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# RED FLAG



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## Editorial

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

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The profoundly limited electoral struggle cannot conceal the fact of an accelerated capitalist decomposition. The privatisation of the economy has been accompanied by sustained efforts to subject the population to more and more surveillance and repression. Prisons are overflowing and as with the recent Bridgewater case the legal system is seen to be shot through with frame ups and totally beyond popular control. The swindling over private pensions and now the railway scam, show a capitalist society without any historic perspective whose only tomorrow is more swindling. Capitalism feeling that it must take full advantage of the fall of the Soviet Union has shown that its support for the welfare state was purely provisional and depended on the situation at the end of the war with the defeat of the nazis when it had to concede to popular pressures.

However its strength continues to ebb and this is expressed through the Labour party. The crisis of British capitalism shows itself there, because it is the LP which traditionally via reformist manoeuvres and utilising the failure of the Communist party, contained the British working class. Now quite openly so severe is the economic, social and political crisis that this LP leadership falls over itself to support capitalist policies including anti trade union legislation and the reduction of the welfare state. In this way the inevitable fall of the LP apparatus is being prepared, linked to the process in Europe and the world. Like the Stalinist apparatus, they appear to be here forever but they will fall as did the stalinists. The Blairites are abandoning the mediating role of the LP, a mediation between the masses and capitalism and adopting the role of gaoles mark 2 for the population. But the Labour and trade union

## OUT WITH THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT!

### FOR THE FULL DISCUSSION OF THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS.

left is not going to be able to tolerate prostration to capitalism without a fight and in the course of these changes, a new socialist leadership will emerge. The activity of capitalism in Northern Ireland with what was a form of coup there after Dunramin was an exercise for the future in the rest of Britain.

#### THE STRUGGLE AGAINST MAASTRICHT.

The election is overshadowed by the desperate attempts of European capitalism led by the German French block to create a Europe submitted to the multi nationals with the open dictatorship of a central bank. But in or out of the single currency, the struggle against capitalist policies cannot be confined to repudiating restraints on national decisions about fiscal measures etc but with the perspective of the alternative Europe, a Europe of the workers founded on the perspective of the Socialist Soviet United States of Europe. The British left now uses the slogan of a "Peoples Europe" which has some importance in accepting the need for a continental struggle against capitalism. Much of the opposition in the conservative party to Europe stems partly from fear of German dominance and partly from the more general fear that the old comfortable regime of living separate from the rest of the world is over and colder winds will brush away the mystification of the special order of Britain. This process is destroying old petit bourgeois illusions and marginalising sectors of capitalist support.

There is now a tremendous struggle between the classes

throughout Europe. The capitalist sectors will try to repress and impose a brutal reduction of the standard of living, but what they cannot do is overcome the resistance and the united fronts of the masses. Logically they need fascism and although they continue to stimulate racism, its not enough and they are in a profound historic crisis which eventually will destroy them. What they call globalisation has a boomerang effect as it tends to augment class struggle throughout the world. In Europe itself the most immediately successful riposte to the exploiter class was in France with the lorry drivers strike. But the general strikes in Spain and Greece, the strike of the engineers in Italy and the various struggles in Belgium and Germany demonstrate clearly that capitalism is socially fragile and survives solely on the lack of a sufficient left leadership.

#### THE ATTEMPT TO CONTROL IDEAS.

The slogans used by the LP leadership such as no to tax and spend, yes to save and invest are thoroughly crass. Taxation of the capitalist swindlers is excellent and spending for the benefit of the population is excellent. Who are supposed to be doing the saving with the present level of indirect taxation which weighs on the population but not on the wealthy? Where is the money to come from for investment and who is supposed to be benefiting? The stalinist style of the LP leadership seeks a new social support in the more prosperous layers of the petit bourgeoisie to contain the trade union base and at the same time their object is to prevent any discussion in the party. But as in America, and all bourgeois politics, they are being seen

through by the population. Purely parliamentary politics and limited trade union demands are being surpassed by the velocity of the process. Two million young people are not electorally registered. Many of them say quite openly that the election is a fiasco. Black people have little time for the LP. Blair when faced with objections to the line of total prostration in front of the banks and the big monopolies says that such objections "belong to the past". But the attempt of the LP right wing to go back to the nineteenth century, ignore profound social issues and bleat on about constitutional reform, that really is living in the graveyard. The world of Gladstone was followed by world war 1. Whatever advantage capitalism may have initially in developing repression and taking advantage of the fact that they are in power and the masses are not, the objective course of class relations throughout the world does not enable capitalism to stabilise its system.

Even in the absence of a Communist International as in the time of Lenin which could centralise the anti capitalist struggle, there is a steady accumulation of world opposition to capitalism which it does not have the power to contain or only contain in a limited degree. When a leading capitalist speculator like Soros says that laissez faire globalisation is as totalitarian as fascism or "communism" (stalinism) what he fears is that capitalism will fall as they did. Contemporary market dictatorship is far more fragile than the original all powerful capitalism of the nineteenth century. Its huge financial power constantly reduces its social base. But

the drive to ever greater concentration of capital which Marx foresaw as the historic course of capitalism has no other solution. It is as though capitalism is saying "I have no other way out than to commit suicide". The shambles is so great and the fragility of the world capitalist market so marked that US capitalism is now perturbed that the measures of deflation taken to meet the demands of Maastricht are threatening their exports to Europe.

#### REPRESSION IN EDUCATION..

One of the most abject examples of the attempt to repress people and maintain them submitted to capitalism is the attempt to "discipline" the teaching profession. Who is this ridiculous buffoon the Inspector General of education whose minions go round endeavoring to intimidate teachers? Education is being reduced to examination athletics but for what? A dying social order going towards an ever more vicious competition. All this hypocrisy about "standards" has coincided exactly with the attacks on the welfare state and the attempt of the ruling class to unload the responsibility for its own debacle onto the backs of the population. Yes there is a crisis in education but it is a crisis arising from the fact that capitalism cannot develop the economy and large layers of the population are simply cast aside by the system. Educational policy cannot be determined by an inspectorate answerable to no one except capitalist interests, but requires a massive intervention of the population

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# SOVIETS AND THE WORKERS STATE.

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J. POSADAS

What is a Soviet? How does it function? Who can it group together?

The Soviet represents the will of the exploited masses. It is their organ of deliberation, of resolution and of application. It is the most complete of all the organs which function in society and as Trotsky said, very difficult to surpass. But it is not excluded that it could be surpassed before the construction of socialism. The Soviet is an organ of transition between the regime of the workers state and socialism. Every society to administer itself, develops a form of social structure and organisation. In class society capitalism possesses organs which permit it to impose its authority and its will. It is in this way that capitalism defends its concrete circumstantial and historic interests and objectives. Parliamentarianism is a form of organisation through which capitalism maintains its authority and defends its interests, incorporating the petit bourgeoisie and likewise the masses so as to dominate and use them through workers parties, and popular organisations. Thus capitalism sees that the political action of the masses cannot have as a consequence the direct defence of their interests but only in a very indirect way. They bring their mind to be centralised in an organ in which the bourgeoisie always decides. At the moment when the bourgeoisie can no longer impose itself through parliament, it makes a coup d'état.

In the trade unions the masses decide and organise the struggle for economic, social or revolutionary demands. But they are unable to achieve these demands through the trade unions which are only opposed to an aspect, a partial aspect of the capitalist structure. The masses do not have access to the organs which represent the central interests of capitalism because parliament decides what is convenient for the bourgeoisie. When it is no longer sufficient to control the masses, it is the judicial apparatus which intervenes and if the latter does not suffice anymore, it is the executive apparatus which intervenes to deal with the issue and following this the army and the police. That is to say that

We publish some extracts of a text of Posadas replying to questions on various terms used by marxists. The term soviet for example is rarely used now in the international communist movement largely because of adaptation to the norms of parliamentary democracy. But it is a fundamental organism, the basis for the construction of the workers state. Parliamentary democracy at best allows some minimum forms for the organisation of the working class, but it is basically a bourgeois fraud and as Lenin said a cover for the dictatorship of capitalism. As soon as capitalism feels seriously threatened, it is abandoned as happened in Chile. Parliament must certainly be used to the maximum but not as a vehicle to enter into debate with capitalism. It is for socialists essentially a tribunal to denounce the system and to appeal to the masses outside parliament. Nor will mere mass pressures outside parliament be enough. Parliament may enact progressive laws, but it is not the fundamental instrument by which to take power. That means mass assemblies, dual power, soviets. The communist parties must return to their roots on these fundamental matters, the texts of Lenin and Trotsky in particular. They after all took power - the old social democracy, never.

all this structure obeys the interests of capitalism. The masses are not able to impose themselves on capitalism through the voice of reason, of thought, of analysis.

Thus when they succeed in making very important conquests such as for example having a Labour government in Britain, their will is not represented by their leadership because the structure, the functioning, the apparatus of the workers party transposes all into parliament. Thus the masses are unable to be heard to pose what they want. Not only are they unable to pose their wage problems, problems of life, of housing, of security in their work, but they are unable to express their thoughts, aspirations, capacity or orientation, their class thoughts on all the problems of society. The masses are unable to express themselves in capitalist society because Parliament which responds to bourgeois class interests prevents them.

In the workers state on the contrary, they have the possibility of intervening. But it is not the working class which only leads the workers state. There are the peasants, some sectors of the petit bourgeoisie, small traders, great layers of the population who are not workers nor peasants, but have a social weight. How to incorporate all these people who do not form part of the

exploited masses or who are removed from the activity of the class? How to incorporate them in a political life? It is necessary to give them the possibility of feeling the weight, the force, the decision, the capacity of the most advanced which is that of the proletariat. It is necessary to create the organisms which make it possible and which give to the masses the possibility of judging, of thinking, of trying, of deciding and of applying directly what they have decided. The decisions taken do not pass into the hands of intermediaries, of others to apply, but it is the masses themselves who apply. In these organisms, local or central, the proletariat can directly influence the masses. These are the representative, deliberative and executive organisms which think, decide and apply. They are the Soviets.

The Soviet allows all the layers of the population to be represented in the same organism which brings together the proletariat, the communist vanguard and in this organism, the best ideas are developed, the most elevated for the good of society, which co-ordinate and represent the interests of all the population. If there are differences in the economic standard of living, there are no differences from social interests, because the basis of the soviet is the desire to develop the centralised, socialist

economy. The existence itself of the Soviet system is on this basis. There is a collective interest, a collective desire to advance. The Soviet does not invent the necessity of the workers state or of communism. It begins from the existence of the workers state or of the resolution to construct the workers state, to organise a state which permits the defence of the interests of all the population, even if it is not yet a workers state. And this raises the participation of all in the objective interest of developing what is the best for all; the development of statified property, the planned economy, the monopoly of foreign trade, the planning of production on a national, local, regional scale, the best distribution for all. The Soviet collects the direct observation of each one. It is not the same thing in the capitalist system, where the electorate is in contact with their representatives from time to time and even when the electors put ideas to the deputy, they cannot necessarily exercise any influence. With the Soviet there is a permanent daily contact and a permanent participation of everyone. Everyone understands that all that can be resolved, will be resolved. Everyone feels that they are involved in the process of construction, even if there are no immediate economic advantages resulting from this. It is the Soviet which provides this assurance.

The Soviet is formed from the organisms of the workers state, from the trade unions, from a region upto the central organism. Representatives of all the professions intervene in these organisms, workers, peasants, employees, soldiers, militants, political parties. All collect together to discuss the problems which are to be resolved. These extend from the planning of society, the monopoly of foreign trade to the policy to take in each workers area, in each region. The fundamental condition of the planned economy, its centralisation and the decentralisation in application. The plan needs to be centralised because it is based on all the existing forces. It coordinates and utilises them for the best. To make the best of all the forces, local and national to

coordinate or separate them functioning according to the organisation of time, cost and distribution. Once the planning is centralised, the application is decentralised to what is the most economically accessible in the way of raw materials, of the means of communication and the availability of labour. But at the same time the plan takes into account the local needs. The capitalist state is incapable of doing this.

The Russian Revolution did this during the first seven years and it advanced more during that time than during the forty three years following. In spite of the poverty, of the destruction of seventy percent of the productive forces, in spite of the backwardness of the economy, Russia made an immense progress. Compared with the capitalist system, it had advanced fifty times in seven years. The Soviet Union realised what the Chinese do now. And the latter sing praises to themselves saying that their action is historic. But the soviets made railways under the most difficult circumstances as did the Yugoslavs in 1947 because they felt they were constructing a new state. The masses aspired to make a state in which they were able to decide everything, to speak of everything, to attain the most complete freedom. They acted not only for the economic freedom which was insufficient for everyone. There is no economic freedom without freedom of the spirit, release

from subordination, exclusion, when it is possible to speak, to give opinions, to feel free. This then allows the greatest creative capacity. The whole population feels the creative centre to be itself, the leadership of the development of the workers state. Everyone when intervening feels that they must intervene for the best, to act for the best, to develop for the collective good. The Soviet departs from the basis of local organisation to central organisms. It elects delegates who go to national and international meetings. Such is the soviet. It is the most simple of forms. The Soviet deliberates, decides and carries out the decisions.

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The general strike of the South Korean working class, supported by the bulk of the population against the government proposals to promote unemployment, is a heavy blow at world capitalism. As there is no Communist International to take full advantage of this process, some of the gains will be dissipated. The fact remains that the power of the proletariat has been asserted and the government of big business humbled. Capitalism has a very violent history in South Korea. As recently as 1987 there was a violent confrontation between the military and the masses and the army had to climb down. But whatever the masses have gained from the advance of the economy, has been bought at a heavy price in bad working conditions and severe repression. The publicists of capitalism have been accustomed to make eulogies of the capitalist Asian Tiger economies, but the actions of the proletariat have shown that Korean capitalism is not in a unique state of grace. It is being overtaken by the same nemesis that overtakes all capitalist economies, boom and bust, inability to develop in a consistent way, constant fear of competitors, with the need to create unemployment and hold down wages. The so called Asian Tigers achieved their high rates of growth not because of unusual gifts

of entrepreneurship or management but on the basis of repression of the workers movement. The South Korean economy operated on the basis of a dictatorship of a few monopolies -the army was essentially the party of capitalism sustained by the banks. It has been an economy planned for the capitalists and not the population.

Enforced saving has been the norm so that Koreans got negative interest on their savings to subsidise capitalism. So much for "enterprise" and "risk". As with other capitalist states, stagnating in the competitive stakes, South Korean capitalism is now seeking another path ie deregulate, throw people out of work and partially replace military intimidation with the discipline of the capitalist market. The advocates of the dictatorship of the market want international finance seeking juicy investments to flow into South Korea and do what they like. It is also important to remember that South Korea is also a base of Yankee imperialism to intimidate the country itself, China and everyone else in the vicinity.

World imperialism is making a concentrated campaign against Serbia over the rejection by sectors of the bureaucracy of electoral gains of the

opposition. What a great self righteous noise! But when a far more momentous event takes place in South Korea where the union leaders, threatened with immediate imprisonment told the government to shove off, this is greeted with alarmed silence. So much for the liberal consciences of the bourgeoisie. The Korean government has been forced to retreat in face of the enormous resistance of the masses and the resulting united front of the trade unions. The role of the trade unions shows the basis exists for powerful workers parties. The outlawed trade unions may now receive recognition, but the fight is bound to continue because capitalism has no other solution but unemployment and the reduction in the standard of living. If North Korea had a well prepared revolutionary leadership, the effects of the strike could be posing the preparation to overthrow the bourgeoisie in the south. But even so, the continued existence of a workers state in the north is a permanent undermining of capitalist authority. The consequences of this strike have to be discussed and elaborated upon in the world, communist socialist and nationalist movements. The Korean workers have made a great contribution to the international class struggle and its effects will not diminish with time.

The 29th Congress of the French Communist party took place against the background of an augmenting class struggle as capitalism tries to make the masses carry the costs of the restructuring of the economy linked to the Maastricht treaty. The victory of the French truck drivers who had acquired mass sympathy was a shattering blow at the patronat. Juppe conceded from fears of the "social explosion" Chirac had originally claimed to be concerned about. The retreat of the government has jeopardised many of the plans of French capitalism. But it has no other option than to invite more social confrontation because it is embarking on a new phase of rationalisation with the inevitable and persistent assault on the welfare state. Unemployment has now soared to 12.6 percent.

The party calls as part of its immediate programme, for the national minimum wage and a cut in the working week to 35 hours.

The issue of the united front with the socialists demands not an administrative governmental collaboration but a united front from below which allows the masses to intervene directly. This aspect is being raised in the party and it is particularly important to confront the class collaboration of the SP leadership with capitalism over the Maastricht treaty.

From a report of the French section.

The discussion in the congress itself was very important because numerous amendments emerged from it voted by the majority which changed quite considerably the initial text, submitted by the leadership on the basis of the preliminary discussions of the sections of the PCF. This is a demonstration of the real changes which exist in the PCF, above all in relation to internal democracy. Previously the Congress simply approved of the analysis made by the leadership and the apparatus. This time open discussion prevailed and determined possibilities of change and of rupture in the functioning of the party apparatus.

It is true that these changes still remain limited through the lack of theoretical and political preparation on the part of the party, but they represent now a base for a new stage. The first important point was the resolution to continue with the reflection throughout the party on what has occurred in the name of communism and of stalinism in the history itself of the PCF. This point is essential and shows the power of the communist base which confronts its leadership over this point. The latter does not wish in any way to draw conclusions of this stage and wishes to impose the analysis that stalinism was the result of the October revolution. The militants do not accept this and want to understand the causes of this period and why the PCF supported stalinist positions for so many years together with the reasons for the failure of the socialist countries. This discussion is posing the necessity to return to the origins, the teachers of marxism, the thought of Marx, of Engels, Lenin and Trotsky, the latter of whom was the only one to analyse profoundly the reasons for stalinism in his epoch. But also Posadas on the basis of Trotsky analysed the process of degeneration of the workers states and the possibilities of regeneration. Another point of importance was the review of the world in the analysis of the situation of capitalism which did not exist in the text originally presented. The

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where the objective needs of society prevail and not the interests of a select capitalist minority.

NATO EXPANSION CANNOT CONCEAL THE WEAKNESS OF WORLD IMPERIALISM.

The various negotiations between Nato and the Russian government will get nowhere important, whatever they patch up. One Russian minister has already made it clear that there will be no conventional response to an attack by conventional forces on Russia. There will be an immediate nuclear response. There is no minimum justification for the extension of Nato apart from preparations for the final attempt of world capitalism to block human progress. The visit of Albright is to test the waters, to gauge the atmosphere in Russia, China and elsewhere vis a vis imperialism. But it has no means of resolving anything because the tumult in the

world goes beyond any possibility of imperialism controlling it. They have been unable to destroy Cuba in apparently the most favourable circumstances. There is much evidence for the bad condition of the Russian army -although unlike others they maintain the tradition of helping the population as at harvest time- but their nuclear forces remain just as formidable. In what condition are the armed forces of imperialism? Ready to defend this half witted system? The very idea of soldiers dying for capitalism cannot but provoke mirth. Conditions in the American navy are such that its chief admiral committed suicide.

FOR THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS!

Despite the continuous pressure of job insecurity and the control of the media by capitalism to try to block discussion, capitalism has utterly failed to subdue opposition. Struggles against the system have ranged from

strikes in the car industry, to large demonstrations of pensioners, to the struggles of the Liverpool dockers, to strikes of teachers and railway workers. The TUC leadership whatever its integration with capitalism cannot guarantee the good behaviour of the working population. The days when the trade union bureaucracy and the social democracy allied with stalinism could ruin decades of struggle are over. This is a new world not without its particular problems, but one where capitalism cannot stabilise the class struggle to its advantage. Thus the election is marked by an infantile avoidance of any serious discussion. The struggle for social transformations will continue inexorably and the labour vanguard will not be intimidated by "prudent" chancellors. The crisis over integration with Europe shows the utter inability of

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militants expressed the necessity to retake the revolutionary processes and the struggles of resistance against capitalism and its violence which develop everywhere; the United States, Palestine, Algeria, South Africa, Latin America, Asia and Europe. Thus France must be seen as a country within the world relation of forces. The process of the termination of capitalism as it was proposed in the initial text remains weak and the discussion posed questions and doubts in relation to this. But the point which emerged from the discussion on NATO was very clear; Dissolution of NATO! This was in opposition to the original text which had posed its demilitarisation and its restructuring. For France the discussion on the Union of the left was extensive and remained open; that is to say without any firm position in relation to the programme of the PS and the programme of the government for the next elections.

In the election to the organs of the leadership of the PCF there were also interesting changes. The representatives of the reforming line maintained their positions but no representation of the orthodox line (the ex stalinists) was elected. Besides in the conferences of the sections which were made throughout the country before the congress, this tendency was rejected by the majority. It is important because they intervened as fractions within the interior of the party in the previous communal elections, presenting their candidates against the representatives of the party itself, putting in danger various left mayors. This means a complete rejection by the communist base of the bureaucratic functioning and of the apparatus which these people represent who struggled for power within the party. With this mentality and these practices, it is not totally excluded that this group, which has a structured movement may break with the rest of the party for the next elections in 1997. There is to be a second meeting of the Communist parties for the 5 and 6 July in Madrid (proposed by Anguita) to advance in the discussion of Maastricht and of a Common European policy.

Even with the limitations and uneven nature of the Congress, as with the lack of actual understanding of the crisis of capitalism, and its necessary elimination as a system, the Congress was important because it opens gates to our interventions and discussions. The movements and the struggles which are developing throughout France daily and which are expressed more and more in violent confrontation with capitalism are going to determine the political positions. These struggles show that there is no more possibility for a trade union solution, only a political solution and in this perspective the communist party has to retake its function as a party. In the past at the end of the second world war the PCF collaborated with De Gaulle to hand in their arms and sustain capitalism. But the fundamental historic experience of October 1917 cannot be submitted to special national roads. There are none, only a universal necessity for socialism. We believe that the international communist movement with whatever hesitations and obstacles will take this road.

**For the Socialist Republic**

## THE LAND WAR IN BRAZIL.

The rebellion of the landless peasants in Brasil has very great importance. It is a contribution to the steady reanimation of the anti capitalist forces in the world after the fall of the Soviet Union and the aggressive policies of privatisation pursued by capitalism.

Capitalism has signally failed to solve peasant poverty not only in Brasil but elsewhere in the world. For years there has been general talk about the need for agrarian reform in Brasil, but it has remained as empty words. The brutality of the latifundistas is notorious. Earlier in the sixties there had been peasant movements in the North East in which the Posadists had participated. The military dictatorship which followed was an attempt to terrorise any opposition to the landed oligarchy and the top business layers linked to the Yanks. With the general turn to privatisation and deregulating economies, capitalism has sought to develop Brasil with foreign capital whilst ignoring the problem of the peasantry. As late as 1991 Brasil had three million rural holdings but as much as half the land belonged to less than sixty thousand. The landed oligarchy do not intend to abandon their divine right to massive landed property. Thus the fight between fazendeiros, the big proprietors and the posseiros the small cultivators of the land.

The peasant movement is called the MST (movimento sem

terra) and has extended itself very powerfully with much popular support including from the church. Its members have invaded farms and ranches in a continuous process of occupation. The MST claim that five million families more or less have no land but want it. This would be about ten per cent of the population. Cardoso as part of his pseudo conciliation with progress has proposed some agrarian reform promising to settle about a quarter of a million families by the end of 1999. Possibly he may hope to develop a new kulak layer, but it will not contain the peasant problem. The peasant marchers with their Red flag have even paraded through Sao Paulo. The landowners have resorted to a ruthless violence which belies the talk about a democratic Brasil. In Para in the north of the country, thirty one militants have been murdered by the landlord terrorists. An investigative journalist was also executed for exposing the landowners. A technological revolution underlies the peasant movement which has meant that millions of small peasants have been thrown off the land in favour of the commercial agrarian interests. At the same time as the so called "national bourgeoisie" have capitulated to foreign capital agricultural employment has been enormously reduced. The capitalist agrarian interests reiterate that they are "efficient" (for them of course) and that land should not be used as unemployment

benefit. These assassins also claim not to believe in the class war. They simply wage it with maximum force.

Cardoso the President with a leftist background is seeking re-election and his function within the structure of capitalism is to seek some form of balancing various interests to try to "regulate" the situation and contain the pressures for social transformations transmitted through the PT. Throughout Latin America there is a process of class polarisation whether in Argentina, Columbia, Nicaragua, Central America, Mexico. It is necessary to develop as elsewhere in the world a greater level of discussion in the communist, socialist and nationalist sectors to respond to the new accumulation of anti capitalist sentiment. In all this, Cuba remains a subversion of capitalism throughout the continent, a stimulus for the establishment of workers states in Latin America.

It is certain that the peasant movement in Brasil has profound political implications and is oriented towards a collectivised economy. At the same time it has immense importance for the peasants throughout the world - for Africa tormented by the crooks of the IMF and their infamous "structural re adjustments" and the vast peasant population of Asia ignored by the exploiting classes.

FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE  
EUROPEAN WORKERS ORGANISATIONS  
TO SMASH THE CAPITALIST POLICIES  
OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND REPRESSION!

**Out with the monarchy**

from page 2 There are no outside forces which resolve what should be applied, which directs and controls. Everyone exercises control. The representatives of every profession exercise everyday control, decide corrections, and intervene on all problems. It is there that the party can influence. The Bolshevik party, the communist party of that epoch - did not replace the representatives of the trade unions and the professions but influenced these organisations. There is no means to deceive anybody. For this reason the

bureaucracy suppressed the soviets. The first thing that Stalin did was to suppress the Soviets because there the masses had the immediate possibility of correcting their leadership. Until then, the masses believed that the leadership of the party was going to accept the corrections which came from the soviets. Stalin suppressed the soviets, the organs designed to control and impose themselves on him. (The soviets in practice though retained in name became administrative forms for the bureaucracy).

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capitalism to develop an harmonious economy. All we hear are the shouts and groans of capitalist frustration.

For the punitive taxation of the rich! For worker and popular control of privatised utilities! For a massive reduction of arms expenditure, For pensions to be upgraded linked to the average workers wage and indexed, For direct popular control of schools and universities; Dismantle NATO, Out with the Monarchy, For the Socialist Republic!

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## Editorial

# FULL RESTORATION OF TRADE UNION RIGHTS!

19.

## RENATIONALISE THE PRIVATISED UTILITIES!

The overwhelming electoral triumph of the Labour party has been accompanied by the doubling of the liberal MPs and a shattering of the conservative party which was wiped out in Scotland and Wales. The election for the labour masses and vanguard is a rejection of the policies of Thatcherism, privatisation and the dismemberment of the welfare state. It was a means of centralising the anti capitalist forces. As there is no mass revolutionary communist party, the labour vanguard and the masses can only express their decision in this way. At the least the election is a massive social blow at the leading layers of the capitalist monopolies and financial bosses. These now look to Blair to assist them and his discussions with the dinosaur Thatcher signify a guarantee of loyalty to big business. The labour masses have done what they could under the parliamentary system, where discussion is circumscribed by the capitalist structure of society. At the same time the labour vanguard and its allies are faced with a labour apparatus which has abandoned any pretence at being socialist and proclaims the virtues of the exploiting classes and the apparently inevitable acceptance of the dictatorship of the deregulated market.

We do not have the precise figures but the turn out was low and it is certain there were large abstentions in some labour areas. Blair in fact only got 43.2% of the vote cast. The LP won because the masses wanted the government out, not because of "new labour". The electoral campaign was distinguished by gross superficiality and charlatanism seemingly

determined to drive the electorate into coma. The masses can have no illusions on this election. Blair persists with the crass observation that "we are all on the same side". Thus the people who have de industrialised Britain and ruined millions of lives are on the same side as those they have destroyed. Yet Blair has also suddenly referred to a mysterious "third way" and even "a peoples Europe". After jumping up and down on the corpse of the social democracy he proposes a little respiration for the said corpse. We may even expect references to zen and clapping with one hand as the solution to the present crisis. The winning of two seats by Sinn Fein was very important and their decision to intervene indirectly in the British parliament tends to accelerate the united front of the labour vanguard in Britain and Ireland.

THE LABOUR VANGUARD WILL NOT  
SUBMIT TO CAPITALISM.

The historical process will not be decided by parliamentary debate but by the course of the class struggle. The labour vanguard will use every opportunity to defend their class interests over the minimum wage, trade union rights and the defence of the welfare state and in all this the waging of a European struggle remains central.

The various actions of the new government are hardly momentous. They immediately gave the bank of England more power over questions of inflation (such is the parliamentary way of things

that this was not even referred to in the Manifesto). On education they are now making a great issue about correcting "poor performance schools" as did the conservatives but problems of education cannot be solved on the basis simply of a superior administration. Solutions here cannot be isolated from a programme of anti capitalist measures. Local wage bargaining is to be dropped from the health service but as there is no more serious money, matters will get worse. Trade union rights have been returned at GCHQ Cheltenham, but that hardly answers the wider issues of the total repeal of anti trade union legislation. In any case what small concessions are made to the population are totally insignificant in relation to the enormity of the problems generated by a decaying capitalism which the Labour apparatus wishes to sustain. Thus the water companies are fleecing the public and wasting water on a massive scale. These companies are run for the benefit of a few exploiters and must be renationalised under worker and popular control. The new foreign minister spoke about "human rights" being central in foreign policy, that is particularly risible coming from the supporters of Nato expansion and from a capitalist state dedicated to the arms trade and repressing the nationalists in Northern Ireland. The proposals over constitutional reform that is referendums for Scotland and Wales are symptoms of a crisis not a solution. The mere establishment of separate assemblies is no answer to all the problems that afflict

Britain and Ireland. It is a rash of pseudo democracy to cover the cracks. Certainly the decomposition of capitalism stimulates centrifugal tendencies partly on the basis of local injustices and partly on the basis of bourgeois or petit bourgeois interests, as though it is possible to overcome problems generated through capitalism by regionalism. We favour a Federation on the basis of the workers state. Otherwise these constitutional changes cater for sectors who continue to operate on the basis of capitalism. It is also typical of the phoney democracy in Britain that the newly elected Sinn Fein candidates are refused facilities in parliament because they refuse the backward oath to the Queen, while the unionist fascist groups murder a catholic and the bourgeoisie pass this over as unimportant.

A UNITED FRONT WITH THE  
MASSES OF EUROPE AGAINST  
CAPITALISM.

The crisis in and over Europe will continue, because intercapitalist competition and the social and economic necessity of capitalism to smash the welfare state are inevitable. The masses will have to maintain their own independent class action to reject capitalist policies. In this they are in an objective united front with all the masses of Europe and the world. At the recent meeting of the AEEU (engineers) the representative of the IG Metal spoke of the action over Renault as the first Euro Strike and more co-operation was necessary. But apart from the organisation of meetings and conferences to co-ordinate class action on a continental

scale, it is necessary that factory committees are organised which are not submitted to the trade union leaderships. It is important to remember that it was the alliance of the LP leadership with Thatcher and the trade union leaderships which allowed capitalism to isolate the miners strike. The trade union bureaucracy in Britain has a long tradition of sustaining capitalism at every opportunity. In the next stage apart from campaigning for the full restoration of trade union rights, a minimum wage at the level of the average workers wage and indexed to rise with the cost of living, more investment in education and the health service, it is necessary to campaign for the renationalisation under workers control of the public utilities, and the elaboration of a workers plan of production for full employment and to reanimate the economy. It is necessary that the unemployed are not isolated from the employed which the trade union leaderships are quite happy with. There should be a sliding scale of hours and work sharing. All this has to be discussed in the unions and the factories so that a real struggle is waged to crush capitalist policies.

The election of the Labour government is a distant echo of a much more fundamental process that is the desire of the population for social transformations, the exact opposite of the intentions of the Blair camarilla. The social democracy is dead and a clearer confrontation with

continued on page 2

# THE STRUCTURE AND FUNCTION OF THE STATE IN THE STAGE OF THE TRANSITION TO SOCIALISM.

J. POSADAS

How does one characterise the stage from the taking of power to socialism? ,that is to say to the organisation of socialist relations as norms of society. Lenin, Trotsky and the Bolsheviks defined this as the workers state. The communists at the moment say that it is socialist. But it is a state of transition, not of socialist

transition. Socialism is not a stage, it represents the firm establishment of a society. It is the passage from a capitalist regime to a superior stage which eliminates every regime of property. It is necessary to speak of a "socialist society" and not of a socialist regime because in this society human relations are determined by reason and not by interests or commands.

Why is the state a proletarian state and not socialism? Because in this state there still remain capitalist relations such as salaried work and distribution according to capacities. There are relations of interest which tend to develop, guarantee, enlarge and defend this unequal distribution of wages.

In order to limit the influence of this process on social relations, the Bolsheviks created organs of control, of proletarian intervention and of soviet democracy, democratic functioning of the trade unions and of all social life. These organs in their view were designed to intervene over distribution - in conditions of economic penury- to tend to suppress existing inequalities. These organs of control in suppressing or at least attenuating inequalities elevated their own function and passed from organs of control of distribution and of production to those of organs of leadership. The masses learnt to lead the country. That is the simple way of passing through the transition between the capitalist state and socialism.

In socialism the function of the state, of the party, of the leadership is suppressed and replaced by the direct intervention of the masses. If a leadership was necessary under socialism that would mean to say that people are brutes, that they are always motivated by personal egotistic motives and that they continue to differentiate themselves to try to gain personal profit. But in socialism people act with intelligence for the common

good and then abundance of production is not necessary for people to be happy. Their intelligence passes beyond their personal interests and even their needs. The state is not the creation of a single regime. It is constructed in the course of centuries. But it is an organising centraliser of social activities. It is an apparatus which answers essentially if not exclusively to the regime of private property.

It is necessary to eliminate private property to realise measures of progress because private property determines production as a function of private interests and not as a function of planning. "State Capitalism" of which the communists speak does not exist. Lenin and Trotsky used the term to make the point that the state becomes patron of one or other property. But there is no "state capitalism" as a force capable of conducting competition as an intermediary between workers state and capitalist state.

If such existed there would exist a new social class in history, a sector which would function on the basis of bourgeois property. Such a sector would prevent the economy functioning. If the state is master of property in whose name does it operate? If it is in the name of the capitalists, it must act in their interests through competition. Otherwise it is no longer in the direct interest of capitalism.

Statified property is a very important factor in competition vis a vis private property. It represents also a principle of planning of production which goes against the principle of competition and of the anarchy and empiricism of capitalist production. Statified production is not a form of capitalism. It tends to take measures which affect the private interests of the capitalist system.

Capitalism may accept statified property in backward countries when it does not possess sufficient capital to take possession of this property. Then it wishes the state to take the industry in charge to make it function, to eliminate debts, to make it profitable and then to place it in private hands. That has been the capitalist interest in Africa, Latin America as in the developed capitalist states.

This intervention of the capitalists is not to say that statified property has to

serve this objective. On the contrary the workers movement and the left political parties can show that the state having in its hands the property can plan production and benefit the population from its revenues. But then it is not a question of "state capitalism".

If state capitalism was convenient to the capitalist system the latter would hand over to the state the function of manager and director of private interests. The essential principle of private property consists in giving to capitalism the option, the individual capacity to compete with others, to determine what to produce, how, at what price, how to develop private initiative, how to invest capital.

The accumulation of capital serves to reinvest in and enlarge production in order to increase the profits, the interests and the reproduction of the capitalist system. This can happen with statified property if the workers movement does not intervene to control and orient it. But it is not possible to speak of statified property as of a new form of property which would be able to favour capitalism.

It is necessary to discuss in each case of statification if it is a question of a measure taken by the state to save private property which is collapsing. It can happen that the state absorbs a private enterprise to pay its debts and returns it afterwards to its owners. But there can be situations where a political leadership takes measures of statification to make the economy progress even without being completely independent of capitalism.

"Nationalisation" is sometimes referred to as a synonym of statification, but "nationalisation" can mean that a property passes from the hands of a foreign capitalist to a native capitalist. The term "statification" is more exact.

The character of the state is defined in the first place as a function of its relation to property and afterwards as a function of who governs. In order to develop the economy of a country whatever it might be, it is necessary to deal with the organs of the capitalist state. It is necessary to suppress the capitalist state in order to establish measures going towards socialism. The capitalist state is organised on the basis of private

property. It coordinates, plans forms of defence and development of the capitalist system through the judicial system, the parliament, presidency, laws, executive power. All the social relations, the functioning of the life of society are planned as a function of this structure of the capitalist regime. If the presidency, the legislature and the judges are suppressed but, leaving the essential structure of the capitalist system in place, then the forces whose interest and consciousness are the basis of the system continue. Thus in Chile the structure of the state apparatus was always in place. The President decided on one thing but the army as part of the structure of capitalism obeyed private property.

It is not possible to change by persuasion the state apparatus. The latter is formed to accompany the function of defence of private property. Its rules, regulations, structure and functioning are regulated by private property. To change its function it is necessary to change its objectives and composition. If the objectives are changed but everything else continues, the state apparatus will resist, oppose, sabotage, deform, impose retreats and prepare conditions for counter revolution.

The state constitutes an apparatus in the capitalist system because it functions according to the interest of private property and not according to the objective needs of the development of the country. It obeys private property and essentially the strongest capitalists, who orientate their functioning in such a way as to serve the most powerful sectors of the economy.

In the stage of the workers state a state apparatus continues. It acts taking account of the limits imposed by the economy and to organise distribution as a function of bourgeois criteria. But while having a state structure, it is a question of a workers state because its conclusion is not to affirm or to reproduce capitalist profit but to tend to suppress it. The workers state eliminates the organs and the functioning of the state apparatus and replaces it with the organs of the masses where the population and the parties of the left and the trade unions intervene.

It is not enough to eliminate the power of the bosses, of private property. It is necessary also to suppress the apparatus which supports the functioning. If the capitalist regime is not suppressed how can one make the state apparatus function for the benefit of the statified property and the planning of production? It is not possible to ask permission of the capitalist before throwing him out.

The behaviour of a social class is determined by its interests in relation to property. To be able to plan production, to construct a planned economy, the state must have the control of the economy. When the property belongs to the capitalists the latter have no interest in planning. They only produce as a function of competition. The capitalist tries to obtain maximum profit from the minimum of investment and investments are oriented as a function of competition against other capitalists. Such a functioning cannot be regulated.

It is necessary then to discuss concretely the necessity to eliminate by force the capitalist apparatus. Is it possible to win by degrees until achieving the position whereby one can eliminate the capitalists from positions of power and tell them to go? There is no historic example of such a situation.

August 1976.

from page 1

capitalism is being prepared. The left of the LP and the trade unions has to organise on this basis..

**Out with the monarchy!**

**For the Socialist**

**Republic**

**with the**

**Unification of**

**Britain and Ireland.**

# MAY DAY MANIFESTO 1997

## THE POSADIST IV INTERNATIONAL

TO THE WORLD MASSES, TO THE REVOLUTIONARY WORLD VANGUARD, THE COMMUNIST, SOCIALIST AND REVOLUTIONARY NATIONALIST PARTIES

"SOCIALISM IS NOT ONLY A NECESSITY OF HISTORY BUT OF LIFE ITSELF"

J. Posadas

The struggle of the masses against the capitalist system throughout the world is daily gaining in confidence and security, recovering rapidly from the economic, social and cultural retreat in the workers states and the revolutionary countries following the fall of the ex Soviet Union and the crisis which has affected the left parties and the trade unions—these being largely incapable of resisting the sustained offensive of the class enemy to smash the previous gains of the working class throughout the world. From Chiapas in Mexico, from Peru, from Brasil to the rebellion of the masses in Europe, from Korea to Zaire to Albania, there are powerful indications of the growing resistance of the world masses to the tyranny of their odious oppressors. Even without a necessary concerted leadership, the masses manifest their rejection of the exploiters and their decision to transform society in a revolutionary manner.

Millions and millions of human beings are being expelled from life itself by the capitalist system. Landless peasants, unemployed workers, children and young people are left abandoned, slaves to work or sexual commerce. In some areas diseases previously conquered like tuberculosis reappear. Wherever capitalism has intervened in Palestine or Somalia or Yugoslavia, it has been unable to provide any solution to anything. After all the fuss Haiti is worse than ever under the boot of Yankee dictatorship. Capitalism stands condemned through its utter incapacity to resolve the most minimum problems of humanity.

But in everything it is clear that the capitalist class is hopelessly insecure about its future steps. The reply of the Albanian masses to the arrogance of the dictatorship of Berisha (darling of the western exploiters) is outstanding. The masses had exhausted all forms of peaceful protest but then they attacked the arsenals with the help of sectors of the army who rejected the orders to repress the uprisings in the south, where the masses imposed dual power and have organised their own

committees. The Italian left in the government and with a majority in parliament lost an important opportunity to stimulate a situation of democratic progress in Albania. The PDS had illusions that the international mission would work "impartially" while the RC thought that the United Nations should intervene. But it is the parties of the left who should have intervened with the trade unions to send delegations to collaborate with the popular committees to end the Berisha regime and for the establishment of a popular and democratic government. Whatever the outcome of this experience, it shows that even in a small country without much economic weight much maturing is developing in the masses. It is a straw in the wind for the future in the world as a whole. European capitalism has to confront the Albanian question at the same time that it meets important struggles with the working class of the main capitalist countries; great strikes and demonstrations invade the great cities of Germany, France, Italy and Belgium. The objective that big business poses with the dismantling of the welfare state does not only respond to the economic issues, of economic competition but of the social historic competition with the working class. The bourgeoisie wants to smash, together with the social gains of the welfare state, the trade union and political organisations of the working class and the masses. The process of monetary unification means at the same time as an immense concentration of political and financial power, a social rupture of great dimensions which the bourgeoisie does not feel itself secure to confront with a working class strong in its gains and organisations. The experience of Belgium is very demonstrative of what the proletariat can achieve in its struggles.

Apparently the working class was absent as the bourgeoisie dedicated itself to the empirical division of the country of the cities and towns imposing a federation with different languages, taxes and nationality. For this programme it relied on a ruling class composed of corrupt perverts, using children for sexual purposes, ministers involved in murders, and judges who covered everything up. In the middle of the ordure of Belgian capitalism, the working class concentrating itself

nationally and unified preparations .It has assembled the protests of the population. Thus the protests of the victims of the criminal cover up, via the trade unions and the factory committees echoed around the world. Now the "White March" has become the "Red March" where the Belgian, French, Spanish and Slovenian workers of Renault have communicated throughout Europe as in the recent demonstration in Charleroi, that the economy must be submitted to society and not the other way about.

If the capitalist system continues to survive, it is because in spite of their struggles the proletariat still experiences difficulty to unify, to construct a leadership adequate for this stage to triumph and dislodge the capitalist leadership. A handful of multi internationals seek to dominate the world under the form of a dictatorship standing above the nation states, of the poor countries and of the centres of Europe, the United States and of Japan. As never before capitalism is eating itself, accelerating immense concentrations of capital and at the same time increasing inter capitalist crisis. Together with the reinforcement of Nato and the other military organs directed by Yankee imperialism, the incessant preparations for local wars and the final encounter (world war three) takes place with the constant research for new tactical nuclear weapons under the pretext to combat "terrorism"

Throughout the last period imperialism has accentuated its counter revolutionary

preparations .It has intervened against China over Taiwan, tried to provoke problems over the return of Hong Kong, made a terrorist bombing against Yugoslavia, created tension in the Middle East so as to prevent the establishment of a Palestinian state and created problems in central Africa to justify its interference. At the same time it meets undiminished resistance. Russia with powerful communist forces and important elements of the workers state, cannot accept the new "drang nach osten" of Nato, nor Yankee interference in Afghanistan and has made new agreements with China. The bourgeoisie seek to dismiss this and seek assurance in Yankee military might, but the world is against them. A massive international campaign was launched against Milosevic in Yugoslavia and it failed.

In Africa also the regime of Mobutu no longer found support even from French imperialism. The western capitalist powers have been obliged to accept a change but have no great confidence in the forces which support Kabila. There is an important popular movement which wants to reconstruct the Congo and retake the experience of Lumumba.

In Latin America the masses of Cuba maintain a formidable adherence and centralisation in the defence of the workers state with many sacrifices while sustaining an anti imperialist position and without ending their criticisms of bureaucratic methods. This stands out as against the submission of the Latin American bourgeoisie to the policy of privatisation

and disposing of state assets on a massive scale from Mexico to Brasil and Argentina. But the masses have in no way accepted this. Strikes and mobilisations agitate the whole continent. The most notable and representative of all the Latin American peoples is the peasant "movement without land" of Brasil which occupies landed estates, cultivates them, installs administrations with schools and hospitals and confronts the gangsters paid by the indowners to exterminate them. Another important element of the situation in Latin America is the lack of respect for power in two centres very linked to imperialism such as the seizure of the embassy in Lima by the movement of the Tupac Amaru and the resistance in the Mexican forest by the movement in Chiapas which has acquired great authority and support from the whole of the world left.

The general strikes in Russia and South Korea are very important. In Russia millions of people mobilised through the trade unions essentially demanding the payment of their wages from the Yeltsin clique. The forms of the capitalist restoration in the ex USSR cannot but be brutal with the stealing of state property, the abandonment of social services in education and hospitals. The masses led by the proletariat have decisively rebelled against all this as they seek to defend the achievement of the workers state. The general strike in South Korea expresses the failure of capitalism which sustained

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RENAULT DEMONSTRATION. Brussels. 16 March 97.

# ON THE PALESTINIAN STATE

J. POSADAS

from page 3

itself on the basis of the repression and exploitation of the working population and now wants to make new rules to cause unemployment. The Korean workers are demanding better wages and conditions of work equal to those in Europe. This is the way to confront the problem of restructuration and re localising industries—that is the world wide common struggle to equalise wages and conditions of work against the interests of the multinationals. In Europe a united front of the working class to confront the plans of capitalism symbolised in the Maastricht treaty has made substantial advances. General strikes against the privatisation of services and public enterprises, against the regression in social security, against the restructuration of the multinationals have developed recently in Renault where the workers mobilised in France and Belgium together with other workers of the car industry. Great marches have developed throughout Europe with the slogan "EUROPE FOR THE WORKERS—MARCHES FOR EMPLOYMENT." The proletariat is stimulating the unification and the reanimation of the left throughout Europe. All the projections of the social democracy have failed. After the partial fall of the system of the workers states and the partial disintegration of the Soviet Union, the Social democracy has not shown the viability of another road to change society. It has submitted itself to capitalism concerned only at best to attenuate blows at all the social gains of the masses, applying privatisations and participating in all the rationalisations of the factories. The Prodi government in Italy is exhausting its final energies trying to oppose to the radicalisation of the right and the managers organisations only a very feeble programme. The PDS deepens its internal crisis after a year of doing no more than calculations to fulfill Maastricht and there is no economic programme or minimum

investments for the development of the country or for the participation of the masses on the part of the government. Some of the pleas of the Refondazione Comunista and of the unions, of the CGIL only allow a reduction of the holes in a ship which can barely float. The existing structures allowed in the European Parliament for the installation of conciliation committees, in the factories, but with the first blow of the multinational in Renault all the conciliation process and "civil" agreements of the Socialist and trade union leaders were ignored. It shows the vital necessity to develop the economy by placing it at the service of the population, to expropriate the owners and to place the economy under a European workers and popular control. The same necessity arises in the world, that is the programme of the workers state, nationalisation of the economy, monopoly of foreign trade, planning of the economy, the validity of the experience of the USSR.

This year is the eightieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The masses of the ex USSR and the world do not throw out the historic experience of the first socialist revolution but reflect and seek to understand why it could disintegrate and why the bureaucracy could abandon the workers state before being dislodged. The programme of the Russian revolution remains alive and together with the construction of the workers state, the construction of the world communist and revolutionary movement is a necessary experience. We appeal on this first of May for the commemoration of the Russian revolution together with the unification of the struggles and organisations of the left with a world programme against capitalism. FOR THE WORLD ANTI CAPITALIST, ANTI IMPERIALIST UNITED FRONT! International Bureau of the Posadist IV International.

We republish extracts from a text of Posadas on the Palestinian issue. The problem will remain until there is a socialist solution in the Middle East as a whole. Arafat is reduced to going round with a begging bowl to the US or the EU or anybody who will provide this Palestinian entity with economic aid. But this will only be forthcoming on the submission of the Arab population to capitalism. In any case capitalism has shown little interest as with most other countries in the world to develop the economy. At the very least the Palestinian leadership must develop a discussion, to appeal to the Israeli masses for a united front of the exploited against the assassin Israeli ruling class and its Yankee backers.

The Palestinians express completely. It is necessary to discuss how to elevate the territorial or religious culture and intervention of the masses in such a way that the masses can have the time to intervene and to develop currents and tendencies which are concerned with this problem.

What will be the objective of a Palestinian state? to satisfy one thousand or ten thousand Palestinians? or to improve the life of the Palestinian people? A country is no use if it does not serve to make the life of its people progress. It is necessary to consider what the Bolsheviks did. They unified peoples who spoke thirty two different languages in a single Soviet Union. Everyone could speak their own tongue, but the soviet language allowed the communication to transmit the necessity of progress. It is necessary to deal with these problems which are relatively new. In Kuwait for example there are a few inhabitants and a few brigands are in charge. These few possess colossal wealth. But the regime means immense luxury for a few and poverty and repression for the rest. It is necessary to unify the Palestinian State, but a leadership is necessary to unify the country on an economic basis which allows it to develop. Otherwise the population will always live in poverty and in these conditions a small bourgeois nexus dominates everything

What is the historic function of the "nation"? It is not necessary to remain in the Arab religious, patriotic or nationalist sentiment. It is possible to pass through a stage of the Palestinian state, but a leadership is necessary to unify the country on an economic basis which allows it to develop. Otherwise the population will always live in poverty and in these conditions a small bourgeois nexus dominates everything

state can be used as a means to develop a centre of unification of the struggle of the Arab masses, a base for unity with the Israeli masses against the capitalist system.

But the Palestinian state will not be able to do that without meeting resistance. It must count upon other Arab states. Habash and Hawatmeh also speak with an enormous patriotic sentiment as if the "nation" will solve all problems. But capitalism won't give them any nation worth the name. If they install a state which depends on the contributions of other countries in order to live, these other states will impose a government and a leadership and a police to serve as intermediary for them and not for the Palestinian people.

The pro Zionist Arab bourgeoisie and imperialism are not going to sustain a liberation movement which proceeds to social transformations. On the other hand no small country can propose to pass through a bourgeois phase in order to develop itself. It is necessary to pose the necessity of federations and confederations. An historic experience exists which is common to all the masses of the world; that of seeing that Vietnam came out of its backward condition by statifying and planning its economy. 19 2 78.

## ON THE SOCIALIST FEDERATION

J. POSADAS

*'...It is necessary to support the Labour Left to organise itself on the basis of a dialectical materialist programme, on the basis of state control, planning, workers control, the abolition of the monarchy, and in favour of the installation of the Socialist Republic; for territorial unification in a British Federation. It is necessary to discuss self-determination. We ourselves agree with self-determination, but our criteria for it is that it must impel progress and not backwardness. Any unification, reunification or self-determination which is not on the basis of economic, social and political progress is of no use. You cannot measure by discussing and analysing cultural problems of languages, country, provinces and regions, in the form of separate interests, as the Communists and the Labour people are doing. It is necessary to discuss all this as a single problem, because history has demonstrated that this is progress.'* (J. Posadas, 'The crisis of British capitalism, the Soviet Union and the Left in the Labour Party', 9.7.77.)

*'...The struggle of Scotland, Wales and Ireland, forms part of the struggle for Socialism. It poses the need for self-determination whilst remaining inside a British Federation. But for them to remain in a British Federation, Socialism is necessary. This means that a Workers State must be made. The capitalist regime represents no progress whatsoever. The Workers State does. The Communists*

*must say this. They have to use all their force to develop a Workers power in Britain. The suppression of monarchy cannot correspond to a period or stage which would be first Republican and then Socialist. The Republic itself has to be Socialist. This corresponds to the task of the bourgeois democratic revolution. And this task no longer corresponds to what the bourgeoisie can do. The bourgeoisie should have made the republic already, but the actual structure was constituted after the bourgeois democratic revolution. This demonstrates that capitalism is incapable of developing Britain, in which there are countries, zones, and languages which have been oppressed. They have been oppressed whilst their leaderships structured themselves quite deeply within the capitalist system.*

*'It is necessary to intervene with texts analysing all these problems, posing a discussion in the workers movement, in the Communist Party and the Labour Party, on the necessity to maintain a United Britain giving liberty to all the colonies, suppressing the monarchy and installing the Socialist Republic...'* J. Posadas, 'The progress of Britain is United to the Struggle for Socialism, 13.11.77.



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## Editorial

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

433.5.9.97.

## FOR THE UNITED FRONT OF THE EUROPEAN WORKERS PARTIES AND TRADE UNIONS ON THE PROGRAMME OF SOCIAL TRANSFORMATIONS

Such is the servility of the Blair government in front of capitalism that in the budget they reduced corporation tax and boasted that capitalism is lower taxed than elsewhere in Europe. Their stupefying mediocrity is no doubt buttressed with the favourable report given to them by the IMF.

They reduced vat on fuel but did nothing to improve pensioners dependent on the state pension although Blair had previously castigated the conservatives for lying to pensioners. Some cash for health and education came out of contingency funds but there are no changes to strengthen the welfare state. Cash from the one off tax on the utilities is to finance the unemployed by training but it guarantees nothing in the way of future employment. The parliamentary dictatorship thus confronts the population in the same way as Thatcher but is much weaker socially.

This polarisation between the masses on the one hand and capitalism on the other finds its expression also in foreign policy. Blair continues to be a right hand of Yankee Imperialism. The latest example of this is the support for the extension of Nato into Eastern Europe and the expression of pride(!) by the foreign secretary (originally of this famous British parliamentary "left"!)) in the gangster killing of a Serb accused by imperialism of war crimes. This killing was nothing but imperialist intimidation of the people of Yugoslavia- not that it will work of course.

The Blair regime is an attempt to maintain capitalism and contain the masses who voted against it. This will not be easy and Blairism is going to aggravate all the contradictions of capitalism. There is nothing particularly new about this. What is different is the level of capitalist crisis and thus the brisk and despotic methods which Blair favours to reduce opposition. As Posadas noted the labour apparatus have benefited from some knowledge of the old stalinist way with controlling the party, preventing discussion and creating a pseudo unity. The stalinists were pastmasters at denouncing "splitters" and arguing that discussion could play into the hands of the "enemy". Thus Blair's plan for "modernisation" really means "shut up because otherwise my clique of careerists and managers will not get a second term in office". The functionaries want a "winner". They want office- to hell with the population. For capitalism the ideal modernisation does mean no discussion about the system nor its objectives.

However this shows that capitalism feels that it can no longer even afford a modest left able to raise issues at the LP conference. Conference was always ignored in government whatever its proposals. But now even that element of criticism is to be emasculated. That is how desperate the system is. Thought and criticism is more and more intolerable for capitalism. It cannot stand it because it is totally at the

end of its tether. It has no prospect of solving anything. Thus the conditions are being laid for civil war- not now or in the immediate future but yes that is the logic of the process.

### THE WAR WHICH IS TO COME.

The major capitalist powers cannot afford the luxury of war between themselves. It is true that there is a constant aggravation of their differences. In the war against Iraq this was quite clear and since over the treatment of Iraq. There are problems of competitive currencies and commercial competition but international capitalism at this stage is concerned to smash the world masses and those states that were part of the old socialist block including Cuba, Vietnam and China who continue as barriers to the total dictatorship of the multinationals. Capitalism despite the persistent gloom of hopeless reformists is only strong on the surface, basically it is in desperate state and needs to assert itself all the time and prepares for war. Why else is the expansion of Nato? Why do China and Russia make an alliance which both bureaucracies rejected for years? The capitalist thieves fall out over the expansion of Nato, but they all support it because their class interests dictate a final struggle to survive. The US talks about the world now being full of dangers - the line of Thatcher on the "third world"- but in practice this is not so different from confrontation of system against system when the imperialists intervened everywhere from central

America to Afghanistan. The collapse of the soviet bureaucracy has given imperialism margins of manoeuvre, but they remain at war with all of humanity. Deregulation is a declaration of war against humanity- which is why Nato as the military expression of this continues as universal gendarme of the world plutocracy who use "human rights" as their cover. The deal with Russia on "peaceful" relations has a shade of Stalins deal with Hitler. At some stage capitalism will be driven to the final encounter because the social stability of the capitalist states is frail and capitalist authority is falling. But as Posadas analysed and it is entirely relevant now, imperialism will launch the war in the worst circumstances for itself. That is why despite all its criminal viciousness against humanity, it constantly delays decisions, is prone to an historic inertia because it feels already death in its veins and wishes to live one more hour.

### THE LABOUR VANGUARD IS NOT ISOLATED FROM THE WORLD PROCESS

In the opposition to the capitalist government the role of the labour vanguard concentrated around the trade unions is fundamental. A large sector of the trade union leadership is integral with capitalism. They support Maastricht, do not wage a systematic campaign to recover trade union rights and as they represent the face of capitalism in the workers movement always complain that

to talk of the class war is old fashioned. For these miserable overseers it is alright for capitalism to wage the class war but not for the proletariat. The low level of the trade union structure is shown by the fact that there have been no strikes in support of the struggle of the oppressed minority in Ireland against British imperialism- just silence or blatherings about "peace" (on whose terms?). However despite the lack of a consistent organised left leadership in the unions the labour vanguard is not alone in its struggles. There is now a permanent crisis in Europe where capitalism is trying to impose its class policies of attacking the welfare state and smashing the opposition of the proletariat. The events in Belgium and the new left government in France plus the continuous crises in all the other European states, particularly Germany, show that capitalism does not control the situation as in the past.

Recently the TGWU reaffirmed the necessity for public ownership of the basic utilities and the key manufacturing companies and ASLEF proposed the return of the railways to full public ownership and this to be linked to a programme of investment to enhance the role of an integrated public transport system. We would add that the private owners must be expropriated without compensation, a suitable response to their private expropriation of the wealth produced by the population. It is necessary to extend the

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# REGIONALISM AND SOCIALISM

SHORT TITLE. EXTRACTS.

J. POSADAS

It is necessary to see that the progress of history tends towards centralisation. This permits the centralisation of capacity and the quality of production, and gives rise to a more homogeneous development of intelligence because it allows an advance to begin from the point of resolution of the essential problems of humanity which are economic. The rest is then resolved much more simply and can be achieved through creations already coming from the society of private property. This is to say that progress is not the result of regional forms, customs, culture music etc. It is the result of a structure already accomplished. By whom? Humanity is the result of property and the class struggle. Then what has to be done is to go beyond it. In the same way that knowledge and science is constantly surpassed so regionalism will be overcome. It is possible to be based on the proletariat without overlooking the fact that there are layers which may be influenced and determined by it. For this the leadership of the communist party intervening with programme and policy, based on the proletariat can educate the population by showing that the problems of the economy are resolved by centralising it. The Soviet Union was constituted in this way and thus it came out of hundreds of centuries of backwardness in a few years.

The first seven years of the Soviet Union have determined the actual course of history. They established the programme, the policy and political leadership represented by Lenin and the Bolshevik party. Under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky—essentially under Lenins leadership—all these problems were resolved. Thus these problems have to be discussed without fear of confronting them, whilst taking into account the risks, errors and limitations of the comrades in the communist and socialist parties and the trade unions.

It is not true that regionalism is a new problem, the problem still exists in the USSR, Vietnam and China. How to resolve it then? By means of centralisation, that is essentially economic, scientific and cultural centralisation.

We publish extracts from an article of Posadas which was primarily concerned with regionalism in Spain particularly with the manoeuvres of the Catalonian bourgeoisie. But the arguments against regionalism have a general reference. In its final stages capitalism seeks to intimidate humanity by its global pretensions but at the same time some bourgeois sectors seek their own salvation. The Bossi group in Italy is an example of this. In Belgium capitalism attempts to cut across the workers movement and complicate the anti capitalist struggle. In Britain the present cult of regionalism is part of the same tendency—to block the unified struggle for the workers state.

ALL THE PROBLEMS OF BACKWARDNESS ARE RESOLVED IN THE UNIFIED STRUGGLE FOR SOCIALISM.

Such problems arise from the backwardness of the capitalist system which has been incapable of resolving them. Then the proletariat has to solve them as part of the struggle for socialism, the construction of the workers state and socialism. The working class resolves the problems to elevate the regional conception which stems from bourgeois conception and bourgeois economic interests which have no relation to the needs of culture, science, art and technology.... Capitalism elevates its pressures, attacks and creates new problems, thus demanding every time a greater centralisation of the objectives. With regionalist separation, capitalism finds on the one hand the means to penetrate and make various sectors intervene against the rest of the masses. Regionalism is a problem of the backwardness of the capitalist system which the struggle for socialism, for the taking of power, for the construction of the workers state can resolve by centralising property and planning the economy. The problems of the regions must be solved in this way. Nothing can be resolved in the abstract. There is no solution to regional problems within the capitalist system and there is no solution in hoping to resolve them "just later on". These problems have to be resolved at the same time as the struggle against the capitalist system. This is a fundamental conclusion which the workers movement must draw.

...Regionalism is not a problem of language or customs. This can be resolved easily. The problem comes from

the fact that it means submitting to the bourgeoisie which channels the representation of regionalism for itself and starts competing with the rest of capitalism at the expense of the masses which it maintains submitted and oppressed in that particular region. The masses are then excluded from the class struggle, from the general solution and it perturbs the class struggle. It hinders the understanding which lies in a global anti capitalist solution for the whole country. The national state was a great progress in history. Powerless in conserving it and in order to defend itself, capitalism divides itself into regions

thus drawing advantage from the conditions that have existed since the creation of Spain and Catalonia in order to survive. The fact that the workers parties accept regionalism comes from a lack of theoretical and political preparation, of study of historical experience which should have been drawn from the problems which confronted the Soviet Union, Yugoslavia and China when these were constructed. This lack of method comes from the inhibition of the marxist method which has been adapted to the limitations of the leaderships in each country.... in the class struggle audacity is an indispensable element. It does not mean adventure or the unleashing of the nuclear war, but it means knowing how to mobilise the masses. All the revolutions which have triumphed have done so with audacity. All of them! Here this audacity is absent. There is an electoral small mindedness, limited with numbers and figures. In this way pluralism arises and that means us today in government and tomorrow you. This is absurd. The progress of history

is not constructed in this way. It is made on the basis of the economy which is either capitalist or state owned, centralised....

We repeat it is not a problem of languages, of culture or of customs which is in question. This can easily be overcome and it is possible to maintain certain customs for a while whilst advancing in centralisation to develop the economy. Regionalism signifies concretely autonomy for Catalonia for example. This means that Catalonia develops its economy in relation to the interests of the Catalonian bourgeoisie. And the latter prepares itself against the workers state. It prepares measures of sabotage, of uprisings, of struggles to incite the masses to defend the Catalan state against the socialist revolution or against the socialist movement and against the installation of a workers state in the rest of Spain.

..The problem of regionalism must be considered in relation to its historical scope and its concrete expressions. The party must educate the masses to be concerned with these problems. Regionalism can only be posed where there is a crisis of the capitalist system. But it is posed also when the workers parties, the communist and socialist leaders do not give an historic solution to this crisis. When this happens the bourgeoisie has a free hand to introduce mysticism, regionalism, local sentiment and to let the masses be submitted to this aspiration, which is an invention because it clashes everyday with the economy, with technology, with science and with human relations. The human being cannot be enclosed within regionalism. We are in a process on the other hand, which through science, art, culture, which are universal, generalises all knowledge. The Soviet Union was small in the beginning but it became the model for the world, in spite of the Stalin period which provoked an immense retreat in the workers state. The Soviet Union became the base and the example for the development of the rest of the world.

... the fact of posing regionalism and the fact that this is accepted by the most backward layers of society signifies that capitalism seeks to be the representative of an aspiration, of a necessity of the population, while it is not like this at all. It is a necessity of local capitalism against the rest of the capitalists, and in particular against the masses. It is the matter of a problem which clashes directly with the programme of the revolution, the programme for progress and for the social transformation of society.

If regionalism manages to contribute to science, technology, culture and art, then it ceases to be regional and becomes universal. What we are talking about are the regional aspects which oppose the progress of history because such a progress of history demands centralisation. Capitalism is incapable of dominating and developing the economy and that requires centralisation in order to be planned. In front of the unification of society, the unification of technology, science and culture are inevitable. 7 3 78

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discussion on the prospects for the European workers movement from demands for workers control of industry, committees to determine the functioning of factories, and a comprehensive workers plan of production to eliminate unemployment and prepare the way for genuine workers governments in Europe. These will be directly responsible to the masses and not submitted to parliamentary functioning which gives full weight to the games of the bourgeoisie. This must all be linked to the elimination of NATO which is an organisation not only for external aggression but for the preparation of civil war against the masses by the forces of capitalism.

## THE DEVOLUTION FARCE

The Blair clique so concerned to contain any measures embarrassing to capitalism, are now serving up the latest course in the bourgeois "modernisation of the constitution". As society rots, there is nothing like a little fiddle playing to pass away the time. It is pure nonsense to believe that in the accumulating crisis of the capitalist social order, greater regional autonomy so called, is going to allow something called democracy to prevail and soften the hard face of capitalist exploitation. Big business is not at all alarmed and scents new opportunities. If the proposed arrangements for Scotland and Wales are accepted in the referendums - and the LP and LD have conducted an immense propaganda campaign for these - Scotland and Wales will continue to live under capitalism and all that will happen is that local petit bourgeois and bourgeois interests will prevail.

The whole idea is a mirage as though within capitalism a better democracy is possible on a local basis, overlooking the fact that local government is at the mercy of capitalist functioning and spectacularly so in the recent crises of the economy. The emphasis on regional changes is as phoney as all the guff about the glories of Maastricht Europe which are pushed by the reactionary TUC. It's a type of reformism, a new form of gradualism, of Fabian pressures when capitalism is quite incapable of important reforms and actually is engaged in reducing workers gains of a

previous period. These new parliaments and assemblies are based on the washed out parliamentary system of representation - the Blair government with the liberal democrats is just another form of attempted parliamentary dictatorship like Thatcher. Thus the old social democracy having abandoned the parliamentary road to socialism has in its dying breath recommended to us yet new vistas - the parliamentary road to more parliamentarianism. The prospects are truly daunting! There are those indeed so far gone with these heady perspectives that they will insist on having regional assemblies in England. Already there are those gloating at the possibilities of new areas of patronage in a Mayor of London. There has to be an end to all this interminable flow of verbal diarrhoea while the poor are smashed into the ground and the arms bosses thrive. The mind boggles at all that talking, not by the masses in soviets or workers control determining the structure of the economy and imposing their will, but representatives under no strict control or recall, disputing over the meagre resources supplied by capitalism. No wonder Blair and his cronies are pleased. It's a lovely facade while the real business is done by the employers organisations, sycophantic place seekers in parliament and Nato.

Important changes to the political structure, that is serious modernisation means a policy of social

revolution, the termination of capitalist structure and policy. If Blair was serious about changes the most obvious decision would be to throw out the monarchy and the parasitic royal family and devote its immense revenues for the social benefit of the population, to solving the problems of the homeless, the health service etc. But that of course would be a constitutional change too far, as it would encourage more social pressures and the process would pass beyond the control of capitalism. Why not get rid of the House of Lords instead of filling it with bourgeois celebrities responsible to no one but their own self importance.?

Changes to the constitution cannot be isolated from social changes. The end of the monarchy and the Lords cannot be disassociated from the programme to liquidate capitalism and construct the workers state. The forces of the left have to understand this, otherwise a great deal of time is spent falling for the latest bourgeois device for pretending to do something and doing nothing. It is only necessary to see what has happened with that other triumph of parliamentary democracy, the Flemish Walloon federation. This was supposed to "free" people and it has been nothing but an unprincipled farce for the benefit of bourgeois and bureaucratic cliques. The analogy may not be exactly the same, but the result will be. Some sectors of the ruling cliques have made a great play

of "preserving the union" but the more flexible sectors of capitalism see that there is no especial danger in this pseudo decentralisation. In fact from their point of view it's rather a good idea which does not endanger capitalism and allows local bourgeois interests to intervene and bogg everything down in pseudo democratic claptrap. All in all the devolution game is an artful diversion from the important problems posed by the headlong degeneration of capitalism. It is a marvellous opportunity to appear to be progressive while in fact posing new complications in the paths of the need for a workers state, which transcends regional boundaries and unites the popular forces irrespective of language, nation or region. The best experiences of the Soviet Union - apart from stalinist repression - show what is possible. The forces of the left who hail these referendums are indulging in the idealisation of "local democracy". There will simply be disputes between various sectors for a slice of the pie and who determines the size of the pie - capitalist functioning. Some of the Scottish and Welsh nationalists (the latter accept the idea of a single currency) have dreams of European grandeur when it is obvious that a capitalist Europe has nothing to offer the masses of Wales or Scotland. The regional bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie may hope to feather their own nests (albeit they will propose all manner of social benefits to gain

electoral support). Socialism is not their objective. All this devolution mystification has occurred because of previous failures of the various workers leaderships to liquidate the capitalist system.

Britain and Ireland are all in the grip of the capitalist economy. The proletariat and its allies transcend regional boundaries, in fact the historic function of the proletariat is to unite all against the oppressor class. Posing separate parliaments or assemblies in Wales or Scotland is an attempt to block unified struggles in favour of local (delusory save for a sector of money bags) separate interests. The centralisation of capitalism has to be met by the centralisation of the masses with the perspective of the workers state, the collectivised economy. No doubt this sticks in the craw of the pseudo democratic bourgeoisie and petit bourgeoisie. But marxism does not cater for their class interests and the whole idea will not work. No to Scottish and Welsh parliaments and assemblies! Yes to the socialist republic, for mass assemblies, for the socialist federation of Britain (England, Wales, Scotland) and Ireland.

**Out with the monarchy**

## THE RETURN OF HONG KONG AND THE NEED FOR THE REUNIFICATION OF TAIWAN WITH CHINA

The return of Hong Kong to China is a blow at world imperialism and has registered the instability in the relations between world capitalism and the Chinese Peoples Republic with its large state sector and extensive economy of private capital. For a lengthy period American imperialism has been conducting a campaign, raising issues of human rights in China and with a very aggressive posture against the return of Taiwan. British imperialism which for years ruled Hong Kong as a colony and banned newspapers attacking British rule, now

poses as the defender of democracy. This is a touch cynical for its brutal past with a history of ruthless repression in former Kenya, Malaya, Aden etc. It is a propaganda weapon to be used to justify future campaigns against China when relations deteriorate.

The strategy of Patten was one of systematic provocation. "Democracy" in Hong Kong has meant democracy for the rich. Patten and his class have no interest in the problems of low wages in "beautiful" Hong Kong. It was the conservative party which

limited the democratic rights of trade unions in Britain. The position of foreign minister Cook sustaining this attitude towards China shows the integration of the LP leadership with capitalism. Hong Kong faces problems of housing, low wages and education, the legacy of imperialism. The media machine in Britain did not of course waste words on the oppressed of Hong Kong but on the world of over excited money bags.

China's rapid economic development makes it a serious competitor in Asia to both America and Japan who have a

military pact aimed at China. The Chinese leadership with its nationalist conception of one country, two systems, is called communist, but it has little to do with the great teachers of marxism from Marx to Posadas. Certainly under Mao, a genuine communist revolutionary, a workers state was established but this was not underpinned with a Bolshevik political tradition and it was not long before a shift to the right took place under Deng Xiaoping which abandoned the communes, stimulated private interest

attacked Vietnam, supported Pol Pot in a counter revolutionary strategy seeking a nationalist Chinese road and, totally rejected the need for a world revolutionary strategy. The logic of this was the suppression of the masses in Tienanmen square. Nationalism is now stimulated by the Chinese leadership to obscure the resistance of the masses who reject having to pay the costs of reestablishing bourgeois norms in the

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# THERE IS NO SOLUTION FOR NORTHERN IRELAND OUTSIDE THE WORKERS STATE

The events in Dumcree where the Orange order was allowed to march through the republican area in order to intimidate the inhabitants failed to achieve its objectives. Blair had already shown his imperialist contempt for the catholic minority by reassuring unionist capitalism of the British connection. The march was perfectly designed to provoke more IRA violence. What capitalism had not bargained for was the immense resistance of the nationalist sectors. Finally the government was obliged to abandon the decommissioning farce and allow Sinn Fein into talks. British capitalism has no capacity or interest in solving the Irish problem. What have they got to offer the oppressed catholic minority or indeed the most oppressed sectors of the protestants? nothing. After all British capitalism cannot solve the minimum of problems for the British people and is quite complacent about the poverty of millions. What it hates, is that the nationalists have gained in confidence in face of massacre, beatings and arson. They will not be subdued any longer by the thugs and insolence of British imperialism. That is intolerable for capitalism as can be seen in the full spectrum of the capitalist media who ignore the highly organised provocations of unionist capitalism and accuse Sinn Fein of "orchestrating violence". The British ruling class have a well deserved reputation for stupefying mendacity. Prince Charles refused to see nationalist representatives protesting against the organisation of the Bloody Sunday massacre. So much for the monarchy "above classes" to which the republicans are expected to submit. The conflict is presented in the monolithic capitalist media as a strange quarrel between "two communities" who "cannot get on", as though all the problem was six of one and half a dozen of the other and that high minded body, the British army is caught in between. What a load of garbage. The republican minority have been discriminated against for years in what was and is a police state. They have received a massive dose of plastic bullets precisely because they are the oppressed rising against their oppressors. The fact that Ireland was deliberately partitioned to provoke problems on the basis of the suppression of the catholic minority is studiously ignored

by the capitalist overlords. Thus when the Orange order said it was relenting over the marches, the capitalist purveyors of puss said this was a hope for "peace"—as though the order was being of itself conciliatory. In fact what worried the military and the police was that the oppressed minority would come out on the streets and create more problem for her majesty, a miserable government. The resistance of the minority has undoubtedly been stimulated by the Labour victory because although the Blair clique is worthless the Irish nationalists feel some support in the Labour masses.

It was not "peace" but fear that dominated the calculations of the Blair hierarchy and Sinn Fein is allowed into discussion not because capitalism wants it but because the fury of the nationalist sectors is such that capitalism fears it could not control the situation unless they perpetrate another Bloody Sunday — and their situation is weaker than in 1972.

## IRELAND IS NOT A SPECIAL CASE.

There will be no end to the Irish problem until both British and Irish capitalism have been terminated and this depends on factors wider than either simply forces in Britain and Ireland. There is no purely "nationalist" solution to this situation and it is an illusion to pretend that there is. Nor is it possible to take South Africa as an example for the future "compromise of forgive and forget", precisely because the South African experience is only at the beginning of a solution. The masses won a bourgeois democratic reform against racialism — but to remove social inequality and exploitation requires the class struggle.

Sinn Fein has to develop its socialist programme on the basis of the most oppressed sectors in Ireland. It is necessary that it seeks socialist support among the oppressed sectors of the unionists. The protestant population is no longer so much under the control of the Orange order as was the case in the past. In the last local elections, it is clear much to the chagrin of the unionist capitalists, that layers of the protestants are abstaining. The peculiar

conditions which gave rise to the dominance of the Orange order are decomposing and British imperialism has no substitute. The social and economic decay of Northern Ireland is clear. Only socialist planning can provide a future for Ireland, north or south. Sinn Fein has a general programme of socialism but it must use and develop it. It must organise political discussion for a socialist programme to encompass all of Ireland for the structure of a workers state in collaboration with the left in Britain. The role of the IRA has been discussed. We have contended that British agents have been well ensconced in that organisation over many years. A militarist IRA conception cannot work and this has been shown conclusively. Imperialism has had an interest in perpetuating the violence of the IRA. What they fear above all is a decisive turn from nationalism to socialism in which self determination is combined with a programme for a workers state. Capitalism has had a great interest in perpetuating the Irish conflict and the nationalist sectors have a right for defence committees to defend themselves against the weight of military and fascist brutality.

Capitalism has to be judged on its behaviour not on its words. It has no capacity to develop Ireland as a whole despite the talk about the Irish economic miracle in the south. If it had the capacity it would have done so long ago. In any case why should it develop the north? It has abandoned whole areas of Britain to destitution and decay. Capitalism is preparing to intervene with violence all over the planet. There is no separate, private, insular solution for Ireland, just as there is no permanent settlement for an independent Palestine surrounded by bourgeois states. All this requires patience and an incessant propaganda activity for the programme of social transformations.

As a result of the weakness of British capitalism and the decision of the nationalist sectors some modification of the situation in the north may be arranged, but any such solution will not answer the needs of the exploited in Ireland which can only be solved on the basis of the socialist republic and the Socialist Federation of Britain and Ireland.

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economy leading to all the problems that exist now. The dynamism of the economy has given the leadership a limited stability. Precisely because the structure of the workers submitted to economic repression with a massive emigration to the urban centres which cannot cope with the resulting social problems. Millions of peasants remain in poverty. At the same time the leadership is uncertain and in confrontation with the Americans over Taiwan, the army much more than the party was decisive. Faced with the unremitting hostility of American imperialism in particular, the Chinese are arming as rapidly as possible.

no illusions in the leadership in Beijing which may be preparing more concessions to capitalism—using its jargon that the leftist deviation is now the most dangerous— but imperialism sees the tradition of a revolution which in origin challenged both imperialism and Stalin and maintains a considerable state sector with a massive proletariat. Imperialism dreams Hitlerite fantasies that China will disintegrate under the weight of internal contradictions, as they hope also with the ex Soviet Union. Hence the periodic concern about movements for the "freedom" of Tibet or for the secessionist muslim movements in western China.

It is important that the world communist movement reanimates the ideas of communist internationalism. It is particularly necessary to remember in the eightieth celebration of the October revolution, that Lenin based himself in the preparation of the revolution on the possibilities of the world process, not on local experience in isolation. It is necessary to discuss with the CCP, to develop currents there who seek a marxist understanding of the world process and abandon a reclusive nationalism which is a distortion of marxism.

World capitalism is constantly criticising China over human rights which is the most ludicrous humbug, considering that Yankee imperialism tried to bomb Vietnam into the stone age and has supported the most obnoxious dictatorships whether in central or South America.

The assimilation of Hong Kong into China will stimulate the demand for the return of Taiwan and augment the anti imperialist sentiment throughout the region and indeed the world. There can be

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FOR THE PROGRAMME OF NATIONALISATIONS  
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BASED ON THE TRADE UNIONS.!

FOR THE FULL RESTORATION OF TRADE

UNION FREEDOMS

WITH THE RIGHT TO STRIKE AND

SOLIDARITY ACTION!

ABOLISH THE MONARCHY AND THE

HOUSE OF LORDS!

DISSOLVE NATO!

FOR THE SOCIALIST REPUBLIC!