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### **YUGOSLAVIA TOWARDS EXPLOSION**

During June the internal republics within Yugoslavia, Croatia and Slovenia, declared their independence. The Serb dominated Yugoslav Government responded by declaring war. Bombing raids were carried out against both republics, but especially against Slovenia. Yugoslav forces bombed the airport at Brnik near the Slovene capital Ljubljana killing many civilians. The imperialist European Community arranged a ceasefire in early July. But it is clear that this is only temporary as the Stalinist led Serbs and the fascist influenced Croatian gear up for a bigger battle. This war would make the current battles and raids seem like a picnic.

Yugoslavia was created after the Second World War under the authority of the partisan forces led by Joseph Tito. These forces went beyond their capitalist programme to establish a society which whilst broken from capitalism, only transitional to and not the dictatorship of the proletariat. Tito established in Yugoslavia a reactionary parasitic bureaucracy. The break from Stalin in the forties deluded many, including the so-called Fourth International that Titoism consisted a progressive revolutionary tendency. The form of the betrayals was certainly different but the split was merely a fallout between two different bureaucracies with two different interests both counterposed to revolution. Many were also impressed with the degree of self management there. However this was merely giving the working class a degree of responsibility for administering an economy of a bureaucratically deformed society.

Yugoslavia remained for decades a Serb dominated state. This domination was able to be maintained partly because of the expansion of stalinism postwar. Economic expansion meant that nationalist dissention could only rouse a minority. Tito could also militarily contain isolated conflicts. He also had the authority of having fought fascism. Croatian nationalism, on the contrary, was tainted with a record of collaboration with the Nazis and with being fascist. Fascism, in all its forms is disgusting, has a historical role of smashing the organisation of the working class, and must be smashed. This includes Croatian fascism. However the democratic and national rights of the Croatian people are a separate political question. In no way does fascist leadership of the Croatian movement justify Serbian chauvinist nationalism. On the contrary the repression of The Croatians and their national rights has perpetuated fascism as a living movement among Croatian as they justly resent the deprivation of their rights. Yugoslavia should not be a prison house of nations under Serbian domination but a voluntary union of equal nations.

Tito and his successors have treated with contempt the Leninist analysis of the national question and the rights nations to self determination .The price of this will not only be the loss of Yugoslavia as a post capitalist state but the existence of Yugoslavia as a nation at all as the constituent nations declare mutual war. Currently peace is maintained by the authority of European Imperialists. Their terms will only be the peaceful but sure penetration and subordination and ultimate total control of Yugoslavia by international finance capital. The right of national self determination must be put on the agenda within Yugoslavia not because we want the country to divide but because we want a unity which is real and lasting. Nationalism will only be overcome when we show that all nationalities are in reality equal.

## **OFFICIAL RECOGNITION FOR SOUTH AFRICA**

As a leading cabinet minister Pik Botha put it South Africa is back as far as I am concerned to international respectability and accountability Well with George Bush announcing the lifting of sanctions and South Africa now been accepted into international sporting events, it appears that all is forgiven. Well some changes have been made Black people are now allowed to mix with white people, sporting teams are not to be selected on the basis of race, and the notorious Registration Of Population Act has been repealed. It must be remembered that these came not through the charity of De Klerk but through the heroism and blood of the Black people. Had it not been for their heroism, nothing would have been gained. However the changes are not only insufficient , they don't amount to a qualitative change.

The South African state remains repressive and racist. Black workers are super exploited. The black people are deprived of their national rights. These fundamentals remain. And until the situation is changed there can be no rest in our opposition to the apartheid regime. This regime must be smashed internally with proletarian solidarity internationally. The basis for apartheid is economic — the super exploitation of the black working class. This is maintained by a reactionary political superstructure — the racist apartheid regime. The Communist Tendency advocates not token action for token changes such as boycotting a cricket team so that the team will be selected in a nonracist way but consistent working class economic boycotts combined with active military support for those fighting the reactionary regime. As the South African state has not fundamentally changed we urge that meaningful action continue. Imperialism has maintained and continues to maintain this reactionary regime. Their sanctions have been cosmetic and token. It is only the action of the working class which can have any real teeth in fighting the South African state.

## **C.P.S.U. Formally Abandons Marxism**

At its Congress at the end of July the Communist Party of the Soviet Union voted overwhelmingly to formally disassociate itself from Marxism-Leninism. The C.P.S.U. is now formally committed to what it calls democratic socialism". The days when socialists tried to fight for socialism through so-called "democratic means" meaning through bourgeois parliament passed away many years ago. These days the so-called social democrats are conservatives who carry out pro-imperialist and austerity policies though claiming to be a bit more humane. Usually they are not even that. Social democratic parties throughout the world stand for state repression against migrants, unemployed and trade unionists. When the system demands they serve and the working class pay.

At the Congress of the Second International only one delegate from Tunisia voice any protest against the gung-ho imperialism of Hawke and Brandt and even this protest was not consistently anti-imperialist. Hawke, Brandt, and all the rest of the rat pack were all fully behind the U.S. imperialist bandwagon. Gorbachev now seeks to emulate this disgusting tradition. What the C.P.S.U. is really offering is not socialism at all but capitalism. Dumping formal commitment to Marxism is one more not insignificant step towards capitalism in the Soviet Union. called Communist International becoming its appendage. That is until Stalin dissolved the Comintern in 1947 so the so-called Communist Parties could pursue their national roads with less hindrance. Their betrayals were immense. They include allowing Hitler to rise to power in Germany. 'After Hitler, us!' was a rallying cry of the German Communist Party, acting under Stalin's orders, as they permitted the smashing of the physical German working class. In Spain the Stalinists acted as loyal agents of the Negrin

Government loyally and efficiently repressing independent working class action on behalf of bourgeois rule. In France the Stalinists assisted Charles DE Gaulle in putting down strike action. In Britain their bloc the Anglo Russia Committee, in the name of 'defending the Soviet Union' sold out the working class to the labour bureaucracy. All these have been documented, exposed, and fought by Leon Trotsky.

These betrayals are only the highlights of a whole Stalinist methodology which stood for the repudiation of international class struggle. During the Second World War the Stalinist Bureaucracy and its' agent ,the so-called Comintern acted as the 'Communist' wing of the imperialist war machine. In consistency with this loyalty throughout the world, they opposed all strike action, even on a basic trade union level let alone the revolutionary struggle required to turn the imperialist war into a civil war. In Australia Laurie Short made his first block with the N.C.C. rightwing Catholic unionists on the grounds that at least they were not opposing strikes outright whereas the Stalinists were. This block was treacherous and a step towards transition to becoming a cold warrior. However, it speaks volumes that the Stalinists were even more subservient than the N.C.C.!

The imperialists have , despite cold war ideology been well aware of the Kremlins conservative role in world affairs. The New York Times of December (quoted by the Trotskyist journal, Fourth International) put it succinctly, as follows:

Because of a Communist international guided by Trotskyist ideology of permanent world revolution, Hitler could still raise an issue which still frightened many Germans into his camp and win similar crusaders elsewhere, including the United States. But with the liquidation of Trotskyists in Russia, the World revolution began to take a back seat, on which sat in the main, Communist dupes in other countries, whom the Russian rulers despised as tools and liquidated first wherever Moscow itself took over as in the Baltic States. The state of Stalin became more and more a national state and the Communist International became a tool of Russian power politics...

"The slogans with which Stalin is spurring the Russian Armies to ever greater efforts today are not the Marxist slogans urging proletarians of the world to unite but the slogans of patriotism, liberty and fatherland" Well this article gives Trotsky too much credit. The slogan of world revolution is a Bolshevik slogan. It is Trotsky who continued the tradition of bolshevism and Stalin who betrayed. However , the New York Times observation about the nationalist non Marxist character are fundamentally correct. Stalin pursued this logic and dissolved the Comintern in 1947.

As we have seen there has been nothing Marxist about the method of the Kremlin bureaucracy since the twenties. The decision of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union just formally acknowledges this reality. Unfortunately they cannot expose the anti-Marxist method of Stalin. The bureaucrats are happy for people to draw the conclusion that Marxism means totalitarian stalinism. They therefore perform a service to the imperialists bid to expose Marxism using the example of Stalin's Russia. The reality is contrary , namely that Stalin's bureaucracy crystallised by the repudiation of Marxism — the science of the proletariat fighting for state power.

It has to be stressed that what is being dumped is the formal adherence to Marxism. Since the twenties the politics of the bureaucracy have been the antithesis of Marxism-Leninism despite their rhetoric. This was especially true for the Stalin-Bukharin wing. It is no accident that Gorbachev has

formally identified with Bukharin, the leading figure of the right opposition to Stalin. These days Gorbachev's rightward direction is even outstripping Bukharin.

Marxism stands for the proletariat as the only class with a consistent material interest in socialism. This is true both before the revolution and after. A revolution, of course, expropriates the bourgeoisie. But it does not eliminate intermediate strata and classes who have material interests gained from capitalism at the expense of the proletariat. It is the task of Communists to undermine these contradictions, which if not overcome could seriously threaten proletarian power. This should be done not through bureaucratic repression, except where forced, but through politically fighting for the leadership of the working class. For Stalin and Bukharin, maintaining their clique meant promoting the peasantry. The Left Opposition, led by Trotsky were accused of underestimating the peasantry. It was meanwhile, Bukharin with Stalin's support who urged the peasantry to enrich itself. After Stalin parted company with Bukharin he proceeded to ruthlessly repress the peasantry. Both pandering to the peasantry and bureaucratically repressing them constitute a break from the method of Marxism in handling these contradictions.

Stalin and Bukharin also broke from Marxism with regard to his strategy for revolution in China. Stalin advocated that the Communist Party which had a mass base in the working class, liquidate itself into the national bourgeois Kuo Mm Tang. This bloc was justified with the formulation 'bloc of four classes'. Yes this is a bloc but one where the proletariat surrenders. The "Communists" become merely an appendage of the national bourgeoisie. This strategy of forming bourgeois 'National Liberation Fronts' became the Stalinist strategy for the Third World. In Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea this strategy proved successful in establishing post-capitalist states after much betrayal and bloodshed. In Vietnam the Stalinists permitted the country to be divided in half, trusting the imperialists to hold free elections in South Vietnam. The imperialists did not oblige so the Vietnam war lasted until 1975. To show their loyalty to the imperialists the Stalinists showed the ability to smash working class uprisings including factory occupations. Today in Kampuchea there is a war between the Kampuchean Stalinists led by P01 Pot fully subordinated behind the banner of Prince Sihanouk. The Vietnamese backed Hun Sen regime would be very happy if Sihanouk backed them. In fact, they would fall in behind his leadership.

Whereas the consolidation of proletarian power in the Soviet Union required the spreading of revolution internationally, the consolidation of the bureaucracy required the strangulation of revolution internationally. This the Stalin leadership did with ruthless efficiency. The so-called Communist International becoming its appendage. That is until Stalin dissolved the Comintern in 1947 so the so-called Communist Parties • could pursue their national roads with less hindrance. Their betrayals were immense. They include allowing Hitler to rise to power in Germany. 'After Hitler, us!' was a rallying cry of the German Communist Party, acting under Stalin's orders, as they permitted the smashing of the physical German working class. In Spain the Stalinists acted as loyal agents of the Negrin Government loyally and efficiently repressing independent working class action on behalf of bourgeois rule. In France the Stalinists assisted Charles DE Gaulle in putting down strike action. In Britain their bloc the Anglo Russia Committee, in the name of "defending the Soviet Union" sold out the working class to the labour bureaucracy. All these have been documented, exposed, and fought by Leon Trotsky.

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### **COMMUNIST LEFT NEW ZEALAND, WORKERS POWER, and the COMMUNIST TENDENCY**

The Communist Tendency has pursued fraternal relations with the Communist Left of New Zealand. The grounds for this relationship being that Communist Tendency recognised that CLNZ adhered fundamentally to the Communist Left Programme for New Zealand just as the Communist Tendency adheres to the Communist Left Programme for Australia. Communist Tendency is obliged to state that we no longer recognise that organisation, which is now called Workers Power Aotearoa/New Zealand as adhering to Communist Left Programme. In February this year, Communist Left New

Zealand and the League for a Revolutionary Communist International signed a joint statement making the Communist Left a sympathising section despite openly stated differences. The leading section of the LRCI is the British group called Workers Power hence the CL/NZ change its name to Workers Power Aotearoa NZ in solidarity. The addition of Aotearoa was added more recently as an expression of critical support for the Maori peoples' right to self determination which is something that Communist Tendency is in agreement with. We are however highly critical of their affiliation to the LRCI.

The Communist Tendency fully supports CL/NZ pursuing international discussion with other tendencies proclaiming to adhere to Trotskyism. We consider that clarification is vital for the construction of a Fifth Communist International which adheres to the principles of the Fourth International when the FI was adhered to the principles of Lenin and Trotsky. The L.R.C.I. is to its credit serious in becoming an international tendency. They are far more serious than the British Revolutionary Communist Party with whom both CL/NZ and CL/A had discussions with but refused to confront our serious criticism. However fusion between tendencies either on a nation or international level should only take place when there is agreement on fundamental principle. When CL/NZ started discussions CT/A made a study of both the formal programme and political record of the LRCI and especially Workers Power. Three way discussions were held in Auckland between CL/NZ, Communist Tendency and leading representatives of the LRCI. Our analysis cannot be described as complete. However one inescapable conclusion had to be draw — THERE IS A FUNDAMENTAL GULF IN PRINCIPLE BETWEEN THE COMMUNIST LEFT PROGRAMME AND THE LRCI. The differences between the Communist Left Programme and the LRCI involve different understandings in relation to the fundamentals of Marxism. Communist Tendency is therefore opposed to any organisational affiliation to the LRCI

Workers Power is fundamentally an economist tendency. We say this despite the fact that Workers Power formally believes in a revolutionary party. However the strategy that Workers Power advocates is one of constant unionism extended and linked to the demand for a general strike, which they claim poses the question of power. They acknowledge that such a general strike could either lead to a workers' government or alternatively to a Labour government. To counter the latter possibility Workers Power advocate a concrete set of demands to expose Labour.

Marxism does not merely stand for class struggle it stands for political struggle against the capitalist state. A political struggle is one where the workers fight for a generalised demand which covers the whole of society as opposed to being satisfied by a trade union award. For such a struggle to be carried out the working class must be organised on the political level. Revolutionaries must organise not merely on the basis of opposition to the sell-outs of the trade union bureaucracy but on the basis of opposition to the capitalist state. A revolutionary party must be the basis of how Communists organise directly within the working class. To build a rank and file caucus means to liquidate what for revolutionaries is fundamental — opposition to the social and political relationships of capitalism. These are embodied in the capitalist state.

Working class political consciousness is determined not by their preparedness to fight for trade union demands in a militant fashion but whether they politically oppose the capitalist state. Of course the politics of the working class will find reflection on their capacity to fight on the trade union level. In Australia trade union struggle was seriously hampered by the notorious Prices and

Incomes Accord. However it does not follow that the more prepared with tie workers to the capitalist state. Unless this is done then — to put it bluntly, you adapt to chauvinism and reformism. This is what the Workers Power strategy amounts to despite their claims otherwise. Workers Power formally oppose reformism and chauvinism. They even make some political interventions against it. However they do not see these questions as fundamental to the establishment of a class conscious working class and avoid such fundamental political questions by calling for the extension of strike struggles including calling for a general strike.

Workers Power regularly calls for a general strike both in its main programmes and also in its short agitational ones such as “Rally to the Miners! Defend Trade Unionism! For a General Strike! Victory to the Miners!” Workers Power December 1984. The demand is an attempt to make their extended unionism appear revolutionary. After all, as Trotsky said the demand for a general strike poses the question of power. However what he also said was that while the question of power was posed it was not resolved. For Trotsky the demand the demand for a general strike had to be linked to force, that is a programme of workers militia and education of the will of the working class to go from the defence to the offensive. It is this programme which is consistently lacking from Workers Power agitation. Their call for a general strike is therefore either extraneous or useless, or alternatively, even worse preparing the working class to be smashed! The Workers Power perspective amounts to a betrayal.

In addition to the above Workers Power have both a minimum and a maximum programme. The latter programme, they argue is a means of “concretely” “putting Labour on the spot”. They hope by a list of practical immediate demands labour will be put on the spot and therefore practically exposed in front of working class militants. Their general election is “Vote Labour Organise to fight” This slogan is not good enough to pose a break from reformism. Many workers vote Labour and are prepared to fight but the political basis of their desire to struggle remains within the framework of reformism. The point of giving critical support to Labour, when applicable, is to counterpose a revolutionary alternative. This is certainly not posed by their “concrete” minimum programmes with demands such as follows

What we need — Immediate legislation for a 35 hour week without loss of pay

- Nationalisation under workers control of all firms declaring closures or redundancies without compensation.
- Restore all cuts in beds and staffing made since 1979
- Abolition of prescriptions and charges immediately
- Nationalise all banks and finance houses
- For a programme of public works.
- Legislate for equal work for equal pay.
- Enable Gay men and Lesbians to have custody of children
- Immediately scrap Polaris and Trident and get rid of Cruise missiles.

— Immediate withdrawal of British Troops from Ireland.

— Immediate and unconditional aid for all those fighting imperialism in South Africa, Workers Sanctions Now!

None of the above demands , nor any of the others in the rest of the long list poses the question of a break from the capitalist system. The point of revolutionaries taking up immediate demands , as indeed we must is to show how they only be carried out through revolutionary working class power not through the administration of the capitalist state by alternative means. The fact that revolutionary working class power is not raised ,immediately linked to these demands reinforces parliamentarism. It does not break workers from supporting the capitalist state.

As well as the above Communist Tendency has important other differences of consequence. The LRCI do not see the method of dialectical materialism to be of consequence in building a revolutionary International. “Programme first” is their rally cry. Well programme is extremely important. But for Trotskyists the point is to show how hardened errors are linked to a material interest alien to the working class and not just fight for formally correct demands but the Interest these tendencies have at the expense of the working class. The LRCI