structure of the socialist revolution. The texts of J. Posadas are fundamental in all this.

**It is the organisation of the Party and the completion of the Socialist programme which will make the leap from the revolutionary state to the Workers State.**

We appeal to the Soviet Union to take many more initiatives in relation to Burkina Faso and Africa, especially with reference to the present plague of locusts. It is believed to be the worst plague for sixty years, and tends to compound all the normal problems of weak economies. A massive intervention by the Soviet Union would have enormous social results and would be worth millions of trade balances with the imperialist countries. The social, human capital in Africa is immense and the new programme of the CPSU to advance the masses of the Soviet Union cannot be separated from the process in Africa. The Soviet Workers State is as much an instrument of the masses of West Africa as it is of the people of the Soviet Union.

**VIVA THE IMMENSE PRO-  
GRESS OF BURKINA FASO!  
VIVA THE EXTENSION OF  
THE REVOLUTION TO THE  
WHOLE OF WEST AFRICA!  
VIVA THE WORLD UNITED  
FRONT OF ALL THE PRO-  
GRESSIVE FORCES IN THE  
WORLD TO LIQUIDATE WHAT  
REMAINS OF CAPITALISM!**

From page 1

neither the union functionaries nor the smoothies of the Labour Party apparatus can guarantee anything decisive to capitalism. It cannot help capitalism as in the past. Although these people will not confront the system, they tend to interrupt and irritate its functioning. Thus, although they refuse to support a programme for a Workers State - that is, a collectivised economy - they now speak of extending the role of the statified industries to help the problems of employment, and are seeking to adapt themselves to the Greens by projecting plans to intervene on issues of the environment. They seek to decentralise the functioning of capitalism by giving greater support to regional bodies. All this does not enter upon the central issues of the levers of power, but it tends to limit and embarrass capitalism.

Naturally the masses wish to advance much more. The popular demonstrations against the nuclear waste disposal by capitalism, and the march of the CND led by Brace Kent and the massive demonstrations against South Africa, show the immense possibilities for an intervention by the organised Marxist left in the Labour Party, but one which goes to the masses and does not accept the rules of the apparatus. It is possible to advance much more. The great strike actions of the Miners and the Teachers showed there are immense forces

that are very anti-capitalist but which do not receive a sufficient leadership. It is true that the leadership of the Workers States is not at the necessary level in this respect and does not intervene sufficiently to mobilise the popular forces, but the Labour left can take its own initiatives on the basis that, irrespective of shortcomings in the leadership of the Workers States, it is these States which give the framework on which to advance. It is indeed necessary to discuss all that passes in the Soviet Union, because it is an example of the force of a collectivised economy which has only existed for seventy years but already dominates world history and exhausts the capacities of imperialism to confront it. It is necessary to give an anti-capitalist orientation to the nuclear movement, to campaign consistently for the immediate removal of the Yankee bases, and eliminate all nuclear weapons; to statify the banks, place statified industries under workers' management, impose workers' control in all the key industries, develop popular price committees to fix prices, and finish with the lies of the capitalist statisticians, terminate the bloody oppression of the Irish masses by the police and the Protestant fascists - that is, a plan of social transformations to eradicate the capitalist system and allow an economy to benefit all the population.

From page 1

mediate solution is disgusting. It is true to form, of course, since this leadership is dedicated to defending capitalism, but it is no less disgusting. The TUC's suggestion of a 'voluntary' boycott of South African goods is a useless piece of window dressing. What is needed is to take up Oliver Tambo's (ANC chairman) call for the world trade union movement to 'bring all trade with Pretoria to a halt instead of waiting for the US and British governments to act.' This is an obvious conclusion, since they are not going to act against Pretoria. The example of the Dublin shop workers has to be taken by the British trade unions.

The trade union and Labour left has to organise such a boycott - which would do a great deal of damage to the Pretoria regime - without waiting for the trade union

and Labour leaderships. It is a necessary measure of support for the South African masses. But the question goes deeper than that. South Africa is an important part of imperialism's war preparations, and has to be opposed as part of the struggle to limit the damage which capitalism will inflict on the world when it launches the war. It is from the basis of such an analysis that the Labour and trade union left has to appeal to the 'peace' movement. A call should be made, linking the removal of Yankee bases and missiles from this country with the destruction of that other important imperialist base, South Africa. An appeal on these lines would both mobilise mass support for the South African masses and raise the political consciousness of the numerically powerful 'peace' movement.

From Page 1

In the same context, it is necessary to appreciate the process in Cuba, where the political revolution has seen the suppression of private plots in farming and a renewed emphasis by the leadership on moral incentives; all of which tends to raise the issue of 'from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs' - i.e. Communism. This debate clearly existed under Breznev and is implicit in many of the phrases of the CPSU programme. 'The world is ready for Communism', argued J. Posadas and this will enter into the coming discussions with the Soviet Union in relation to social relations in the Workers States and the course of the world Socialist revolution.

**COMBINE THE DISCUSSION OF  
ECONOMIC CHANGES IN THE  
SOVIET UNION WITH THE FULL  
POLITICAL DISCUSSION OF HOW  
TO CONFRONT THE YANKEE**

**GANGSTERS AND DEVELOP THE  
WORLD REVOLUTION !**

**DISCUSS SOUTH AFRICA AND THE  
NEED TO SUPPORT THE REVOLU-  
TION THERE !**

**FOR A FULL PUBLIC DISCUSSION  
ON WHAT IS HAPPENING WITH  
THE WORK COLLECTIVES !**

**WHEN GORBACHEV IS OBLIGED  
TO SPEAK OF THE NEED FOR  
"REVOLUTION", THIS SHOWS THE  
LEVEL OF THE NEED TO AD-  
VANCE. THE POSADIST INTER-  
NATIONAL WILL SEEK TO INTER-  
VENE WITH ALL ITS POWER IN  
THIS DISCUSSION.**

**BRITISH SECTION OF THE IV  
INTERNATIONAL.**

# THE LABOUR LEFT MUST DEVELOP THE MASS INTERVENTION TO CLOSE ALL NUCLEAR BASES IN BRITAIN

The attempts at diplomatic agreement between the Soviet Union and Yankee imperialism will collapse under the weight of the reality of history. The arrest of the Yankee spy, Danilov, in Moscow is a reaction of a sector of the Soviet State concerned with the defence of the state in order to limit any damage that may be done to the Soviet Union by negotiations with the Yanks. It has the same sense as the statement of the Red Army pointing out that the Soviet Workers State is losing some ground in defence by its banning of nuclear tests. The other side of the coin is that the 'war tendency' of Yankee imperialism pushes constantly towards the war. The relations of forces does not allow diplomatic initiatives on the part of the Soviet leadership to damage the world process in any real sense and it does not allow Yankee imperialism to decide when, where and how the war will be launched. This is why Yankee imperialism prepares for war in a clandestine manner. This is why it uses talks with the Soviets as a cover for its war preparations.

The Soviet policy of trying to take advantage of the disintegration of capitalist society, the divisions which exist between various sectors of the bourgeoisie, and the rampant defeatism that exists in even the highest levels of Yankee imperialism has had some success. The fact that Gene Laroque - retired US Rear Admiral - calls for the Yanks to agree to Soviet arms limitation proposals is an indication of this, but it is out-weighed by the arrest of the Soviet representative, Gannadi Zakharov, in the US and the expulsion of 25 Soviet representatives to the UN. There are divisions in the leadership of world imperialism but, because of the nature of history and imperialism itself, it is the 'war tendency' which predominates.

## IMPERIALISM PREPARES FOR WAR.

The terrorism organised by Yankee imperialism on a world scale is the clandestine way in which it pushes towards the war. The terrorism currently in France is a provocation and this character Abdullah cannot be taken seriously as having anything to do with anything remotely connected with human progress. The same is true of the 'attack' made on Pinochet in Chile. They are all provocations. The intention in France is to draw French imperialism closer to the Yankee war alliance, and also other elements of the European bourgeoisie. Thus, the European bourgeoisie make an agreement against terrorism, which means co-operation in the imperialist war preparations and the strengthening of repression against the masses which is an essential part of the preparations for war. The attempts by Owen and Steele to make agreements on 'defence' with French imperialism is also part of the same process. All these provocations are organised by NATO, and the attempts to draw Dublin into NATO are in the same line. Paisley sees through all this - from his own interested point of view - when he says that the Protestant bourgeoisie in Ireland will not sell itself for 'Yankee money'. The Soviet leadership may wish to pursue a diplomatic policy, but it also has to recognise that imperialism is preparing for war and its attempts to overcome the dispute with the Chinese leadership is determined by historic necessity in front of the war. The measure of Sino-Soviet economic cooperation - like the joint hydro-electric project on the Amur river in China - are dictated not so much by economic interests as by the historic necessity to confront the war imperialism prepares by drawing the two major Workers States - the USSR and China - closer together.

The opposition that exists to imperialism's war preparations amongst the bourgeoisie surfaced in quite a dramatic way at the Liberal Party Assembly. The vote by a majority of delegates against a 'nuclear defence policy' was, in fact, a vote against imperialist war preparations. The same is true of the vote against nuclear energy, because - whatever else may be said about this

### CONTENTS

- Page 1 Editorial; Non-Aligned Conference
- Page 2 Chile; Nuclear Energy
- Page 3 Shakespeare's 'Taming of the Shrew' J. POSADAS.
- Page 4 TUC Conference; Italy

page 4

Workers of the world, unite!

# RED FLAG



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## The Conference of the Unaligned States the advance of the world anti imperialist and anti capitalist front.

The holding of the meeting of the non-aligned countries in Harare was a major defeat of world imperialism and the conclusions are decisive for seeing the present reality in the world.

The conference took place in the period of growing aggravation of the conflict between world imperialism and the Workers States that are leading the whole of humanity against imperialism, particularly seen in the crisis of Apartheid.

The most striking and powerful intervention in the conference was made by Ghaddafi and his statements showed the elevation not only of the Libyan masses, of the African and Asian masses, but of all the world masses in confrontation with world imperialism. Some of Ghaddafi's statements had an eccentric flavour, but these are because there is no developed Party in Libya, and also because the intervention of the Soviets has been very limited.

His appeal was directed to mobilising maximum support for armed struggle against the fascist policies of Apartheid and reflected great confidence in the struggle against Yankee imperialism. It was a form of centralising the masses of Africa and the world against Yankee imperialism. Libya was placed at the service of the struggle against South African Apartheid with all the anti-imperialist struggle's The passion with which Ghaddafi speaks comes from the masses to which he responds. His declarations may not be complete from the point of view of analysis, but they show the necessity for a functioning world leadership which mobilises the masses with clearly enunciated anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist objectives.

Moreover, he raised a fundamental point about the functioning of the non-aligned movement, saying that there is no such thing as non-alignment. 'The

masses are all aligned against the imperialist camp... we are all against the United States, Zionism and racism.' He said the period of Tito and Nasser was past and that the world was divided into two camps, and that it was necessary to terminate with the imperialist supporters such as Zaire and the Ivory Coast. He also raised the issue of the need for countries to be incorporated in the Warsaw Pact, although not finally pressing this. He had proposed earlier that Libya joined the Warsaw Pact.

This demand, coupled with his readiness to mobilise thousands against Yankee imperialism, are objectively policies which the Workers States should respond. As Jalloud himself is reported to have said, Libya should not face the Yanks alone. Libya is not in reality alone, but the need for the anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist united front is insufficiently represented in the policies of the Workers States.

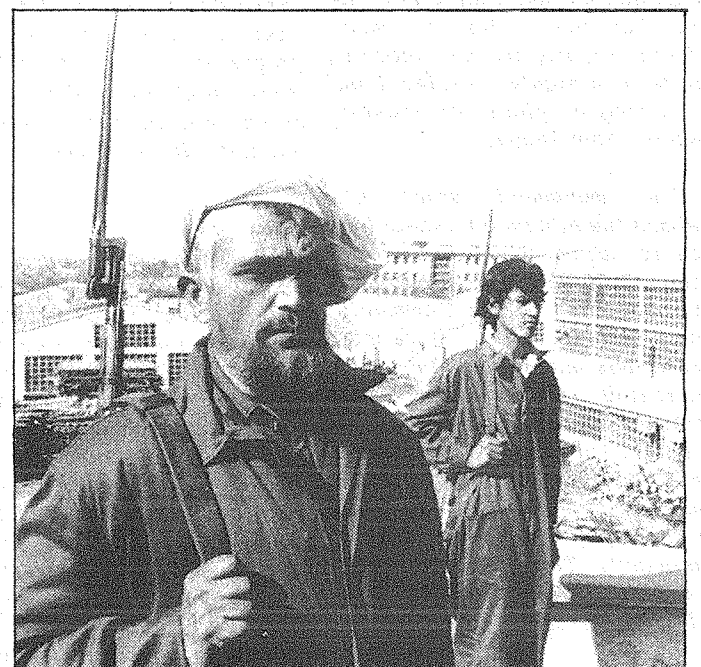
Ghaddafi threatened to leave the organisation because he re-

garded its function as over. It would be better in reality to use the movement, such as it is, to act as a platform to develop anti-capitalist policies for as long as possible.

Fundamentally, though what is necessary is an elevation in the policy of the Soviets, i.e. not putting weight on the visit of Thatcher to Moscow when she is clearly a Yankee stooge, nor discussing the monstrous idea of paying compensation to British imperialism for loss of property in the revolution.

Fundamentally, the essence of Ghaddafi's intervention in the conference of the non-aligned shows the need to meet the global preparations for counter-revolution with a world-wide mobilisation against imperialism and giving maximum aid to Nicaragua and the 'front line' states such as Mozambique etc. The fact that now China, whose leadership is very remote from the needs to develop China in a Socialist way, feels obliged to give considerable financial aid to Nicaragua is an example of

Continued on page 3



DEFENDING AFGHANISTAN AGAINST IMPERIALISM

NUCLEAR ENERGY MUST BE PLACED AT THE SERVICE OF THE POPULATION.

We are not against nuclear energy. We are against the form in which it is produced and used, because people are killed through it. We are in favour of nuclear energy, but how to make it? As they do it (the capitalist system) it is like Seveso and means to make Sevesos for all of Italy, France and Germany.

Nuclear energy is a progress of science but in the hands of capitalists it does not mean progress. It diminishes the cost of production and facilitates more light and energy, but kills and poisons a great number of people. Moreover, it destroys enormous areas by polluting them. Thus, what has to be posed is that nuclear energy must be at the service of the population, and for that the control of the population over nuclear energy. Control of the trade unions, the workers' areas, the organisms of the Party of the workers. They must control, and not the parliament which has shown what can be done with that.

Nuclear energy has to be in the interest of the population and not at the cost of the population. Capitalism cannot do this. Only a workers' government can do this, one whose interest lies in the health of the population and not in lowering the cost of energy at

the cost of the poisoning of the population.

Not only that, but every factory of nuclear energy which is not controlled is in potential a factory of atomic arms. It is necessary to point out that this is the lack of confidence of the population in Germany. There are people who say that they are not against nuclear energy but see that it is a question of nuclear arms that are being prepared. Under the pretext that they are making nuclear energy in Germany they are making atomic weapons. German scientists themselves denounce this, and it is the same thing that they are going to do in Italy.

People are concerned with this problem, and it is necessary to show to them that this does not mean being against progress. But this utilisation is not a progress but it is a using of science and technology for the capitalist system at the cost of the popu-

lation, as they did in Seveso; and we do not want new Sevesos! Capitalism cannot make use of nuclear energy for beneficial ends.

Today, there are already superior forms of energy, including solar, which cause no damage and do not require similar investments. But the capitalist regime cannot do this, because it is not within the process of profit and accumulation. The criterion must be to benefit the population. The capitalist regime cannot do this, nor can any programmatic agreement with the Christian Democracy do this, because the people who give the orders are the capitalists. They made administrative, programmatic agreements which do not harm the functioning of capitalism. It is this that it is necessary to discuss.

J. POSADAS

## The "attack" on Pinochet and the efforts of imperialism to contain the revolutionary disposition of the masses.

The attack on Pinochet has all the marks of a professional CIA effort to force the failing dictator into more repressive measures against the population. The Chilean opposition leader, Bunster, has declared that it was arranged by the pro-Pinochet forces to gain greater Yankee support for Pinochet.

Objectively the Yanks have an interest in sustaining Pinochet as long as possible in order to contain the anti-capitalist forces which are steadily gaining ground in Chile. The knowledge of the assassins of the route, and the fact that they killed so many without actually killing Pinochet, points to a highly professional job acting on plenty of accurate inside knowledge.

The movement which has claimed the attempted assassination is called the Manuel Andrigues front, which seems to have been accepted by the Communist Party at face value. It is most mysterious and only claims to be interested in armed actions against Pinochet, and has no political or social programme. The reaction of many people recorded by journalists in Chile is that 'this is a very curious business'. The CIA or associated branches is involved in all this.

Yankee imperialism is in profound difficulties in every part of

the globe and in its preparations to attack the Workers States and the world masses. It is constantly involved in hopeless rearguard actions to contain the pressures for change. This has been very evident in the Philippines, with apparently 'accepting' Aquino but in reality keeping all possible links with the Marcos forces. Imperialism is no longer in a position to guarantee what will happen when a new reforming government replaces one of its military or most reactionary dictatorships. Thus, after the entry of Aquino into government imperialism cannot feel secure despite the absence of a clear programme from her tendency. They feel that she is under pressure to weaken the links with Yankee imperialism.

The case is even more marked in the case of Chile. J. Posadas foresaw the fall of the dictatorships in Latin America because none had been able to offer even the minimum solution to the problems of the economies throughout the continent, and it was only a matter of time before they were replaced. Naturally this does not exclude all manner of efforts to continue military intervention as in Colombia, Bolivia etc., but the perspective of long-term military governments becomes impossible to sustain. Brasil and Argentina now possess gov-

ernments which tend to weaken capitalist authority and allow the possibilities of a better discussion on the need for social transformations. From the point of view of imperialism, Chile is a particularly bad case because it has the only big mass Communist Party in Latin America and it has accepted the need to use both armed and 'constitutional' methods to overthrow the regime. Also, the Chilean Communist Party leadership has drawn closer to the Soviet Union and is influenced by its advances in confronting imperialism. On top of this, the bourgeois Christian Democrat 'opposition' to Pinochet refused to support the July 2/3rd general strike - a fact which tends to destroy the perspective of a 'popular front' with bourgeois forces limited to a struggle for a (bourgeois) democratic Chile after Pinochet.

Imperialism feels that, with a Party like this, the replacement of the military with a more democratic government could not necessarily contain the masses, who would tend to gravitate towards a re-assertion of the united front of the Communist and Socialist parties and, profiting from the Allende experience, go much further.

This attempt against Pinochet comes after an offensive by the masses which has severely

## Fiasco of the Punta del Este conference.

This last meeting at Punta del Este is a striking example of the forms of international economic warfare which imperialism is obliged to adopt to the bourgeoisie in the rest of the world; that is, in Latin America, Asia, Africa and Australasia who are not in a position to compete with the main industrial countries who also control the world banking system outside the Workers States. Within that crisis is the enormous tension over agriculture, where another war is being waged between North American imperialism and the ECM, among others.

This conference brings out the utterly retrograde nature of the world capitalist system. Millions and millions of people throughout the world are starving, and all that imperialism can do is to seek to smash these people even more by extracting millions in interest from economies already staggering under the weight of super-exploitation. Capitalism, as a world system, has failed totally. It has been incapable of transcending national boundaries so as to develop a progressive international community. All that occurs is a few European countries and the United States exploiting the rest of the world. Thus, these many impoverished nations are ripe for revolutionary change, and that is why imperialism is preparing a war not only against the Soviet Union but against the whole of humanity - because all of humanity is against it.

When the imperialist states talk about the abolition of barriers to free trade, what they mean is that they should have unlimited access to every market in sight. As they meet resistance from the national bourgeoisie of various states, they see to it that the exports of what are euphemistically called 'developing' countries are blockaded by import levies. Thus, in face of possible competition from Asian textiles, including from famous places such as Hong Kong, the multi fibre act was passed to control such exports. Similarly, in agriculture the fairly advanced industrial nations, such as Australia, New Zealand and Argentina, find themselves pressed against the wall in front of American and European agriculture.

The imperialist states are also concerned with exploiting to the last gasp more recent developments in merchant shipping, banking and insurance, and commercial aviation in the under-developed nations.

Imperialism is now obliged to admit after a mass of humbug that the capitalist world economy is in a very poor state, but suggests that the answer is to eliminate all barriers to 'free trade', and 'free trade for the underdeveloped countries means their being crushed by the superior economies of the imperialist states.

A continent like Latin America for example is in a state of total prostration in front of the brutal competition of world imperialism. The latter has now no serious interest in investing in these countries as it lacks any political confidence in the future of investment there, as all its principle energies are devoted to preparing for war against humanity. Thus, Latin America is reduced to an even greater serf status than before, i.e. it pays huge interest to the imperialist states and, within the constraints of the capitalist system, is unable to develop. Whole nations stagnate and, in Brasil for example, on Jaguaribes' statistics, sixtyfive per cent of the population now live in a state of extreme destitution. At one time the bourgeois economists (the hired prize fighters, as Marx called them) were under the ludicrous impression that they had disposed of Marx, and used to laugh at his conception of the tendency towards the absolute impoverishment of the population. Well, all the economies of the world show that Marx was right - and, even within an imperialist economy such as the United States, large sectors of the population are faced with intolerable economic deprivation.

At the conclusion of the Punta del Este Conference no doubt all manner of functionary noises will be made, but capitalism cannot solve any of the world's problems. Yankee imperialism makes the rest of the capitalist world pay for its deficit, because everything is geared to its insane arms budget. The lesson of Punta del Este is that the Workers States have to unify their economies more and more, and extend the range of COMECON much more to develop more relations with the revolutionary states. The block of Workers States can weigh enormously in all the underdeveloped states, who can see in Punta del Este only a grotesque meeting in which the imperialist states try to batter all other competitors.

undermined the whole Pinochet regime. On July 2/3 there was a massive political strike in Chile which for 48 hours completely dominated the country, and Pinochet had to mobilise all his strength to control the situation. The situation had become even more centralised after the April, May and 'month of civil disobedience' demonstration in June. In other words, the situation of the dictatorship is constantly deteriorating. The fact that the Reagan government

adopts ambiguous attitudes to Pinochet means nothing.

Pinochet, whose regime tends to the dynastic, so fragile is its social base has promised redoubled repression against the Marxists, and will seek to perpetuate his regime as long as is possible. On the plane of the international situation, imperialism is afraid that the fall of Pinochet will not only weaken capitalism in Chile but have a 'knock on effect' throughout Latin America.

# Marriage and the social criticism of Shakespeare -

## on the Taming of the Shrew

J. Posadas

'The Taming of the Shrew' shows how marriages were made in that epoch. The man sought out a rich woman of good family and economic prospects — and obedient. It was not love which decided, but interest. As with all the works of Shakespeare, this is one of social criticism; it is in this sense that Shakespeare approximates to a critical historian. In this, as in other works, he takes the problem of woman, of the family and of the relations of the bourgeoisie, because what he shows are the traders who were the representatives of the rising bourgeoisie, even if not established and organised.

'The Taming of the Shrew' is a criticism of relations which were very like selling and exchanging women in order to establish the bourgeois layer with money; women and commodities are all acquired on the basis of money. This was the way in which the bourgeoisie constituted its social relations so as to increase its weight as a class. The existing customs, those which Shakespeare discusses in these works were not very important in themselves, but they show the brutal relations, empty of the sentiments of love, which characterised such couples.

One can compare this work with others such as 'The Merchant of Venice' where love can be seen. In 'The Merchant of Venice' the woman shows herself ready to disguise herself to defend the husband or the sweetheart, whilst in 'The Taming of the Shrew' it is the reverse. They were different tendencies and sectors among the merchants who were the basis of the developing bourgeoisie. In 'The Taming of the Shrew', between man and woman there is no relation of love but one of interest and everything is done by calculation. They do not have relations which are based on discussions, on looking and speaking, much less on what culture, art or knowledge they may have, but how much money each has.

Shakespeare shows the reaction of the woman who rejects this commerce, not in a direct form but to the custom of the epoch. He shows different aspects of the epoch, demonstrating that they were not sentiments of love, of qualities, of culture which determine this layer but sentiments of interest, and the 'shrew' was a form of resistance to the submission to

*Periodically we intend to publish various of the articles devoted to cultural subjects which Cde Posadas elaborated, particularly in the later phase of his life. The object was to place culture within its historical function and explain its authority through this function. This is revolutionary culture as opposed to the bourgeois function of culture which much of the time is a form of decoration allied to social snobbery, especially with the sectors most directly involved in the process of capitalist exploitation.*

*In the 'Taming of the Shrew', through the medium of much humour and buffoonery, Shakespeare discusses the subjection of women and in clear phrases brings out marriage as a means of property accumulation in that epoch. Petruchio from the start says: 'I came to wive it wealthily in Padua', and later 'She is my goods, my chattels...' Kate is submitted to this and at the end seemingly accepts the regime, making an encomium of womanly subservience, but this runs quite counter to the underlying core of the play which emphasises the link between male domination and private property.*

them. It was not the reaction against a particular husband, but a representation of the resistance to being handed over to the man. It is part of the criticism by Shakespeare of his society.

These (1) synthesised versions of works by Shakespeare shorten and reduce them because in his dialogues Shakespeare shows much more the classes, interests, tendencies and egotisms, above all the sentiments of the bourgeoisie, to maintain the continuity of the class; he represents the great avarice of these people which they translate into the family, as with the 'boss husband'.

The bourgeoisie submitted everything to the power of capital; women, child and parent. Everything is submitted to this. Hence the bourgeois class was constructed, especially in Britain. The painting by Hogarth, 'Marriage a la Mode', shows the marriage bargain — daughter, husband and dowry.

In the development of the bourgeois class they developed marriage as property like commerce, and in the name of private property. Everyone is preoccupied that the investment should yield a profit. This is the criticism of Shakespeare as in his epoch Cervantes criticised the feudal elements and the nobility.

The point of the 'Taming' is the resistance of the women who later on is 'tamed'. The essential quality of the 'shrew' is her opposition to being oppressed, subjected and controlled. The woman does not have a consciousness of the historic basis of social relations, but opposes and reacts in front of this type of relation. Shakespeare shows the relations of women in the representation of an historic

stage in which woman played a very small role. But even so, it shows that she rebelled. This is not the passivity of women which history generally shows.

This literature much be considered as part of the historic analysis of the society of that epoch. It is an analysis of society, because these works analyse relations like those of man and woman, relations of society on marriage, and everything is the continuation of what is the historic basis of the regime of private property and is expressed in commerce. Marriage is a trade and the 'shrew' is the reaction of the woman in front of this.

Shakespeare analyses woman within the ambit of the top commercial layer. He does not include the rest of the population in this because this particular relation did not exist there. Marriage in the population was founded on the relations of love, and although particular interests could be involved to some extent they were not the central motive. In relations among the population the sentiment of love was more direct and constant. For the bourgeoisie, interest was uppermost. In this ambience, women knew their man on the marriage day, and if there were six men together she said, 'Who is my husband?'

It is necessary to give importance to the significance of the work of Shakespeare. He — like all the great writers of history — was an historic critic. The great writers are not only writers: they pass critical opinions on history. The Romantic representation of an historic form comes later, and already

loses the sense of the historic analysis of the ruling class. Literature relates more to a petit bourgeois audience. In the epoch of Shakespeare, the petit bourgeoisie still had little weight. It was not structured and came later with the development of industry. Hence literature later lost historic significance and became more a romantic literature rather than one of social criticism. With the development of capitalist society the petit bourgeoisie develops, and thus romanticism appears. Even so, there are critics of the ruling class such as Zola and Balzac, catering more for the petit bourgeoisie but socially critical. This is also the case in the theatre in Norway with Ibsen, with social criticism. Always, the true theatre has been one of social criticism, a continuation, a prolongation or an aspect of critical literature expressed in theatre.

I believe also that Shakespeare is most valuable in order to know history, because the quality of the author is his historic function. When one gives an opinion on the theme of the work, it is necessary to see the stage in which humanity is living. And in the form in which the analysis is made, this can be seen. One can see the difference between the criticisms made in the epoch of Greek theatre and that of Shakespeare. Both are in the form of the theatre, but the Greek theatre is a criticism in the leading layer of society; that of Shakespeare is a criticism of a class in development and with more resources and capacity.

It is in this way that the reading of these works serves for a critical basis of the history of humanity and the dramatist is a critic of the history of humanity. At the same time, he makes a very elevated contribution to

make known how social and economic relations developed, and how family relations were expressed, the nature of customs and relations.

For example, there is the very direct criticism expressed through showing the love of young people. The youth see, feel and develop their love — and through these relations the sentiments of fraternity and of affection — affection for things and people are expressed. The choice of partner depends on this or on the inclination of the woman or of the man, for many forms or reasons, including sexual attraction, although sexual attraction was the least important.

In the petit bourgeoisie, in the proletariat, the couple in marriage was the necessity of development. Although, in the epoch of Shakespeare, the petit bourgeoisie was not developed but evolved later with industrial development. It had little weight then, but the petit bourgeoisie was linked to the state, linked to the navigators. The great social forces were the exploiting class of the big bourgeoisie. Afterwards, with the development of society towards capitalism, the petit bourgeoisie developed. Under capitalism, economic development produces the petit bourgeoisie as a function in society, and also the proletariat. Then relations develop a little different to these, not against but a little different. The petit bourgeoisie enters and proceeds to develop. It is the petit bourgeoisie to which now Machiavelli gave importance.

All this is related to the establishment of classes and social layers, intermediate sectors like the petit bourgeoisie. It is important because then it played a very small function; now it is different. In the first stage of capitalism, the petit bourgeoisie had an insignificant weight, but now it has a great weight. Above all, through the concentrated development of property and the capitalist function, and through the advance of modernisation which negates workers and produces more petit bourgeoisie but, as opposed to the beliefs of capitalism, this petit bourgeoisie is influenced by the revolutionary development of the world; very, very influenced.

3.1.1981 J. POSADAS.

(1) Posadas refers to a shortened version of the works of Shakespeare — particularly made for children learning Italian.

From Page 1

the possibilities to develop a massive united world front against imperialism. When a leadership such as the Chinese is obliged to support Nicaragua the possibility to develop such a world front is enormous, which makes the Soviet preoccupation with Thatcher absurd.

Ghaddafi's plan to propose entry of progressive African

States into the Warsaw Pact also brings out the need for the expansion of COMECON. It is necessary to develop an offensive for the extension of COMECON, to incorporate other progressive African states and dedicate time, preoccupation and resources to this, to campaign among the Soviet masses to develop an orientation to help all this. This is both objectively necessary to develop these

economies in the framework of the present Workers States, but also as part of the policies to prepare for war.

In practice, the policy which Ghaddafi has broadly outlined is the only realistic policy to deal with imperialism, including containing them for a period. Yankee imperialism is so gutless and uncertain that it only becomes bold when it detects ele-

ments of weakness in its opponents. When there is firmness there is a tendency to panic stations,

and they have also seen that the Red Army is not going to tolerate much more of this policy of going on bended knee to imperialism.

The interventions of Ghaddafi will have a great effect in the Soviet Union and amplify the discussion there. They will affect the discussion in the Red Army and stimulate the best sectors in the CPSU to intervene with greater force.

## THE CRISIS OF THE TUC CONFERENCE

Through the TUC Conference this year one measures the deepening crisis of capitalism and the advance of the social authority of the Workers States. Indeed, the discussion on South Africa, the National Minimum Wage and the condemnation of the tacit support given by the TUC General Council to the EPTU over Wapping, are signs of weakening from an apparatus that sustains capitalism all the more overtly as it is having to cope with the pressure from the Miners and the workers' vanguard.

The total crisis of capitalism renders it incapable of yielding some marginal benefit to the masses and their demands. Any advance now — even on the trade union level of wages and jobs — has to be made on the political plane. The trade union leaders do not recognise this, but the situation imposes itself, preventing such an apparatus from giving the UDM more weight, or supporting the SDP/Liberal Alliance more openly. However, there is the need for a conscious step to be taken by the trade union and Labour base to free itself from the grip of the apparatus, whilst retaining its centralisation in one

In such a conference most delegates represent to one degree or another an apparatus that lived off what capitalism yielded — from the colonies mainly — in the past. This structure is still in place and is most evident at the top, at the level of the General Council, for instance. Indeed, for seven months the General Council gave a passive support to the EPTU in the hope that the strike at Wapping would soon be over. When these people accept the principle of the government imposing pre-strike ballots, and applaud Kinnock who comes to say that, if he can, he would ensure that this would become law under Labour, it means that this is a structure opposed to the workers, opposed to nationalisation and planning, and to the objectives of Socialism. This apparatus fears the workers more than the bosses and is appearing publicly aligned with the Thatcher government, a thing they prefer doing rather than allow the independent functioning of the working class. They hope to bring Labour back with the minimum of workers' mobilisations and just enough support to further their own careers and interests. To do that, they need to contain the working class. So, any idea of an opposition to the government and its laws they call 'impractical'. Whilst they pretend to be very offended by 'state interference in trade union affairs', they support the pre-strike ballot and pretend that the government is to blame. However, they are indeed delighted by the government anti-strike laws. Behind the scare of 'State interference' there always lurks the denunciation of the Workers States. As the discussion never deepens and never finds a forum, it remains at the level determined by the leaders: interference by capitalism in trade union affairs is, after all, not so bad in the 'West' as in the countries of the 'East' — meaning that the workers are to be found there at the level of the State! Naturally, the TUC never says that in the Workers State there is no poverty, no unemployment, and no war industry for profits.

The vote by a majority of three million against the previous opera-

energy, showing that in capitalism it is used for private self-interests against the masses; whilst in the Workers States it is used for the development of life — even if self-interests linger on there. It is necessary to show that the weapons of the Soviet Union are for the defence of life, and that this is the direct opposite of the use of nuclear weapons in capitalism.

It is also necessary to discuss that the Thatcher government must be condemned over South Africa, not just because of its reluctance to impose sanctions but because there is a class identity between the Thatcher government and its supporters and the whites in South Africa or the Pinochet government in Chile. The role of trade unions in this context is not that of giving support to self-seekers in time of elections, but to be permanent schools of consciousness and preparation for direct struggles on the political arena.

If the Kent Miners found it necessary to send a delegation to the government to demand sanctions against South Africa, to demand support for the Soviet's peace proposals and an opposition to the use of American bases against other countries in the world, it shows that there is the need for an independent discussion and political life at the base of the unions, in the working class and in the places of work. Such an activity, far from meaning the end of the trade unions, would enhance their importance and role in the population and towards the anti-war movement. The Miners' wives did precisely this, and had they been incorporated into the NUM the latter would have been all the stronger for it. Equally, such independent functioning, with mass meetings, newspapers and a political life, would not mean a break-away TUC but it would be the means of replacing the corrupt structure now in place, and the top organisms like the General Council, by organisms of solidarity and struggle to apply such things as the minimum wage. The very fact that the General Council is being replenished by supporters of the capitalist system, as a result of this last TUC Conference, points to the fear of its members of the influence of the left, and points also to the necessity of finding from below the means of by-passing it, without breaking the centralisation of the single Trade Union Centre.

The TUC rejected American missile bases in Britain, the Trident system and the SDI. They are obliged to do this, but in practice they mobilise nothing for these objectives, much as they 'supported' the miners and did nothing.

The vote for the national minimum wage is an indication of the pressure that comes from below, and which the leaders had every intention to curtail. Those who opposed it had to say exactly what they thought for once, and we had the opportunity to hear them declare that they prefer the low paid workers never to have a minimum wage rather than seeing their differentials eroded away. In other words, they prefer to remove food from the mouth of their less fortunate fellow workers than from that of capitalism. It is quite a measure of the crisis of this apparatus when such truths came forward at a time when they would have much preferred not to discuss the matter at all — like in previous years. It is a measure of that crisis when such a debate comes through the thick screen of an apparatus which even the lowest delegates belongs to. Moreover, the national minimum wage was agreed upon after all, it shows all the same signs of the weakening of the grip of the apparatus.

What constitutes the TUC is the base of the apparatus upon which Labour rests and prepares for the next elections. In his speech at Conference, Kinnock did not speak either about the nuclear weapons issue nor about nationalisations. The rest was utter cowardice in front of capitalism. This is a clear indication that he — and his like — do not want the masses to provoke a landslide of Labour votes, and is actively working so as to discourage the working class from voting Labour. All he wants is enough votes to bring him to a position where he can make an alliance with the bourgeoisie, either with the SDP/Alliance or in some other way.

It is necessary to develop a political discussion in the unions, raising such issues anew of nuclear

From page 1

policy — the delegates see nuclear energy in the hands of capitalism as being used for military purposes. The division in the Alliance is not so much between the two constituent parties as it is between the base of both parties and their leadership. Steele and Owen are seen to be defenders of capitalism and supporters of its war preparations. It is worth commenting that Steele's refusal to accept the Assembly's decision on nuclear weapons shows a particular bourgeois democrat in his true light, and the same is true of bourgeois democracy in general. Owen, Steele and Thatcher are all in the same bag when it comes to defending capitalism.

### DISARMAMENT AND SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

The Liberal Party Assembly shows how widespread is the opposition to war preparations. This is confirmed by a recent political survey which showed 50% of the population against British nuclear weapons and 54% against the Yankee Cruise Missiles. There is an obvious desire on the part of the masses to disarm imperialism, to disintegrate its war alliance and limit the damage it can do to humanity in the course of the war. We are in a pre-election period, and the Labour left has to see that it could mobilise the majority of the population on its disarmament programme. Even on the electoral level — not the most important historically — it could ensure the defeat of Thatcher, which would be a considerable gain for the population.

The Labour left has to base itself firmly on the Labour/TUC policy of unilateral nuclear disarmament and to ride over the equivocation of the Labour/TUC apparatus, the opposition of the right wing, by appealing directly to the masses. It has to link disarmament to a policy of social transformation, because war and war preparations are in the nature of capitalism. It has also to understand and explain the differences between the two social systems. The Soviet Union, for example, has resettled and housed the Soviet people displaced by the Chernobyl accident in a matter of months, whilst people in Mexico City demonstrate against the fact that nothing has been done for them since the earthquake, and people in Italy are still waiting to be rehoused years after the earthquake there. The Soviet Union makes great strides in medical care for its people, whilst evidence appears that 'AIDS' is the result of bacteriological experiments carried out on prisoners in the United States during the 1970s.

Therefore disarmament is not an abstract issue but part of the process of transforming society. But it is a central issue for this stage of history and all the conditions are in place for the Labour left to mobilise the masses, to advance towards the disarming of imperialism, the removal of Thatcher and the transformation of society.

27.9.86

### NOTES ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

ITALY. At the conclusion of the Festival of Units, Natta, leader of the Italian Communist Party in succession to Berlinguer, gave the line for the coming period in Italy. Despite the manifest insufficiencies in the policies of the ICP, their acceptance of NATO and absence of serious anti-capitalist programme, the Communist Party remains the political centre of the proletarian and progressive sectors in Italy. Nor does the recent show of interest by the ICP in the policies of the German SDP mean that the Communist Party of Italy is on the road to becoming a social democratic party.

There is a marked difference between the Party apparatus and Party functionaries in the ICP who, in conference in particular, have the appearance of business executives and the Communist spirit of the Italian masses. Natta's speech therefore has some interest, taking into account that the old doctrines about 'historic compromise' with the Christian Democrats have been lost to view with the increasing polarisation of class forces in Italy and throughout the world.

In general, the leadership still seeks to maintain a certain distance from the CPSU, as over Afghanistan, and did not make the international situation central to the speech. They associated themselves very much with the condemnation of the use of nuclear energy in the conditions of capitalism. Such a condemnation tends to go against capitalist in one sense but, at the same time, does not explain that nuclear energy is useful to humanity if used in the interests of humanity and not in the service of private appropriation.

Natta was especially concerned to intervene towards the Socialist Party and the coming struggles in Italy. In the conditions of the humiliation of Craxi and the decision of the Christian Democracy to return to the centre stage in government, Natta proposed a new front with the Socialists, and said there was to be no compromise with the 'pentapartito' and its policy of oppressing the masses. As is usual with the Italian Communist Party there was the combination of the promise of trade union militancy and attention to the problems of the mezzogiorno, with absurd observations on the fact that the Communist Party could run the market economy better than capitalism — such are the contradictions of the policy of the ICP. But the most important orientation of Natta was for the defence of the Italian masses, the participation of the Party in this, and the need for the re-animation of the left with the Socialist and the Catholic left. A more vigorous policy of the CPSU in relation to Europe as a whole would act as an immense stimulus to the anti-capitalist struggle of the Italian Communists.

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

J. POSADAS

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# THE LABOUR LEFT MUST DEVELOP OUTSIDE THE ELECTORAL PERSPECTIVE

The aftermath of the failure of the Reykjavik negotiations has confirmed that there is no possibility of even mitigating the struggle between imperialism and the Workers States. Imperialism is committed to SDI and to preparations for war. Weinberger's intervention against the implementation of the Labour Party's policy to eliminate the Yankee nuclear bases, plus his trip around the world seeking to organise the forces of imperialism against the Soviet Union made it clear that imperialism has no perspective but war. It is the forces collected around the nuclear arms industry which decide the fate of capitalism. The fact that imperialism is constantly divided is due to the strength of the Workers States. The virulence of the internal struggles in the Yankee apparatus burst forth when Kalb resigned over Libya because that country was systematically framed by Yankee imperialism to justify its attacks. While discussions proceeded in Reykjavik more and more the Chirac government in France seeks to integrate with NATO, with Kohl, as part of the Yankee organised war preparations. The trial of the Syrian accused of terrorism in Britain is again part of the Yankee campaign but the attempt of Howe to gain European capitalist support for this was met with resistance and shows again that imperialism finds it impossible to gain a homogeneous unity. It is correct for the Soviet leadership to take advantage of all the contradictions in capitalism, but it is necessary to relate much more to the mass movements, the anti-nuclear movements, and the mass struggles of the workers and petit bourgeois masses, and also to seek much greater political stimulus toward the Socialist and Communist parties.

In the Labour Party Conference the preoccupation of Kinnock and the apparatus was to prevent any discussion of mass mobilisations to sustain the struggle against the Yankee bases and nuclear weapons, and to prevent any discussion over fundamental social transformations. Healy, like Weinberger, came out to exert pressure to make it clear that even if a Labour government was in office the Yankee bases could remain. Kinnock parried this but, at the same time, extolled NATO. They have to keep the abolition of nuclear arms in the programme because the forces of progress have imposed this on the party, but seek to open the way for 'suitable adjustments' by not mobilising for such a purpose. The attack by Kinnock against Yankee attacks on Nicaragua was purely cosmetic with no conclusions. In fact, it is cer-

tain that the Labour Party could gain a massive support on the basis of campaigns for nuclear disarmament, not least from bourgeois sectors who are against nuclear arms as shown at the Liberal Conference disregarded by the 'democrat' Steele. But, as we have argued, the Labour Party apparatus only wants an entry into government, not into power.

Their policies, although not convenient to capitalism, involve taxation measures to slightly limit capitalism for the poorest sectors and some effort to stimulate industrial capital without entering upon the issues of confronting the structure of capitalist society and the state apparatus.

This means also that the Labour Party is not fitted in its present form to take advantage of the many conflicts constantly surfacing among the bourgeoisie. Thus, the direct attack by Tebbit on the BBC on account of its publishing information over Libya illustrates the impotence and the internal discord of capitalism as it confronts the conflict with the Soviet Union and the world revolution. This attack on the BBC is an attempt to control information even more than it is controlled now, because capitalism in its death throes is incapable of confronting the truth or reality. Similarly, the threat to settle the teachers' dispute by decree is part of the same debility. The Labour Party takes very little advantage of this because they want to enter government quietly and orderly so as not to deal with the problems set by capitalism.

In all this the central problem is the lack of organisation of the Labour left, which has allowed itself to be dragged along behind the apparatus without developing campaigns independently. As an organised force it scarcely functions in the trade unions with a closely argued independent position. It has been largely unprepared for the collapse of the majority of the trade union leaderships.

The only way an effective Labour left can develop is by being based on the advance of the international Socialist revolution, and particularly on the advance of the Soviet Union. Certainly there are deficiencies in the leadership of the Workers States. But the latter is the source of present progress in all spheres that pertain to the advance in well-being of the masses. Moreover, the Workers States are the example for the rest of the world that desires to

advance to Socialism. Ethiopia takes example from the Soviet Union, so does Nicaragua; because they have to eliminate the dominion of private property or at least proceed on that road. There is no example of a parliamentary so-called Socialist government which has done anything save preserve capitalism by accommodation to parliament. The Mitterrand government is an example of the result of not effecting serious social transformation. When Benn criticises Soviet policy in inviting the imperialist Thatcher to Moscow, it is a reasonable objection to the most recent phase of Soviet policy which we ourselves have criticised. But, on the other hand, if the left of the Labour Party based itself on the world process and the advance of the Workers States, and not be dominated by parliamentary elections - in other words, applied the Marxist method to British politics - the left would be much more advanced. Moreover, although Militant tendency is no friend to

Marxism and the attack on this group was Kinnock's signal to the bourgeoisie that the left would be controlled, the left could have raised a discussion about the Labour Party apparatus and about the positions of Militant which could have led to a better ambience of discussion not left to the Labour Party apparatus.

The fate of Socialism in Britain will not be decided on the basis of one more parliamentary election. It will be settled as part of a world process which is more and more dealing heavy blows at the imperialist structure, including Britain. The recent elevation of the African revolution in the fight against South Africa and the process in Uganda, the massive student demonstrations in South Korea demanding unity with North Korea, even the fact that the British monarch has to make a visit to China to gain some trade and a little authority

are signs of the weight of the world process and the role of the Workers State. They exist whatever may be the limitations of any leadership of a Workers State. Such is the weight of these states that layers of scientists are attracted within capitalism to reject the criminal policies of SDI; and in one case a scientist actually flees to the Soviet Union to escape the persecution of capitalism.

British imperialism is in profound disorder. The class war is being waged by capitalism with the vigour of total despair. It is necessary that the Labour left reflects on the experience of the last stage and campaigns vigorously to oust Thatcher on a programme of social transformations, and an economy to meet the needs of the population with mass mobilisations against nuclear bases.

1.11.86

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## ON THE DEATH OF COMRADE SAMORA MACHEL

The continuous and devastating attacks against Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe by South Africa, fully supported by US imperialism, through the various counter-revolutionary groups in the region, are proof enough that South Africa wanted Samora Machel dead. The fact that South Africa rejects responsibility and tries hard to seem uninvolved, shows that it fears the social consequences and has to act clandestinely. It makes a similar cowardly and covert intervention against Zimbabwe through the counter-revolutionary groups in Mozambique and denies any part in it. This shows that its denials in the case of the death of Machel cannot be believed. The economy of Mozambique has been all but destroyed by the counter-revolution assisted by South Africa, which acted with the same callousness when supporting the counter-revolution in Ethiopia, regardless of famine.

Once again it is shown for all to see that the lack of development in Africa is not due to natural causes but to the existence of imperialism; and that consequently it is not aid that is needed by the political and military means to remove what is left of imperialism. These conclusions are assimilated by the masses of Africa and the world, and this is why the whites of South Africa fear public opinion. They are a spearhead of Yankee imperialism in its war preparations in that part of the world, and they cannot even claim that this is what they believe in. All they can do is rely more and more on direct repression and murder, and this also shows that they have lost the battle. Historically, victory belongs to the blacks in the whole of Africa, in the name of human progress.

Imperialism has tried all means at its disposal to ruin Mozambique. However, in spite of this, the revolution has not been made to retreat,

and the Non-Aligned Conference has shown that none of the countries surrounding it can give in to imperialism. The intervention of Gaddafi was not lost on the masses of Africa, and imperialism has not been able either to kill him or to roll back the progress he signifies.

The murder of Machel is in direct continuation with the attempt against Gaddafi and underlines too that the policy of imperialism has to be murder and military preparations - because it has nothing else. This is exemplified by the 'terrorist' attacks in the world and the highly suspicious bomb explosions in France, followed by the Hindawi affair in London leading up to a break of relations between Britain and Syria.

We call on the Soviet Union to elevate its intervention towards the countries of that

Continued on page 4

## On the Paintings of Picasso. J. Posadas.

This assessment of Picasso by Posadas is an example of the Marxist method applied to an artist who has been made by the propaganda of capitalism an apotheosis of 'modern' art. Picasso was basically anti-capitalist in sentiment, but without the organised Party this inevitably takes the form of protest, rejection of 'official' art, 'normal' art as at the end of the 19th century and seeing art as the individual solution. Very gifted, Picasso was an artist in many ways haunted by the great art of the past but whose conditions of life and work did not enable him as a whole to transcend the limitations imposed by capitalism.

The early Picasso were his best and most important. In the later stages of Picasso's life there were great events and social transformations, but he did not dedicate any work to them. 'Guernica' has nothing to do with the revolution, or anything else. Picasso was very profound and capable in drawing, in showing the human form and human themes in the 1900/1905 period. But, later this was no longer so.

Technical ability cannot be an 'end in itself'. It has to be a means to an end. Picasso's paintings at first were very human.

The task of a painter — like that of any other artist — must be to show the continuity of life and of human relations. The act of creation necessarily means to continue the relations of life inside a creative work where the artist contributes his (or her) special vision. A painter today, more than ever before, cannot be outside the social process which is the only source of passion, of life, of preoccupation and of motives. The social process is the source of life itself! It was always true, but today it is even more so. Life unfolds in the very process of transformations and changes; it is made by the historic heroism of the masses, that of the children and of the women. All this was contained in the Russian Revolution, but Picasso showed none of it. He contributed well to the Communist Party, and even later, to the International. He was for Communism, but he did not have the grasp of what a Communist painter should be or do. He was full of a profound human sentiment, as shown in his 'maternity' themes, in the 'Father and Mother' etc. In general he depicts the women of his time with a fond sentiment of love, something which became less marked as time went on and as the relations around him did not value this. It was the ambience of Stalinism.

The majority of the painters today are dissidents, or they agree with them. Picasso, however, was not one of these. But, like them, he feels out of sorts, disgusted; in part, it is because they feel that they are not accepted and do not find a proper recognition in the general level of mediocrity. This leads the artists to rebel against the general atmosphere of rejection and indifference. Meanwhile, capitalism sustains — and gives a certain support to — a tiny layer of artists whom it stimulates to criticise the bureaucracy of the Workers States. Many artists feel this, but as they do not have the objectivity to tear themselves away from it, they cannot find the means to live just for the function of their own creative work and serve humanity. This would demand from them an understanding of ideas. It is not really true that the artists, being artists, must float over and above ideas; the better informed with ideas, the better the artist — much better his (or her) work, infinitely so. At the time of Beethoven, for example, this was not so much the case, even though it was in part; because the path of progress was far from being as clear as it is now, with the Workers States. The artist today has the means to make distinctions, to make a separation and pass judgements regarding the differences between bureaucracy, dictatorship and the Workers States. The Workers State contains both bureaucracy and dictatorship; but the artist can still see the Workers State. It is true that, at the time of Picasso, the dictatorship of Stalin was quite sordid and much more in evidence than was the Workers State. But, even then, the bureaucracy still had to operate in the name of the Workers State. The masses of the world see this, and there is no reason why the artist should not. Indeed, what sort of life can be expressed by an artist who does not see this? What determines is real life, and not some sort of imagined life, particular to that imagined by only one artist. Life is not a vague dream as it had tended to be depicted by the Romantics. But, as regards the Romantics, they were another thing and had another historic reason for emerging. Romanticism came with the development of the capitalist economy, of society, and with a series of factors like the lack of a political, trade union or social structure, the lack of sufficient social struggle to channel the creative capacity of artists. But, today, this is no longer the case.

For as regards Picasso, we still recognise him as a great painter who supported Communism and the working class. But he did not understand politics very much. He did not understand, and did not live a political life; there were no texts, and no great pressure to preoccupy himself with theory. So his paintings — with the best intentions in the world — did not bring out the creative capacity that existed in the masses of the world at that time who had just created a Workers State! Those who say that the artist does not have to live or feel the masses are totally wrong. Without living the life of the masses, what sentiment can there be? Where can sentiments come from? Can the sort of sentiment that generated the capacity for art come from the boss? From the life at home? The pace of work? Or from the Party leaders? No! Such sentiments come from the life of the people, and only from there. When some sentiment is shown by the Party leaders it is generally partial and remote from its original source of inspiration and objectivity

Continued on page 4

## Rekjavik, and the need for a greater intervention of the workers states in the world revolution.

The consequences of this failure at Reykjavik will show themselves eventually within and without the Soviet Union in particular. Logic points to the need to reorientate the policy of the Soviet Union, not diminishing agile diplomatic initiatives but accentuating much more the orientation of the Soviet Workers State, in particular towards the masses of the world. The team of Gorbachev has invested an enormous amount of time and effort to weigh on the European bourgeoisie and the defeatist tendencies in the United States to stimulate forms of opposition to the sinister plans of the Yankee war machine which is preoccupied as were the nazis when to hit the Soviet Union and under what conditions. The Soviets even extended the moratorium on nuclear testing despite the brutal continuation of testing by the Yankss nuclear assassins.

The reasons for the persistence of the Soviet leadership in this policy have been analysed by J. Posadas in extracts that we publish in this issue of Red Flag and provide theoretical bases for understanding the combination of progressive steps to liquidate the most inert and parasitic layers of the bureaucracy, with vain efforts to continue functioning as a separate stratum, hoping to survive via the policy of peaceful co-existence. However, this is not the stage of Khrushchev. The Soviet leadership will have to make a new appraisal of the situation because it is abundantly clear that the SDI, Star Wars policy is fundamental to Yankee imperialism. It is not just a great ploy designed to boost military expenditures and engulf other capitalist states in a new arms race, but is part and parcel of the criminal plans to attack the Soviets and the world masses.

Moreover, the Soviets themselves logically cannot be surprised at this outcome. Quite correctly, they have argued that the SDI concept is the epitome of military preparation. It means the development of devices to impede a Soviet counter-blow after a first strike by the Yanks.

The crisis of development in the leadership of the Workers State is, of course, nothing in comparison with the mounting disorder in the ranks of imperialism. Even with this policy of concessions by the Soviet leadership, the fact that they held even the diplomatic initiative interview of Ryzhkov, Soviet Premier, gives the perspective but the crudest expression of this tendency. As compared with Breznev, Gorbachev expresses a closer link with top layers of the planners and that is the result of the liquidation of these sectors who most impede the economy by their leech-like indifference to everything — as Posadas says — but their own blood-sucking.

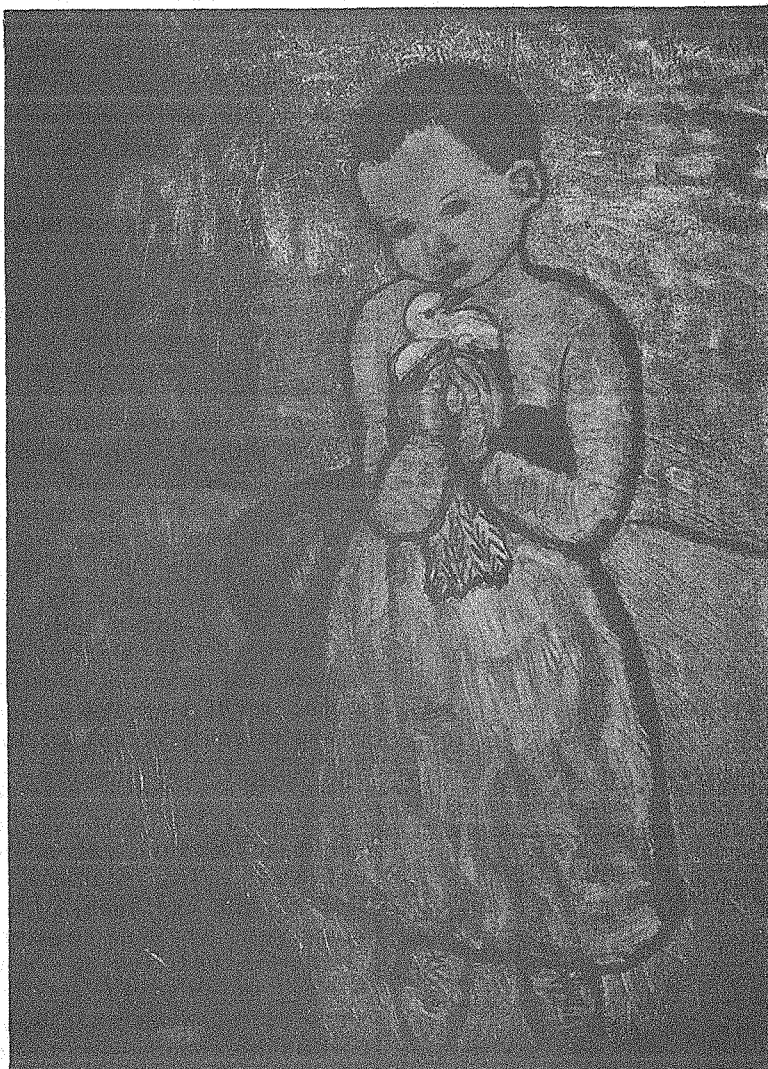
This sector of the planners has indeed embarked on a voyage which they cannot altogether control. Ryzhkov has to admit that they are only at the beginning and that qualitative changes are still necessary. This tendency, and Gorbachev has emphasised this from the start, also seeks to maintain marked differentials in the economy, speaking of the 'bedrock principle of Socialism' from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" (Ryzhkov). Thus, in practice, this tendency — although referring to the need for moral incentives — is geared in its improvements to the economy to maintaining differentials and — as they say — rejection of 'levelling tendencies' in wages. As with the programme of the CPSU Ryzhkov speaks about the need to elevate the norms of social justice, the need to develop popular Socialist self-government and meet the needs of the population. In practice these observations point to a process which is going with whatever obstacles towards a Communist attitude and conflicts with wage differentials. If there is more genuine involvement of the whole population in the functioning of the Workers State, those tendencies that already exist which seek to terminate with privileges and inequality are going to strengthen. The top bureaucracy has to meet this issue in a situation which they cannot govern as in the past. The attempts to place the emphasis on enterprising and dynamic individuals does not solve the problem of overcoming bureaucratic structures. It is also a question of stimulating the collective intervention of everyone, and this actually conflicts with differential material incentives. The new changes are already benefiting the population; how much more can be done if a Communist spirit is developed in conjunction with the perspective of the Workers State augmenting its aid to the world revolution? That is why we repeat. The problems of the economy of the Workers State are political problems as well, and this is where the role of the Party is not just

are now seeking to prepare a campaign against Syria?

The top layer of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, which objectively has to progress but within certain limits, is increasingly caught in a vice. On the one hand they are partially improving the economy, but on the other trying to avoid the inevitable confrontation with imperialism. In a sense this means limiting the full relationship between the development of the Soviet Union and the world revolution. In this sense the recent interview of Ryzhkov, Soviet Premier, gives the perspective of this tendency. As compared with Breznev, Gorbachev expresses a closer link with top layers of the planners and that is the result of the liquidation of these sectors who most impede the economy by their leech-like indifference to everything — as Posadas says — but their own blood-sucking.

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Child with Dove — Picasso

Continued on page 4

# The world process and the problem of the leadership of the workers states.

J. Posadas.

EXTRACTS

*These extracts from a conference text by Cde Posadas in 1979 combine the discussion over the structure of elevated human relations as the determining factor in human progress, with the character of the changes in the USSR and the desire of the bureaucracy to survive. Human progress is no longer determined by a closed cerebral understanding. Limitations in sentiment lead to limitations in appraisal of history, and a fall into blind routine or 'adaptation' functioning. This was why Posadas' final statement was 'Life has no meaning without the struggle for Socialism.'*

The nature of the whole of the process is determined by the revolution (the arrow which attracts the rest). The revolution in every sense is not only the social revolution and the mobilisation of the masses, but the transformation of people's minds such that the most backward can become the most advanced as is the case of Polisario. It is not only a question of fighting colonial oppression which is the form of struggle against capitalism in this stage of history. Before it was possible to struggle against colonialism without struggling against capitalism; now it is not the case and the world understands this....

The whole of humanity is urgent for change and has turned upside down the terrestrial globe with the necessity of the human sentiment which advances to Socialism. It is not an abstract human sentiment nor humanism, even that of the epoch of Marx (but humanism of Marx, yes); nor visionary thinking where one cannot see ... the whole process of human relations is determined by the necessity, the incessant, uninterrupted progress of human relations which determines cultural, scientific and artistic progress. Science is not a class science but classes utilise it, and thus there is a utilisation of science by classes. But the process of the development of the revolution links science more and more to the development of human relations and human love. It is not possible to construct Socialism with 'I am giving this.. You give this'. It is not like this. Human love determines the form of thinking; it does not determine a quantity to distribute; it is human love which is substituted for love of property, love of the woman, the son, love of sex.

## THE DIFFERENTIATION IN THE BUREAUCRACY.

For the top bureaucracy in the Soviet Union it is profoundly evident that to live and develop it has to eliminate on the one side the capitalist system - and try to avoid war - and eliminate the lower part of the bureaucracy which damages it quite a lot.

These are the cleansings which

continue existing, to eliminate the obstacles, and the chief one is the capitalist system - but also the lower levels of the bureaucracy.

The Workers States do not see this because it is the bureaucratic apparatus which measures and judges history not the conscious revolutionary leadership which creates these conditions and is based on them to impel history. The bureaucratic apparatus needs the revolution to terminate with capitalism but, at the same time, still to conserve itself. This is not in the form of a perpetual ambition because the bureaucracy cannot develop the perpetual ambition as it has no future; it continues developing the conception of life in accordance with social interests but, as they are social interests of the usufruct of the Workers State (and very profound) it is not decisive. Their conception is a very limited conception of the notion of the progress of history. There is no leadership. The leadership of the Workers States has capacity and will and resolution to confront capitalism - to confront it without ceding - but this expresses a necessity of the Workers State. This needs to eliminate the risk from the social and political development of capitalism, and hence it tries to eliminate the lower layers. But, as the bureaucratic leadership is not the conscious representative of social development - which is the necessity of the Workers State - in all the layers there is a heterogenous development of currents who wish to go much further (even without the integrated programme or conception of Lenin). Then the others who try to conciliate are the ones who have to be eliminated. When they launched the last Soviet constitution Breznev said, referring to the proposal of 'each one according to his

are being made. This is not an immediate or limited interest, but it is the inevitable necessity of the bureaucracy; it has to proceed eliminating the lower levels of the bureaucracy because these sectors have local individual interests, those of sects and of groups in the development of social interests - which it tries to express politically - damages and makes difficult the development of the plans of the Workers State on which the top bureaucracy lives. No one interprets this. Thousands of trade union leaders have been eliminated in the USSR and they are part of this lower level of the trade union bureaucracy. But, in eliminating these layers of the bureaucracy, the top layer of the bureaucracy does not affirm itself because it does not find a better level to sustain itself nor a perspective of conciliation within the capitalist system which does not exist. On the contrary, the relation capitalism/Workers State is one of an ever greater confrontation. And in this stage they want to try to impede the confrontation with capitalism within the Workers State. The lower layers of the bureaucracy have no future and live by sucking the blood of the Workers State like leeches.

The lower layers of the bureaucracy lack the understanding of the process and have developed in the usury of the bureaucratic life of which it is the least part. Hence they are liquidated because the top layer of the bureaucracy needs to survive, to

needs': 'I am not against, and it is going to come, but I believe it is still not the moment'. This is not just one exclamation more, but represents a very great sector of the apparatus of the CPSU; he answers to a layer which is not now interested in maintaining the order of present social relations, but in their mind wish to go much further.

## THE NEED TO GENERALISE THE PROCESS.

As there are no parties which live the life of Communism it is in this way that the political maturing in this leadership is developed. It does not develop as we do, who discuss all the problems which exist, to draw the conclusions and to have a guide to be able to orientate ourselves so as to determine the policy and the perspective.

In the leadership of the Workers States it is not like this. You see the policy of the Soviets who support Angola and Cuba, but there is no theoretical or political conclusions and organisational resolution. It does not exist because in the bureaucratic leadership there is not the necessary decision and understanding. From the social interest which they represent there cannot arise the need for an organisational conclusion to determine levels, means, experiences, an acquired form of understanding, and consciousness, and on all the base to advance in this process.

Whatever the difficulties the essential fact is the existence of the Workers States which determine the course of history, but they do not have a programme for this course. What we are doing the Workers State should do. It should determine a programme and give it to the Algerians, to

Polisario, to the Cambodians; and without necessity of being dependent on this analysis, the leadership of the Soviet Workers State must intervene to generalise the experience to elevate and mature - elevating the experiences of the revolutionary

leadership so that they may signify their concern, their thought and the conclusions of the unity of the world revolutionary process; unity does not mean that one depends on the other, but it means that if capitalism triumphs in one part it stays there and cannot generalise the experience; but if Polisario triumphs this is revolutionary process generalised because it represents progress.

The generalisation of the revolutionary process comes from the unity of the world, but this unity is determined by the existence and the functioning of the Workers States. The unity of the world is not sufficient in itself, the important factor is the determining development of this unity.

Before, it was the capitalist system; now this is not the case: the Workers States decide. Unity means to develop the experiences and the political and organisational understanding to show to the rest of the world; this is how things are progressing. It means to give the unity of the security of the future and in the concrete application of policy. Today in the absence of a functioning Communist International, this is our function ...

The development of the life of humanity which is this unified process, is not determined by the sentiments, the will and the security of progress. There are no peoples which are going to creep about to see what is happening; the security of Nicaragua does not give place to the development of any bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie can kill, but does not give security. The security of the masses of Iran is not the same as that of the masses of Nicaragua. Although Iran is richer the Nicaraguan masses have greater security.

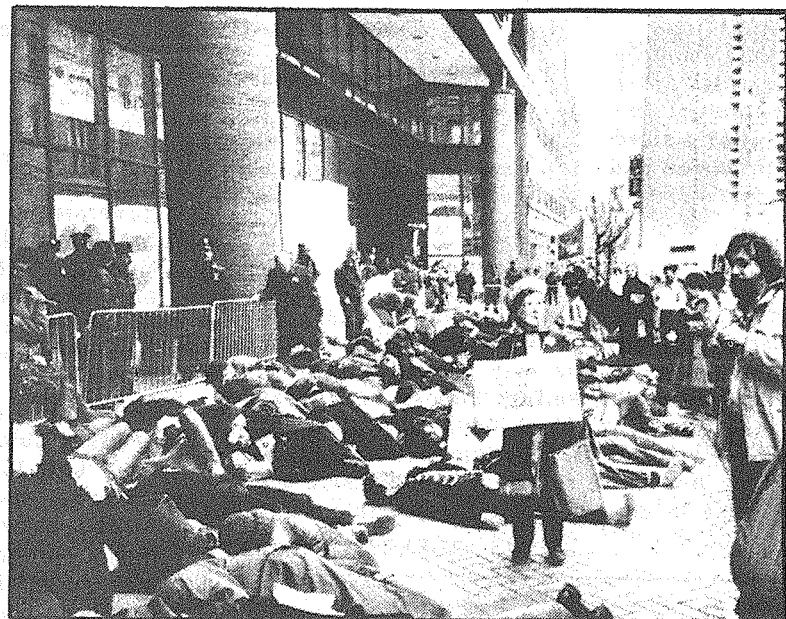
J. POSADAS

11.9.79

The origins of the present counter-revolutionary leadership of the Chinese Workers State.

J. POSADAS

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Protest against nuclear arms - New York

## GREEK LOCAL ELECTIONS AND THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

The loss of votes suffered by the Greek Socialist Party (PASOK) in the recent local elections are not as great as some bourgeois commentators would have us believe, but the result does contain some important conclusions for the Labour left. An understanding of the evolution of Socialist parties in government — Greece, France and Spain for example — and the lessons to be drawn from the process is an important part of the preparations necessary for a possible Labour government at the next general election in Britain. It is part of the shattering of any illusion in the possibility of reforming capitalism out of existence, or even squeezing any major reforms or advance out of it.

The loss of Athens, Piraeus and Salonika, all major cities, to the Conservatives (ND) is obviously a blow for PASOK and the Greek masses but the result has to be put into perspective. Overall PASOK retained office in 167 of the 147 municipalities that it previously controlled, which is hardly a defeat. The Communist Party (KKE) which gained votes hold office in 54 municipalities, which means a total of 221 held by the left as compared with 63 held by the ND. The principal reason for PASOK losing the major cities was that the KKE withdrew support mainly in opposition to the PASOK government's 'austerity measures'. 'Austerity measures' are a polite way of describing a policy of making the masses pay for the crisis of capitalism. The KKE quite rightly opposes these measures and there have been a series of 'anti-austerity' strikes organised by the trade unions.

PASOK has been forced to follow, to some extent, the road of Mitterand in France because neither took the necessary steps — nationalisation under workers' control — to ensure control of the economy. Thus the PASOK government is trying to improve the capitalist economy but, in reality,

is administering it. It is true that it maintains good relations with the Workers States (Socialist Countries) and a reasonably progressive foreign policy with its refusal, for example, to support the provocations directed at Syria by imperialism following the Hindawi affair. But it has been unable to carry out its policy of reforms and is now taking back much of the gains made in the early days of the government by the Greek masses.

It is important to note that Papandreou and PASOK invented the notion of 'social ownership' as opposed to state-ownership. The Labour Party is now doing the same and the result of this policy, under a Labour government, would be much the same as in Greece. Also, PASOK didn't remove the Yankee bases from Greece although it proposed to do so, and we can see that Kinnock — and much of the British Labour leadership — are already looking for ways of not implementing Labour's policy of removing Yankee bases from Britain.

The process in Greece shows — as it does in France — that there is no parliamentary road to Socialism, no middle path. Either a state-owned, centrally planned economy is instituted under workers' control or capitalism is administered: with the resulting damage to the standard of life of the masses. A few reforms may be obtained which favour sectors of capitalism, but after that a reformist government (Labour, Socialist or Social Democrat) is removed because capitalism no longer has any use for it and it has lost the support of the masses. We urge the Labour and trade union left to study the experience of Spain, France and Greece — and to compare it with the progress being made by the Workers States — as part of the preparation for a Labour government with a programme for social transformation after the next general election.

From page 1  
region, showing that imperialism has to be defeated internationally by means of the world anti-imperialist united front against South Africa and Yankee imperialism

From page 2  
because, in the leaderships, there are bureaucratic apparatuses. What demonstrates noble objectivity and thirst for the development of the struggle for Socialism is the very action and life of the people. This is still true in the Workers States. In Yugoslavia, where Tito brought the idea of a 'Third World' and other notions, many artistic works have been informed by this political leadership, and by the dissidents. And the dissidents in Yugoslavia are infinitely worse than those in the Soviet Union. All this limits the capacity of the artist.

J. POSADAS 22.12.79

From page 2  
economy but the centre which accelerates the intervention of the masses and gives the political lead.

At the end of the interview with 'Neue Gesellschaft' Ryzhkov spoke of plans to develop joint enterprises with capitalism. This proposal is not really necessary. The progress to trade does not require now that the Workers State should give such direct oxygen to capitalism. Much more to the point is to develop relations with the revolutionary states such as Mozambique and Lybia, who are in the front line of struggle with capitalism and would be an additional force for the expansion of the Soviet Workers State, whereas the capitalists involved in joint enterprises are giving themselves a reliable snorter to survive the cold climate of inter-capitalist competition. The Workers State, in its historic objectives, is not concerned just with Krushchev's goulash but with the capital of human beings and human social relations — the most profitable of all, as Cde Posadas argued eloquently enough.

The blanket refusal of the Reagan government to make any concessions over the SDI perspective and their making it the issue in their electoral campaign in the United States, to centralise all the most reactionary sectors gives no basis for purely diplomatic reactions to imperialism. All discussion of medium based missiles, long based missiles etc. has little meaning faced with the policy characteristic of SDI — which is simply the preparation of a massive first strike, with the hopes that the Soviet Union will not be able to retaliate with sufficient force. Poindexter, a representative of the war tendency, simply says: 'Ah well, the Soviets will come round to accept it.' That is the line of imperialism, and no concessions of the Soviet leadership will affect it.

This is not to say that imperialism is now in a better po-

sition to deal with the Soviet Union. On the contrary, the Soviet Workers State shines forth before the masses of the world as the example of human progress which has a solution to all the problems which beset humanity via centralised planning, state monopoly of foreign trade and the perspective of more and more popular participation in the control of the economy, and despite the enormous wealth taken by the necessary defence expenditure, a constant improvement in the all-round standard of life.

Whatever the immediate plans of the present Soviet leadership to persist in diplomatic initiative and finesse, the Soviet leadership is obliged to confront imperialism through the nature of the historic process. The world revolution is constantly fed by the presence of the Workers States — despite disasters like Ceauscescu of Roumania — and this is intolerable to imperialism. Conflict is inevitable and however ingenious the diplomacy of the Soviets imperialism is impervious to reason. That is a fundamental Marxist conclusion.

Anything which damages the interests of the Workers State will be terminated. Posadas predicted the fall of Khrushchev after the Cuba crisis. Reykjavik is not analagous to this because it was not possible for the Workers State to make a concession in front of the structure of history, but there will be crises if such policies are continued and more radical policies not adopted.

It is necessary that the political experience of Reykjavik is discussed openly and publically in the Soviet Union, in front of the world masses, that it is discussed in the Red Army, that the CPSU develops a campaign to accelerate the unification of the economies of the Workers States and the unification of the USSR and China. The visit of Jaruzelski to China, whatever the parti-

cular aspects of this visit, shows the need to unify. Better to collaborate with a Workers State than submit to the IMF.

The Red Army least of all cannot afford to have illusions about imperialism. The top bureaucracy may wish to survive but the Red Army cannot escape into illusion, because every day it sees the active preparations of imperialism to attack the Soviet Union. It will act as a powerful pressure to re-orientate Soviet policy. Zhukov, before the nazi attack on the Soviet Union, posed the dangers of sudden attack while Stalin understood nothing. As the world situation is different today, such a form of crisis would not be conceivable; but elements of it exist and will have to be overcome.

The issue that determines the world process is the existence of the Workers States and the revolutionary States. Although Soviet diplomacy has sought to exploit the divisions within imperialism, these divisions are not fundamentally the result of Soviet policy but stem from the objective existence of the Workers States. It is precisely the unfavourable balance of forces against imperialism that promotes chaos within its ranks, not the purely diplomatic policies of the Soviet leadership. It is necessary to impel a discussion in the Workers States, to deepen the links within these states, to accelerate especially political, economic and social intervention towards the masses of the so-called under-developed nations. This is the social strategy necessary to have the perspective of developing Afghanistan towards a Workers State, and developing a Party there with this perspective, not that of using Afghanistan as a move in a diplomatic process which, in any case, cannot result in any benefit for the Soviet Union or the world revolution.

## FOR THE UNITY OF NORTH AND SOUTH KOREA

### FOR THE KOREAN WORKERS STATE

Dear comrades,  
TO THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF MOZAMBIQUE

We send our profound expression of regret and sentiments of revolutionary solidarity to the people and government of Mozambique for the death of Comrade Machel. The death of such an important revolutionary leader, whether by assassination or accident — although we suspect the latter — is a heavy blow both to the people of Mozambique and all those who fight for human progress. However, the balance of world forces between reaction and human progress is such that we can all be confident that, however much regretted, the death of Comrade Samora Machel will not halt the pro-

gress of Mozambique.

We are also confident that the people of Mozambique, in common with the people of the whole of southern Africa and in alliance with the Socialist countries like the Soviet Union and Cuba — and the progressive masses of the world — will continue to play their full role in the progress of humanity. We place the Socialist countries at the head of the list because they, with the Soviet Union at their centre, are the determining factor in world history today, and history today is the inexorable march of human progress.

We know that the people and government of Mozambique will suffer from the death of Comrade Samora Machel, as you suffer from the murderous attacks of the forces of reaction today, but your struggle represents the will of humanity to progress — and that cannot be defeated.

With revolutionary greetings,  
REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY  
British Section of the Posadist IV International.

21st October London.

**The Labour Left must reanimate the fight against nuclear bases and NATO on the basis of the world balance of forces.**

The current onslaught on the Reagan administration over the 'Iranian arms affair' is yet another twist in the downward spiral of the disintegration of world capitalism. Yankee imperialism, which is the world centre of capitalism, expresses the full force of the final and total crisis of capitalism. The prime mover of this crisis is the Soviet Union, at the centre of the system of Workers States, and it is precisely the question of negotiations and relations with the Soviet Union which has sparked off the latest internal struggle amongst the Yanks. Yankee imperialism always comes out of negotiations with the Soviets looking stupid and at a loss. The Soviets make proposals for disarmament which the Yanks cannot respond to because capitalism is dedicated to war and the profit from arms production. Reagan lost out at Reykjavik and his use value is limited.

After Reykjavik Yankee imperialism broke the SALT 2 agreement, and the war in the Lebanon, the attack by the Israelis - the agents of imperialism - on the Lebanese masses increased. What we have with Reagan is another 'Watergate' in a stage of even greater disintegration of the system than the original one. The system disintegrates and a variety of factions work against each other.

British imperialism is part of this process, and evidence of the economic, political and moral decay of the system abounds. The M15 scandal is nothing new but it now appears with even greater force. It is an indication of the depth of the crisis, its total nature, that a denial has to be made by the government that a leading bourgeois figure like Rothschild is not a Soviet spy. What is clear is that the whole security service is riddled with people who are either defeatist in front of history or are positively attracted to the Soviet Union. It proves the role of the Workers State in the crisis of capitalism, it proves its superiority as a system despite limitations of leadership from Stalin to today. Another aspect of the disintegration of capitalism is the sweep of scandals involving financial dealings in the 'City'. The Guinness company, Phillips and Guinness company, Phillips and Drew - the stockbrokers - and the Morgan Grenthell Bank are all involved in one way or another. Ian Gilmour - previously a Minister in the Thatcher government - is now denouncing frauds

in arms contracts. In the first ten months of this year £30,000 million has been generated by 'take-overs' in the 'City'. It is money that is not backed by production of commodities. It is simply the product of gambling on the value on paper of a company. The financial institutions of British capitalism have become nothing more than a gigantic casino.

The Labour 'defence' policy which Kinnock has been preparing in the United States is a Britain with NATO but without nuclear arms. The elimination of nuclear bases in Britain would be an immense blow at imperialism - socially and politically as well as militarily. Thus the resistance of NATO and Weinburger. They will bring maximum pressure on Kinnock to abandon this. Kinnock's support of NATO is to try to keep capitalist pressure ab bay as he is obliged to support Labour Party policy against nuclear arms. The Labour Party apparatus is weak in front of imperialism and mass mobilisations will be necessary to enforce the closing of all Yankee and nuclear bases.

If a future Labour government is, as the left hopes, to follow some kind of Socialist policy, then Yankee imperialism would be the enemy. It is, anyway, the enemy of humanity and war is its nature. In all the struggles which the Labour left supports, against Yankee bases and nuclear weapons, in support of the Nicaraguan and South African masses, the enemy is Yankee imperialism and their ally - even if not in an organised form - the Soviet Union and the Workers States.

The left have to live the reality of the world and make closer links with the Soviet Union and the Workers States in order to disrupt, as much as possible, the war preparations of imperialism, and take the lead constantly in the anti-nuclear movement.

It is not a question of nuclear weapons in abstract, but of systems and the progress of humanity. It is to be seen just how total is the crisis of the system and how full advantage can be taken of it to advance towards Socialism. The masses react to the weakness of the system, the favourable world balance of forces, by seeking to advance. The struggle of the teachers in this country is a symptom of this. They could only carry out this struggle over a year because they felt that they had the support of the masses in this

CONTENTS


Page 1 Editorial Terrorism;

Page 3 Article on Britain: J. POSADAS

Page 4 U.S. Elections

*Workers of the world, unite!*

# RED FLAG



Monthly organ of the

**REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY**

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371 13 December 1986

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country. The teachers have no great industrial weight, and do not compare with the miners, for instance, in this respect. Yet they maintain a struggle which is for more than just higher wages and which brings the whole education system into question, with a union leadership with little initiative and which has been obliged to struggle. The mobilisations of the French student movement, which has forced the Chirac government to back down, is much the same. These mobilisations which receive very little in the way of leadership from the workers' parties are based on the confidence and will to progress of the masses in this stage of history, but without a political preparation.

It is based also on the weakness of a capitalist system determined to take back the social and political gains of previous periods.

The teachers' struggle has a political leadership with programme and policy which would give a centre to the struggle against imperialist war preparations and for social and economic advance. This means that it has to shake itself free from submission to parliamentary conceptions and from anti-Sovietism. It must be clear that a future Labour government may renege, under the present leadership, on unilateral nuclear disarmament

The Labour left clearly has to go beyond applauding the struggle of the masses and just giving general support. It has to act as

Therefore, the struggle has to be taken outside the Parliamentary area and into the housing estates, offices, factories and universities - with the programme of social transformations.

6th December 1986

**Imperialism, terrorism and war preparation.**

*The 'campaign against terrorism' by the imperialist war alliance, orchestrated by Yankee imperialism, is sheer hypocrisy. It is hypocrisy with a purpose, a smokescreen to hide the real authors of world terrorism which is imperialism itself. Of course, the general state of decomposition within the imperialist apparatus does not allow it to hide behind the smokescreen and various capitalist leaders try to distance themselves from the war alliance dominated by the Yanks. Thus Chirac (French Prime Minister) lets the cat out of the bag by revealing that the Hindawi 'affair' was a provocation against Syria organised by the CIA and the Israeli Secret service. It becomes increasingly clear that terrorism on a world scale is organised by the CIA who utilise existing terrorist groups which are a product of a*

*decomposing capitalist system, or invent their own. These the Swedish SDP and trade union terrorist activities have a number of purposes, including that of terrorising the masses who are, with the Workers States (Socialist countries) the natural enemy of capitalism, they are provocations to advance the process towards the launching of war and they are a means of settling internal differences within world capitalism. Thus Enoch Powell's statement that the CIA assassinated Airey Neave is certainly true, whatever his motives in making it.*

*The assassination of Olaf Palme (Swedish Social Democratic leader) was also part of the vicious internal struggle in the capitalist system. Jorn Svenson (Communist MP) puts the blame for the assassination of Palme firmly on the CIA in an*

*article on 7 November 1986, in the Swedish SDP and trade union newspaper 'Attonbladet'. He writes that Palme 'had support in political circles, even within NATO, primarily in Germany and the Netherlands, and he supported a strategy which threatened US interests'. This world campaign of terrorism, organised by Yankee imperialism, substitute for the fascism which it needs but which the world balance of social and class forces does not allow it. In all its aspects it is part of the preparation for war by imperialism. The recent assassination - for that is clearly what it was - of Samora Machel is part of this process.*

*Yankee imperialism acts clandestinely because it hasn't the possibility of acting openly in front of the world masses and those of the USA. It utilises*

Continued on page 2

**URUGUAY**

**We salute the participation of the POR (Trotskyist-Posadist) in the political conference of the Frente Amplio.**

Israel and South Africa for such clandestine acts. It also acts openly and the description of Washington as 'terror capital of the world' is a fair one. A great many counter-revolutionary terrorist organisations are openly funded by the CIA and have offices in Washington. These include the MNR of Mozambique, UNITA (the Angolan counter-revolutionary terrorists), and all the counter-revolutionary rabble fighting against progress in Afghanistan and the notorious 'contras' fighting against progress in Nicaragua. Yankee imperialism gives enormous sums of money to these terrorists. UNITA has received 15 million US dollars, the 'contras' 100 million in government money and an estimated two million from 'private' sources. These activities are a sign of weakness on the part of Yankee imperialism. In previous stages of history, the Yanks simply invaded countries like Nicaragua and imposed themselves. The existence of the Soviet Union and the system of the Workers States creates a world balance of forces which forces imperialism to act in a clandestine and fragmented way. All this activity is the result of a disorder and decomposition which comes from the fact that imperialism has no other perspective but the war, and that history does not allow it to decide how, when or where it will be launched.

A final piece of hypocrisy is the fact that whilst Reagan denounces terrorism and various states like Iran, his administration is engaged in supplying arms to Iran. This is done in the hope of strengthening the most reactionary elements in the

Iranian leadership, and because the production and selling of arms is a very profitable enterprise. That all this has been utilised in an internal dispute against the Reagan government does not alter this point.

Chirac's reaction to the provocation against Syria which the Hindawi 'affair' was, in no small way, connected with the fact that French imperialism has large contracts to supply arms to Syria. In the same way, the arms embargo against Iran imposed by the Yanks costs British imperialism some very profitable arms deals with Iran, whilst Yankee imperialism secretly supplied arms to Iran. In this last event, it is worth noting that Israel was once again the cat's paw for the Yanks.

These activities of imperialism, this terrorism directed against progress and the world masses, have to be condemned — but it is more important to draw conclusions. Capitalism, at the end of its run, cannot advance progress in society, the economy or science. For it, any progress is a threat and its only reaction is to kill and destroy. This is the nature of imperialism and it will finally launch the war. Since this is the nature of the system, we cannot hope to persuade it not to launch the war. Full advantage can and must be taken of the divisions and differences within the capitalist system; every measure taken to advance the process of internal decomposition. However, given the nature of the system, the major task is to limit the amount of damage it can do to humanity during the final settlement of accounts which is soon to come.

## The new Watergate

The present 'watergating' of Reagan has to be seen in the context of the preparations for the final encounter between imperialism and the Workers States. A 'scandal' has suddenly been uncovered about deals with the 'contras'. Clearly a great effort is being made to discredit the whole of the Reagan administration. Who benefits from all this?

These events have occurred after the Reykjavik discussions and the weakness of the Reagan government in front of the Soviets. SDI was the determining block, but even so the tone of the Reagan government has given a sense of weakness in front of the diplomacy of the Soviet leadership.

It should be remembered that the sector associated with Weinberger was not at all keen on the original participation of Reagan in the Reykjavik meeting. Moreover, the attempt to make the discussions there on the subject of various points of confrontation around the world — such as Nicaragua and Afghanistan, i.e. to prevent discussion of nuclear disarmament — failed and through out the Soviets held the initiative. In practice the attempt to develop a consistently tough attitude to the Soviets has failed and, in some degree, the lack of consistency and loss of momentum in an anti-Soviet line of the Reaganites makes the government more and more of a liability, from the point of view of the sector of the Yankee ruling class that is most virulent in the preparation of war against the Workers States.

This is the only logical explanation for the ruthless way in which the authority of the presidency has been systematically flattened. Bourgeois commentators have noted the nature of this 'watergating' without hazarding an interpretation. The Democrats do not take much advantage of the situation, for they see the dangers.

The struggle over the American presidency has been extremely tense over the last quarter of a century, because of the confrontation with the Soviet Union. The U2 incident was aimed to sabotage negotiations with the Soviets and Kennedy was assassinated because, despite the Cuba crisis when Khrushchev capitulated, he showed a tendency to conciliate with the Soviets. Nixon began as a rabid anti-Communist but began a process of discussions over China and the Soviet Union which was intolerable to the sectors who desired a firm consistent anti-Soviet line, and thus he was destroyed through a break-in that had little to do with him. Carter was essentially a stop-gap in this process.

The attempted destruction of Reagan is a commentary on the weakness of the ruling cliques in the United States. They can no longer settle their disputes in discussion, but only by stabs in the dark. It is impossible for them to maintain a public point of consistent anti-Soviet aggression. The ruling caste within a class has to maintain itself indirectly, without being able to

win support most directly.

Cde Posadas analysed these types of crises in articles on the Kennedy assassination and the other form of political assassination, that is, the 'watergating' of Nixon. The sector most dedicated to war with the Soviets is that layer involved with the nuclear arms industry, and SDI for example. Other sectors are more linked to the development of the economy and fear the consequences of the most anti-Soviet line. But it is important to see that these sectors also cling to nuclear arms but are more disposed to negotiate to gain time to survive a little longer.

The immediate result of the Reagan discrediting is that diplomatic discussions over nuclear arms are made much more difficult, which is one of the objects of the campaign to discredit such negotiations. The Yankee Generals in Europe have made known their rejection of nuclear arms reductions with the Soviets.

The conclusions are those we have raised in the discussion of the American elections; that is, the weakness of the Yankee ruling class allows the Workers States to intervene much more strongly. When the internal conflicts lead to the systematic discrediting of the presidency this shows the decrepitude and weakness of imperialism.

## THE BRENT COUNCIL AND THE TEACHERS' DISPUTE

The action of the Brent Labour Group against the teacher Mrs McGoldrick in bringing her to justice over an alleged 'racist' remark has cost the Council a very large amount of money, taken a very great amount of time and preoccupation, and brought the Council — the Labour leadership particularly — into a head-on collision with the NUT at a time when the latter was in dispute. Such events are not rare, and in various ways, Labour Councils have been brought to play the part of the boss and employer, carrying out Tory's policies and being blamed for the deeds which the government forces them to carry out. This experience in Brent forms part of the process of learning that nothing will be achieved by taking over the present organisations of society — Parliament and Councils in particular. The Socialist order will demand new organisms and this crisis forms part of the experience in the learning of this simple fact.

Mrs McGoldrick may not have been a particularly elevated character as a teacher, but when this matter of an alleged remark on the telephone was brought to Court inevitably the judge took the side opposed to the Council,

taking full advantage of the fact that a remark made on the telephone could not be proved. When leaders of the Labour Party see no other way but to bring a teacher to Court, it means that there is no relationship whatsoever between the Labour Party and the trade unions — even in a locality where the many struggles of the teachers have often called the Labour Party to attention. If the Party was fulfilling its role of representing the interests of the trade unionists at the political level, it would have had the necessary influence to arbitrate in this case by means of a political analysis carrying the power to convince an individual of the necessity to make amends — if such was needed. The absence of this leaves the Labour Party dependent on its most backward wing, constituted chiefly of parliamentarians and councillors. The Party has no authority over them and is driven into any direction they choose to take it.

Programmatically, even the left of the Party sees absolutely nothing beyond getting elected to Parliament or to local Councils.

In the affair of the sacked teacher in Brent, it is very ob-

vious that the Labour Group on Council workers were sacked the Council considers itself the boss of a trade union and has no qualms in setting the bourgeois law against one of its members. No doubt this appears 'left wing' enough when it is in the pursuit of an 'anti-racist' endeavour. Meanwhile more 'creative accounting' had to be brought in to provide the necessary funds, with all this entails of present and future cuts in services and probable increases in rates. None of this, however, ameliorates the relation of Labour to the electorate, let alone the trade unions. It is not the first time that a Labour Council is seen to be the class enemy of the working class, as this already happened in Liverpool when

Council workers were sacked 'en masse' by a 'left wing' Labour Council. But this left wing of Labour is only the left wing of an apparatus through which the bourgeois state functions. And the very deep crisis of that state today makes it impossible for such people to remain on the 'left'. Such experiences as those in Liverpool and Brent — amongst others — are the way in which the left learns. By respecting Parliament and the Councils, not seeking any other political functioning but that which brings it 'on the left slates', the left loses itself and does not make use of its very great strength.

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# The process in Britain, Stalinism and the organisation of the left in the Labour Party

26.4.79 J. Posadas

There is no progress in Britain under capitalism. It is checked. The masses are not checked nor is the class struggle, but the progress of Britain is checked. In conditions such as those in that country, where the Labour Party channels 99% of the forces of the proletariat and the militant petit bourgeoisie, there remains little space for currents and tendencies which compete with the Labour Party. There is no room for them, but yes, there is room for a revolutionary tendency. There is a great deal of room for it, but in perspective rather than in the immediate sense.

The activity of our section in Britain is not determined by what is happening today or by the development of a left wing in the Labour Party. The pressure, the influence and the advance of the world course of the revolutionary process will inevitably express themselves in Britain, and this is what determines the activity of our section. The slowness of the process in Britain has historic reasons which do not depend on ourselves nor, essentially, on the Communist Party. It is the result of Stalinism – but even then – not strictly so.

There is no perspective for any of the groups which compete with the Labour Party because, in order to compete with it, they follow the same policy as the Labour Party. That is to say, the policy of submitting to capitalism, of alliance with it; which means that they have no perspective. This is the policy of the Communist Party. On the other hand, there is a perspective for a revolutionary leadership, it has an immense scope for development. This is because the perspective of the process is social transformations by means of the class struggle, the education of the vanguard of the class, the proletariat, the petit bourgeoisie and sectors of the countryside. To grasp this, develops the preparation and experience which elevate the conviction that it is necessary to transform the country so as to progress in Britain.

If the bureaucratic leadership of Stalin had taken an attitude so as to understand the Labour Party and Labour vanguard and support them, to develop the small Communist Party during the General Strike of 1926 in Britain – that leadership would have also understood the necessity to organise a leadership in Britain. As it did not understand this necessity, it did nothing. And, starting from this point, there was a retrocession and a stagnation. This explains on the one hand, the origins of the lack of development of the British Communist Party and, on the other hand, the fact that the development of Stalinism took place, resulted afterwards in the collapse of the British Communist Party.

Today we are in another stage – the British Communist Party and the Labour leadership, however, are still the same; and capitalism bases itself on the Labour Party as it is. Even if

the particular conditions of Britain exist and have importance they are not the essential base of this phenomenon. If all this exists, it is because capitalism has been able to affirm in the workers and political movements a leadership and a process which support themselves on the ultra-left policies and the errors of the Stalinist leadership. This consisted in an alliance with capitalism and allowing the construction of a structure and apparatus in the Labour Party with the strength which they have today. However, this strength does not come from political conviction on the part of the apparatus, nor does it come from its political ability. It did not come either from a particular organisational trade union capacity. It comes from the fact that it is an apparatus with the force of its own structure and the previous process in Britain. In this way the apparatus prevents the development of currents and tendencies.

It is not that the British proletariat and the petit bourgeoisie are insensitive to progress but that there is a structure of leadership which impedes the development of experiences in the Party and prevents the experience of the world from penetrating in the Labour Party and in all this you have to take account of the erroneous policies of the Communist Parties.

There is no doubt that the Labour leadership and the Labour left are very weak and superficial. This is because they do not see greater or superior examples in their capitalist environment. The Communist parties are involved in 'eurocommunism' and 'pluralism' and the notion of the 'independence' of Europe. This represents no experience whatsoever for the Labour Party and neither is it an impulse to the Labour leadership and vanguard. On the contrary, they are not given any example and have no literature from which to take orientation in order for them to understand. All the experiences they have are those of conciliation with the capitalists and experiences of insecurity in revolutionary method; all that they have is the experience of conciliation with the capitalist system and insecurity in the ideas, programme and policy.

A part of this is also due to the development of British capitalism which was the first major country to create the workers' aristocracy which was the foundation for the bureaucratic

structure of today. At the same time, as the revolution advances in what are now the former British colonies – and in what are now those of France and Portugal – at the same time as this progress is being made by the revolution the leadership of the British trade union movement carries on with the same way of thinking of a hundred years ago.

'Eurocommunism' and 'pluralism' exercise an influence on the Labour leadership. It confirms it in the conception that the Communists no longer want Communism but that they want a 'pluralist' sort in which the capitalists, the semi-capitalists and the Communist Party all live together. The Communist Party does not put forward the programmatic position, the consistent, programmatic position, that it has to be either Communism or capitalism, and that there are no intermediates.

The Labour leadership supports itself on this – but it is not possible to accuse the Labour leadership of being retrograde and backward. One cannot just accuse it of not wanting to advance – even though this is true – but this is not the only element. What experience is there in front of the Labour leadership? Some appeals for the taking of power or social progress are made by the Soviet leadership, for instance; but the Labour leadership, middle cadres and sectors of the proletarian vanguard see the Communist parties conciliating with capitalism. And they watch them talking of 'eurocommunism' and raising doubts regarding the Soviet Union. The Communists are raising doubts regarding the the Soviet Union, regarding the development of the Soviet Union, and lending an authority to the 'dissidents'.

All this tends to confirm and develop in the Labour leaders and vanguard the lack of didactic, dialectical knowledge of leadership. You cannot consider Britain as isolated from the world process and experience; and the Labour vanguard is made in these conditions of a near vacuum because there is no literature which informs it or which relates to previous experiences and traditions for its sake. For instance, the Labour vanguard which has read the History of the Russian Revolution has seen that the leaders of the revolution were Bukharin, Zinoviev, Trotsky – amongst others – and it has also seen that they were all assassinated! It sees that when the Russian Revolution is being referred to

We are republishing extracts from this article from Cde Posadas on the situation in Britain and the function of the Labour Party. This analysis remains entirely valid, gaining in depth after the experience of the Thatcher government. The profound decomposition of capitalism evident in every aspect of life gives opportunity for the development of a revolutionary tendency in Britain on the basis of the Marxist understanding of the world process led by the Workers States.

these leaders of the revolution are no longer mentioned! The vanguard has all the literature of Trotsky in front of it and it sees the fundamental and leading role played by Leon Trotsky. But it also sees that Trotsky has been left on one side in the literature of the Soviet Union and of the Communists. So the vanguard feels left with nothing on which to support itself and no basis of tradition. This means that we cannot just make accusations in the abstract.

For our part we make criticism of the Labour leadership, criticisms of the limitation and timidity of the Labour left. But we have to understand the difficulties of this leadership. The capacity of understanding which we have comes from the fact that we are prepared for this. However, the Labour leadership has not this preparation. It has to develop and continue to develop its understanding without theoretical or political preparation. And it has to do it now, at the same time as it has to confront the daily problems which arise; all this is a weight on the Labour leaders and cadres, and on the Labour vanguard, which wants to advance. What weighs on them is a need to find immediate solutions in conditions where a basic, programmatic, theoretical and political formation is lacking. They simply do not have these. So they resort to immediate solutions of empirical decisions. This is not a justification for the Labour bureaucracy but a means of understanding history and a means of grasping why there is such limitation in all these people.

Today there is a crisis in the Communist parties. The Portuguese Communist Party has the most advanced positions, but the Spanish one has eliminated Lenin, and in the Italian Communist Party they are throwing out the need to educate themselves in the ideas of Marx, of Engels and Lenin. The Labour people see this. And the latter do not even have the means to cry: 'Who is going to educate us then?' Because as regards empiricism and empirical education there is little to teach Labour! This Labour leadership does not maintain itself because capitalism is strong; capitalism has ceased to be strong. The proof of it lies in the fact that capitalism had to depend on the support of Labour! And this shows that capitalism is not strong. The fact that capitalism is not at all strong is also proved by the fact that it has

been thrown out of all its colonies. But what proves that it is the British proletariat which is strong is that the British proletariat receives the influence of all the progress of history in spite of not having any leadership with any kind of anti-capitalist programme. This proletariat forces all these leaderships to progress regardless. The influence of the progress of history we just referred to means that which comes from Vietnam, Angola, Mozambique, Cuba and the development of the world revolution.

The proletariat receives the influence which comes from the world and translates it into trade union struggle; but because of the fact that there is whole structure of apparatus the proletariat does not find the force to make this influence penetrate into the Labour Party. And – as far as that goes – the British Communist Party is no support.

The fact of conciliation with capitalism after the very first stage of the Workers States in Europe prevented them from forming a leadership in Britain. To this you have to add the absence – the criminal absence – of a correct policy from the Communists, Socialists and the Workers States. This policy should have aimed at educating and gaining the North American proletariat: North American capitalism has the same structure as Britain. It has a structure of trade union leaderships submitted to capitalism. But, once again, this is not due to the strength of Yankee imperialism because it does not have the strength to do such a thing. This situation arises because the North American proletariat does not have a direct support and is not receiving a direct encouragement which it needs in its activity.

On the other hand, the proletariat of Angola and of Mozambique, whilst being small, received and receives easily the influence of the world – that of the Workers States and of the Communist parties. The same applies also in part to the proletariat of North America. But these proletariats of Africa, Asia and Latin America do not have a previous structure which paralyses them, because their economy could not advance in these countries without being transformed. These proletariats do not have a structure with an already constituted social base compromised with the previous capitalist economy. Everything there is still to be done! To do

Continued on page 4

# The North American elections and the decomposition of capitalist authority.

The failure of Reagan's campaign to attract sufficient support within the electorate of the United States provides an index of the immense weakness of imperialism, its steady decomposition and inability to gain new social support. The Democrats gained a majority in the Senate and the House of Representatives, although the Republicans also gained eight more state governors.

But, apart from this electoral defeat for the Reagan position within capitalism, the election was a disaster in showing that the mass of American people have no interest in these elections. The electoral campaigns do not refer to the interests of the masses but only reflect the various competing interests of bourgeois layers. The electoral turn-out was 37.3%, the lowest since 1942. About sixtysix million people voted out of a possible 178 million. This is not a new phenomenon but when imperialism is disintegrating this situation brings out in a most formidable manner the lack of social support for imperialism, and is a debacle for 'formal democracy' in contrast with the growing weight of the Workers States. One American expert, Gans, said: 'If you read the results carefully the score would be non-voters 62.7, Democrats 18.9, Republicans 17' - he also commented that the campaign was 'the most ugly and vacuous campaign in recent memory'. Over twenty million voters do not seem to be registered.

When Yankee imperialism was dominant in the world, this would not have mattered so much. In fact, at that stage they could afford to ignore the blacks, and they had resources to contain tendencies towards social change without difficulty. Under Roosevelt they were able to combine imperialist with social reformist policies. Now, no longer. Now, it would be useful if they would present a working impressive 'democratic' functioning, but all they show is a system that is tailored for the

various factions of the wealthy with total poverty of ideas and social support. Vast sums were spent on campaigning but the content of discussion was generally nil. Such is the state of Yankee imperialism with this monumental fiasco.

The consequences of this debacle will similarly augment all the internal dissension of Yankee imperialism and further erode the authority of the Presidency. Reagan's position becomes more and more untenable as a point of centralisation for imperialism. All the efforts to develop a strong presidency geared to organised war preparation against the Workers States are in ruins. The crisis which has been going on in Yankee policy since the Kennedy assassination, the destruction of Nixon etc., is being exacerbated.

At the same time, it would be wrong to place any confidence on the Democrats, although their opposition to aspects of the policy of the Pentagon will continue to be expressed. In this campaign the Democrats contained their opposition to Reagan within very narrow boundaries. They could have waged a massive attack on his policies - external and internal - but they did not and allowed the struggle to be conducted on a very low level, parochial or personal. It is clear that their class interests dictate that they do not go too far in their attacks on Reaganism. In the earlier presidential campaign they followed the same policy. Mondale ran a very low key campaign, avoiding anything which went outside the parameters of the capitalist structure. The internecine war within capitalism can be taken advantage of by revolutionary forces, but it is not possible to rely on the Democrats for any serious sustained social opposition to the forces of the war and the Pentagon. Moreover, there are many clientele elements in the Yankee system, many deals between one sector

and another which cross party boundaries. Thus, in the last stage, a Republican Senate imposed some Sanctions on South Africa against Reagan's standpoint, whilst Democrats gave support to the Contras in Nicaragua.

How then to take advantage of this situation? The American people do not have a mass class party like the Labour Party, and the trade unions have been dominated by gangsters and cliques subservient to the system. It is important that the Soviet leadership considers much more a direct intervention towards the American masses. One of the factors which has most impeded the war plans of Yankee imperialism has been the constant opposition of the American people, their refusal to organise demonstrations to support Yankee policy. The Soviet tactic of utilising visits between scientists, children etc. is certainly a means of extending the weight of the Workers State, but much more could be done on a much more elevated plane.

Yankee imperialism is in a gargantuan disorder. All their policies are failing. Their gangsterish policy over Libya has been disastrous, but they could receive even more concentrated blows, not least in the United States itself. It is necessary to develop interventions towards the trade unions and all the most oppressed sectors, such as the blacks and the Chicanos, and it is possible to direct much attention to bourgeois sectors in the USA who, like the Greens in Europe, object to the nuclear policies of Yankee imperialism. But a major weight would be the example of fuller and ampler Soviet democracy in the Soviet Union itself, with open political discussion of different tendencies and the mobilisation of the masses on all the political issues with the CPSU being seen as the organiser of such direct intervention. This would galvanise the masses in North America to seek a point of centralisation for their rejection of capitalism.

From page 3

it, the Communist experience is more easily accepted and assimilated than in other parts.

This is why Mozambique goes directly towards destroying what is left of capitalism. It is only partly true that Mozambique achieves all this by means of combining the national liberation struggle with the struggle for social liberation. This is true, in part, because it means having the ability to combine the tasks of both struggles. In such countries, if you long for national liberation, then you have to struggle to attain social liberation as well. This is because you cannot have true national liberation without social liberation.

But the reason why Mozambique has learned to do this is because it does not have the previous structure which the Communist parties have - of Stalin - which is a structure which prevented them from advancing. On the other hand, the Communist parties which are being formed today combine the national liberation with the social one. In a historic sense the small proletariat of Angola, Mozambique and Cuba show that they have learned and developed rapidly on the basis of the experiences of history: this is a thing which the British proletariat could not do! This is because the small proletariat of Mozambique did not have the capitalist, bureaucratic structure - it did not have the workers' aristocracy or political aristocracy - and it did not have to endure Stalinist errors and pressures exerted against itself.

This does not entirely explain the slowness of the historic solution for progress in Britain. It doesn't explain entirely the backwardness of the trade unions and of the Labour Party. But it is the essential base for a historic understanding of it. The real explanation resides in the fact that the British proletariat, as much as the North American one, needs the intervention, the participation and the collaboration of the world revolutionary and Communist movement. It needs this as a support in order to be able to separate itself from a Labour leadership which is conservative and bourgeois. All this means the need to elevate the class struggle on a

world scale so as to influence in Britain and in North America.

Until the present day it has not been possible to influence the Labour movement because it has such a structured apparatus which dominates and leads, and is headed by leaders who are linked to the capitalist system. The previous world process which we have analysed created in part in the Labour leadership a certain basis of belief that British capitalism was different from others, that it was more powerful and that it had more strength. And there are also all the errors committed by the Soviet Union at the time of Stalin, after Stalin and today, too. All this explains why there is no purity of Communism.

In the Labour Party they see that Communism is not pure. They see that it is unbalanced. They see the 'dissidents' as the expression of this. First of all they saw Stalin, and now the 'dissidents'. But none of these Labour leaders who cling to the 'dissidents' has attempted to explain why the whole Bolshevik leadership was assassinated, why Trotsky was murdered, what it was that Trotsky wanted, and what this experience means as a whole. They do not draw conclusions and do not speak in any analytical fashion. They do not question what happened in Russia, and why. They only say: 'Have you seen what is happening in Russia?' This is as far as they go, and in this way they avoid a historic discussion. But so do the Communist parties! The Labour leaders and the Labour vanguard see that when the Communists discuss the Russian Revolution - in the French or Italian Communist parties, for instance - they do not say a word about the fact that the whole Bolshevik vanguard was assassinated. Not one word! And not one word about Trotsky! They talk about the Russian Revolution and say not one word about Trotsky! And if they happen to talk of him they do so as if he were simply a passer by! They do not refer to him as the organiser of the Red Army, of the programme of the Revolution, the programme of the Left Opposition which Stalin even had to take bits from to try to make up for the catastrophic errors he committed with his policy of 'Socialism in one country'.

To be continued

## NOTES ON THE INTERNATIONAL ARENA.

### PERU

The recent municipal elections in Peru confirmed the electoral victory of the APRA Party led by Alain Garcia. In Lima, the right wing Popular Christian Party gained only 26.7% of the votes. APRA gained a narrow victory over the 'Left Unity' vote in Lima for the position of mayor. Although APRA retained substantial lead over the 'Izquierda Unidad', the latter slightly increased its national total of twenty three per cent last year.

The policy of Alain Garcia reflects the situation of a revolutionary state where large sectors of the economy are statified and are not submitted to the usual laws of capitalist capital reproduction. This can give rise to leaderships, as in the case of Greece which - although they do not altogether break with capitalism - tend to balance between capitalism and the forces advancing towards a Workers State. Garcia has repudiated part of the debt to foreign bankers (10%) and thus allowed a limited growth in the economy. But such a situation cannot last for ever and, although it is correct to support whatever progressive measures Garcia established and defend his government against coups from the right, it is necessary to develop the revolutionary forces in the country who wish to advance towards a Workers State and need the Party and programme for this. Such forces have a considerable development in Peru.

### CORRECTION

RED FLAG 370

Article by J. Posadas, last paragraph, first sentence: the word 'not' makes nonsense of the sentence which should read: 'The development of the life of humanity which is this unified

process is determined by the sentiments, the will and the security of progress.' It should continue: 'No sector of humanity is at a loss, the security of Nicaragua gives no opportunity for the development of the bourgeoisie...'