

# WORKERS PARTY BULLETIN

Newspaper of the International Leninist Workers Party

10p

No 217 THURSDAY DECEMBER 1 1983

Weekly

## BOSSSES BEGAN THE VIOLENCE

It was the introduction of High Court writs and injunctions, - which automatically carry with them the threat of fines, seized assets, arrests, and ultimately jail sentences - locking men behind bars, - which first put the boot into normal industrial negotiations in the NGA-Stockport Messenger dispute, weeks ago.

The full force of the law was invoked by Eddie Shah, (and the Institute of Directors provocateurs behind him), - using the anti-union legislative hammer provided by the skinhead Thatcherite government, - to impose by official state bullying the enforced victimisation of six NGA printworkers by stopping them and their colleagues from picketing Shah's Warrington and Bury non-union plants to get the Stockport Six their jobs back.

Until the civil-war-minded Tories put Shah up to his blitzkrieg legal arm-twisting, - threatening to bankrupt the union and the individual trade unionists if they did not submit to his dismissal diktat, - the picketing in favour of a union agreement at all Shah's sweatshops had gone on entirely peacefully.

Only when union-busting sequestrators were sent in to wreck the NGA, - and picket-busting uniformed violence was blanketed on the dispute sites (to enforce the arbitrary dictatorship ban by the High Court on further union protests against the Messenger sweatshops), - did the organised labour movement resort to mass demonstrations to register their hostility to the 'legal' carve-up.

The Tories' ridiculous anti-union legislative bias may be the 'law'. But the 'law' is also the start of violence. The 'law' is in fact nothing other than the legislative fig-leaf covering up the permanent institutions of judicial state violence which prop up the capitalist establishment in Britain (and elsewhere) and keep it in being. The big-booted police, the armed police, the helmeted Special Patrol Groups, the above-the-law secret political police, the army, the prisons, the huge administration to impose court



fines on the working class, - all of these are not "institutions needed to enforce the law". They are permanent armed bodies of full-time state violence around which 'laws' are passed from time to time to 'legitimise' the dictatorial enforcement these bodies permanently impose on the working class to preserve the existing capitalist order. Even when no official 'laws' exist covering the activities of these institutions of violence, the repressive activities are always sanctioned, - and then, if necessary, new 'legislation' is rushed through to make the repression 'legal' once again. At other times, the state gets into such difficulties that it suspends all the 'laws', - by declaring a 'state of emergency' for example, - but the armed bodies of state violence still function full-time, - and even overtime in such crisis periods, - despite there being no 'law' which it is supposedly their 'sole duty' to uphold.

In other words, the forces of state violence come first, - and always will come first. The 'laws' giving a flimsy legal fig-leaf to their permanent dictatorial control of society, always come second.

All bosses, not just Shah, endlessly try to weaken workers organisation so as to be able to dictate the terms and conditions of employment at all times, - and thereby dictate the profitability of the enterprise. All bosses, not just Shah, are willing at all times, - if it is tactically convenient, - to use whatever additional pressure can be imposed by 'law and order' to keep workers docile, divided, and intimidated. Every act of domination and exploitation of this kind is an act of vio-

lence. The very act of paying wages itself, - only giving a worker what the going market rate and union organisation can extract while keeping the full value of the product produced (always worth far more) all for the employer himself, - is an act of violence, taking advantage of a worker's impossible position, whereby he has to seek work, to rip him off of half, or even more, of the added value his labour has produced.

The civil war wing of the Tory establishment have tentative plans to escalate the open violence of capitalist state control (via such provocations as Shah's punitive 'legal' arm-twisting and victimisation) in order to divert the working class from socialist revolution (against the incurable slump) by means of a pre-emptive strike to divide and defeat them on bogus issues of 'mob violence' (which in practice have been entirely set up by the ruling class.)

But if the bosses do win the Messenger dispute, it will not be the working class that they have defeated but rather a specialised branch of the trade union bureaucracy, the highly-paid craft printers' closed shop. And even then not the most influential sections of that branch, - because the Fleet Street employers, (thinking of cashing in on Shah's legal assault by 'legally' disciplining the sympathy action of its own

South London informal discussion meetings  
every Wednesday 9 pm Balham  
(Duke of Devonshire, opposite Bejam).

Manchester informal discussion meetings  
every Thursday 9 pm City Centre  
(Castle Hotel, Oldham Street).

Leicester informal discussion meetings  
every Thursday 7.30 pm Highfields  
(Community House, 69 Chandos Street)

## Will the TUC fight?

The trade union and Labour bureaucracy exist to hold back the working class from any revolutionary fight to overthrow the capitalist state, tying workers up in endless reformist promises to win socialism, perfect work conditions, and the end of the bosses exploitation without a revolution.

The 'organised labour movement' is steeped in trade unionist, (i.e. bourgeois) consciousness, unquestioningly prepared always to 'reach reasonable agreements with the employers', i.e. never questioning the permanent class collaboration between working class and capitalist class which is the social basis for the last 140 years of British imperialist progress. On the foundation of the super-profits from colonial exploitation of peoples subjected by the Union Jack in countless wars of foreign conquest, the 'labour aristocracy' in Britain was conceded better wages and social conditions - and naturally supported the wars, corrupted by imperialism.

But periodically, in the depths of worldwide capitalist slump, the British ruling class has been forced to attack its own organised labour movement. The trade union bureaucracy has been forced to fight back with potentially even a revolutionary struggle, - most notably in the 1926 General Strike, and more recently in bringing down the Heath and Callaghan governments in tentative support of the miners, dockers, lorry drivers, and others who defeated the pay laws, Industrial Relations Act, and Labour's 5% freeze and cuts. Always the TUC deliberately betrays such fights going all the way to the overthrow of the capitalist system, of course. And it always will. But once again, the capitalist system is back into ever-deepening, incurable, worldwide slump. And once again, potentially revolutionary struggles are clearly coming onto the agenda. And once again, TUC bureaucrats are being reluctantly forced to lead some major battles (before later trying to hold them back).

The present NGA print union dispute with the Stockport Messenger free-newspaper group is even more unusual in that it was initiated from the start by the bureaucracy itself, (rather than ordinary workers as at Grunwicks who later won union backing) in order to extend its closed shop dominion over rightwing anti-union workforces who, at the boss's bidding, refused to join. The NGA has an added incentive to spread its control over the new industry of free-sheet newspapers because of the new-technology threat to its traditional compositor skills which could wipe out union jobs and decimate its wage rates if it spread throughout the whole of the printing industry, especially if spread by new cut-price employers in new free-sheet non-union shops.

The Messenger dispute is even further complicated by Shah's use of the courts preventing the NGA from even slowly losing gracefully, as happened at Grunwicks. The huge fines to outlaw basic union struggles like picketing are forcing the cowardly bureaucrats into an impossible position. Wade & Co are

trying to make the TUC take escalation decisions on the NGA's behalf, - on the grounds that the entire organised labour movement must resist Tory High Courts banning basic union activities or be made to look utterly treacherous and useless in the eyes of all their members (and dues payers) as well as the entire working class. The Labour Party bureaucrats are caught up in the same dilemma - unable to sell-out their trade union basic support by capitulating completely to the Tory 'law and order' fraud; but unwilling to flatten the rightwing Parliamentary taunts by totally justifying the mass union action as the only real answer to scab employers, biased courts, and fascist police, - because of such a reply's revolutionary implications.

But a general strike, of sorts, is the only answer to the bosses fascist offensive to outlaw trade union struggle. And even if the TUC won't call it, spontaneous trade union action, possibly in Fleet Street, may yet spark it off. A dispute which began as a bravado gesture by the conservative trade union bureaucracy may yet boil over into an all-out revolutionary struggle. The extent that it does so will show how close to the surface have bubbled historic unresolved class issues in decaying capitalist Britain. Adam Carr

## THE U.S. INVASION OF GRENADA WAS PLANNED AND REHEARSED TWO YEARS AGO

THE U.S. invasion of Grenada begun on the morning of October 25 was organized and rehearsed on Vieques Island, Puerto Rico, two years ago under the code name Ambar and the Ambarines. The landing of U.S. Marines in the area of the new airport in Grenada was not an improvised action taking advantage of the confusion resulting from Maurice Bishop's death. It was a premeditated attack by Washington.

In August 1981 when the Grenadian Revolution had been in existence for two and a half years, the United States carried out the Ocean Venture 81 military maneuvers.

The Caribbean part of the maneuvers was held off Vieques Island, in an area fixed up to resemble southern Grenada where there is a small town called Ambar.

That part of the U.S. maneuvers was called Ambar and the Ambarines, in a clear allusion to Grenada and the Grenadines.

Some cays off Vieques Island were changed to make them resemble the Grenadian islands of Carriacou and Petit Martinique.

The political-military plan was described at that time by Rear Admiral Robert P. McKenzie, who, as President Reagan has just done, used the pretext that a number of U.S. citizens on those islands had been kidnapped.

This is the same pretext being used now by Washington by mentioning the hundreds of U.S. medical students in Grenada whose security had been guaranteed.

McKenzie claimed that the authorities in "Ambar" had put the lives of the U.S. citizens there in danger and that therefore a military invasion was entirely justifiable.

The political purpose of the invasion was very simple: to occupy the island, particularly the airport, overthrow the government, set up a "friendly regime" and call for new elections.

McKenzie asserted that once elections were held under U.S. military control, the U.S. troops



employees by similar dismissals, - backed down in the end, - split on tactics by their own greedy fears and suspicions of each other and by a general lack of confidence in the overall class-war position of the British capitalist system.

Shah may win a cheap and nasty victory for his small-minded bunch of scabs and blacklegs to continue avoiding paying any dues for the principles of the general defence of the working class, (the historic embodiment of which in part is the trade union movement, without which working conditions in Britain would still be the 12-hours a day, child-labour, sweatshop viciousness, still prevailing over much of Asia, Africa, and Latin America and back to which the beleaguered British capitalist system would like to drive workers in Britain.) But to defeat the working class as a whole in Britain and force it to return to the poverty and demoralisation of the 1930s is beyond the capability of the corrupt and degenerate British bourgeoisie. Their 'free market' system is collapsing worldwide into bankruptcy, cut-throat trade war, and decay. International war and fascist-jingoism offers the only 'solution' to their incurable slump. But that 'solution' will be their final downfall, through defeat and revolution. Ben Tulley



would be withdrawn. However, Caribbean observers following the maneuvers were prompt to denounce that the maneuvers were a cover-up for an action designed to establish new U.S. military bases in the area.

Three hundred members of the California-based 75th Rangers Battalion were used in the paratroop invasion of Vieques Island.

According to the first reports, Grenada was attacked by paratroopers using helicopters sent from aircraft carriers patrolling Grenada's jurisdictional waters.

The Vieques military plan called for replacing the Marines, the first attackers, by regular occupation troops.

Taking part in the maneuvers off Vieques Island were a total of 14 warships from the United States, England and the Netherlands, three countries with interests and possessions in the Caribbean. Now Washington is trying to disguise its attack on Grenada by having "troops" from certain eastern Caribbean countries take part in it.

All that remains now to round out the Amber and the Ambarines plan — that is, if the Grenadian resistance is defeated — is to put former dictator Eric Gairy, now residing in Los Angeles, USA, back in power. **Grenada**

## Struggle for Leninism

Castro's mistake in approving Maurice Bishop's attempted mob-coup against the legitimate New Jewel Movement majority which had voted him out of the party's leadership, looks even worse in the light of some new internal NJM documents seized by the CIA (during the US imperialist blitzkrieg on Grenada) and selectively leaked out to chosen anti-communist journalists in Washington.

These reports, especially in view of their vicious bias against the majority NJM faction led by Bernard Coard, show that far from Coard and Austin being "imperialist agents" and "Pol Pot extremists drunk on theory" as accused by the Cuban comrades, the main faults and the main blame in Grenada's difficulties rested squarely with Bishop.

Bishop decided last June to try to mend his broken fences with the White House. He flew to Washington uninvited. He did not get to the President, but he did talk to several top American officials, including the then National Security Adviser, William Clark (Reagan's closest reactionary political ally). After Bishop got back to Grenada, his anti-imperialist rhetoric grew noticeably milder, goes the Sunday Telegraph's version of these NJM documents.

From now on, the captured records of his party's discussions tell a story which is no less dramatic for being couched, almost entirely, in Marxist gobbledegook as imperfectly digested by semi-educated Caribbean zealots, it continues.

The attack by the hard-liners on Bishop's leadership was mounted slowly but steadily. The first meeting of the NJM after his Washington foray lasted for 54 hours, spread over 6½ days between July 13 and 19, 1983. It reeks with self-criticism in the approved Marxist-Leninist fashion. What is recorded as the 'main feature' for debate can be read as an oblique reference to Bishop himself. The party is taken to task for its failure to

transform itself ideologically and organisationally and to exercise firm leadership along a Leninist path.

The ST records that by the August 26 meeting of the Central Committee: 'the ominous charge of "right opportunism" is levelled against part of the CC. For the first time Maurice Bishop is attacked by name, with "the quality of his leadership" being called into question. A new system of joint control, sharing power between him and his estranged Deputy Bernard Coard, is proposed....

CC minutes for September 14-16 contain a clear dig at the dangers of his pragmatic American policy: they declare that the Grenadian people are "getting their lines from the Voice of America" over the Korean plane incident. A vote was then taken on the joint leadership issue. It was approved by 9 for, 1 against, and 3 (including Bishop) abstaining.

It was apparently decided not to make the leadership discussions public because of the weakened ideological position the NJM had sunk to.

"By an equally clear majority," the Telegraph report puts it, "Grenada's Communist bosses decided against 'informing the masses'. The minutes add:

"The situation is that there is great dispiritiveness and dissatisfaction among the people... The state of the party is the lowest it has ever been... We all agree that the Army is in a state of rut and demoralisation, along with a serious ideological drift... Comrades are saying we are talking of imperialism too much when there are so much problems in the camps. Ministers are buying new arms when soldiers cannot get food to eat..."

Earlier at the August 26 CC meeting, before the leadership change had been agreed upon, some unattributed notes commented:

"A war of discontent with the work of the CC to the point where some members were questioning the leadership. Some Comrades called for the removal of some CC members; others for the change of the entire team... At present the revolution is facing its worst crisis ever and most serious danger in 4½ years. The mood of the masses is characterised at worst by open dissatisfaction and cynicism, and at best by serious demoralisation."

And the Telegraph's report says of that same August 26 meeting, at which Coard was not present (having resigned in protest against rumours that he was planning Bishop's assassination (rumours spread by Bishop himself, a latter CC meeting decided)), and where Bishop, who called the meeting (an emergency session), seems to be still on top, that, according to formal minutes:

"Nonetheless, it was agreed that 'some conclusions of the CC are not correct', and even more ominously, that some Central Committee comrades were not functioning properly, having fallen into what is picturesquely described as 'a state of rut'. Everyone agrees that the party was going downhill and that the CC is facing a confidence crisis."



The Telegraph's summary, despite its bilious anti-Coard bias, then admits that the NJM majority trusted Bishop (who was preparing to send himself off on a trip to East Europe) to help implement the leadership changes, following the Sept 14 meeting.

But on October 12, a month after the leadership changes had been overwhelmingly agreed, Bishop returned home and informed his colleagues that (to quote a hand-written record of a joint Politburo/Central Committee meeting) he still "wanted time to reflect" on the dual leadership issue.

In other words, Bishop was contemptuously belittling the September 14 central committee 9 to 1 majority decision for a new joint party leadership.

The minutes of the October 12 CC meeting then record the following decisions:

1. Confine MB indefinitely (long applause); 2. Phones of MB cut off (applause); 3. Disarmed for his own safety (applause). The situation demands Bolshevik staunchness... Even though we are bordering on disintegration, it is not irreversible... We have to learn from other fraternal parties...

The Telegraph's anti-Coard vitriol then admits: "On October 19 a crowd of some 3,000 Bishop supporters overran the guard outside his residence and freed him. Emboldened by this, they marched on Fort Rupert, General Austin's headquarters. They tried to storm it but were repulsed after a brief and bloody struggle."

Once again (see Bulletins 213 - 216), convincing proof has been provided by the bitterest anti-communist haters of Bernard Coard and the Grenadan socialist revolution that it was Bishop's faction, in fact, which started the outrageous, unnecessary violence, trying an armed coup in order to frustrate an overwhelming majority ruling party decision about a change of leadership after a long period of dissatisfaction and criticism of errors in the previous Bishop leadership.

Unwittingly, the Telegraph's anti-communist muck-raking throws a new light on CIA lie-mongering against Coard as a "Marxist fanatic" by proving the alternative perspective on Bishop's differences with Coard.

"Castro's Cuba," it claims "also seems to have provided riotous night life for the hot-blooded members of the New Jewel Movement. Among the captured papers is a formal letter... written by one Gemma Jones who had been disciplined by the party for an all-



night sex orgy while passing through Havana. It caused her to miss her flight to Bulgaria the next morning. 'At no time was I told or given the impression' she writes defiantly 'that sisters were supposed to isolate themselves from the opposite sex'.

"Anyway, Gemma explains, it was a male comrade who was to blame, for 'he walked into the room where I was at the time and started undressing in my presence and told me, let's go to sleep.' She signs herself, appropriately, 'Yours in the Struggle'."

One of the final tragic central committee documents noted on October 21 'Cuba's negative response to the issue', adding:

"The deep personal friendship between Fidel and Maurice has caused the Cuban leadership to take a personal and not a class approach to developments in Grenada..."

This charge has been proved overwhelmingly, on the evidence so far available (see also Bulletins 213-216), and is all the more poignant for being so diffidently expressed, especially in the light of the foul (and so far totally unjustified) accusations hurled later at Coard by Castro about "hyenas... extremists... enemy agents who wanted to destroy the Grenadan revolution... conspirators... Pol Pot... genocide... morally indefensible" etc (Bulletin 216).

The big question marks on Grenada have nothing to do with the NJM majority but are entirely against Bishop's leadership and his later attempted coup to hang onto it. And the other big question mark is against Castro's sense of leadership. From hearing on October 12 "the surprising and unpleasant news" of profound divisions in the Central Committee in Grenada, and later that day that Bishop had been removed from the leadership and placed under house arrest, until news of Bishop's attempted coup on October 19 (which Castro studiously refuses to describe as such), Castro apparently took absolutely no initiatives whatever to try to mediate or offer advice in this alarming situation. His October 20 statement even tries justifying this ridiculous and amazing paralysed silence with the most ludicrous bourgeois propriety. "We didn't say a single word... We had thus remained true to our principle of respect for the internal affairs of sister parties and countries."

For Leninists, especially such internationally authoritative ones as Castro, to not try to help out a fraternal party in bad confusion over Leninist programme and Bolshevik leadership principles, - is closer to daft lunacy than the piddling notion of 'respect'. (And

Castro has shown precious little 'respect', or even the equally daft 'non-interference', in the affairs of the NJM leadership ever since the events of October 19.) Why did Castro at least not offer to fly to Grenada immediately to try to help resolve such an appalling crisis in the NJM leadership?

These considerations also put in a very bad light the reasons Castro gave on October 25 for refusing assistance to Grenada upon the

US imperialist invasion, quoting his own message to Cubans on Grenada: "I understand and how bitter it is for you, as well as for us here, to risk compatriots in Grenada, after the gross mistakes the Grenadian Party has made, and the tragic developments to which they gave rise... It is not the new Grenadian Government we must think of now, but of Cuba, its honour, its people, its fighting morale... We must vigorously defend ourselves as if we were in Cuba, in our campsites, in our workplaces close by, - but only if we are directly attacked. I repeat: only if we are directly attacked. We would thus be defending ourselves, not the Government or its deeds."

The October 21 NJM note adds: "It is clear that the Cuban leadership does not know of

the dishonesty and lying of MB as well as the wickedness that he and his group did at Fort Rupert, including brutality and stripping female soldiers." Earlier evidence quoted by the Bulletin implied drunkenness among the Bishop mob leadership.

Most poignantly of all, the NJM October 21 note ends by warning that Cuba's hostile position "creates an atmosphere for speedy imperialist intervention." It came four days later.

In the interests of the further development of Leninism, a high point of which is the revolutionaries' ability to face up to mistakes they make (as Lenin stressed in 'Left-Wing Communism'), the Cuban comrades should reply to the criticisms raised in the last five Bulletins. Roy Bull

## UNDECLARED WAR

to talk about intervention in El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba."

The UN Security Council has seen texts of notes from the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry to the Honduran Foreign Ministry condemning the latter's increased involvement in America's "undeclared war" against Nicaragua.

The Honduran government is acting as accomplice to the Reagan administration's policy of provoking war between the two countries, the notes say.

Of the 8,000 US soldiers now in Honduras, over half are elite troops who took part in the "Dirty War" against Vietnam.

Although the concentration of US forces close to the border with Nicaragua is carried out under the pretext of the "Big Pine 2" military exercises, the quantities of troops and material go far beyond the framework of ordinary exercises.

Apart from those troops now in Honduras, dozens of American warships are grouped off Central American

shores, all looking ominously in the direction of Nicaragua.

Despite America's crash preparations for invasion, Nicaragua will not be taken by surprise. Tens of thousands of Nicaraguan patriots have joined the People's Militia in response to a call by the Sandinist National Liberation Front and the government.

Nicaragua's peace initiatives for settling the explosive situation have run into resistance from some Central American countries whose policies are determined by the United States, said the Nicaraguan Foreign Minister.

But mounting concern over Washington's aggressive stance was shown at the general committee of the Organisation of American States at its annual session in the US capital.

It gave unanimous support to a resolution on efforts to maintain peace in Central America, which approved the initiatives by the Contadora Group (Colombia, Mexico, Panama and Venezuela) to settle all disputes by negotiation.

Soviet Weekly

OVER 2,000 US marines landed in Honduras last week, bringing the total American armed presence there to 8,000 troops. With them are massed tanks, armoured cars, helicopter gunships, cannon and mortars.

Nicaraguan Foreign Minister Miguel d'Escoto Brockmann said on the radio station *Voice of Nicaragua* that the people should prepare themselves to repulse an imperialist aggression, whose threat "looms dark over the country."

Reagan administration policy and White House statements confirm that the US may invade Nicaragua, he said.

Cuban President Fidel Castro said at a funeral rally for 24 Cuban internationalists who died heroically in Grenada, "The bells that toll for Grenada today may well toll for all humanity tomorrow."

"Hardly had the echo of the last shots died down in Grenada, when people began



American CIA's mercenaries and Contras wreck Nicaragua's main oil storage port, Corinto.

# Workers Party Manifesto

Thatcher, Reagan, and every bourgeois parliament or fascist dictatorship in the 'free' world represent ruling class interests, which in a slump are to push the burdens of collapsing markets onto the working class in the form of permanent mass unemployment, slashed social services, declining living standards, and war.

The world socialist revolution is now spreading rapidly through the impoverished, tyrant-ridden backwaters of the US imperialist-dominated 'free' system.

The people of Cuba, Nicaragua, Grenada, El Salvador, etc, in Central America, for example, are already building, or fighting to build, socialism right under the noses of hostile US imperialist intervention, having thrown off by heroic guerrilla war the brutal fascist dictatorships imposed on them for more than 50 years by Washington.

They are building their own communist revolution 6,000 miles away from any daft notion of 'Soviet pressure'. In the same way on the other side of the planet, the people of Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea fought heroically for 20 years against the full brutal force of direct US imperialist military onslaught, - including napalm, saturation bombing, and fullscale chemical warfare, - in order to build their own INDEPENDENT socialist revolution.

Similarly in southern Africa, equally far from Moscow's 'control', the people of Angola, Mozambique, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Azania itself (South Africa) are already building, - or getting ready to make, - their own independent socialist revolutions in order to end once and for all the tyranny of capitalist economic crisis and exploitation in its most brutal and degenerate form, - racist colonial apartheid as practised by the Smith dictatorship, the South African fascist state, and the Portuguese fascists.

In all these regions, communist revolution is going to spread relentlessly. And it is going to break out in new regions, still considered 'free' by US imperialism's CIA secret police and military intervention forces which are in non-stop operation 24-hours a day all round the globe propping up collapsing fascist dictatorships here, there and everywhere to make sure these regions stay 'free', - i.e. capitalist-controlled.

Socialist revolution is inevitable before

long in South America, the rest of Africa, the Near East, the Middle East, - and before much longer in West Europe itself.

Exactly the same basic conflict of class interests between monopoly capitalist property and workers is going on in Britain, Belgium, France, Italy, Greece, for example, as has gone on in Cuba, Nicaragua, Ethiopia, Ghana, for example.

The longstanding fascist regimes in Portugal and Spain were recently overthrown in revolutionary upheavals. De Gaulle's authoritarianism was toppled by the 1968 revolt in France. The Greek colonels were forced out of office by mass popular revolt. Italy permanently teeters on the brink of anarchy and breakdown. A wave of political general strikes has hit Belgium. In Britain, the reactionary Heath attacks on the working class were overthrown by a general strike behind the miners. Callaghan was virtually forced out of office by the 'winter of discontent' 1978-79.

Only the continued artificially high living standards plus the long boom years of parliamentary reformist political corruption in the labour and trade union movement still prevent revolutionary struggle breaking through in Britain and West Europe.

## No 'economic recovery'

But this cannot last. The British capitalist state, for example, is steadily bankrupting itself trying to keep its warmongering potential expanding while still trying to keep 4 million unemployed from revolt by a reasonable dole, - yet all based on a relentlessly declining economy.

There will be NO 'economic recovery' of any kind, - whichever set of opportunist rascals is in charge of Parliament, - Tory, Labour, Liberal, or SDP. ALL their promises of 'recovery' are politicians lies, - and THEY ALL KNOW IT.

They all make lying promises out of fear of the working class which is far from 'defeated' by Thatcherism. Workers are still absorbing the major historical lesson of the last Labour government (Callaghan), - thrown out for imposing exactly the same capitalist crisis burdens on the working class as the booted-out Heath government, - on jobs, attacks on union rights, wages, etc. As a result, Labour's support in the 1979 election dropped to just 28% of the total population with a vote, (back to where it stood in 1931 when Labour was on the way up, and continuing a declining trend which set in during the 1950s due to disillusionment with the postwar Labour governments' refusal to put an end to capitalism).

Thus Thatcher crept in with the votes of only 33% of the total adult population. This plummeted to only 30.8% at the 1983 election, the fourth worst Tory performance in twelve postwar elections, (lower even than the ridiculous Lord Home's defeated total in the 1964 election), - despite the Falklands jingoism (when warmongering alone saved Th-

atcher from possible overthrow at the depths of her unpopularity in 1982 prior to the war.)

This 30.8% is all the real support Thatcher has, not the 47% which ALL the lying opinion polls said she had on the eve of the 1983 election. (The polls deliberately leave out the large numbers of intelligent workers who say "They are all as bad as each other" to all the main parties, consciously falsifying their results in order to pretend there is universal support for the swindling Parliament racket, which is far from the case).

But despite nearly 70% of the people of Britain expressing their contemptuous loathing for Thatcherism by not voting for it in June 1983, disillusionment with Labour's inability to offer a firm socialist way out of capitalism's economic and Cold War crisis saw Labour's support plunge even further, - all the way back to the level of 1918 (and in terms of votes-per-candidate back to Labour's 1900 starting point, no less).



Labour's pro-NATO anti-communism will always inevitably play into the Tory ruling class's hands, helping Thatcher's racist jingoism to confuse and split workers from a united CLASS fight to overthrow the capitalist crisis. This can only be achieved by eliminating the capitalist class's private property dominance over the economic, social, and political life of Britain. But the Labour Party is terrified of such a class confrontation with the British ruling class and the capitalist press (the BBC/ITN/Fleet Street lie machine). Yet a planned socialist economy, the only possible solution to capitalism's slump decay, CANNOT be introduced without such a confrontation.

The disillusionment with the false election promises of the Labour Parliamentarians (no different from the Tory, Liberal, or SDP opportunist swindlers) is therefore in general a historically irreversible process (despite Benn - see later). Parliament is increasingly seen as a firm fixture of the capitalist establishment, controlled by the big party managements which get the support of the press and television, and under constant check beyond that, (if things should accidentally go wrong and some left Labourite government get elected), - controlled by the Civil Service, the Privy Council and the Monarchy, the House of Lords, the unelected and unaccountable secret service, political police, military hierarchy, etc, etc, etc, not to mention the unelected judiciary which tells an ELECTED Greater London Council it cannot cut fares and would just as readily tell an elected left-Labour Government what to do.

Sooner or later, a significant section of the working class is going to go into battle against the authorities over some grievance or other, - jobs, or wages, or social conditions, or war, - and carry the rest







Miners show their strength in 1972

6 of the working class behind it in an all-out extra-parliamentary struggle.

The process is likely to be repeated several times over different issues. And the elected 'representative' Government of the day will be defeated. And again, And again. A series of short-lived governments, and extraordinary elections, is likely.

In the course of such upheavals, the working class may well temporarily switch allegiances back en masse to the Labour Party, particularly in extreme conditions where a Benn-Scargill left leadership might take over and promise 'real socialism' at last. But the outcome of that will only be the same as the disillusionment for the working class after every previous Labour Government in history.

For neither Benn-Scargill, nor any combination of 'left' Labourites or even Trotskyist fake 'revolutionaries' like the Militantites and other sects who have 'entered' the Labour Party, - will EVER challenge the capitalist-state status quo in the ONLY way possible, - by the mass POLITICAL MOBILISATION of the working class to rout ruling class power right throughout the state, the economy, and society ONCE AND FOR ALL. Few of them hailed the 1981 revolt-riots.

All of these Labour 'lefts', without exception, are middle class poseurs who have NEVER broken from the same old reformist racket of seeking to 'represent' the working class, - to make the 'revolution' through Parliament via their own 'incorruptible' determination as 'revolutionary' MPs.

Hogwash. The socialist revolution has very little to do with working class 'representatives', even genuine revolutionary ones. It has EVERYTHING to do with the working class being DELIBERATELY and CONSCIOUSLY mobilised to TAKE THE POWER throughout the country, - every political, economic, and social institution, - to SMASH bourgeois rule for ever, and to establish the DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT.

This is the ONLY form of class rule that can possibly replace the rule of capitalism, - the present 'parliamentary democracy' which is in fact merely the barely concealed DICTATORSHIP OF THE BOURGEOISIE, (as described earlier via all the state institutions ABOVE Parliament which are non-elective and PERMANENTLY in

the hands of the ruling capitalist class, - like the national press, the radio and television monopolies, the courts, the police and military hierarchies, the secret services, the Civil Service, the City, big business, etc, etc, etc.)

This is the ONLY understanding Marxism-Leninism has EVER had on the subject.

The Labour 'lefts' and the Trotskyists have NEVER been Marxist-Leninists, and only use the Leninist disguise in order to fool the working class to keep it for ever from making the socialist revolution.

They feign support for the revolutions in Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, etc, ONLY because they know these revolutionary overthrows of imperialism are popular with the working class everywhere.

But in reality, the Labour 'lefts' and the Trotskyists HATE the dictatorship of the proletariat. They HATE the system of strong workers states where socialism has been established, led by the Soviet Union and China and now numbering more than 20 countries. They help the CIA and the capitalist press and TV endlessly play up anti-communist propaganda, and the myth of the 'Soviet threat', by permanently harping on about past and present difficulties in the development of the socialist states.

They complement bourgeois anti-communist hysteria by offering a 'left' face to it, - pretending that they want to destroy the regimes in the USSR, China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, just like Reagan and Thatcher do, - but for 'socialist' purposes.

Anti-communist middle class Trotsky called for the destruction of the Soviet state regime 'in order to protect the Revolution from Hitler fascism'. But it was the Soviet state which smashed fascism. Trotskyism could do nothing against fascism.

Trotsky called for the destruction of the Soviet state regime 'in order to develop the socialist economy'. But it was the Soviet state which built socialism, and now the world's most powerful economy. Trotskyism has built nothing, and lives a hypocritical existence within the safe protection of imperialism, strongest in the most bourgeois-minded imperialist countries like the USA and Britain, and non-existent in the front-line states of the world socialist revolution like South Africa, Namibia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, the Philippines, Thailand, Somalia, Ghana, etc, where the working masses are next about to really destroy capitalism in the most bitter REAL class struggle. All Trotskyist 'socialism' only exists inside soft middle class heads inside academic ivory towers in the comfortable West. It is purely armchair socialism.

But the official Communist Party in Britain, - and in many Western countries, - is equally bankrupt (as are its offshoots like the New Communist Party, etc), and

incapable of leading the working class to the taking of power.

All these centrist groups want to affiliate to the Labour Party; and demand 'peace' and 'parliamentary socialism' as the priority, not the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, and never proletarian dictatorship.

The essence of ALL these middle class centrist and Trotskyist sects is their defeatism. They so lack confidence that the dictatorship of the proletariat can defeat imperialism that they end up HATING the dictatorship of the proletariat for 'creating embarrassing difficulties'.

Thus the ENTIRE spectrum, without exception, was terrified to stand up to the capitalist press hysteria against the Polish workers state when the counter-revolution was spectacularly launched by Solidarity in favour of religious education in schools, religious broadcasts, a mixed economy, bourgeois parliamentary democracy, and betrayal of the socialist states Warsaw Pact defence alliance.

Many now belatedly agree that Solidarity was clearly counter-revolutionary with its ideal of capitalist Japan as a model and its demand for permanent capitalism in the Polish countryside, the main branch of the Polish (or any other) economy.



Only the Workers Party has consistently demonstrated the ability to correctly analyse the superior international class strength of the forces of the socialist revolution over those of imperialism, and to resolutely defend these interests and the workers states WHEN IT COUNTS, i.e. at the height of bourgeois anti-communist hysteria (e.g. over Poland, Afghanistan, etc) while at the same time conducting a principled argument for closer adherence to Leninist policies in every country, and every struggle, against bureaucratic conservatism.

From the first exaggerated reports of the public explosion of this long and well-prepared plot to re-establish state religion, free enterprise and bourgeois democracy in Poland, the Workers Party ALONE called for the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat while continuing to agitate for more Leninist understanding and leadership in Poland.

Trotsky's anti-Marxist muddleheadedness about a 'ruling caste' being in power over socialist property and production relations (which can only possibly support the working class in power) and which 'must be overthrown' by a 'political revolution', is now being demonstrated to be historically bankrupt by the growing Soviet-backed camp of socialist revolution all round the world.

These Trotskyist anti-communists find it impossible to explain how their mythical 'counter-revolutionary bureaucracies' in East Europe, which must be 'overthrown' in order to start building 'socialism', can have backed such obviously socialist revolutions as Cuba, Vietnam, Nicaragua, etc. They either try to DENY these socialist revolutions. Or IGNORE them. Or pretend that the socialist revolution in the USSR is sick with schizophrenia and that the state regime must still be wiped out EVEN THOUGH it smashed NAZI fascism and is now the bedrock of the only REAL (and expanding) world socialist revolution.

But whatever excuse these anti-communists come up with, it is clearly the Trotskyists, from the Militant on the right to the Spartacists on the left, who are the real counter-revolutionary bureaucrats, helping bourgeois propaganda hold the working class back from the only real world socialist revolutionary movement.

#### War

Capitalism's other great hope of holding the working class back from socialist revolution against the incurable slump is warmongering jingoism.

To get through its two other great economic-political crises this century, the imperialist system degenerated from vicious throat-cutting trade war to jingoistic warmongering, - resulting in World Wars I and II. Each time, the slogans were all about 'a place in the sun' or 'lebensraum' to conceal the sordid grab for profitable international markets and sources of raw materials behind chauvinistic hatred of all foreigners, blaming 'the Germans', 'the Japs', 'the Italians', 'the Arabs', etc.

War diverts the working class from thoughts of socialist revolution. It ties the working class in loyally behind its 'own' ruling class. It divides the workers of one nation from the workers of another nation, thus preventing international working class unity against the international capitalist crisis so that all workers of all countries each bring down their 'own' ruling class.

This is eventually what happened at the end of World War I when the working masses were finally disillusioned by the sordid futile nightmare of the trenches, where nearly 10 million young men lost their lives pointlessly because their rival ruling classes wanted to pursue their trade rivalry for profits and markets into armed political rivalry. The first to revolt were the Russian masses, making the Great October Revolution, wiping out degenerate capitalism for ever in their country. There were widespread mutinies throughout the German, French and British armies. And when the West European powers agreed to stop the war, pool their resources, and all go off to intervene in Russia to try to destroy the Red Revolution and restore the Tsarist-

capitalist rule, the workers in the West staged an enormous struggle in the 'Hands Off Russia' movement, helping to force the imperialist powers to eventually withdraw.

The very first decree of the Bolsheviks was the decree on peace, unilaterally pulling out of the Great War, and immediately calling on all workers to refuse to fight each other any longer and turn their guns instead on their own warmongering imperialist governments. The Soviet Bolshevik dictatorship's call for disarmament and socialism to end imperialist crisis put the USSR permanently on imperialism's target list as soon as capitalist crisis could get warmongering started again.

It only took 20 years of crisis and fascism after World War I for the West to impose World War II on mankind, again diverting workers from socialist revolution with jingoistic warmongering against each other. Throughout the 1930s the West tried to use the 'spectre of the Bolshevik threat' as an excuse for rearming fascist Germany and doing nothing to halt Hitler's drive to war.

But the reality of World War II was inter-imperialist economic rivalry, just like World War I, because of incurable slump and mass unemployment. The Soviet Union was finally attacked by imperialist Germany. But only after the entire West had once again been sucked into a barbarically destructive international holocaust, killing 50m.

For war 'solves' other problems for sick slump-ridden capitalism as well as diverting rebellious workers from socialist revolution at home. It helps destroy the 'surplus' capital, the 'over-production' of goods, and the 'redundant' unemployed millions of workers in every country. It destroys them much more finally, and at a much faster rate, than ordinary slump-closures and demoralising life on the dole can.

And ONLY by this repeated massive destruction has the capitalist system been able to revive production expansion at all, replacing the basic infrastructure destroyed by the world wars.

1917

But the cost of warmongering is enormous to the imperialist system as a whole. For just as Russia left the capitalist system for ever after World War I, so after World War II did further huge chunks of the planet fall to the socialist revolution, above all to the Chinese Revolution. And arising directly out of the war and the powerful strengthening of the position of the international socialist camp against imperialism, the whole colonial world exploded and one by one, the West European empires of Britain, France, Holland, Belgium, the USA, Spain, Portugal, etc, had to give up direct colonial domination of their hundreds of overseas 'possessions'. And it is in these newly liberated areas that the socialist revolution has unprecedentedly begun to spread in 'peacetime' now, and not just as a

result of world wars. Thus the noose is tightening all the time around imperialism from the international socialist revolution. And now the capitalist system is once again back in deep, incurable, economic crisis of 'over-production'. And despite its fatal consequences, warmongering is once again being brought out as a diversion-'solution'. Thatcher's ridiculous South Atlantic butchery was a classic case of utterly pointless and destructive flag-waving abroad helping overcome political unpopularity at home. The conditions of capitalist slump oppressing British workers are made WORSE by the costly warmongering. The Falklands remain a neglected colonial backwater. But Thatcher's poll popularity went up marginally after all the bloodletting and flag-waving.

Even more so than in the 1930s, the mythical Soviet 'threat' is the excuse for the renewed imperialist arms race. And US imperialism goads its stooge fascist regimes in South Africa, Zionist-occupied Palestine, Pakistan, Thailand, Honduras, etc, into endless armed provocations against neighbouring socialist or nationalist states. But as before, there will be far more pressing, and far less suicidal, grounds for wars BETWEEN imperialist rivals rather than against the Soviet Union. World War III, if it is not stopped before it starts by socialist revolution, will again be mainly an inter-capitalist affair, - like the Falklands.

Already the trade war rivalry is reaching screaming pitch, with reactionary 'import controls' moves being touted by the National Front, the more rightwing Tories, and by the backward degenerate social-chauvinist wing of the Labour Party, TUC, Communist Party, NCP, Maoist CPBML, etc, etc. It was precisely against these 'left' social-chauvinists that Lenin and the Bolsheviks won revolutionary power in 1917 to change the course of human history.



The utter REACTIONARINESS of the CP, NCP, Bennite, Scargillite 'left' Labourite circles in splitting worker against worker across national boundaries, lining the working class up behind its 'own' ruling class, and lyingly pretending that there is some 'cure' for capitalism's incurable slump in the backward nationalism of 'import controls', will help to be the making of the Workers Party as the mass revolutionary party in Britain.

Blaming 'Japanese imports' or 'Spanish imports' or 'Danish fish' is a complete reformist illusion, chasing the mere appearance of the problem but leaving its real cause untouched. And import controls will only be reciprocated, - leading to an ABSOLUTE reduction of world trade, and th-



8 erefore a worsening of the slump, as well as playing right into the hands of the imperialist warmongering lobbies by preparing hatred of foreigners as the basis for the next war, - and the slaughter of countless millions more workers.

The real cause of 'over-production' slumps is the anarchy of private capital accumulation and credit creation. So much new investment is poured into 'profitable' markets during the boom by greedy profiteers that eventually, inevitably, there is not enough purchasing power among the working masses for ALL THE rival products to be successfully sold AT A PROFIT. And if goods cannot be sold at a profit, capitalism would much rather DESTROY them, - and the factories which produce them, - rather than give them away. And once rates of profit start to decline because of 'over-production' and 'surplus' capital, then there is an iron law of a market economy which averages out this rate of profit. This process tends to reach the point where ALL enterprise in the capitalist market system worldwide is beginning to make a loss. Falling profits and closures mean even less purchasing power in the world's markets. Which then leads to an even greater appearance of 'over-production' and even faster-declining profits. Thus a vicious contracting spiral sets in, replacing entirely the expansionary boom spiral that preceded it. In modern history, this slump spiral has gone on plunging down until only world WAR artificially brought it to a halt in 1914 and again at the end of the 1930s.

Capitalist world  
poverty



It is this glaring contradiction between a world of continuing poverty where millions of people in Asia, Africa and Latin America desperately need goods of all kinds, - domestic, industrial, and social to develop their impoverished economies, - but the world capitalist economy claims it has made 'too many' of these goods and starts to deliberately destroy their production, - that dooms the ludicrously uncontrollable, wasteful, and DESTRUCTIVE capitalist system. Instead of helping mankind further develop the planet's productive forces to meet human needs, the capitalist 'free market' system actually becomes the BIGGEST OBSTACLE to the development of the productive forces. It must be destroyed. And the greedy selfish capitalist ruling class

must be destroyed (as a class) with it. Capitalism must be overthrown by socialist revolution, - in Britain as elsewhere.

Marx summed up the intolerable destructiveness of slumps in "Capital". "The final cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit." And Marxism showed that the bourgeoisie could not possibly peacefully give up their rule, that only socialist revolution could break their power, and that only the dictatorship of the proletariat had the power and motivation to achieve this.

But still the 'left' reformists like Benn, the CP, the Trot entrists, etc, pretend that a Parliament committed to 'socialist' policies could tame the capitalist system. Their promises of wide-ranging 'reforms' and economic 'expansion' are NOTHING but a treacherous trap for the working class, trying once again to tie workers into endless class COLLABORATION instead of fighting the class struggle as hard as the capitalist state does.

All these anti-Leninist forces are bound together by the 'free' press and TV's non-stop campaign of lies about the develop-



ment of socialism in the Soviet-led camp, - the petty-bourgeois 'lefts' being far more viciously anti-communist anti-Soviet than the big bourgeoisie Cold War-mongers.

No sooner does the CIA set up a diversionary intervention in Afghanistan or Poland to try to make socialism look unstable, and failing, than the entire 'left' chorus join in more loudly than anyone, vilifying the socialist states as 'failing, bureaucratic monstrosities'.

But the reality is that only the states of the growing camp of world socialist revolution have constantly-expanding planned economies where there is constant improvement of job qualifications and skills, plus limitless opportunities for further education, and not the slightest possibility of ANY unemployment, - ever. As the chairman of the CIA's National Intelligence Council Henry Rowen has been finally forced to admit (in order to try to get CIA propaganda more realistic and less failure-prone), "the Soviet economy is steadily expanding". From the abysmal backwardness of Tsarist feudalism in 1917 and the total devastation of the civil war in 1920 when tiny Wales produced far more than the entire vast USSR, the Soviet Union has by socialist planning in little over 60 years ad-

vanced to be the healthiest, most progressive economy, and the most powerful state in world history. And its allies are making the same steady progress, despite occasional setbacks and difficulties created by the CIA and the Vatican around ousted counter-revolutionaries. The future belongs to communism.

Meanwhile the struggling British capitalist economy prepares for 5 million unemployed and a new currency crisis when the North Sea oil profits run out, undermined by yet another capitalist 'over-production' crisis, this time in oil where a throat-cutting trade war is breaking out. And the British capitalist state perpetuates its police-



military tyranny over the occupied north of Ireland, propping up (again with the aid of its Trotskyist chorus from the Militant to the Sparts) fascist colonial reaction around Paisley and the UVF thugs with the ludicrous fraudulent notion that it is 'Irish nationalism' in a 'new' form of 'Northern Ireland Protestantism', which is 'independent'. It is in fact the tool of British colonial reaction, as proved by the English nationalist Enoch Powell's leadership of it from his adopted seat of Down (South), and has nothing whatever to do with Irish nationalism, whose independence movement was frequently led by 'protestants' such as Wolfe Tone, Parnell, and many others.

The illusions of Thatcher's 'victories' in her South Atlantic warmongering, and over inflation, will soon pass. The Falklands colony will be nothing but trouble, as will any further warmongering in any other part of the world. And reducing the rate at which money depreciates is meaningless unless the economy can be revived, which it cannot. And long-term stable value for the pound is impossible all the time the international capitalist crisis lasts, - and it is incurable. The system is ripe for overthrow. Build the Workers Party. ●

## For more information about the Workers Party

The International Leninist Workers Party started in 1979 due to sectarian, reformist, or anti-communist political bankruptcy of the entire 'left' of the labour movement (as outlined in the above manifesto). Regional distribution of ILWP books renewing the fight for Leninism against Trotskyism, centrism, and Solidarnosc counter-revolution; and the ILWP Bulletin (weekly 10p); in London (01-748-8206) Leicester (0533-539563), Sheffield (0742-337619), Manchester (30 Rochford Avenue, Wythenshawe, M22 6HU).

WORKERS PARTY BULLETIN 10p weekly  
Registered as a newspaper at the Post Office.  
Postal subscriptions £8 a quarter (£4 for supporters). Printed and published by Bulletin Publications, PO Box 105, London SW12 9QR.



## INTERVIEW WITH ALI NASSER MOHAMED, PRESIDENT OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF YEMEN

The process of construction of the Yemeni Socialist Party took place after a long and complicated struggle in the national movement dating back to the decade of the '50s. The Party was built up in the framework of strengthening the power of the poor, in a popular democratic vein, and the deepening revolutionary class structure of society based on the close unity between workers and all poor sectors of the country. This process also involved defending the ideas of scientific socialism among the masses. From the time of the June 22 corrective move<sup>(1)</sup>, these ideas were a strong current in the political and moral life of the Yemeni masses. Let me say that the fundamental documents and programs determining the course of the revolutionary process in our country, in different spheres — economic, social, ideological and the building of the Party — are documents grounded on the ideas of scientific socialism. These documents have served as a guide to power and all aspects of life in general since the holding of the 5th Congress<sup>(2)</sup> of the National Front political organization and they also function as a guide in the process of implementing these goals in this stage of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons.

We define this stage as part of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons, but this does not obscure the fact that our Party is a party of a new type, guided by and committed to the ideas of scientific socialism.

However, this does not mean immediately taking on the socialist construction of society. We must bear in mind that the working class and its allies cannot build socialism without first having a revolutionary party with a class consciousness that represents the true interests of these classes.

Describing this as a period of socialist horizons does not deny the course of historical development towards socialism. It confirms it. Thanks to the creative use of the theory of scientific socialism in analyzing the mission to be undertaken in the transitional period, the development of young countries which strive for socialism without having passed through the capitalist stage of development is assured. In the phase of the national-democratic revolution, the mission is of a national-democratic nature. As the popular, democratic roots of the social system deepen in the period of the national-democratic revolution, so can there be observed a crystallizing of the class structure of society in favor of the worker alliance with other poor sectors of the population. Thus there is an opening up of socialist horizons for further revolutionary development, aimed at laying the objective and subjective foundations for the construction of socialism.

We have made important gains in various spheres of social progress. This can be seen in diverse branches of the economy such as industry, agriculture, transportation, supply, electrification and housing. It can also be seen in the broadening of general and university education and other achievements in the cultural field, the development of health programs and consolidation of defense and security forces. All this has culminated in the founding of the Yemeni Socialist Party as an offshoot of the struggle of our people and its revolutionary movement.

Thanks to the revolutionary class policy of our Party, all these achievements have been placed at the service of our working and poor people who are the grass-roots representatives in the class structure of our society in the period of the national-democratic revolution with socialist horizons.

It is indisputable that the process of economic, social and cultural construction has encountered serious problems due to the sad legacy left by 129 years of colonial rule. This was a legacy of illiteracy, underdevelopment and division of the Yemeni homeland. On independence day, our country lacked the necessary foundations for its development. The national-democratic government had to lay the groundwork for those conditions with electrification, roads, schools, etc. There have been difficulties that have blocked the path of economic development of our society, stemming from low income and the backwardness of productive forces. This has

*Fulfillment of the goals of this five-year plan is very important for the Yemeni economy. President Ali Nasser Mohamed is shown here touring one of the projects under way.*

been aggravated by problems created by imperialist forces with their plots and attacks hitting out at our progressive government and weakening the revolutionary process, in order to block the independent social process of our people.

Thanks to our deep faith in the principles of the tradition of national liberation and social progress; thanks to the grouping together of the masses behind the Party, Revolution and progressive government and the determination to fight on two fronts for socioeconomic construction and for defense of the Revolution and the homeland; and thanks to our profound alliance with the international revolutionary movement, headed by the USSR and other countries of the socialist community, we have overcome difficulties and been able to attain many significant gains. That is the path along which our Party and people will continue in the struggle for the construction of a new society with socialist horizons.

In our opinion, aggressive U.S. and Israeli policy in the area is based on the U.S. military presence in the Arab world, which is in turn the basis for the strategic military alliance worked out two years ago between the United States and Israel. The most notable elements in this alliance have been the Israeli invasion of Lebanon and the military presence of the United States in that country under the guise of the multinational forces. The results of this have been evident in the massacres and acts of genocide committed against the Palestinian and Lebanese peoples and their national-democratic forces. This shifted the balance of forces in favor of the U.S.-Zionist alliance, which is an enemy of the Arab peoples. That is why the alliance, and the maneuvers you mentioned previously, along with the Israeli stand of continued operations in Arab countries and increased aggression against the Palestinian and other Arab peoples, is another link in the chain of imperialist-Zionist attacks faced by the Arab liberation movement and a threat to the security and stability of this sensitive part of the world. This poses for us the task of dealing with this U.S. military presence as a priority mission in the struggle of the Arab peoples in this phase.

That is why it is very important for all components of the Arab national liberation movement, including Syria, the forces of the Palestinian Revolution and Lebanese progressive, patriotic forces on the front line of confrontation with the enemy to strengthen their unity, bring order to their ranks and increase their combat potential in the face of enemy challenge, and fulfill their national liberation mission in this difficult stage of the Arab people's struggle against imperialism, Zionism and reaction.

Racism is a leading manifestation of the international imperialist system. As the crisis of contemporary capitalism becomes more acute, so racism has been linked to aggressive and expansionist trends and is a leading manifestation of the activities of imperialism and its lackeys. Like the racist Zionist state of Israel, the Pretoria regime bases its power on its close organic ties with international imperialist forces, with the United States in the lead. The United States gives these two racist regimes full polit-

ical, moral, economic and military support. It uses them as watchdogs, servants for its operations to plunder the resources and property of Arab and African peoples and to impose its hegemony over those peoples.

The struggle against imperialism and its reactionary, racist and dictatorial lackeys in Asia, Africa and Latin America is closely intertwined, which is why it is important to strengthen the unity and solidarity of all the component parts of the national liberation movement on these continents and deepen their militant alliance with the countries of the socialist community, with the Soviet Union at its head.

We make no distinction between the racist regime in Pretoria — which practices racial discrimination, insists on not recognizing the rights of the Namibian people and continues in its attacks on Angola and Mozambique — and the Zionist regime in Israel which violates the legitimate national rights of the Palestinians, illegally holds Arab land and orchestrates barbaric acts of genocide against thousands of Palestinians and Lebanese, while escalating aggressions against the Arab peoples, governments and national democratic forces. As part of the Arab liberation movement, we share in the struggle for national liberation of the peoples of Namibia, Angola and Mozambique against the alliance between the racist Pretoria regime and U.S. imperialism and the just struggle of all African peoples for a new life and national progress.

Central America is a hot spot in the national liberation struggle in which the peoples and revolutionary forces wage a heroic battle for national liberation, democracy and independent social progress, against military dictatorships linked to U.S. imperialism. It should come as no surprise that the United States and Israel support and arm dictatorial regimes in Central America which are in trouble because of the peoples' struggle. The will of the people always prevails, and nothing can destroy the will of a people fighting for liberation and national progress. Nor can any force indefinitely prolong the life of dictatorial minorities. Just as the Cuban and Nicaraguan Revolutions and other revolutions elsewhere were victorious, so will the peoples of Guatemala, El Salvador, Chile and other Central and Latin American hot spots be victorious.

The Yemeni people and our armed revolution defeated one of the strongest colonial armies in the world; our people achieved national independence with blood and sacrifice. In spite of the limitations we faced during the period of struggle against British colonialism, our people had strong principles of freedom and had confidence in achieving freedom and independence. Now they are also strong; they have fighting spirit and are ready to sacrifice their lives for their just objectives and desires. These are the bright realities that unite our experience of revolutionary struggle with that of revolutionary movements in Central and Latin America in the battle for freedom and social progress, with greater daily sacrifice, firmness of will and continuing heroic struggle against U.S. imperialism and its fascist and dictatorial lackeys. As



10 revolutionary fighters, we have unlimited faith in the victory of the peoples and revolutionary movements of Central America. We are sure they will accomplish their just objectives of freedom and progress.

The struggle of the Cuban people and their support for the development of the international movement is an important contribution to progress in the anti-imperialist struggle. This can clearly be seen in the active role of the Cuban Revolution in support of the Nicaraguan people and their progressive government against plots and maneuvers by imperialist forces and Somocesta mercenaries, and of the struggle of the Central American peoples against dictatorial regimes. The influence of the Cuban Revolution has extended beyond Latin America and the Caribbean to other parts of the world where it supports the progressive governments of socialist Ethiopia, Angola, Mozambique and the people of Namibia against the racist regime in Pretoria; where it gives full support to the Arab and African national liberation movements and the Palestinian people in their struggle to return home and establish an independent state, under the leadership of their only legitimate representative, the PLO.

Cuba holds an important position in the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries and plays a vital role on the international scene and the struggle for new international economic and information orders.

All these victories scored by the Cuban Revolution faithfully reflect the correct policy of the Communist Party of Cuba, the firm international positions of the Cuban people and their leader, the fighter Fidel Castro. The ties of genuine friendship between Democratic Yemen and Cuba are strong and profound. They are reflected in the hundreds of Yemeni students studying in Cuba and in other forms of cooperation between our Parties and in economic and cultural fields, and in the many Cuban advisers in our country aiding in our economic development and defense and strengthening the militant ties between the Yemeni and Cuban Revolutions, based on the principles of scientific socialism and proletarian internationalism. **Grand**

(1) Corrective move: movement to correct the political course of the Revolution following the overthrow of the government of the right-wing Cabestan Al-Shaaby faction of the National Front  
(2) March 1972

## DISCUSSION

### What to do about WWII

Imperialism emphasises warmongering (in its endless aggressive rivalry to increase the degree and share of exploitation of the world falling to each national bourgeoisie or regional grouping) whenever incurable slump-conditions threaten national extinction (either via cut-throat capitalist competition or from revolutionary socialist revolt by the masses).

This accelerated emphasis on the warmongering arms race (a permanent feature of modern capitalist-imperialism) has twice this century led to such a general concentrated outbreak of armed conflict and jingoistic flag-waving that the descriptions World War I and World War II were applied. Both generalised outbreaks of the armed phase of capitalist trade and political rivalry, (and of counter-revolutionary diversions and intrigues,) coincided with the depths of incurable slump, - i.e. 'over-production' crisis, cut-throat trade war, declining investment, and permanent mass unemployment.

These features once again exactly describe the new incurable economic crisis that capitalism is collapsing into throughout the 'free' world. Right on cue, the US imperialist 'free' world leaders have, under the fascist-minded

Reaganite West Coast billionaires, unleashed a crippling costly escalation of the arms race which dwarfs the entire total of useless military spending which has gone before in all this century.

Along with it, the demented, panic-stricken US ruling circles have unleashed an anti-communist campaign of hatred, vilification, propaganda lies, and brutal armed intervention, invasions, subversion, and military pressures which likewise by far overshadows any war preparations by any military-aggressive capitalist-imperialist grouping in previous history. The US imperialist forces currently have more armed might deployed internationally in more locations than any capitalist power before it, including both the 'allied' and 'axis' sides in WWII.

This warmongering arms-race phase of the capitalist slump-cycle is dominated by uncontrollable material pressures, ultimately, not by rational thought. (The same is true, of course, of every other phase of the anarchic 'free market' trade cycle.)

The conscious struggle to expose the arms-race degeneracy of monopoly-capitalist greed, ambition, and exploitation, and to champion the cause of peaceful coexistence between capitalism and socialism, and of international trade and economic cooperation instead of boycotts and embargoes, is crucially important to help anti-imperialist education of the working masses in the West and to encourage pacifist divisions among the less aggressively war-minded sections of the bourgeoisie. This is an elementary feature of a future revolutionary socialist consciousness when revolt against war is transformed into full-blooded revolution to overthrow capitalism and wipe out the imperialist bourgeoisie, and all their influence, the only way finally to end war.

But there is no record in history of rational revolt ever putting an end to the warmongering degeneration of a doomed ruling class. It is completely anti-Marxist idealism to suggest there should be. Only the class force of the emerging new ruling class can do that - that of the revolutionary working class.

No ruling class in history has ever done anything other than fight to the death to hang onto its rotten power. There is no possibility whatever of the US imperialist circles handing over their colossal worldwide economic and military power, unprecedented in all human history. There is no possibility either of the American imperialist ruling class changing its aggressive, domineering, mass-hating, exploitative essential nature. There is also no possibility of the course of this latest worldwide capitalist economic crisis diverting from its inevitable, uncontrollable law-governed path towards ever-deeper slump, fascism, war, and revolution, (not necessarily in that order, but usually in that order.)

It is correct for the Soviet comrades to emphasise Lenin's diplomatic offensive against hostile imperialism to the effect that

there is no reason why capitalism and socialism should not coexist side-by-side indefinitely, stressing an eminently rational perspective for the world's future, encouraging the pacifist against the warmongering bourgeoisie. But it is equally important to record Lenin's repeatedly-stated conviction about the law-governed degeneration of the capitalist system to the effect that imperialist war was bound to return before long to the planet and to the Soviet Union (see ILWP Books vol 4).

The proper struggle to prevent World War III is correct to expose the capitalist system in its most inhuman, depraved, warmongering light. It is wrong, however, to entertain the delusion that anti-war rationalism will by itself be sufficient to halt the capitalist collapse into bitter trade war, hysterical anti-communism, flag-waving jingoism, and ultimately all-out shooting war.

Only the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism and the wiping out of the imperialist bourgeoisie and all its influence by the revolutionary working class can achieve this.

Any perspective of "halting World War III" must include the revolutionary overthrow of US imperialism by the American working class. That is a historical certainty at some stage. But all previous history suggests that this will happen in the wretched humiliation and confusion and paralysis and carnage of a series of defeats and setbacks for US imperialism, not before. With a peak of arms-race warmongering aggression in view as the slump irresistibly deepens, the likeliest such prospect for US imperialism is military frustration, stalemates, and reverses. The implication of this is that US imperialism gets into a period of generalised aggressive warmongering, possibly widespread enough to be called World War III, - but cannot extricate itself out of a morass of humiliations and defeats, - to the point where it is overthrown by its own working class driven beyond tolerable limits by the pointless waste and futility of unwinnable ruling class warmongering. Or in concrete terms, a repeat of US imperialism's Vietnam disaster on an even vaster and even messier scale. The whole of America echoed with gung-ho cheering and flag-waving as the murderous US war machine went from one overpowering military-technology escalation to the next, threatening to obliterate the Indo-China communist revolution without trace. Rational argument against such brutal warmongering, colonial, bullying did not stand a chance in

### SOVIET NEWS

Soviet News is available (free of charge in the UK and £8 to readers abroad) from the publishers at  
ROSARY GARLINS LONDON SW7 4NW  
Telephone: 01-373 8421/2

I wish to receive Soviet News regularly

Name .....

Address .....

.....

(Cut out and send to above address)



the first few years. Only when the Vietnamese communists, aided by the Laotian and Kampuchean communists, thrashed this great war machine in battle did 'reason' begin to prevail in the USA to end the ridiculous and rotten war.

The barbaric NAZI blitzkrieg on tiny socialist Grenada, plus the vicious fascist-Gestapo persecution and round-up of every socialist on the island currently being carried out SS-style by the US imperialist military gangsters, shows that the only defeat that finally curbs imperialist warmongering is the final defeat, - the one that goes all the way to the elimination of the US imperialist bourgeoisie, as a class, and all its influence.

This need not mean an inevitable cold-blooded systematic exchange of nuclear rockets by smart-suited steely-eyed US Air Force colonels dementedly plotting the destruction of the planet and mankind. Such a view assumes that the imperialist bourgeoisie is bound to remain coolly and efficiently rational while carrying out its own and the world's devastation. The common perception of utterly rational planning and clinically reasoned efficiency of German and Japanese militarism, in the last generalised outbreak of capitalist warmongering-aggression, is wide of the mark. In their overall strategic application of their military might, both German and Japanese imperialism, - despite being easily the most competent bourgeoisies on the planet, - made an appalling ludicrous bodge-up of their 'tasks'. Hitler's 1,000-year Reich' lasted just 12 years and brought a devastation and humiliation to Germany such as history could never have envisaged prior to its happening.

The devastating power of one deranged finger on one nuclear rocket is now so enormous that almost any amount of chaos, confusion, internal splits and rivalry, NATO discord, conventional military foul-ups in Grenada (or much more likely, Nicaragua)-type adventures could still leave the bits of the US imperialist political-military machine that did function properly, and carried out their objectives successfully, fully capable of near-obliterating the planet, that is true.

But this perspective leaves out of account the far greater internal instability and divisions within the US bourgeoisie, and the even greater doubts and nervousness in US imperialist relations with the rest of the capitalist camp, which would be commensurate with the unprecedentedly deadly and frightening warmongering course on which decaying imperialism is now set in the age of nuclear weapons and the age of world socialist revolution and national liberation revolt which will no longer be easily beaten by imperialism, but on the contrary is now so widespread and so rapidly advancing like an avalanche that it threatens at any moment to totally undermine the capitalist world.)

Facing such devastating and paralysing dangers, the splits and lack of confidence and certainty in the international imperialist

bourgeoisie will be infinitely greater, even, than the doubts, illusions, and stupidities which in such a relatively short time during capitalism's last generalised warmongering crisis made such a mockery of the super-efficient German imperialism's "infallible master-race" plans for a thousand years world rule.

So bad is the hate-filled insecurity and defeatism of the US imperialist ruling class, in fact, that it is even not too fanciful to guess that some of the worst defeats, demoralisation, and destructive butchery which could bring about the revolutionary overthrow of American imperialism by the American working class will be perpetrated by CIA forces against State Department forces, or by Pentagon forces against other government forces, or by secret semi-private paramilitary forces against uniformed state forces, etc. It is already known to be the case that rival secret-service para-military agencies from the State Department, military intelligence, the CIA, the Pentagon, and the FBI are already frequently at loggerheads, confusing each other deliberately with disinformation, and even, it is said, going as far as carrying out small-scale operations against each other. Nixon was overthrown, - the first President in history so to topple, - because of an enormous split in US ruling class forces, - all backed by their own propaganda empires as well as their command of their own 'covert forces'. And it is already being said of the Grenada invasion that this was strictly a State Department affair, about which the Pentagon and the CIA were said to be lukewarm to the point of being hostile.

With such corrosive divisions, uncertainty, and demoralisation, it is possible to foresee a lurch into generalised warmongering by a desperately decaying US imperialist system which is so divided and unconfident, before it even starts, that a confused, almost random pattern of mistakes, setbacks, hesitation splits, and ultimately near-paralysis could be the basis of "World War III defeats and humiliations" to bring about the enraged overthrow of the American ruling class by the American working class - rather than coming off second best in a full-scale systematic exchange of nuclear rockets which would leave the world devastated.

It is also vital to note the point repeatedly stressed in the Bulletin that as with WWI and WW II, much of the new period of generalised WWII warmongering (arising out of yet another insoluble economic crisis of capitalism) need not directly confront the Soviet Union and the socialist camp, particularly not first off. The earliest warmongering armed conflicts of the current slump have so far mostly been intra-capitalist affairs (Britain versus Argentina, Iran v Iraq, Greece v Turkey, etc) and could well long continue to so be. Which gives even wider prospects of confused, messy, warmongering "defeats", with revolutionary-overthrow implications, yet with still no holocaust-sized

devastation in failed nuclear-rocket war necessarily in sight. British imperialism's warmongering, slump-diverting, military flag-waving spasm against Argentina in the farcical Falklands Islands issue nearly provided just such an example. If just three or four more of the scores of additional Argentine bombs, rockets and torpedoes which actually hit British ships but failed to explode, had in fact gone off, - i.e. if three or four more capital ships had been sunk before the landings were completed, then the entire barmy adventure would have been called off with a humiliating defeat in Thatcher's hands, - (at a time when her standing as an unpopular, incompetent, economically-tailed government was the lowest in recorded history;) - which could not only have quickly brought her down but also have unleashed a revolutionary crisis in Britain.

If US imperialism had picked on any socialist or national liberation target than Grenada in its first new venture into openly NAZI military aggression blitzkrieg, - a community smaller than Stoke-on-Trent and which had just suffered a paralysing government crisis on top of that, - then even this carefully-chosen tentative warmongering adventure could have ended in utter disaster for the US military, - and hence for Reagan. It is by no means clear, for example, that US imperialism could even avoid defeat in tackling socialist Nicaragua despite its also tiny population of just 3 million.

This perspective emphasises the fundamental polarisation in the capitalist world's degeneration into generalised WWII warmongering, - between the military-fascist ruling imperialist circles on the one hand, and the world socialist revolution on the other; and not between bourgeois imperialism and bourgeois pacifism (as the peace movement see it, as well as all the anti-Leninist 'lefts' like the CP, the NCP, etc,

## Written by Lenin

Soviet Booklets have in stock the following paperback editions of works by Lenin, which are available at the prices indicated or at £2.00 for the whole set:

- On the Alliance of the Working Class and the Peasantry ..... 40p ☐
- Lenin Versus Trotsky and his Followers ..... 30p ☐
- On Defence of the Socialist Motherland ..... 30p ☐
- "Left-Wing" Communism - an Infantile Disorder ..... 30p ☐
- On Marxism ..... 20p ☐
- On the Cultural Revolution ..... 20p ☐
- On Socialist Democracy ..... 20p ☐
- Marxism and Revisionism ..... 20p ☐
- On Youth ..... 20p ☐
- On the Material and Technical Basis of Communism ..... 20p ☐

Please tick the appropriate box(es) and send cheque/PO to Soviet Booklets, 3 Rosary Gardens, London SW7 4NW.

Name .....

Address .....

and most of the Trots, in practice, despite their 'revolutionary' pretences.)

Capitalist warmongering will finally be stopped only by the firmest possible stand by the world socialist revolution, not by anything else. And that means that all the way down to capitalism's final generalised warmongering degeneration, even in periods when on the surface it seems that the peace movement is holding up, halting, or even reversing the arms race here and there, - it is in fact only the firmest stand by the world socialist revolution at some point or other which has in reality established the balance of class forces sufficiently against imperialism to give middle class pacifism the illusion that the peace movement itself has thrown back the warmongers.

The firmest possible stand by the USSR and the socialist camp against US imperialist aggression would be the best basis possible for encouraging the revolutionary socialist working class forces (in the international balance of class war strength) and thereby encouraging the middle class pacifist world movement to split with the big bourgeoisie and side with the world socialist revolution. A parallel is with the petty bourgeoisie's position in a domestic revolutionary conflict. Its majority finally sides with the class it thinks is acting firmest or proving strongest between the big bourgeoisie and the working class. If the Soviet Union took firm preventive measures against any suicidal escalation of the imperialist arms race such as the rearming of German imperialism with nuclear rockets, (see last week's Bulletin), it would stand a good chance of transforming the peace movement into a much firmer anti-imperialist force. If that did not happen, - and a short sharp Soviet quarantine measure against German imperialist nuclear rocket rearmament (followed by an equally rapid withdrawal) was denounced as 'proof' of Soviet aggressive intentions, not much would be lost since Western public opinion has already been irredeemably poisoned to believe this in any case.

If the USSR, as is likely, takes no such action against German imperialism's nuclear rocket rearmament, it will not necessarily mean that when the capitalist crisis finally degenerates, shortly, into its all-out warmongering-aggression phase, resurgent German capitalist-militarism will inevitably be on hand to ruthlessly inflict devastation on the socialist camp before being overcome. The precise patterns of 'free' world break-up are way beyond prediction. But given the distinctive and precisely analysable role of German militarism in imperialism's affairs this century,

it seems a ridiculous gamble to take that German capitalist-military efficiency and political ruthlessness will not become a major problem again. When Hitler was elected Chancellor (head of government) after his 'National Socialist' party had won three general elections in a row from 1929 to 1933 (being the biggest single party), his grandiose



boasts about rearmament were universally laughed at by Western public opinion "because defeated Germany could not possibly ever again stage another repeat of its militarist aggressiveness". But the time to have stopped these "comical" plans was there and then in 1933 (before Germany was fully rearmed), by preventative Soviet quarantine measures against specific arms race preparations, - (if the USSR had been sufficiently strong in 1933, at least a possibility), - given the benefit of hindsight. The demoralised and divided slump-ridden West at the time would almost certainly have intervened, - but probably only to steal Russia's thunder and promise to do something about German militarism itself.

As it was, the policy of "collective European security" against fascist aggression was pursued instead. Given that, and given its ultimate hopeless failure despite an enormous peace movement throughout Europe, Moscow adopted the next best policy of keeping out of war with Germany for as long as possible, making absolutely certain that other European powers were irrevocably committed to fight German capitalist militarism before it was finally sucked in itself, - at the climax of a ruthless period of jingoistic slump degeneration by German fascist-militarism (which violently whipped up war fever against "the communist menace", blatantly excited an aggressive imperialist mentality domestically, and brazenly crushed one small power after another, growing powerful on the conquered material resources and slave labour, plus not inconsiderable fascist recruits to the master race's all-conquering march,) - an international climate which the rest of the West cheerfully sanctioned then as a "bulwark against communism" and which has now been re-launched by the new Western leading power itself, - US imperialism under Reagan, - thus paving the way for a resurgence of capitalist-military aggression in general.

The NAZI-blitzkrieg crushing of tiny socialist Grenada may also seem like a bit of a sick joke, which world public opinion "is bound to reject". World public opinion, however, has never controlled imperialist warmongering. Only the firmest action by the world socialist revolution can do that.

Roy Bull

which to beat the whole working class. Gerry Mole

## Fascist violence by Tory police

Sacked foreign secretary Francis Pym has put the capitalist state's 'achievements' at the South Lincs anti-union printworks in perspective with his astonishing attack on Thatcher's government's "total lack of leadership" of the country as the economic slump degenerates from bad to worse.

Pym only warned in his Oxford speech of the negative effects of the wasteful and callous indifference of the government to wrecked lives from mass unemployment, no prospects, and deteriorating social conditions.

But he could have equally added that illusions of 'winning great victories for justice and the right approach' etc, with which Tories are consoling themselves from the vicious anti-union campaign by High Courts, Tory 'laws', police baton charges and equipment-wrecking on the union demonstrators, and massive NGA-bankrupting fines, - are just as barren.

The police are winning these early skirmishes on behalf of the sweatshop employer because of the so-far lack of involvement by the mass of the working class in a dispute largely to do with a TUC union bureaucracy which workers justly despise for its rightwing pro-imperialist views on most other issues. Far too many sections of the NGA and other similar highly-paid self-protecting closed shop hierarchies are openly Tory in their politics (or even more to the right) to automatically get much sympathy from the rest of the working class. These old labour aristocracy sections are a key reactionary element in the long bi-partisan Tory-Labour imperialist suppression of the occupied north of Ireland, of countless other colonial wars of repression. Many of their practices in industry have more to do with mafia protection rackets and jobs security for union trustees than to do with the revolutionary socialist fight of the working class.

But even this unpromising dispute could escalate into something else entirely if masses of the working class do begin to feel involved in the outcome of the Messenger dispute. Then the outcome of the police's bully-boy tactics, - openly beating up isolated demonstrators and baton-charging sections of the crowd, - will rapidly be transformed into a humiliating defeat for the pathetic fascist-minded attempts to use the state's hitherto successful South Lincs violence into a stick with