

Editorial

The Continuous Crisis in the LP apparatus demands a profounder discussion of the Socialist alternative to the dictatorship of capital.

The discussion over the Clinton victory in the Labour party shows the level to which sectors of the apparatus have fallen. Bereft of any ideas save of trying to win over conservative voters and dump the "losers" and the "poor", they desperately seek to win an election on the basis of identification with capitalism. Clinton appealed to the petit bourgeoisie and at the same time used anti unemployed slogans ie "against hand outs for nothing". In all this there is the agony of an LP apparatus which has nowhere to go. Sectors hope to win a future election on the basis of convincing sectors of the bourgeoisie that they can outperform the present governing party and save capitalism without making any concessions to the masses. There lies the beginning of their fall already announced by four electoral failures. Like Stalinism they are on the way out. They do not present even a minimum representation of socialism. This identification with the system is the logic of the LP apparatus. As capitalism has no room for reforms which can in any way satisfy the aspirations of the population, the apparatus reflecting this reality can only hope to win on the basis of changing the electoral basis of the party ie winning over more of the conservative party. The basis for an orientation towards the working class and its allies therefore ceases to exist. Others of the apparatus like Prescott see where this is leading, but the modernisers have some logic. If capitalism cannot support any more reforms for the benefit of the population then for these people there is no other perspective but to become an openly capitalist party. This torment is part of the collapse of the old labourism which has lost its

justification. But a Labour and trade union left which acknowledges this change has every advantage. Socialism cannot come in just by some electoral victory. It can only be founded on the basis of mass revolutionary intervention sustained by popular committees which sustain independent class action outside any parliamentary victory. The old reformism is being squeezed by the logic of capitalist development and through this discussion the agony of capitalism as a system is on show. Normally it could hope that with the two party system all would be well but as now capitalism has run out of resources there can only be a permanent malaise- that is until capitalism is erased from the planet.

The only possibility for the generality of the LP apparatus is the "American model" ie the two bourgeois party system. But in the conditions of capitalist decay this means quite openly the acceptance of the capitalist model as the only possible model. In present conditions this would mean higher levels of abstention of the masses and is certainly no guarantee of an electoral victory. But capitalism is quite concerned that this model is followed especially because in the headlong decay of capitalism it desires the end of even minimum opposition to the system. It cannot tolerate even the old left reformism. They require total prostration in front of private property.

REDUCING THE WELFARE STATE.

The latest example of the submission of the LP functionaries in front of the capitalist "reality" is the Labour Commission on Social

Justice. Here we have proposals for Labour as "the party of self reliance". It is a wonder they don't quote direct homilies of Victorian self help. This abysmal condition has brought out all the obedience of the labour apparatus to the needs of capitalism. They seek not a programme to expand production free of the private system of expropriation but to advise capitalism how to husband "its resources" accelerating a close bureaucratic accounting of benefits. However the capitalists themselves will be just as inventive as the LP apparatus in cutting benefits. Thus the lords of the market economy who are always boasting about their opposition to bureaucracy have to develop an extensive bureaucracy to distribute "benefits".

ECONOMIC DISASTER.

The British economic situation requires little new comment except to say that even here the situation has made a further dialectical leap backwards. The population will be made to pay for the imbecility of private ownership of the means of production. Both the public sector borrowing is soaring through massive structural unemployment and the trade deficit has ballooned. Whatever they do, either fiddling with interest rates or raising taxes there is no possibility within the terms of private appropriation of the social product, to change the deteriorating economy in any significant way. Naturally in the absence of an organised opposition with effective social authority, capitalism can survive and recover somewhat even from this slump, but on the world economic plane British capitalism cannot compete

save in a few areas and millions of the population are doomed to a poverty with out respite. Nor is it any use blaming the massive speculation against the pound, the punt etc. The fact that so much speculative capital is available which finds no productive investment points to the parasitism of contemporary capitalism.

THE BASIS FOR GLOBAL WAR.

The renewed imperialist intervention against Iraq exhibits the natural tendency of capitalism towards war as part of the project of local interventions leading ultimately towards global conflict. The recent expulsion by the Zionists of the four hundred Palestinians is an example of the continued war mentality of imperialism against the Arab peoples. The attitude of Bush over Iraq was not an idle gesture. It is part of the desperate effort of imperialism to maintain its cohesion, its power in front of the world masses because its own social basis is constantly declining and its unity threatened by inter-capitalist competition and social weakness in all the capitalist countries. In the bourgeois press there is much abstract discussion over the validity or not of the market economy, what is left out is that competition includes war. There is no separation of the economy and politics.

World imperialism fears the rest of the world and whatever the counter revolutionary rulers in Moscow or Peking, imperialism still sees their state economies competing with it in spheres of influence. The last agreements between chief groveller Yeltsin and Bush on

control of nuclear weapons are total fiasco. Dismantling of the multi nuclear warheads takes place over ten years- but meanwhile both sides research ever new types of nuclear weapons. We will deal in greater detail with the process in the former USSR in later issues of the paper. Over both Iraq and the former Yugoslavia, it is clear that even with all the dissaray caused by the decomposition of the soviet bureaucracy in the CIS, the believers in capitalist restoration cannot ignore imperialist aggression. Even these troglodytes are unable to go all along with imperialism and the masses of the world see this, just as they see the interminable wobbling and lack of confidence of imperialism in face of the world process. The difficulties imperialism faces over Cuba, the weakness of the present government in Nicaragua, the differentiation in the Salvador guerilla movement, the fact that de Klerk was obliged to denounce his own white military leaders shows that the world revolution has no limits despite the lack of a world leadership. We cannot expect a repetition of the 1917 preparation. On the other hand the world level against imperialism is infinitely superior to that period. With the assimilation of the experiences of the workers states, the world communist vanguard will advance in the next stage just as the acolytes of imperialism fall into further disasters.

THE SOCIAL DEBILITY OF CAPITALISM.

The latest foray against Iraq has highlighted the historic impotence of imperialism. Apparently there was nothing to oppose their victorious advance. Yet the

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Trotsky and the Workers State

EXTRACTS

J. Posadas, 11.1.79

Trotsky wrote to maintain alive the knowledge, the idea that the workers state was a necessity of history. He interpreted the errors of the workers state, of the suicidal policy of Stalin as a result not of its nature but of the political leadership. He thus imparted an education and taught the world proletarian vanguard, the communist parties, the trade unions and the intellectual vanguard to make a distinction between the workers state and its leadership.

Trotsky indicated as a permanent element, necessary in history the structure of the workers state as a factor of development, demonstrating that centralised planning of the economy allowed progress and this in turn the flowering of culture, of science, of art and consequently a continuous and progressive improvement in human relations.

Trotsky wrote to impel humanity and to have confidence in socialism as a necessity of history and not only of the working class which through its function in the economy and in society is its most living expression.

He wrote so that the vanguard should not be shattered, not to consider impotent the communist parties, the trade unions, the socialists and the workers state, but to understand that the bureaucracy of the Soviet Union was not formed because of the errors made by Bolshevism, of the Bolshevik party, of the Communist party or of the Workers State, but of the world relation of forces which allowed the rise and development of Stalinism and which once the historic conditions were overcome which had led to the retreat of the world revolution would create new conditions for the development of the world communist movement as is happening today.

Trotsky wrote to favour the optimism and the confidence in the method of scientific analysis. He demonstrated that the workers state is a necessity of history and that the passage from capitalism proceeds through the intermediate stage of the workers state. The latter has the task of opening the way to the construction of socialism—with all the mistakes and the deficiencies which this entails, accentuated from the class conflict which does not allow the creating of a leadership without problems, without difficulties or errors.

For this reason before the war launched by German imperialism against the Workers State, Trotsky defended in the firmest way the Soviet Union and to the journalists who demanded if he supported the invasion of Poland and of Finland he replied "Yes it is necessary to defend this, because it is a right of the Soviet Workers state to have frontiers far from those of German imperialism which wishes to destroy the workers state; this is the most advanced instrument and most necessary for the progress of humanity". The journalists insisted "But Mr Trotsky, Stalin wants to kill you". And he replied "Life is not determined by my existence, but of the workers state, a necessary and indispensable instrument for the progress of humanity and it is necessary to defend it unconditionally. These are not invasions with the intention of subduing or subjecting a nation, but a strategic and military move to confront German imperialism."

The thought of Trotsky with his objectivity in analysis showed that Stalin was not a product of the workers state or of the Bolshevik party, but of the historic conditions and of the retreat of the instrument to replace the capitalist system.

Trotsky developed his thought and work so as to give the proletariat the historic consciousness that socialism and communism represent a phase in the historic progress of humanity that they are instruments of an historic stage in which the proletariat is the predominant class through its function in the economy since it lacks subjective interests but the objective interests of progress.

STALINISM IS A TRANSITORY DEGENERATION OF HISTORY.

Trotsky wrote to help to organise the proletarian vanguard and in particular so that the world communist movement might understand that communism was not represented by Stalin, a total caricature and expression of a bureaucratic sector and which had grown in the conditions of retreat of the revolution of that period of history. But he showed also that capitalism was not at the stage of retaking Russia within the orbit of its system and that the historic bases made by Lenin, of the Bolshevik party and of the Workers state of the Soviet Union were the necessary instruments to

advance to successive phases in the construction of socialism.

Trotsky dedicated himself to prepare the vanguard for this task. In all these analyses he endeavored to demonstrate that the perversion of Stalin was not that of communism or of the workers state and that it was not necessarily part of the future of humanity but that it was only due to the historic conditions of retreat. That phase was called by him Thermidor and today there is no possibility of this returning.

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

In order to survive, capitalism has to retreat and it is doing so with great strides backward in the economy, science and culture. It develops and centralises the economy for the market but poisons people, kills and distributes wealth among an ever smaller group of people. It causes pollution of the water, constructs factories which poison people producing carcinogenic problems and is responsible for every form of blood, pulmonary and skin disease. Capitalism kills continuously. It has no further interest nor does it have the strength to favour the progress of art and science, just at the very moment when the conditions demonstrate the possibility of the unlimited development of the human being and of human relations. It is necessary to eliminate capitalism because there are already the conditions to do this given by the world proletariat and by the workers states which represent the thought, the will, the disposition and the proletarian historic revolution and of the incapacity of capitalism to smash the workers state. Among the historic conditions which in that moment placed the bases for the birth of Stalinism was the situation of the Bolshevik party decimated by the war and the necessity of constructing the workers state which weakened the structure of the party.

The essential concern of Trotsky was that of preparing the proletarian vanguard for the future of humanity for the

years to come. Knowing that he would be killed, he put it at the level of understanding the logical optimism of history which was based, originated with and developed from dialectical materialism; the workers state is a necessity of history, socialism is absolutely indispensable and invincible because it represents the development of human intelligence through the economy, science, culture and art. This is manifested in the social relations which constitute the first phase in the workers states.

Trotsky did not limit himself to see only in the Soviet Union the dominion of Stalin, the bureaucracy, the extermination and the assassination of the communists but considered it an instrument of history led by a leadership with a counter revolutionary policy.

The faith that Trotsky had in the future of the Soviet Union was revealed in 1938 when he was in the worst conditions and knew that Stalin was seeking to kill him. He declared that the isolation of the USSR would be broken and that imperialism "would smash its teeth on the progress of the Soviet Union". It was still not possible to gauge the capacity for resistance of that country, but Trotsky had confidence in the world proletariat which had already prevented capitalism from attacking it. On the other hand the internal contradictions of capitalism were much stronger than its capacity to eliminate the USSR and this was shown in the conflict between German imperialism against the Anglo Saxon French bloc in the second world war.

To confront the present historic phase in which capitalism seeks to control and crush through war, it is necessary to link the battles against the bureaucracy with the necessity to defend the workers states and to create a united front which unites the revolutionary movements to the communist and socialist parties and to the struggles which are developed in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The contradictions which capitalism lives through prevent it using its forces when and how it wishes. Thus it moves among masses of internal differences and disputes having to confront on a world level the inter capitalist competition apart from that of the workers states...

Trotsky formulated a programme for the struggle in the capitalist countries which is still valid. He proposed the sliding scale of wages, of hours of work and the guaranteeing of work. In the case of a factory forced to interrupt production and to dismiss workers, it had to put forward the interests of the life of the workers against the pecuniary needs of the employer so that the state must expropriate it and the factory function under workers control. This meant to distribute the hours of work among all the workers but maintaining the same wage and that the state must be responsible for the affected industries so that these could maintain production according to the needs of the population and of exchange. It was necessary moreover to secure equal rights for women and for youth. Trotsky formulated these proposals in the perspective of the war which the capitalist system was preparing but they still preserve their validity. Stalinism is disappearing and it has been conquered by the progress of the world revolution. The proletariat has not succeeded in making itself felt as a class since it depends on parties, trade unions, and also through the influence which the workers aristocracy exercises on the bureaucratic apparatuses preventing the masses gaining access to revolutionary thought.... J. Posadas.

January, 1979.
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The Soviets existed during the first seven years of the Russian revolution. They have to be reclaimed. Lenin meant Soviets and he was their interpreter. The soviet bureaucracy and the leaders of the Communist Parties forget Soviets. They recall Lenin and render homage to him which has an importance because they place themselves in contact with history and the masses of the world. Before they acclaimed Churchill and Roosevelt but the latter no longer have any importance. However they reclaim Lenin at the same time that they deprive him of his essential historic quality which is the communist capacity of concentrating the will to take power and construct the party. The party is prepared in constant practice in the democratic internal life and revolutionary fraternity to develop the will for the taking of power. It is for that reason that the crises in the Bolshevik party were only caused by positions and ideas. J. Posadas.

Lenin and the Construction of the Party

J. Posadas, September 1968

EXTRACTS.



This is part of a larger text by Posadas on the functioning of the party. One of the most crucial aspects of Bolshevik functioning is the necessity for a powerful internal life of political discussion. The upheavals resulting from the decomposition of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the workers states will stimulate the world communist movement to find the objective way back to this path.

It is unfortunate that the word "monolithic" gained a sinister aura from its use by the Stalinists. They used it so as to justify the substitution of a small clique headed by the "Boss" Stalin for the functioning of the party. Naturally this has nothing to do with the practice of Lenin or Trotsky or the Bolshevik party. The lack of party functioning has led to the crises in all the former communist parties in the workers states. The experiences of the first seven years of the Soviet workers state and those of the Bolshevik party must be assimilated so that the communist movement inside and outside the workers states can progress.

need of the self administration of the masses and that is sufficient. The manager and the administrator serve to defend the interest of private property, the interest of the one who commands. On the other hand the workers state has no need of functionaries, but of control to regulate and co-ordinate production, its orientation and completion. It is a question there of workers control, of factory and peasant committees.

The lack of technical knowledge can be overcome by the masses in a week. The soviet masses, previously the most backward in the world, constructed in fifty years the most powerful industry in human history because confidence in socialism allowed them to construct this industry, including that of nuclear energy. China has developed in twenty years what the capitalist regime has been incapable of doing in centuries, even with a backward functioning without soviets but with Communes. The Commune is not a Soviet. It is a form of functioning, of structure established as a function of economic necessity. The Soviet means a political functioning, the administration of society which is what Lenin made of it. The Soviets were invented by the masses in 1905, but Lenin through the Bolshevik party understood the historic significance of this creation of the masses. Lenin took and developed the Soviet. It is for that reason that all those who write on Lenin produce caricatures by separating the Soviets from Lenin. When they speak of Soviets it is to say that this organism was right for its epoch, but is now surpassed.

Lenin means Soviets. It is not possible to speak about him without speaking of soviets because he understood with Trotsky their historic capacity. It is thus that in 1905 Trotsky showed the importance of this instrument of the organisation of society which means to order and organise the will of different oppressed and exploited layers of the population with sectors of production having some technical and cultural knowledge unified in the will to make society advance. He showed that it was a question of the most complete administration, the least costly and the most efficient in the whole of human history.

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We reassert the bases of the Bolshevik Revolution in the same way as we refer to Trotsky. It is necessary to affirm the first seven years of the Russian Revolution and to propose among other things that the great historic quality of Lenin, the vital centre of his historic function was to have understood the necessity to construct the party, monolithic and centralised concentrated in the discipline as a function of the conscious objectives of the struggle for power, the construction of the workers state and socialism.

He knew how to create a world team of professional revolutionaries who lived with the objectives of preparing for the struggle for power which would lead to the construction of the workers state and from the workers state to construct socialism. That was the historic value and incorporation of Lenin. His intelligence and capacity were in the service of these objectives.

The historic function of the great geniuses of history, of our teachers like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Trotsky are measured by their objective in history, their works, and action through articles or meetings were done as a function of these objectives.

There exist in each stage of history the centres, needs, programme, policy and instrument. The programme and policy constituted the structure of the party, the functioning which allowed it then to develop the morale, the ideas, the communist

assurance, the tactic and order. This is our conception of Lenin. It was also the view of Trotsky. He understood the historic grandeur of Lenin and it is necessary to make known the thought of Trotsky on Lenin. He learnt the conception of the party from Lenin. It is not possible to acclaim Lenin as a genius because he wrote such and such an article, that he conducted such and such a policy. That was not the essential quality of his genius. The latter resides in the fact of having been able to understand what were the instruments with which to construct history as Karl Marx had understood that the Communist Manifesto and the First International were necessary. Thus it was to give the historic assurance that communism was possible and realisable, that Marx wrote "Capital". The latter was then a necessary instrument which is no longer so necessary. In the epoch of Lenin it was the party which was necessary and Lenin constructed the party. Lenin wrote, discussed, polemicised to make the truth and reason advance and to organise the life for action. Thought and action were the synthesis of Lenin. Through this method he developed the capacity of thought for a more elevated action.

That is the historic example of Lenin and hence for that reason his works have an unequalled dynamism. Neither time, nor the progress of history nor socialism negate the capacity of Lenin. Today there are other tasks than those which existed in the

epoch of Lenin. But Lenin represents the dynamism, the capacity, the fraternal relation and the communist sentiment, the concentrated will and time to construct the party and to elevate it to take power and to incorporate the most backward sectors of humanity like peasants and workers who had no contact with culture, to the task of leading soviet society through the soviets by means of the instrument which is the party.

It is for that reason that the leaderships of the workers states and the majority of the leaders of the communist parties forget Lenin and only see fragments of his work. They see the articles which he wrote, their sharpness and ability. But "Lenin was all of a piece" said Trotsky because he had the objective of constructing communism and constructing communism before the attainment of communism. He tried to utilise all humanity so that it might be useful for this historic objective which is communism. Lenin did not have individual interests and tried to concentrate the limited qualities of each in the essential centre which was to construct the party, to develop the struggle for power, the qualities of the masses, even those of the most backward so that they might direct history.

Trotsky was the revolutionary who wrote most completely and most profoundly on Lenin. It is necessary to recommend the texts of Trotsky on Lenin, on his childhood, his biography. All the other authors who have written on Lenin have falsified the historic objectivity and

nature of Lenin, his historic function making him a marionette, simply an

intellectual, a genius in abstraction and not as the constructor of the human will. Through Lenin the party was the centre capable of organising the dispersed will of millions of people to change society and through the party he succeeded in unifying them in the will to take power and to construct the Workers State by means of soviets.

It is not possible to conceive of Lenin without Soviets. Those who speak of Lenin often make no reference to Soviets. Lenin was the Soviet which means the socialist democracy on which the dictatorship of the proletariat, the will of the masses to take power and the force of the workers state is based because the Soviets mean the will of the masses, the development of their capacity to reason and discuss to exchange ideas and to influence each other. In the Soviet, the masses see their possibility of developing as leaders and to learn to develop ideas to put themselves in contact with all the problems of history. Thus what appears as difficult becomes simple and accessible. Certain tasks appear difficult because the capitalist system teaches as a function of commercial interest. It is for that reason there are managers and administrators ie bandits. The workers state has need neither of managers nor administrators, but it has

The Capitalist Offensive against Yugoslavia

The discussions over Yugoslavia bring out the complete cynicism of imperialism and its enmity to the population of Yugoslavia. Ultimately the crisis is the result of an indirect alliance between capitalism and the bankrupt bureaucracy of the Yugoslav workers state against the masses of Yugoslavia. These as yet not found the means to make a class intervention against both the bureaucracy and imperialism.

It is important to see how class interests determine the intervention of imperialism. In relation to the Common Market they propose supra national conclusions submitting everything to the exigencies of the movement and needs of capital. But with Yugoslavia they suddenly become most sensitive to localism and "minorities" so that now in common with the local cliques they propose the retrograde measures for the minute cantonisation of Bosnia Herzogovena, having already created the most absurd complexities by recognising that "state" in the first place. This is not the result of a mistake but a completely cynical class preoccupation to destroy Yugoslavia as a unified communist country. Clearly the local bureaucratic despots have gone along with these divisions to maintain their power. But the imperialist persistence in blaming the "Serbs" is no different from nazi tactics. Its like blaming the people of Cambodia for Pol Pot. The bourgeois scribblers go on about Serbian massacres but there are many regimes in the world where massacres have been going on for years and they never show and show now not the slightest interest. Thus the Indonesian capitalist army massacred thousands of people in East Timor. That was alright. Massacres have been continuous in Guatemala, El Salvador- and that was alright. Wholesale destruction has been sustained in Angola- at this moment Savimbi supporters are systematically destroying the infrastructure of Angola- and Mozambique and that was alright. Nor should we forget that great "ethnic cleansing" carried out by the zionists who earlier expelled nearly half a million Arabs from Palestine. The imperialists never objected to that.

HAZARDOUS DECISIONS FOR WORLD IMPERIALISM.

Imperialism is faced nonetheless with some difficulty in Yugoslavia. The line of war was already posed by Thatcher and a sector in the Yanks. What has prevented them and now inhibits them to some extent from much more decisive interventions is the fear of casualties and the social rejection by their own peoples. How different from other times! Then such was the authority of imperialism it could lose men and nothing to worry about. But now such is the lack of authority even in professional armies that they have to think twice. How to justify such losses? Major had to rush off to Bosnia to quell the fears of the "professional" soldiers that the Serbs might actually start shooting them. Bush liked to get involved with Somalia where there was less problems but the Yankee military did not want to get too involved with the Yugoslav army. They would suffer casualties and this would have severe results internally in the United States. This in itself shows how far the situation has deteriorated for world imperialism. Once the Yanks could bombard Korea or Vietnam suffer casualties and the system could stand it. Now, no. But if they launch the super technological war against Yugoslavia- as was the case with Iraq- which has been openly suggested by the Pentagon hard line- here also they will end by confronting the American people and accelerate confrontation with the workers states. The present counter revolutionaries in the leadership of the CIS, have maintained regular contact with the Serb leadership because inevitably they have shared interests against the intervention of imperialism. Capitalism has conducted a ferocious campaign against "the Serbs" despite the fact that the reactionary Croat bureaucracy has acted with the same crass brutality. Thus recently Tudjman and company have been giving the elbow to the Bosnian army and carving up Muslim areas. Charges of similar ferocity have been made against them and their last offensive against Serbia disposes logically of the imperialist habit of blaming Serbia for "sabotaging" negotiations. But for imperialism it is not logic that is in question but their class needs. American imperialism clearly wants to command the situation- or appear to- and is the most aggressive in speaking of trying war criminals. It is also concerned to probe the Russian response.

masses of the aggressor countries, the USA, Britain and France show no interest in the intervention and no demonstrations support it. Even on the military level it gives the impression of incompetence. Major had to be pressured very strongly to comply with the American bombings and finally the French foreign ministry suggested doubts. The Italian government went in the same direction and the soviet bureaucracy though in rags and tatters was obliged to protest against the killing of Iraqi citizens and thus world imperialism emerges weaker than ever. As with Yugoslavia they have gotten themselves into another fine mess. It is important to see all this because the balance of forces remain against imperialism whose social weakness is going to find new depths. All the governments in Europe of the main capitalist powers show profound political and social weakness. Even in capitalist Germany demonstrations against racism in Berlin and the many thousands who commemorated Liebknecht and Luxemburg also in that city show that capitalism is entering the next stage very aggressively, but also on the basis of marked social weakness. If capitalism was strong it would not have had to resort to a Clinton. Germany and Japan enter the world stage with new aggressive dreams but their

populations are not impressed. This is not the time of Hitler or Mussolini. Without question the absence of a world communist leadership gives capitalism margin for some manoeuvres but its decline is irreversible. Clinton may try cosmetic methods but they remain superficial. On the other hand his regime also discloses the difficulties of capitalism and its internal disagreements in face of the new conditions in the USA and the world process. The proposed restorers of capitalism in the CIS are not going to develop in peace either. They develop in the shadow of the global crisis of capitalism and the dynamism of world conditions which they cannot control. They are going to meet both the suspicion of capitalism and the opposition of their own people.

It is these world conditions which do not allow "British" solutions to "British" problems. Capitalism here is buffeted by the world. It shares a world agony. There is no solution outside the policy of social transformations, the planning of the economy to meet the needs of the population, a plan of production to absorb the unemployed with projects of rebuilding the infrastructure of society, public transport, manufacturing industry etc and workers control of the banks and key industries. 5.2.93.

FOR THE REANIMATION OF THE YUGOSLAV COMMUNIST VANGUARD.

As the first resolution of the International pointed out, Yugoslavia has been one of the most tragic victims of Stalinist regionalism. It is true that Tito had opposed Stalin, but the policy of self management and the opening to western capitalism developed special interests in Croatia and Slovenia and augmented the social differentiation in the country. It has now reached such a stage of imbecility- impelled by the prior recognitions and interventions of imperialism- that Slovenia and Croatia are slapping tariffs on each other goods. So much for the cynical use by imperialism of "self determination". It has meant objectively everything being determined by degenerate cliques of ruffians deciding for millions of people under the face of "elections" where nothing is discussed.

Imperialism will not succeed in obliterating the memory of a United Yugoslavia in the same way that the "Soviet Union" will return. Slovenia and Croatia cannot compete with western capitalism and have only developed as a result of a united Yugoslav market. Even Slovenia a relatively prosperous area is now in permanent crisis over unemployment and the excruciating difficulty of privatising the economy. They have sought to return to capitalism just as the latter is historically dying. What superb timing!

The emergence of the local mafias in Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia is the result of the non existence of a genuine communist leadership. The war of these regionalist leaders is counter revolutionary. The people of Serbia are being made the scapegoats for a policy which is the result of the intervention of imperialism and the private interests of the bureaucracy. Milosevic only won his elections because the Serb people seek to use him as a centre against imperialist attack. In the event of a future anti imperialist war there is no question that there will be a reanimation of the Yugoslav masses and the communist vanguard. The pseudo nationalist ruffians who seem to dominate the scene now will be swept aside.

Editorial

THE STRIKES OF MINERS AND RAILWAY WORKERS REJECT THE LP CONSENSUS WITH CAPITALISM

The renewed mobilisations against the pit closures, the strikes by the railway workers, the strength of the resistance of the Timex workers to their sackings and the decisions of the teachers unions to oppose the governments reactionary education policy, is an index of the mood in Britain, despite the paralysis of the Labour leadership. Although without an organising centre, because the TUC may now be obliged to support the miners but has no interest in any generalised unification of struggles, the anti capitalist interventions of the class are an important impulse for the left of the LP and the Unions to intervene. Major and Smith may like to project an end to the class struggle, but as capitalism constantly wages it and sacks workers the class struggle remains the deciding factor. Sectors in the LP apparatus of course openly suggest abandoning Clause 4 which calls for the collective control of the instruments of production, distribution and exchange. However the population is not determined by the careerist fabrications of the apparatchiks whose feet are firmly in the capitalist camp and have no perspectives beyond running the capitalist system.

The bourgeois economists are now speaking of the good prospects of capitalist recovery—good for whom? Thousands of workers have been sacked. The health service is in immense crisis and now there are more plans for savage cuts in public services such as education and community care. In the latter the most vicious measures have been proposed wherein the mentally ill are thrown on to the "community" without adequate resources. Similarly the proposed privatisation of the railways is not going to facilitate transport for the population, simply offer some fat pickings for the private operators. The gap between the socially privileged and the dispossessed is constantly widening—a confirmation of Marx's conception of the tendency towards absolute impoverishment under capitalism. In face of the gathering momentum of crime and social disorder, capitalism can only propose

the greater centralisation of the police. But at the same time neither they or the armed forces are replete with confidence in the social system. The continuous social decomposition of capitalism is only partly concealed by the degree of collaboration offered by the apparatchiks in the LP and the Trade unions.

Yet even here in the midst of the crisis of decay of the labour leadership, they are obliged to propose some limited form of workers intervention over the capitalist system—much to the annoyance of big business.

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE SERBS .

At the same time as the ruling class sinks in social capacity, it naturally seeks by all means to destroy its international enemies ie the workers states. Hence their concern to smash Yugoslavia just as they were concerned to liquidate the DDR as rapidly as possible. The campaign against the "Serbs" is of the utmost iniquity. War is war—and this one has been stimulated by imperialism, but it is not a holocaust or genocide which the bourgeoisie profess to observe. Moreover they pass over in silence the evidence of the Croatian-Muslim dispute costing many lives in Vitez—which points to a much more complicated situation than they wish to acknowledge. If they are so keen on genocide why do they not concentrate their fire on the reanimation of the Khmer Rouge whose representatives shake hands with the UNO General Secretary, and pass the time in murdering Vietnamese. However the sectors who perpetrate this anti Serb garbage have class reasons for doing so just as in the Russian revolution the Bolsheviks were reviled for all sorts of invented crimes and the activities of the whites ignored. Now the very reverend capitalists are charging some Serbs as war criminals and this from people who systematically blockade Iraq and cause the death of many children—quite apart from having organised the carnage of the previous war against Iraq in the first place. No,

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

414 April 30 1993.

STOP THE WAR ! NO INTERFERENCE BY NATO OR UNO ! RECONSTRUCT YUGOSLAVIA ON A SOCIALIST BASIS !

Appeal of the International Bureau, Posadist IV International.

The war in Yugoslavia provokes the greatest confusion in movements and parties of the political, trade union, and pacifist left. The first consideration for those who defend the interests of the workers is to record that Yugoslavia was a workers state and not simply a "country". This workers state has been broken up firstly through the bureaucratic camarillas who disputed power with Tito and continued disputing after his death and then with the intervention of the Western capitalist forces, essentially Germany, Italy and afterwards France and the United States. What remains of Yugoslavia is Serbia, Volvodina and Montenegro. It is the nucleus which remains of the workers state and it is necessary to support it to the maximum.

This does not mean to say that it is necessary to defend the policy of leaders like Milosevic without taking as a principle, the reconstruction of Yugoslavia on the basis of the workers state with the unification of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Macedonia, Serbia and Montenegro. In the present Federation of Yugoslavia, the majority of the

electors voted again for President Milosevic. The population suffers from the war but even so Milosevic was not defeated in spite of the fact that capitalism has presented him as responsible for all the evils of the country and of the war and as a fascist dictator. These elections have not expressed an ultra nationalist exasperation, but the adhesion of people to the defence of Yugoslavia.

It is not possible to consider this problem as in a capitalist country, but only by taking account of the past of the workers state of Yugoslavia. In these elections there was not a "party of war" or a "party of peace". The opposition were behind Panic, an envoy of the Yanks to propose a pro capitalist solution and the dismantling of what remains of the workers state.

This does not exclude contradictions in the party of Milosevic which combines a number of people who defend socialism and a leadership allying with the Serbian ultra nationalists to have more weight in the negotiations of

Geneva. This leadership of Yugoslavia must appeal to all the workers, Serbs, Muslims, Croats and the others which have thrown out fascism and constructed Yugoslavia after the War of 1949 on a socialist base. The greatest problem in this situation in Yugoslavia as in the crisis of the former USSR and of the other workers states, is the lack of a consistent communist leadership with the programme and the ideas of communism. No leadership now intervenes in the name of these socialist ideas even from the communist movement of years and years. But the necessity of socialist unification remains fundamental and it is the only solution to this crisis and the present war.

The independence of Bosnia is totally absurd and contrary to the necessities of the working population as of the other regions of Yugoslavia, and thus it has no sense to defend or attack in particular the recent proposed divisions into provinces established

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THE HISTORIC CAUSES OF LEADERSHIPS SUCH AS THE POL POT GROUP.

EXTRACTS.

J.POSADAS. 17 JANUARY 1979.

The events in Cambodia are not to be interpreted as a conflict between socialist countries nor as an invasion by Vietnam but as a popular uprising against a bureaucratic clique and a stalinist dictatorship.

Although in Cambodia the historic conditions for a Thermidor do not exist, there are conditions for the existence of movements interested in the preservation of the workers state in a counter revolutionary sense. The object of such movements indeed consists in enclosing themselves within a country where they give access to groups, tendencies and sectors of capitalist origin with which to maintain and construct links. Thus maintaining the structure of the workers state they act so that the social weight of the sectors contrary to the workers state increase, thus weakening the forces of the workers state. This is happening in China.

It is necessary to be prepared for the appearance of movements like those of China and Cambodia analogous to those in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Roumania through the immaturity, the lack of unity and structuring of the historic process which objectively is revolutionary, but subjectively is deprived of an adequate leadership. This allows such movements the margin that they need. To these motives one must add the fact that it is a question of new conditions in history, because the working class has not been prepared and placed in the conditions of being able to exercise its leading function as necessary. This means leading constantly and without interruption. The leaderships to which we refer are made of layers incapable of interpreting or responding to the necessity of the proletariat, of constituting the workers vanguard. The historic, theoretical and political bases which represent the proletariat are provided by marxism. The proletariat as a class does not have the strength nor the ability to realise directly the programme of the construction of socialism; this capacity is possessed by some intellectuals who come gained by the historic role of the proletariat.

This text by Posadas is concerned to show the reasons for the emergence of movements like those of Pol Pot or Sendero Luminoso in Peru which may use a pseudo "revolutionary" language but have nothing to do with genuine social revolution. It has also much relevance to the crises within the workers states where the absence of a consistent marxist tradition leads to all manner of delays in the construction of a leadership corresponding to the workers state and its necessity to expand. Such movements as the Khmer Rouge have no origins in the October Revolution and nothing to do with socialism.

THE DANGER OF WAR AND THE BUREAUCRATIC LEADERSHIPS.

To this issue, it is necessary to add the existence of capitalism, the preparation of the war, the continuous growth of nuclear armaments and the atomic threats which create conditions unthinkable in the period of Lenin, of real concern on the intentions of imperialism to unleash the atomic war which is not a war like all the others. It is a war which capitalism will not win nor will it impede the realisation of socialism but provoking certainly an immense devastation.

Stalin retarded the realisation of socialism in the USSR for thirty years but the workers state was maintained while imperialism will launch a war which will result in an economic social and human disaster. And this fact terrifies the present leaders of the workers movement. To be concerned is natural but not to be smashed. Nonetheless this happens to a part of the leadership of the workers state. They feel intimidated and then they choose to make a policy of compromises and agreements to avert the war. But they cannot impede it in this way. They can retard its coming, but the war will come no matter what. What up to now has prevented it, have not been the pacts between the workers states and capitalism, but the world struggle of the masses and the development of the workers states because notwithstanding all the possible agreements, if capitalism in a particular moment feels it might win, then the war will be launched without saying a word. To make the war reasons and excuses are no use. It will be launched. It is necessary to take account of the power of attraction of the workers state, the progress constituted by the fact that the workers state possesses such a power of immense historic attraction in the comparisons made in all the backward countries. They are drawn then immediately towards this form of state offering a solution to their problems via planning. But it

is another matter if the political leadership seeks to utilise it for its own advantage by subordinating the workers state to the interests of a privileged layer. If this happens, it is through lack of the party and lack of the party in time to act.

LENIN AND THE ROLE OF THE PARTY.

Lenin living in particular historical conditions was able to construct the party before taking power and to enter into the revolutionary process with this. It was the party which led and developed the revolution allowing the greatest experiences of history, the war and the revolution. Lenin was able to realise all this because he had the party prepared for this objective. Prepared for a party means that there is an equal relation between the leading cadres and militants. Lenin was in the conditions to prepare in time such a party which does not mean that now in these countries, it cannot be done but certainly it has not yet been established.

During the period of Stalinism, the experiences of the Russian revolution were thrown back and history held back by many decades objectively because the development of stalinism murdered the proletarian vanguard, the programme, the policy, the organs of local, national and international leadership and forced the proletarian vanguard, the intellectuals, the petit bourgeoisie, the militant worker to experience the devastating effects from the centralisation of the workers movement. This consisted in the fact that the workers movement was submitted to Stalin, to the Soviet Union which meant in reality to the national interests of the soviet bureaucracy.

THE ROLE OF CUBA.

Thus it is not the direct result of the historic process, that there have been movements like those of Angola without a party where first of

all the movement arose which is now creating a party; also Cuba did not have a party and is now creating it. Castro does not come from the Communist party, but from a bourgeois ambience and became a revolutionary before the revolution and learnt to lead the party during the process. Without having a global vision of the leading function of Cuba, he defends and leads the country very well and Cuba is playing an immense historical function of progress; if it cannot intervene much more than it is doing at this moment in Latin America, if it cannot develop itself further it favours on the other hand the development of Angola, Ethiopia, Mozambique and Vietnam; that is it develops the function of political leadership.

A political leadership exists in Cuba which is certainly committing errors, but being insufficient develops well its own political function giving an impulse to the progress of humanity and to the struggle for socialism. On the other hand in various parts of the world with other revolutionary movements and in the presence of very backward economic conditions, a revolutionary leadership adapted to the situation has not developed. This is the case in Cambodia.

CAMBODIA AND THE EXPERIENCES OF VIETNAM.

The backwardness of Cambodia is immense; it was a colony for hundreds of years and after the liberation was a country completely devastated. It did not have the conditions, the time, the means to develop the party and not through social or economic conditions, but through the lack of a base essential for the formation of the party. The revolutionary movements are more secure in those countries which previously have been able to consolidate a tradition of the formation of the party as in Vietnam. In Vietnam they made the experience of a revolutionary party despite the political errors made by

Ho Chi Min which we have criticised. But they were not counter revolutionary errors like the killing and the expulsion of the Trotskyists. Also the Chinese leadership in 1925 liquidated from the leadership, all the Trotskyists and never had a real party. In Vietnam it was a question of a small country with a small party but with a leadership educated on the basis of the concepts of marxism which although certainly committing errors continued faithfully the construction of the workers state and of the organs of workers power and in such a way has represented a continuation of the Russian Revolution.

But in reality there has not been a continuity of the Russian Revolution. Stalin killed Leninism, cut every continuity with this and eliminated it. Leninism did not mean only to take power by force, it meant specifically a conception of the party, of the relation party, class, masses and country. It means to construct the party in such a way as to lead the nation by constructing the necessary cadres which then educate the base of the party in the marxist conception of history. In the Soviet Union there was a party of this type, not a group which knew everything and which the others obey, but a party at the level of understanding reality, capable of attracting on its part the soldiers, the social democrats and not by force of arms (to be convinced of this it is necessary to read Lenin, Trotsky and John Reed). It was a party in which the cadres were formed in the marxist understanding of the historic process and which in such security was able to intervene. People saw in the intervention not a leader, but a programme aimed at the masses, saw a party capable of leading the country in confronting great and small problems, problems of war and peace and that of how to utilise the train of the enemy, appearing to shake hands and then preventing that enemy taking advantage of the situation.

Lenin accepted travelling on the train of the enemy which wanted to use him to make Russia leave the war and so the better to confront the allies. The Bolsheviks wanted to obtain a truce to dedicate themselves to the revolution

and thus they accepted.

STATE OWNERSHIP IS ONLY THE BEGINNING OF THE PROCESS.

The process of the advance of the economy demands state ownership and planning, but if the leadership does not exist to develop the party to the level of the task, above all if the leadership is of peasant origin, the initiative remains in the hands of a small group with particular interests. It manages and plans the economy according to the

specific fears of the group, developing limited interests as planners, technicians, army leaders stimulating social interests towards these sectors. In this way the influence of private interests continues, a legacy of the preceding centuries of capitalism, ie the private use of state ownership as in the epoch of Stalin. Of the Stalin group today no one remains. All the present leaders have been formed in the following period. Of Stalin nothing remains! Trotsky explained the reason for writing his book on Stalin was to show that the coming to power of Stalin was not the result of a diabolical ability, but the fruit of historic conditions which could only occur in specific circumstances and which could not be reproduced. Part of these historic circumstances consisted in the weakness of the party whose essential reason was not the strength of capitalism, but the fact of having to dedicate the best of its militants, of its leaders to the new task of the construction of the state. The greater part of its leaders, of its militants were killed and thus they had to allow the entry of of an enormous number of people, of technicians, of economists of which the Soviet Union had an absolute necessity. These people could be carried by the revolutionary party, people who sought to progress, but instead they were brought to the level of the nationalist, isolated and individualist conception of Stalin which consisted in the idea of "socialism in a single country".

**Out of NATO, Out with the monarchy!
For the Socialist Republic with the
Unification of Britain and Ireland.**

WORKERS STATES NOT SOCIALIST COUNTRIES.

Herein lies the importance of theoretical and political conceptions. It was just this Stalinist conception which attracted all the new levies and through this Stalin purged the party of the internationalists. So he proposed to lead the Soviet Union towards socialism at whatever the cost while the revolutionaries saw that this was impossible. No country can achieve socialism while capitalism still exists.

A group of countries with capitalism still existing on a world scale, can achieve some socialist measures but continue to remain workers states. We call them socialist states to differentiate them from capitalist states and because there is not sufficient theoretical and political education in the workers movement, otherwise it would be clear that socialist countries do not exist. A country where a salary is still determined by the principle "to each according to his capacity" means a bourgeois relation not a socialist one. Socialism abolishes every bourgeois relation and that does not mean that this produces abundance, but it is sufficient to abolish bourgeois relations for a country to be socialist. In the epoch of Stalin, it was not possible to abolish the dependence on the bourgeoisie because they were still linked. It was the first workers state which had to develop but Stalin made use of this necessity to propose the conception of "socialism in one country".

PHENOMENON LIKE POL POT CAN BE REPEATED.

The essential condition for socialism is that of eliminating the social antagonism, social differences and social struggles. The wage is an expression of social and class differentiation. The rejection of the fact that one person can earn thousands, while some earn very little having a large family is an expression of the class

struggle. In the workers state, this class struggle is diminished, attenuated because it does not mean a struggle against the government to overthrow it, but against a differentiation which constantly creates layers with private interests which are separated from the rest of the population. The element which in capitalism creates the accumulation of capital, in the workers state creates privilege and now also creates those cadres who defend or administer privileges.

THE CASES OF YUGOSLAVIA AND RUMANIA.

All these problems will be repeated constantly and shortly they will explode in Roumania and Yugoslavia. It is not certain that they will explode because it is possible that the soviets may force changes or that the process assumes the character that it has assumed in Cambodia. When there exists a good base in the party and in the country, it is impossible that such privilege can be created and the proof consists in the fact that when Stalin offered Yugoslavia to capitalism he did it directly but Yugoslavia did not become capitalist. It is now almost on the point of being capitalist, because of its internal development and as a result of the isolation but in that moment it did not return to capitalism.

These problems will present themselves in many countries in Africa, in Asia, in Latin America because there does not exist a centralised leadership. The advance of the revolution is not always accompanied by centralisation and because a leadership does not exist.... that of the Soviet Union is not a political leadership. It has no confidence in the communist movement with measures adequate to the necessity.

This is the result of the lack of political life, of the breaking in the continuity of the thought of Lenin. Trotsky dedicated himself to this continuity and maintained his concern for the political and theoretical life, but the communist parties were not able to do so because their leaderships were involved in the Stalinist policy with the nationalist policy, with tendencies of local interests concerned with reaching local agreements and resolving local problems. Socialism in a single country consisted in this; each country must resolve its own local problems. There is not then either tradition or experience, when in reality the historical conditions are already mature for the elimination of capitalism. J. Posadas. 19 1. 79.

From page 1

the campaign against the Serbs has nothing to do with "humanity" or "justice", but class interest, the interest of the capitalist class to smash a workers state and to prepare the way for interventions against the CIS. This is the same mentality which launches a colossal campaign against the IRA on the killing of children in England, but has little to say about the recent murder of four Catholics by the professional assassins in Northern Ireland. However the movement for peace which has developed in Ireland which we support does not favour capitalism because it is the army in Northern Ireland which prevents any settlement of the issue.

Such events as the crisis over Yugoslavia uncover the lack of consistency in sectors of the British left whose ideas are founded on bourgeois eclecticism rather than a class understanding. The support given by some sectors of the Labour left to the campaign against the "Serbs" is quite criminal since they argue a case which is little different from that of Thatcher ie a voice from the swamp, the class standpoint of the most reactionary bourgeois layers, desperate in front of a process which they cannot determine. The massacre at Waco in the USA itself expresses exactly the mentality of the North American ruling class- objectively it is an act of civil war as was the case with the infamous bombing of Philadelphia in the mid eighties. And these creatures go on about the "Serbs"!!

SOCIAL WEAKNESS OF CAPITALISM IN FRONT OF THE WORLD PROCESS

The political crisis in Italy which has led to the public exposure of the integration of "civil society" and mafia has led to the PDS-part of the former ICP- being consulted about reforming the system. This is a classic example of the social debility of capitalism almost to the point of absurdity. It continues because of the absence of a sufficiently organised alternative communist leadership. Even the "victory" of the right in the French elections is a very superficial affair. The right has no programme apart from privatisation to face the growing decomposition of French society, deterioration of social services, unemployment etc and is also divided. The defeat of the socialists will stimulate a new debate over what is socialism because all the theories of collaborating or conceding to capitalism have ended in collapse. In the short term capitalism gains a little advantage, in the long term it

is losing control of society. Despite the efforts of capitalism to keep together there are mounting tensions between the different capitalist trading blocks. The confrontations over GATT, even the conflicts seen in the "Fish war" between France and Britain bring out the inevitable results of economic competition. The severity of the world slump exacerbates all the disputes and weakens the links between capitalism and its social support. Never has there been a period when there is such a gap between the objective conditions for the liquidation of the social system and the absence of an alternative leadership with authority to undertake this task.

THE CRISIS OF THE BUREAUCRACY AND THE WORKERS STATE.

The crisis of the Yeltsin camarilla-whose social basis is a "lumpen" bourgeoisie consisting of speculators, asset strippers and gangsters- is causing capitalism great tremors. The disputes in the Russian parliament exemplify the profound crisis of the whole bureaucracy, but also in part a contained response of the structure of the workers state to the sabotage of the privatising thieves. Capitalism has no confidence in the future of its allies in the former Soviet Union. Its object is to sustain whatever elements can contain or wreck the workers state. When Clinton talks about "aid" to Yeltsin he made it clear that the money is to go directly to all manner of local interests to try to foment disorder in the workers state. Even so capitalism through the mouths of all its spokesmen gives the sense of a system at its last gasp. They talk about historic opportunities to develop the "market" economy in the CIS, but their words belie their actions. Clinton's America cannot exercise the role of Reagan or of Bush. Capitalism is a system on the defensive without historic initiative, surviving on the limitations of its enemies but without any hope of future stability. It can kill and destroy people but it has not one initiative which can save it as a system. Reasons of space have prevented us from elaborating much more on the process in the workers states and we will have to return to this, but in brief whatever the result of the referendum, it is a remote aspect of the reality of the dynamics of the process in the CIS. Soviet "parliamentarianism" is a device to contain the soviet masses and none of the issues under discussion have been

Continued on page 4

with criteria of ethnic or religious homogeneity. The independence of Bosnia as of Croatia or of Slovenia is an invention, the result of particular interests. The capitalist countries of Europe have not found anything better than to sustain and legitimate a President like Izetbegovic. He was named President without having an electoral majority. The part of the population of Bosnia which has been described as "Muslim" represents 40% of the population of Bosnia. This population is composed of Serbo Croats who were converted to Islam under the Ottoman empire. The others that is to say sixty percent are orthodox catholics or non religious. Nonetheless Izetbegovic very democratically declares that he wants to install an Islamic state in Bosnia. He seeks allies in the reactionary government of Turkey and in the most reactionary countries of the Middle East, in the fundamentalist religious movements, recruits mercenaries (including those coming from Afghanistan) and demands arms from Europe. This gentleman was received as President of a Muslim state under the protection of Koutchener and pseudo intellectuals like B-H Levy for Mitterand and he demands arms from the West to fight Yugoslavia.

The bourgeois media in Europe and the United States have made great play with "ethnic purification". They present this as a theory created by the Serbs to conquer territory in Bosnia and Croatia and to throw out the non Serb inhabitants and to populate these regions with "pure" Serbs. But it is capitalism which has fabricated this "ethnic purification". It is this which has provoked the separatism of Croatia, of Slovenia which made a campaign against "Serbia" and smashed the idea of Yugoslavia.

Western capitalism, the bourgeoisie need an ideological justification for military intervention, under the cover of UNO and of NATO. Thus they present Yugoslavia as inheritors of nazism. They launch great words "concentration camps, genocide, crimes against humanity". They did the same with Rumania, with Iraq, Libya and Afghanistan, each time that they provoked a military intervention. On the other hand the media exercise silence over the real ethnic "purification" which is occurring in Shaba (Zaire) where

two to three hundred thousand people have been displaced on the orders of Mobutu.

There is an enormous campaign to turn public opinion against the "Serbs" particularly in France where there has been a tradition of years of relations with Yugoslavia. It is necessary to consider in the same way the accusations launched by the media against the "Serb" military as regards violations of Bosnian Muslim women or of the existence of extermination camps. The feminist movements like the pacifist and anti racist movements have been deceived by such considerations. It is true that there is no "clean" war and even in revolutionary wars there are abuses, exactions, violations, personal vengeance. This must not impede having a clear judgement over the interests in play on one side or the other.

There is no other solution in the conflicts between the republics of Yugoslavia, but to continue discussions, negotiations to seek a political solution, to make intervene in the discussions, the trade union, and the political, socialist and communist political forces. But the left has been overwhelmed by the crisis of the socialist countries. Capitalist Europe has stimulated separatism, recognised the independence of the different regions, given its support to any nationalist camarilla which happens to be in power in Croatia, in Slovenia, in Bosnia and this has blockaded the whole peace perspective. Yugoslavia has been converted into a battlefield between the competing interests of the great European and North American capitalist countries. Germany launched itself first of all in its policy of separatism following recognition of Slovenia and Croatia and forced the other governments to follow it under threat of financial and economic reprisals (particularly as regards France which was obliged to serve as its armed lieutenant). Through the Yugoslav crisis, Germany imposes its leadership over the rest of Europe and prepares the conditions to create its own military power.

Any way this war of Yugoslavia is a quicksand for the capitalist system. It is not sufficient to send more soldiers to win. The United States remains prudent and fears that its intervention

may be used by Germany. In Russia, the Yeltsin government was pressured by the Parliament and the army not to accept the embargo against Yugoslavia. In the Socialist camp even much weakened, there is a live resistance to the advances of European and Yankee capitalism. They do not want to let them have a free hand to be able to intervene in other countries of the Balkans or in the Caucasus. This opposition weighs also in the balance of forces in the war in Yugoslavia.

The majority of the left organisations, in particular the movements for peace have aligned themselves behind this vision of the European capitalist governments and give to the West the role of mediator, of peace maker which it is incapable of fulfilling. The slogan of the ex pacifists is that the decisions of UNO should be applied in Yugoslavia, to enforce the embargo against Serbia including with a military intervention of the blue helmets or of the NATO forces.

UNO is less than ever an instrument of progress for the peoples of the world. It is necessary to see what it has done wherever it has intervened; in Cambodia there is complete paralysis and the Khmer Rouge have been reinstalled and rearmed. In Angola UNITA has retaken the war and UNO did nothing to impose respect for the elections which had confirmed the power of the MPLA. In Somalia, UNO selects the war lords according to the strengthening of pro yankee power. In Palestine UNO has allowed the Israeli to violate every day all its resolutions among others maintaining with impunity the exile of the four hundred Palestinians expelled to the Lebanon frontier.

The right of humanitarian aid is only a new cover for the old imperialist policy of the capitalist system in general and of the strongest capitalist powers in particular. We are against any right for capitalism to interfere! Wherever it intervenes, it is solely to defend its class interests and never the interests of the population.

But the workers of Europe as of Yugoslavia and the world have every right for interference. They are the ones who have no interest other than that of the common good of the population. It will be necessary to organise missions of the trade unions of all Europe to meet the workers movement of all the republics of Yugoslavia, to make heard

these voices, to create an international current in defence of Yugoslavia as there was at the beginning of the construction of the Yugoslavian workers state with the International Brigades of youth. We call upon the trade union movement, the socialist organisations, communists, left Christians in Europe to mobilise together to stop this

war so that the military forces of UNO and NATO get out, so that there can be a return to discuss how to reconstruct and develop Yugoslavia with a Socialist base.

10.2.1993.
International Bureau of the
Posadist IV International.

ON THE MURDER OF Cde CHRIS HANI

The assassination of Chris Hani is the response of the most reactionary sectors of capitalism to the immense advance and pressure of the revolution in South Africa. Hani belonged to a new generation of communist leaders who fought in military action against race and class oppression and experienced what Posadas called the process of partial regeneration in the workers states, that is the Cuban support for the revolution in Africa and former soviet aid to Angola etc.

It is inevitable that in the tumultuous advance of the process in South Africa, there is the constant tendency for it to pose issues not only of full democratic rights for the black population but question marks over the capitalist system itself even if this is not expressed directly or is limited in the present round of negotiations with de Klerk. In other words South Africa with its powerful black proletariat exemplifies the process of permanent

revolution. Whatever agreements are made to provide democratic gains for the blacks, to provide a lengthy period of transitional measures, the spectre of communism is there. The communist party has a very great authority and it is this which provoked sectors within capitalism to try to decapitate it and provoke a generalised repression against the blacks. Naturally such is the present balance of class forces that this assassination will further extend the authority of the Communist party.

The powerful demonstrations against the South African government is an immense blow against the whole system of Apartheid and capitalism. The experience of South Africa echoes around the world, extends everywhere including in the workers states and the main capitalist powers, stimulates thought and is an important contribution to the reanimation of the world communist movement.

discussed with the soviet people. The soviet people desired to keep the Soviet Union and it was ignored. The odious vodka lout Yeltsin has already had to modify his policies and has only stayed because the other sectors of the bureaucracy prefer to pressure him rather than allow the soviet masses to intervene directly. There are many complications in this process but as Posadas analysed it goes against both the bureaucracy and capitalism. It has taken on a new morphology since the Gorbachev experience, but the world revolution is invincible and indestructible and weighs in the workers states.

The world situation is extremely rich from the point of view of historic experiences which will be assimilated by the world communist and socialist vanguard. On the British plane the decision by Dennis Skinner to form a group in the Labour party to defend the principles of Clause 4 is highly important. It is necessary to discuss and re discuss the ideas of marxism and socialism. It provides an excellent opportunity to extend the political life in the LP and the Trade Unions which needs to become much deeper than hitherto to take advantage of the tormented convulsions of world capitalism. 26 4 93.

THE TRADE UNION LEFT MUST PROPOSE THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATION

FOR A WORKERS PLAN OF PRODUCTION!

The proces of capitalist decomposition continues without remission. Although the structures of the LP and TUC contains the expression of popular discontent the strikes of the social security employees and the demonstrations of the pensioners show the widespread opposition to reactionary policies. Above all the LP and TUC leaderships want to prevent any unified intervention of the proletariat. That is their objective, to keep railway workers, engineers and all other sectores under control.

The Conservative party Conference was sufficient indication of the way capitalism is thinking. The conference was the crudest expression of the ruling clique. This was a new orbit of the most undisguised vicious class war by the owners of capital. After fourteen years of conservative dictatorship the standard of living of millions has been lowered, whole industries destroyed and immense frauds perpetrated(these criminals speak about fraud in social benefits after their hero Maxwell was shown to be the master of stealing pensions and the whole privatisation programme is a rip off). Major has now come up with the the phrase "back to basics". We know what that means- exploitation, repression and smashing people into the ground ie reduction of benefits for the poor and a bigoted racialism. Capitalism seeks the slave state. The concern with law and order is the cover for preparing the means for greater repression not just of the criminal sectors but all resistance to the despotism of private property. The type of speeches at this Conservative conference reached new depths

of the most moronic xenophobia showing that capitalism prepares for war against the population under the banner of the "family" and "against scroungers". It was the perfect reflection of a clapped out system whose only hope is state coercion and intimidation. No doubt they would like to do to the British people what their "democratic" ally Yeltsin did to the White House in Moscow. The reappearance of Thatcher who desperately seeks to give decision to the system brought out all the turmoil within conservatism. The cul de sac of their policies has led to violent internal bickerings. Heath is like a relic of a past era when there was some attempt to contain the worst excesses of capitalism ie sustain a welfare state. The conference had a lumpenised character, a meeting of impatient bouncers. What a level! The bland patrician facade has disappeared and been replaced by hoodlums. It is most appropriate when they talk about the "family" after all it is quite the fashion in wealthy families these days for the offspring to bump off their parents- nothing personal of course they just want the loot, like all good believers in the free market economy.

There is nothing that is going to recover authority for capitalism.

LAW AND ORDER

What is important to note is that large layers of the bourgeoisie are not at all happy with the turn to the right of the conservative party. Sectors of the police have attacked the conservative programme on the logical grounds that crime is symptomatic of an "acquisitive society" -ie capitalism and repression will solve nothing. The increased building of prisons has been rejected by

some of the judiciary as ignoring that such activities do not reduce crime but create more criminals. The leadership of capitalism is desperately acting in this way because it seeks to appear decisive, to try to regain authority by force. The fact that there have been violent rebellions in prisons has no meaning for these people because capitalism is at the end of its tether. They have nothing to say except "we cannot solve anything but we intend to keep power by maximum force and intimidation. Yes its our crisis and we will see you pay for it" The arguments among the conservatives amount to disputes about the level of confrontation with the population. But whatever their internal disputes their system is in total decomposition and they do not know where to go.

AGONY OF THE COMMON MARKET.

As Posadas pointed out the leaders of the social democracy had all manner of illusions about the European Common Market- in Britain they backed the ERM and thought the cornucopia would flow. Now Delors shows the anguish of all this layer complaining bitterly about the triumph of the "English" style Europe or as he puts it the turning of Europe into a "souless free trade area". But that is the way of capitalism -brutal, no foresight, an enemy of life itself. It is certain that the European car industry cannot cope with the competition of the Japanese and is drifting into disaster. Unemployment is a spectre from which there is no escape.

THE RACIST CARD.

Racism has been directly encouraged by capitalism. In all the main European countries there have been warnings about the "invasion of the poor" from north south,

east and west. But despite horrific organised murders, which have also increased in Britain, the racist card is tending to backfire. This is shown in the large anti fascist, anti racist demonstrations in London. The police were engaged in defending the headquarters of the fascists but the demonstrations transcend anti racism, they represent a desire to finish with capitalism. The strong representation of young people was particularly impressive. This is not the epoch of fascism. If capitalism had had the ability to organise mass fascist movements it would have done so long ago. Now it uses these minuscule groups for terrorist actions but it does not work.

THE CRUMBLING OF THE WORLD CAPITALIST ORDER.

The failures of the Clinton administration have become notorious. For decades the American presidency has oscillated wildly in its attitudes both to the former Soviet Union and to the world situation. Reagan and Bush ended in disaster and Clinton drowns in disorder. The intervention in Somalia has been a masterpiece of disorganisation. The Pentagon failed to find a suitable puppet and they finally take a military beating after their massacres of civilians failed. It has been rather like a very small Vietnam in its social significance.

Throughout it is certain there have been constant disputes between the Pentagon and the Presidency- an old dispute going back to Kennedy versus the CIA.

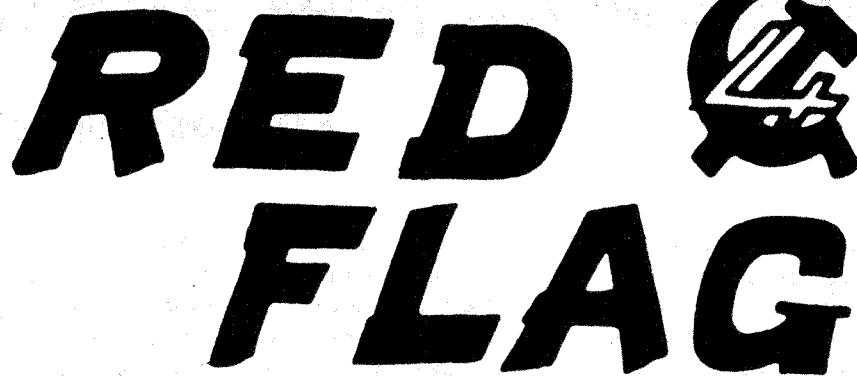
This has come to the surface particularly in the struggle over Haiti. As part of the "democratic" initiative Clinton has been endeavoring to reestablish Aristide in

Haiti to maintain some influence there. But the Pentagon-CIA has other ideas. They see the situation in Latin and Central America as constantly deteriorating and prefer to back the right and the military if necessary. Hence in the middle of the storms of the Presidency they publish a report deriding Aristide and rejecting the policy of sanctions. No wonder the Presidency is weak. It is weak because the Pentagon-Republican sector want it weak and seek to determine a more aggressive line. The CIS the former Soviet Union is in a process of great ferment and progress. The uprising in Moscow is a sign of things to come. It has ruined Yeltsin and his pack of burglars. He is now reduced to criticising Grachev (ha, ha), the minister of defence for not responding quickly enough!. The October Revolution despite what occurred in Moscow was celebrated throughout the CIS, combined with references to the triumph of the second world war against the nazis. All these most recent experiences are affecting a new liberation of forces throughout the world, a tendency to reanimate all the forces of communism more and more released from the incubus of Stalinism.

Britain inevitably will feel this world ambience of the decomposition of capitalism and advances in the workers states. It is particularly important in this phase for an elevation in the functioning of the trade unions. It is true that in this country there is a phenomenal integration of trade union bosses with capitalism but there are still some unions more left than

Continued on page 4

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

THE NEW VIOLENT COUP BY YELTSIN AND THE PROFOUND RESISTANCE OF THE WORKERS STATE TO CAPITALIST RESTORATION IN THE FORMER USSR.

EXTRACTS.

POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL.

The confrontation between the Parliament and Yeltsin and his clique, has been one more step in the process of the disintegration of the bureaucratic apparatus of the former USSR. The President of Russia has tried to contain this on the basis of agreements and concessions, finally imposing his views by force.

We believe that in this dispute which has preoccupied the world bourgeoisie and concentrated the attention of the world masses, it is necessary to emphasise some aspects which are important in making a balance of the process of the Workers States and to impel the fundamental objective in this stage which is the reconstruction of the USSR.

On the one hand the sectors who rebelled against Yeltsin belonged to the already disintegrated apparatus of the CPSU and upto now supported, backed or simply did not intervene against the means and the efforts towards privatisation which is the basis of the policy of the Russian government. This origin, attitude and lack of conclusions on the previous stage did not allow all these communist groups and parties which now exist in the ex USSR to win authority over the whole of the vanguard and the soviet masses.

This we believe is the other fundamental aspect which influenced the army in a decisive form which saw that only a sector of the communist vanguard linked to the old apparatus of the party came out to defend the parliamentary deputies and to confront the arrogance of Yeltsin.

It is important to understand this because it shows the maturing of the soviet masses and of the workers vanguard where in spite of the agreements with world capitalism and the plans to impose the market economy, the economic structure and functioning of the USSR is maintained as previously. The greater part of property continues as statified and the plans for the privatisation of the land does not find

supporters among the peasants. This is where the maturity of the proletariat and of the soviet masses is expressed. They have no doubt in defending the bases of the economy which they are going to use for the new reconstruction of the USSR and nevertheless they did not come out to defend a whole series of sectors which have programmes and objectives which are communist but who have not made a balance of the crisis of the USSR and who still distrust the masses. This leads them to develop the struggle within the margins of the apparatus.

The world bourgeoisie followed with agitation all these events and came out openly to support the coup of Yeltsin, even when this contradicts their defence of the democratic process. They tried to weigh in the Russian Army so that it would intervene against a rebellion that could become uncontrollable.

We salute with all our communist responsibility the comrades who participated in the demonstrations and fought in the barricades in the defence of parliament. In their struggle to reconstruct the USSR. We propose that all the revolutionaries of the world have to express solidarity and participate in this fight to resist capitalist restoration and to stimulate the reconstruction of the Soviet Union. It is necessary to demand the liberation of all the prisoners detained by Yeltsin, the ending of the state of emergency, complete freedom for all the movements and trade unions and parties which defend the USSR.

Events as so many times in our epoch advance more rapidly than the conscious organisation of the revolutionary leadership.

The masses had no confidence in the parliament of Moscow. The most obvious fact is that Yeltsin has not been able to mobilise anything outside the small sector which applauded the expulsion of the protestors of the White House. But people also have seen that this parliament was a gang of imposters where all the sectors of the bureaucracy converted to capitalist restoration disputed plus the

old layers who wanted to maintain their previous positions. Rutskoi and Khasbulatov did not represent the working class, the defence of the soviets with socialist democracy nor the struggle to reconstruct the USSR. They were originally part of the movement of Yeltsin in the first coup of 1991 and also supporters of privatisation, of the market economy. When Rutskoi began to support the return to the Soviet Union and all power to the Soviets, it was only when they were besieged in parliament and sought the support of the communist movements and of the workers. It is an immense experience which the communist movement of the former USSR has made, and of the whole world in these last days.

It appears clear to the entire world that Yeltsin has no social support from the masses, that he is simply an organiser of coups and that the people of the former USSR resist with all its strength everything which can lead to the destruction of the workers state. Even without a leadership the thousands of people who intervened in the streets of Moscow expressed this resistance of millions. The most devastated force has been the democratic clique of Yeltsin which has been smashed to pieces.

The same conflict between the camarilla of Yeltsin and the parliaments of the republic has been produced everywhere as in Moscow. Part of the weakness of the power of Yeltsin is also the opposition of the Regions. In order to conciliate with them Yeltsin offered them beforehand third of the representation of the future national parliament. Even so he did not succeed in gaining their submission and tried to dissolve them as with all the soviets in the workers areas of Moscow. In these conditions with hundreds of political prisoners, with the banning of parties of communist complexion, with the censorship or prohibition of the newspapers of the trade unions, what value are the next elections? They are not going to determine anything save to give an appearance of legitimacy which justifies the support of capitalism to Yeltsin. But already in the

previous elections Yeltsin only got 56% of the fifty eight percent which went to vote. In the next elections nothing will be resolved. There is a dual power which is going to be extended. The masses are drawing the conclusions from the Moscow insurrection that it is necessary to organise more profoundly on the basis of the factories, of the workers areas, of the local and regional soviets and every republic of Russia and it is necessary to organise the Communist Party with the clear programme of the reconstruction of the USSR, of socialist democracy, of the defence of statified property with planning for the benefit of the masses. The party itself cannot replace the life of the soviets—recall the first years of the Russian revolution.

There is nothing secure for capitalism in the events in Russia. On the one hand they shout about helping economically but on the other they give hardly anything because they have no perspective on what may be profitable and because they have no security in the Yeltsin clique. The last elections in Poland increase this anguish of world capitalism. The parties of the workers state have returned to win the elections and express a very important social force

of the working class, of the peasants to return to the secure structure of the workers state. Solidarity has drowned. There is no bourgeois party with strength. This coming after the return of the communists to government in Lithuania, of the electoral victory of Aliiev in Azerbaijan, of the failures of Sheverdnazde in Georgia and also of the new coming together of the republics of the former USSR with Russia, the resistance of the structure of the workers state is immense and begins to impel new changes. Hence if in this insurrection of Moscow it was not possible to overthrow Yeltsin what has occurred is not a sentiment of defeat, of being smashed, but the experience that it is necessary to prepare better and to win above all the confidence and the organisation of the working class to be able to realise the objectives of all power to the soviets and of the reconstruction of the USSR.

It is necessary to discuss in all the left movements, in the trade unions in Europe and the world to help the soviet comrades with international solidarity and to unite the programme for the reconstruction of the USSR with soviet democracy

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THE REJECTION OF YELTSIN. MOSCOW 1993.

IRELAND AND THE NEED FOR PROGRAMMATIC UNITY WITH THE ANTI CAPITALIST STRUGGLE IN BRITAIN.

The attempts of the Hume-Adams proposals to open a discussion with the British government on the continued war in Northern Ireland have corresponded to the great desire for peace both in Ireland and Britain for an end to the bloody conflict imposed by imperialism over the last twenty years. The fact that the Irish bourgeoisie has been obliged to intervene in these negotiations also reflects the great pressure in the republic for an end to the regime of violence. The massive demonstrations in Northern Ireland as a result of the recent killings shows the isolation of capitalism as it seeks to prevaricate.

In this country the IRA is made responsible for the war whilst the activity of the army and the systematic organised atrocities of the so called "Protestant" groups UVF etc are played down. Thus the bourgeois press expressed its usual "horror" over the Shankill Road killings but overlooked that previously there had been a systematic extension of the fascist violence against the catholic population. In front of the growing desire for a settlement, the leaders of capitalism have been placed in an embarrassing position. When they say there will be no negotiation with violence, it is characteristic that they should overlook the presence of the British army in Northern Ireland which is there to repress the catholic population. They are also the poorest sectors. When capitalism speaks of defending democracy in Northern Ireland the manipulation of the truth reflects their class interest. There is no important democracy in Northern Ireland. There has not been for years and hence the civil rights movement which the British army blocked in the seventies. Capitalism speaks of defending the rights of the protestants (to repress the catholic poor?). But what about the right of the minority catholics to be rid of the protestant oppressors?

The fate of Britain and Ireland have always been linked and British capitalism has had some interest in

preserving a state of war. For years the catholic masses have been oppressed by a privileged Unionist caste. Unemployment is rife and there is no perspective within capitalism of developing Northern Ireland. However as capitalism hurtles downhill it is not only the Irish masses who are being increasingly repressed, pauperisation is an experience for growing numbers of the British population, and they also will face repression in the future. It is convenient for British capitalism that its armed forces are kept in readiness for a generalised repression. They have gained much experience in Northern Ireland. The so called "loyalist" groups act with great confidence like professional assassins who can do what they choose. Like the death squads in Brasil or the mafia they have friends in high places.

On the other hand the latest explosion in the Shankill Road at the very moment of the effort by Hume and Adams to project peace offers points to difficulties in the IRA itself. Adams was obliged to say that what had happened "cannot be excused".

We have argued before that the IRA has been used in one form or other by British imperialism. After all who benefits from the Shankill Road attack at this particular moment? Only imperialism. Obviously in the sombre and opaque world of the fight in Northern Ireland, the IRA has a constant battle with infiltration but this is not the only problem. It could be that there is a wing in the IRA which sees only military action as the way forward but this in itself opens the way for imperialist intervention. The struggle against imperialism is not only military, it is political. The IRA and Sinn Fein has to broaden its programme and policy. It is impossible to separate Irish Unification, the problem of national unity from social issues. What sort of United Ireland? Another version of the Irish republic, a bourgeois state? In this epoch it is

impossible to separate the national from the social. Thus it is essential that Sinn Fein develops a programme which sees the unification of Ireland as totally inseparable from the class struggle in Britain. Merely to unite Ireland on a bourgeois basis would settle none of the issues of production and consumption. It is true that the British Labour Party is an obstacle because it speaks of Irish unification but it always backs British imperialism, a characteristic of Labourism. But the British left has forces in the LP and the unions. The fact that Benn invited Adams to discuss his proposals shows that there is ample possibilities for unification and discussion. If there are purely military sectors in the IRA that means an obstacle to the solution of the Irish question because it is not possible to affirm a military solution divorced from the class struggle.

Even if British imperialism were to make some form of concession, all the class issues would remain and British and Irish capitalism would remain in collusion against both the Irish and British masses. Thus imperialism felt obliged to yield somewhat to the PLO ie they could not continue with the old policy because of the Intifada and what has occurred is a blow at the right but nothing in depth has or could be solved there.

In diplomatic terms the Hume, Adams initiative put imperialism on the spot and showed it up for the killing machine that it is. The solution to the Irish question can never rest with a separate national solution. There is none such in this epoch. There has to be an advance from nationalism to the workers state and in this case the perspective is the Socialist Federation of Britain and Ireland, based on the planned economy and the expropriation of the capitalist class, via the imposition of the transitional programme, nationalisations under workers control, all the fruits of automation and technological improvement to the workers, for a workers plan of production.

THE ELECTORAL TRIUMPH OF PASOK A HEAVY DEFEAT FOR EUROPEAN CAPITALISM.

The victory of PASOK in the Greek elections has to be interpreted not as a support for the policy of Papandreou but as a blow at European capitalism and more particularly at the programme of Greek capitalism of Mitsotakis which has involved a massive assault on the living standard of the Greek people, freezing wages, dismissing workers and reducing pensions. The elections have been preceded over several years by powerful general strikes that have shown an impressive combativity of the Greek masses.

Papandreou has spoken of the social democratic nature of his party but he has no solutions to the interminable debacle of the economy. He talks about accountability for contracts for public works - without any reference to popular control - and poses a very unclear policy to combat inflation by agreement of the "productive" classes - plus some cuts in public expenditure.

We are at the end of the social democratic path because it relies on a fiction no longer tenable - that reforms are possible within capitalism to meet the needs of the population. Papandreou supported the Maastricht treaty, although he is now obliged to criticise it as that utopia has vanished. PASOK has also leant itself to nationalist rhetoric over "Macedonia" and the need for an "Hellenic" parliament, uniting Greeks world wide. But, as

The right is furious that Major may even contemplate some arrangement involving negotiations with Sinn Fein. For them it is undermining fundamental class positions. The right has only one position - smash the IRA ie keep the catholic population in subjection, keep alive the division of Ireland, keep Paisley screaming and shouting and keep repression going at all costs. The problem facing them is that it is quite clear that large sectors of the Protestant population have had enough of the bloodshed caused by this imperialist war. Hence

Mitsotakis was obliged to do, PASOK has expressed solidarity with Serbia which shows the anti imperialist revolutionary nationalist character at the base of PASOK. The demonstrations of the Greek children in Cyprus against the Queen show the strength of anti imperialist feeling in this area.

The elections proved to be quite ruthless with the former Left Coalition which obtained 10.3% of the votes in 1990 but (also abandoned by the KKK) lost all seats as it sunk below the three percent threshold. The KKE, the "left" of the two communist parties kept 4.2 % of the votes. It has fallen in strength but remains a fundamental factor in the reorganisation of the left in Greece. The KKE has always opposed Maastricht and NATO. The problem there is to develop a non sectarian tactic which maintains the united front with the masses of PASOK against the policies of capitalism. As with other communist parties much more discussion is required on past experiences and conclusions for the future in the workers states and the world communist movement. Greece is a very weak capitalist country and with the reanimation of the forces of communism in the workers states - despite Yeltsin - remains a very important stimulus to the anti imperialist and anti capitalist struggle in Europe and adjacent countries in the Middle East.

the profound difficulty for the conservative government. Thus the Adams-Hume initiative has great importance. But at the same time there should be no illusions. Any concession which may be made must be used to advance the anti capitalist programme

Through the struggle of the Irish masses and the growing revulsion at the war in Britain, imperialism has already suffered a severe blow and this latest phase is adding to its discomfiture and decomposition.

UN TROOPS OUT OF YUGOSLAVIA AND SOMALIA!

THE LP CONFERENCE AND THE CRISIS OF LABOURISM.

The Labour party conference brought out yet again the peculiar characteristics of this party which is both integral with capitalism and has a worker and petit bourgeois base. Originally founded as the political wing of the trade unions in the period of the revisionism of the Second International, with the traditions of British empiricism it has always resisted marxism. This resistance was accelerated powerfully through the role of Stalinism which provided the labourist functionaries with a model as Posadas put it, on how to spout socialism but work systematically against it. The labour left has existed with some numerical weight but has also produced quite extraordinary opportunists who arise precisely because pragmatic lack of principle and the flexible spine are the ways to office—far more important than socialism. As electoralism is seen as the only road, politics is reduced to a game of manoeuvres within the context of strictly capitalist norms. Once in office there are all manner of excuses to avoid any socialist measures. Once out of office it is "impossible to be more left as it might frighten the electorate". This has been the experience for years with labourism.

Now as capitalism has entered the much more brutal phase of its decomposition with a policy of destroying the gains of the past, the LP structure has tried to accommodate to this. It has led no extra parliamentary campaigns against the most reactionary government since the end of the second world war, repudiated any active support for the miners and with Kinnock found someone from the so called "soft" left who abandoned his anti nuclear ideas with singular speed and went out of his way to isolate any left opinions. In order to accommodate to capitalist "public opinion" the apparatus suddenly became concerned with "democracy" to put an end to the block vote. After years in which the right wing trade union leaderships could do as they liked with massive block votes of millions, none of whom were ever consulted, suddenly the apparatus decided that democracy had to be invoked. Thus they try to accommodate to bourgeois opinion by limiting the trade union vote for MPs. These so

called "modernisers" are following in the tracks of those like Gaitskill who tried to liquidate Clause 4.

However this Conference also illustrated the massive crisis of this Labour party. Smith only won his anti block vote by manoeuvre and he constantly had to say that his party would struggle for trade union gains and that he was concerned to strengthen the ties of the LP with the Unions. The leaderships of the latter will not be satisfied because the working class and its allies are not going to foot the bill for capitalism for eternity. This conference like the crisis of the conservative government brought out the ferocious and insoluble crisis of the system. The fact that Benn was eliminated from the NEC does not reflect the balance of forces that are developing in the country. The world is not measured by the names on party lists. Benn's analysis that the apparatus ultimately seek to arrive at some accommodation with the Liberal Democrats is a most likely perspective but this is not going to impede the advance of the left forces in Britain.

Even in this Conference Scargill managed to defeat the executive and delegates voted to re nationalise the mines. Nonetheless the executive can ignore the resolution because it did not get a two thirds majority. Also the USDAW delegation ignored its own conference decision against the OMOV and voted for Smith and nothing can be done about it. How is that for democracy! Yes its democracy for them to go on collaborating with capitalism. The LP has such a structure that resolutions can simply be ignored by the apparatus. In face of the Yelstin coup the LP leadership says nothing. That is the sort of democracy they approve of where the left is shafted and capitalism tries to do what it likes.

Even so the trade unions still control 70% of the votes on resolutions for LP conferences and most of the seats on the NEC. Smith was obliged to accept the idea of a minimum wage, protection of all workers against dismissal and restoration of the wages council. Capability Brown then made a demagogic speech and suddenly grew lyrical over the possibilities of full employment without ever suggesting the need for a planned economy. A labour government which simply increases public expenditure

POSADAS ON BRITAIN

EXTRACTS.

The world influence also affects Britain. It is not expressed in the same way as in North America but it has the same effect on the masses. But it is less in Britain because in Britain capitalism has the Labour apparatus which is capitalist. Its not mistaken, its a capitalist apparatus. It has the conscious functioning of defending the capitalist system. by maintaining the masses in the illusion of the possibility of improvements.. later, later things will get better... Hence there is no trade union, cultural and political life. There is no culture in Britain. Britain in all spheres of science and literature had the greatest representatives including the theatre ie Olivier. Today there is a void a decomposition. The cultural and scientific life has ceased. There is no progress.

There is the progress of scientists in the sphere of production and of armaments especially in nuclear science. The greatest capitalist countries are paralysed, North America, Britain and Germany. They have abandoned concern for the human being because capitalism is a regime without perspective which organises all its capacity to survive for the atomic war.

....the existing balance of forces is going to change and besides not all in the Labour party are part of the bourgeois apparatus... because of the very need which they themselves have and in order to justify themselves and to maintain the support of the masses they need to have a left... But the need for a permanent left is ever greater, with the need to be coherent because the struggles go forward and progress whilst capitalism retreats ever more. Capitalism cannot resolve the crisis, unemployment or the problems posed in Britain.

The crisis of the capitalist system is complete: economic, social, scientific and technological. It is an economic crisis because the progress of technology in production, the progress of productivity in capitalism demands the extension of the market. But already there are no more colonies to extend the market and there are no more colonies to import the raw materials there. There is no longer any such thing as the passivity of Africa, Asia or Latin America. On the contrary capitalism encounters in a dynamic form a process of opposition to the capitalist system and the intention to organise Workers States in all parts of the world. As regards the actual left they have to be given arguments.... for them to understand the process be they communists, the left of the TU or the left of the Labour party. The new leadership is not going to come from new people. It will come from all these people but also some of them will be new and in their turn they will be helped to understand even though they do not as yet have any tradition. Capitalism has no future. The Workers State yes it has a future but the bureaucracy has none. 5 4 78.

Out of NATO, Out with the monarchy!

is not going to solve the problem and would merely fuel inflation and lose support in office.

The base of the Unions are not going to accept the situation and ultimately it could force Unions such as the TGWU which represents large sectors of the unskilled to develop a more vigorous anti capitalist policy and programme. The conference has aggravated the contradictory character of the LP and precipitates the need for a much more profound political discussion in the LP and the Unions to develop a marxist current which corresponds to the needs of the population, with the transitional programme to terminate with capitalism.

From page 1.

others. In spite of the bad situation where the bosses have been given the upper hand by the connivance of the LP and TUC leadership, this is not going to be the case for ever because the whole rotten system is sliding into ever greater disorder. It is fundamental to advance the anti capitalist programme, to go beyond minimalist reformist demands which are being ignored by capitalism.

All factories about to be closed must be statified under workers control. All the gains of productivity and automation for the benefit of the population! Price committees

under popular control to decide all the prices of basic utilities, commodities and food so that the population benefits and not the profiteers! A Workers Plan of Production to develop public works for the benefit of society as against the anarchy of capitalism. For the renationalisation of all the sectors privatised under workers control and the expropriation of all the main industries under workers control! Out of Nato! For the perspective of the Soviet Socialist United States of Europe!

19.11.93.