1. Workers states are way forward but minus Moscow weak revisionist leadership chaos.

1. The struggle for socialism faces such confusion that only a review of the most basic assumptions about the individual and society will clarify a way forward.

2. The supposed 'triumph' of the Reagan-Thatcher 'New World Order' and the supposed 'defeat' and 'collapse' of the Soviet Union, plus the retreat of all 'reformism' into openly accepting (like New Labour) that it is just a movement for full class-collaboration with capitalism on a permanent basis, - have helped spread cynical scepticism about even the most basic class-war science of Marxism.

3. As a result of it now being doubted that any economic system could ever match the phenomenal innovations and technology-productivity of the 'free market', there is also now widespread doubt that anything remotely like the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution could ever happen again.

4. In turn, this muddle gets caught up with sneaking suspicions that the whole Soviet experience might have been a very unhealthy one-off cul-de-sac in history, a sick wrong-turning utterly irrelevant to socialism.

5. Apart from a few groups of museum-Stalinists in some countries who simply deny most of the difficult problems of 20th century development, all the rest of the 57 varieties of Trotskyism, Revisionism, and Centrism on the fake 'left' tend to capitulate to this all-powerful international anti-communist sentiment.

6. This widespread mentality not only challenges traditional Marxist ideas on how socialism could come about, but on how history itself works. Instead of class-struggle revolutions being civilisation's driving force, idealist philosophy again rules. The fake 'left' spends its entire time manoeuvring for electoral alliances, packing order position (ISA Trotz); trying to re-create 'left' Labourism (CFB, SLP, SP, etc); or scoring low marks in guarantee 'mistake-free socialism' by the pedantic peddling of abstract, generalised programmes, constitutions, or starting orders of some wholly academic immaclate-party conception (CPGB, SLP, Open Polemic, etc).

7. Wholly shunned is any attempt to re-convince the international working-class that a further development of Marxian scientific understanding alone holds the key to civilisation's future by demonstrating a correct analysis of the current stage of imperialist crisis, and polemically defending it against all-comers, -- rebuilding a present revolutionary theory as Leninism did, in other words.

8. Current world events are either ignored completely, or dealt with by some wooden formula which then not only ignores all polemical critique but also keeps mind closed when history itself proves things differently. For example, the SWP became the fattest of fake 'left' via decades of the most reactionary anti-Soviet opportunism. Crucial for these anti-communist 'revolutionaries' was the fiction that 'socialist' solidarity with the USSR against imperialist provocation, subversion, and sabotage was not an issue because the Soviet Union was only 'state-capitalist' itself anything. When the poster-bacher market forces counter-revolutionary debacle did finally re-introduce state-capitalism (quickly inevitably joined and shafted by robber-baron capitalism), and when the overthrow of proletarian-dictatorship central-planning and democratic via state-capitalist 'market forces' soon devastated the former mighty USSR, thus proving that what went before for 60 years could not have been state-capitalism, -- the SWP simply carried on insisting that its 'theory' of which 'justified' its anti-Soviet hatred was 'still correct'.

9. What undermined the Stalinist Revisionist ideology of the USSR was its being proved wrong by events. The entire 57-variety swamp of fake 'left' has, still has not grasped this point and is doomed to destruction along exactly the same sterile path as Third International Revisionism.

10. Such widespread multi-hued anti-Marxism has captured the international workers movement before, of course. It was rescued from 57 varieties of Bernsteinism, Kautskylism, Luxemburgism, social pacifism, social chauvinism, etc, in 1917 by the combination of spontaneous revolutionary struggle ripping the imperialist world apart so that anyone had written a constitutional programme or a set of perfect standing orders for it, plus the correct scientific analysis of the world by Lenin's deliberate party of revolutionary theory ('What to be done', etc) which was consequentially trusted by the masses to give guidance and leadership to the revolution.

11. A recent new feature of the anti-communist fake 'left' has been to replace the old Trotskyist claim that 'Lenin was a great revolutionary socialist, but Stalin's brutal dictatorship imposed a counter-revolution', which has always caused difficulty since no one could ever agree when, where, and how this counter-revolution took place), -- with the more internally-coherent line that 'Lenin's revolution was a monstrous anti-socialist dictatorship from the start', etc.

12. The problem for the anti-communists with this, of course, is the same one that routine anti-Stalinism found difficulty with (apart from in a handful of very wealthy-bourgeoisie, rich imperialist countries) -- namely, that although very patchy and seriously theoretically-flawed, the actual 70 years record of the Soviet Union in standing up to or challenging imperialist world-domination in so many ways, exposed all in-stinctive class-based anti-Sovietism for the idealist anti-Marxist reaction that it was. Despite endless allegations of dumb emotives, cross interference, grotesque mistakes, etc, the plain reality is that for 70 years, the backward and war-devastated state founded by Leninism made colossal disciplined sacrifices to help two-thirds of the world rise up again, to escape servility and slavery and start their own independent economic and cultural development, supplying doctors, engineers, educational establish-
ments, agronomists, dama, economic enter-
prises, backed by scores of special Third-
World colleges and insti-
ments, and his setting up in the USSR itself, and his setting up a comple-
mentary agenda for the
world to replace the
bombs, bullets, and
scorched-earth tyranny that the globe's
empires (Britain, France, USA, Holland, Portugal, Belgium, Spain, etc.) had tried
hanging onto power
with post-1945 in Al-
geria, Cyprus, Malaya,
Vietnam and Indo-China, Egypt, Kenya, Aden, Indonesia, Mozambique, etc., etc., etc. In ad-
dition, a score or more coun-
tries, from China to Cuba, were further generously helped to
establish their own planned economies in
defiant independence of the
world-wide imperialist at-
tempts at armed subver-
sion and counter-
revolution, at economic
embargo-strangulation, and at ideologi-
cal-propaganda-destruc-
tion.

13. These most out-
standing and astonish-
ing achievements yet
(by the revisionist
international political development) only start-
ed going irrevocably
wrong when the Moscow
bureaucracy began to lose
radically about how the
later stages of the interna-
tional class war to destroy
the international imperialist system
and its system of 'free-
market' world economic domination, would un-
fold. Widespread confu-
sion started taking root in the interna-
tional militant move-
ment from the 1930s
Poplar Front onwards that capitalism
finally be toppled or
tamed, universally, part-
yly, because of the pressure of anti-im-
perialist coalitions of class-
cross class 'democ-
ocracy'. This anti-
revolutionary delusion was
undermined by
the tragic World
II confusion that there-
were 'good' imperial-
ists (USA, 'good'
France, etc) who
were prepared to become an
ally of the workers
state in its fight for survival
against German imperial-
istic onslaught, and to
gether, and set ab-
out deliberately dis-
mantling the dictat-
oral system of the prolet-
ariat.

14. It was the theor-
etical legacy of the
Stalin era which did
the damage. The Revis-
ionist bureaucrats
subsequent to Stalin
left the international
this crucial aspect
when struggling
over the 'cult of the
individual and its conse-
quences', concentrating instead
on accusing alleged
chorns of
bureaucratic illeg-
rities in the war
against imperialist subversion and counter-
revolutionary back-
slash. On many
questions of anti-imperial-
ist revolutionary
theory, the subsequent
Revisionist bureaucr-
crats departed even fur-
ther from Marxism Leninism toward interna-
tional class-collabora-
tionism and liquidationism than Stalin
did. On the really essen-
tial questions of
'socialism', the sub-
sequent detractors
bureaucrats were in
fact more Stalinist
than Stalin, suggest-
ing by Gorbachev's
then for ever, that World II might not have been an inevitability of
imperialist-system crisis
but possibly an avoid-
bable bureaucratic
mistake by the Moscow
leadership of the time
(i.e. Stalin).

An entire anti-Stalin
Revisionist literature
was constructed
in which traced bureau-
cratic deterioration
in run-
ing the Soviet Union
all to the weakening of
cadres for subject-
ivist purposes (only the
those who could not stand up to Stalin getting
promoted, etc, etc) whereas in reality, the
deterioration in the
corruption come from compounding the
mistakes in world anal-
ysis (objective mis-
takes) which earlier
bureaucrats (led by
Stalin) had made, there-
by eventually weak-
ening the ability and authority of the party leadership all round, culminating in its
alienating self-
liquidation and to lead to mistakes',
etc, etc, - is no advance
on Trotsky's re-
actionary, self-serv-
ing, subjective bilge
from 1926 in 'Intol-
Revolution Betrayed'. If, indeed, it were true, as is argued,
that "the Administrative System (meanings the Party apparatus at the head of the
dictatorship of the proletari-
art running an entirely planned econ-
omy, publicly-owned)
fits if party that is
difficult to function in the
conditions of the scientific
and technological revolution
when industry has to deal on a daily
basis with that at least
one or two inventions,
but an avalanche of innovations"; and "the decision-makers, poss-
ssessing no objective
economic criteria, inevitably becomes hostages to foreign countries, where what is being used is always correct', and 'the Administrative Reform which improves to be more and more incompetent in dealing with the key problem of the second half of the 20th century, the task of scientific and technological progress', etc., etc., then market forces would rule forever, and the death of a large socialist world would truly be dead.

But in reality, the Soviet workers state carried on successfully transforming itself for a further period four times longer than the span of existence it had covered when Trotsky's last relatively successful in 1936 that 'all further Soviet economic progress was now out of the question because the demands of modern technological progress now run into the absolute limits of bureaucratic-dictatorship command-economy management's ability to respond'. Only enough to all the detailed delicate new innovative requirements, etc., if the USSR could multiply its productive capacity and per capita income between 1935 and 1936 by five times to reach 1980 successfully, having mastered space exploration, nuclear rocket engineering, air defences and mass production, computerised television communications, etc., etc., etc., along the way, despite having been utterly destroyed again by another Western imperialist invasion-intervention from 1941 to 1945, and despite having escaped from the Third World with free technological assistance thereafter, -- then Trotsky's sour grapes counter-revolutionary nonsense was clearly proved as such, and the above 1988 Gorbachevite version of the same irrational anti-Marxist myth would make no sense either. If bureaucratic state planning can do it at one time, it can do it at another time just as easily.

What undermined the final generation of Soviet bureaucratic leadership was not an inability to cope with "the new scale and pace of scientific and technological progress" (Gorelik, 1979, Science & Life, the 3,2million monthly circulation magazine of the All-Union Knowledge Society) but a deteriorate Revisionism which made an even more disastros mess of failing to understand imperialism as an incurable system or 'end-and-begin' crisis than Stalin had done. The background to this rationalised idealism (about Soviet state planning suddenly increasing immensely, allegedly, of coping with technological innovation any longer, -lay in the confusion stimulated by Stalin's 1952 work 'Economic Problems of Socialism'. This had mapped out how the conflict with imperialism would be overcome peacefully through the socialist states eventually easily outperforming the capitalistic economies.

When this uncorrectable -Marxist nonsense had failed to prove true by the late 1980s (according to how the then generation of Moscow Revisionist bureaucrats chose to measure things), this ongoing anti-Marxist confusion decided to abort not Stalin's mistaken ideas about the pointless and unrealistic 'competition' and about misunderstanding the boom-bust nature of imperialism, his sound ideas about how the Soviet economy should continue to organise its development.

By the Western economies failed to decline to a crawl and be overtaken by the socialist camp, as Stalin's theory, even if it did happen, Gorbachev & Co conceded it because the Soviet economy was failing to make proper use of market mechanism.

Stalin's 'theory', carried such weight that it was not even questioned, [in spite of much 'anti-Stalin' political after his death because it fitted so well into so many other non-Marxist anti-revolutionary delusions the bureaucracy had lived by. It suited admirably the established wishful-thinking that maybe ultimate all-out conflict between the socialist camp and the non-socialist imperialists (now dominant, -USA, Britain, France) could be avoided, with the socialist camp still constantly growing stronger going to success to success, then the cooperative coexistence illusion of the wartime Soviet alliance, forced on the USSR by Stalin in cleverly splitting the rearming imperialist warmongers ranged against the USSR in 1939, halting the west-east move of Germany's invasion plan against the USSR by signing the Molotov-Ribbentrop non-aggression pact, was envisaged as extending to a semi-permanent understanding by the west that it would never be a good idea for capitalism to get involved in war with the USSR again.

But this not-correct sentiment that(JV)"the struggle of the capitalistic countries against markets and their desire to crush competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp, referring to how WWII started as an inter-imperialist war in spite of the West's hope that it would not be anti-Soviet [armed], and found expression in hopelessly anti-revolutionary notions. Refusing the validity of the idea that inter-imperialist conflicts in practice could overtake the even more fundamental contradictions in the long run between capitalism and socialism, Stalin goes on: "WWII began not as a war with the USSR but as a war between capitalist countries. Why? Firstly, because war with the USSR, as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war between capitalist countries; for whereas war between capitalist countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries for others, war with the USSR must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself. While this superifici-
path forever to any further socialist advance in the world. In this deluded atmosphere, future socialist advances were seen as almost falling into the lap of the international imperialists by means of their failure to throw anything worthwhile up in time, practically automatically. Stalin's casual neglecting to mention the utterly catastrophic impact of the war on mankind for the working class to be ready to take revolutionary power out of the hands of the so-called bourgeoisies upon the failure of another capitalist war-disaster, both reflected and cemented this totally anti-Marxist mentality already established.

Stalin gives this deliberately non-revolutionary perspective further author- itative weight by committing to the objectives of the heavily internationally CP-backed peace movement. Although not denying that the imperialists' inevitability altogether, imperialism would have to be "abolished" (but avoiding stating specifics at any line),-Stalin plainly advocates the following:

"The object of the present-day peace movement is to rouse the masses of the people to fight for the preservation of peace and for the prevention of another world war. Consequently, the aim of the peace movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, - it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace in the present-day world movement. But the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the First World War for the prevention of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went further and pursued "socialism world-wide". As Marx or Lenin might have commented, it is impossible to prevent the capitalist system from going to war, but it is impossible to overthrow the capitalist system. So, surely it would be easier to overthrow capitalism rather than trying to prevent it going to war. But once again, behind this Stalinist anti-revolutionary Revisionism lurks the assumption that the imperialist countries are "rich and expanding economically anyway, and that sooner or later, they will just fall into the hands of the working class like ripe fruit."

All that is needed from the international workers movement is to guard against letting the imperialists go away with starting another war. And this was the essence of the "less difficult" task facing the international capitalist movement than the Bolsheviks had to face in 1917, as Stalin explained it to the 19th Congress of the CPSU in 1924, calling it "the socialist war against the capitalist world" implying that bourgeois imperialism decline and decay would make winning power of the communists relatively easier.

The following passage in 'Economic problems' finally spells out the warped 'theory' behind this anti-revolutionary retreat from Marxist science, which doomed the world movement to an impossible perspective, and confirmed it to nillibal ultimate total confusion:

"The result of East European socialist-camp cooperation is a fast pace of industrial development in these countries. It may be confidently said that with this pace of industrial development, it will be no exaggeration to pass that these countries will not only be in need of no imports from capitalist countries, but will themselves face the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus products. But it follows from this that the sphere of taxation or the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (USA, Britain, France) will not expand; on the contrary, that their opportunities for sale in the world markets will deteriorate, and that their industries will be operating with reduced below capacity. That in fact is what is meant by the deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist market in connection with the disintegration of the world market."

"This is felt by the capitalists themselves, for it would be difficult for them not to feel the loss of such markets as the USSR and China. They are trying to overcome these difficulties with the Marshall Plan, the war in Korea, frantic rearmament, and industrial militarization. But that is very much like a drowning man clutching at a straw. This state of affairs has confronted the economists with two quite different decisions:

"a) Can it be affirmed that the thesis expounded by Stalin /Talking about himself in the third person between the Second World War regarding the relative stability of markets in the period of the general crisis of capitalism is still valid?

"b) Can it be affirmed that the thesis expounded by Lenin in the spring of 1916, namely that capitalisms are declining, is not valid in the view of the decay of capitalism, "on the whole, capitalism is growing far more rapidly than before" - is still valid?"

"I think that it cannot. In view of the new conditions to which the Second World War has given rise, both these theses must be regarded as having lost their validity".

16. This was the gospel in 1952 despite the sobering of the open debunking of Stalin in 1956, and the beginnings of China's doubts about how well Marshall was working in the world, the November 1960 statement of the 81 communist parties, including China, continued promoting the unilateral perspective "to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means" on the basis that "the pillars of the capitalist system have collapsed". It was a time when the collapse of the Second World War had begun to appear as "a growing anti-imperialist camp through to success in the long run, - (but by revolution, of course, and as when imperialists in the UN/SEC. If the world collapse finally set in, in accordance with Marxist economic laws of over-production crisis.)"

But by the 1980s, the Gorbachevites were still working to the uncorrected Stalinist Revisionist assertions that capitalism should have been well and dead and buried by superior socialist competition by now.
16. Western anti-Marxist attempts to ascribe the USSR's spectacular self-destruction to fundamental incurable flaws in how a workers state must inevitably function, have failed quite spectacularly. One of the most exhaustive economics studies was by Ellman (Amsterdam University) and Kontorovich (Haverford College, USA) (1992; Routledge).

This investigated every economic statistic and report available (Soviet and Western sources) from 1953 onwards, claiming to be able to trace and explain scores of various movements, up and down, in every conceivable indicator: inflation, wages, investment for production goods, investment for consumer goods, GNP growth, military expenditure, shortage times, etc., etc.

Much painful unevenness of development is clearly reflected in this anti-communist book. It concludes fairly that the USSR was still growing in general economic strength, in line with its development since 1917 more or less coming up to the Gorbachev political onslaught on how things were running, in 1988-90, after which dramatic decline and disintegration set in (the economy of the ex-USSR has collapsed in the subsequent 10 years to less than half its former strength, an economic decline of a major power unknown in the whole of recorded history).

Every plausible and implausible 'explanation' for the sudden deterioration Gorbachev had, was carefully examined: poor planning, tying up too much capital investment unproductively; slowdown in supply of new labour force; increased bureaucratic corruption; natural resources exhaustion; ageing population; environmental destruction; expropriation of social-political discipline; loss of wage incentives; decay of ideological motivation; absolute vastness-of-scale problems for continual central planning and control; loss of intellectual and moral authority for the system; neglect of increased industrial expansion and growth; this tending to get smaller each year since 1958; etc, etc.

None of these are dismissed from having played a part in the accumulated problems Gorbachev thought he had to deal with. But they are all rejected, collectively or separately, in offering any explanation of the disintegration. Repeatedly, and in detail, Ellman and Kontorovich return again and again to the following broad conclusion:

"The Soviet system has been brought down not to a considerable extent by the acts of its top executive, starting in 1986...On the one hand, the decision (the initial revolution from below) was limited to objective difficulties confronting the society. On the other hand, the decisions taken reflected nothing of the top leadership's perception of the situation. Judging by Gorbachev's speeches, it seems to have developed as a trial-and-error response to his perception of the situation he inherited (i.e. failure to compete successfully on the economic front with the capitalist world, widespread drunkenness and corruption, low economic growth, and an official economic doctrine which could not rationalize the policies the leadership wished to pursue).

"The economic collapse has been in part an unintended by-product of the political changes Gorbachev has introduced. These political changes (the initial revolution of the Communist Party from a direct role in the economy; the transfer of substantial powers to the Soviets; de-technicization of the economy; expansion of the independence of enterprises were expected to release the human factor in economic development and thus lead to rapid economic growth. In fact they removed the motive force (pressure from above) which had propelled the Soviet economy in previous decades without replacing it by an adequate substitute. Hence, as the political reforms became more radical, the economy went into a tailspin."

Dumbly tied to Stalin's infantile anti-Marxist perspectives about the historic international class war between the imperialist bourgeoisie being won by the still relatively-backward Soviet workers state geography, a general shortage of potentially profitable consumer goods onto the market than capitalist world-market exploitation could forecast, what bourgeois economic jargon is describing is Gorbachev's Revisionist destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat, replacing it with the democracy (bourgeois democracy) of market forces.

The anti-communist Western academics make further admissions: "The recovery of the Soviet economy from its 1979-82 decline started when the traditional economic system was viable... The success of the Andropov and early-Gorbachev policies pointed to a new and earlier phase of development based on utilizing the strengths of the existing system, such a strategy has been based on the comprehensive and consistent enforcement of discipline, but not limited to it. It would also have involved the organization, planning and management of the command system on its own terms, rather than trying to graft a new command system onto the already-existing command structure, as so many reforms have done."

"For a time it looked as if Gorbachev would adopt a new and better strategy. Some innovations of a command type (such as the 'Novo-patokst system' of tight control) were introduced on a small scale. Command methods were deployed to accelerate technological change. The 12th 5-year plan (1986-90) embodied the recommendations of the advocates of increased in-
vestment. What would have happened if this strategy had actually been adhered to? "Increased pressure on managers alone significantly improved performance in the railroad sector, with its worn-out capital stock and extremely high level of capacity utilization. It would have brought about an even larger gain in other sectors, where the capital stock was in better shape and capacity reserves higher. If this pressure had been supported by systematizing and rationalizing the command system, and by the injection of new investment, the results of 1985-86 might have been prolonged into the 1990s. The traditional model of socialism was then doomed to extinction in the late 1980s. Its eventual ruin was the result of conscious choice on the part of the political leadership."

After detailing how some of Gorbachev's attempted command-strategy policies in fact proved counterproductive due to their clumsy, crude implementation (anti-alcohol campaign, accelerated macrofinancial buildup—investment, restrictions on the black economy, etc), this bourgeois economic science contentedly concludes:"The command strategy, however, was not adhered to. After the 27th party congress in 1986, Gorbachev stuck to the policies that undermined discipline. One reason for abandoning the command strategy was dissatisfaction with its results. In 1986-89, the net material product grew, according to official statistics, at an annual average rate of 2.8 per cent. The country was a lagging country which was trying to catch up. Soviet aspirations were expressed in Gorbachev's speeches in 1985-87 as being in line with the world's leading powers in terms of high technology, and as being within the targets of the 12th 5-year plan, which envisaged acceleration of growth. Apparently, Soviet politicians perceived (correctly in this view) that the traditional economic system, however strengthened, was not up to this task..."

"Whether or not the economic correction in the USSR continued to differ on the economic performance of the USSR compared to that of the USA. The 1980s was a decade in which Soviet economy came under the influence of the international demonstration effect of the world-wide excesses of capitalism. In North America, western Europe and East Asia, high-and rising living standards and rapid technological progress (in the introduction of new products and the rapid resource-saving in production) were very visible and had an important influence on Soviet policy formation... the OECD countries had achieved much higher living standards than the USSR. Materially, I think, Moskow was inhabited by the rhetoric of Reagan and Thatcher, the market economies were full of self-confidence in the superiority of their system. The USSR had long been engaged in the 'competition between the two systems', and it was important for the legitimacy of Soviet power to score successes in this competition. The complete failure of the USSR to catch up with the advanced countries in living standards undermined the legitimacy of the regime. This was particularly marked among the elite who traveled abroad and/or were able to obtain imported consumer goods."

17. In reality, of course, it was no shame at all for the Soviet workers state—struggling in a reactionary, bureaucratic, autocratic manner alongside Cuba, Korea, China, Vietnam, East Europe, and much of the Third World to try to contain capitalist-imperialist domination—to have not yet remotely caught up with top bourgeois living standards. The apex of the long and vastest international capitalist paradox... - especially when the USSR was once again at that precise moment (as Elman and Kedrov wrote) having to allocate more precious resources to military needs than ever because of the threatened US Star Wars program..."

But Stalin's anti-revolutionary Revisionism, complicity, - with its utterly naive perspectives on imperialist development, not seeing the boom but equally now ignorantly unaware that the most massive build up of slave labor must also subsequently follow, - still totally ruled the Moscow bureaucracy."

And in the sick, sad and moribund - 'catch up' with what the imperialist system of vicious Third World exploitation could achieve in terms of shallow profiteering consumerism and trade-war market manipulation and domination, this degenerate Revisionism then offered the knife to the workers state itself, and to all connection with the science and aims of Marxism-Leninism, in the terms of this bourgeois economist's account: "The leadership itself removed (from the building it was trying to (build) a load-bearing 'bricks' on which the stability of the structure rested. As a result, the whole structure came crashing down. The three key 'bricks' which Gorbachev removed, or weakened, were: the central bureaucratic apparatus; the official ideology; and the active role of the party in the economy."

For example, the Western professors mention the 28th party congress in June 1990: "Among other things, the congress criticized economic and administrative reorganizations affecting agriculture: 'In recent years, the agro-industrial complex has been considerably rationalized. This has destroyed the links and interrelationships between the different parts of the industrial complex, led to the loss of many highly qualified specialists; and weakened technological, productive and state discipline'. This was the view of most of the speakers at the congress, including Gorbachev. At the section on agrarian policy of the congress, practically all the speakers proposed re-establishing state control over Agriculture. The resolution of the congress on agricultural policy specifically called for the dissolution of the Ministry of Agriculture and Agricultural Machinery (abolished by Gorbachev in 1985), and the establishment of a supply and service system specifically for agriculture. These demands were not con- ceded, partly because they were a rebuff to an admission that Gorbachev's earlier reorganizations had been harmful, partly because they were an attack on Gorbachev's partial de-collectivization policy..."

Scores more examples are given which demonstrate economic effects of the perestroika revolution where the "liberalization" of the black market led just to a thorough re-establishment of management discipline. Summarising it all as an effective destruction of the USSR's state ideology, the Western observer's conclusion continues:

"By removing the party from its role in the economy, they removed essential feature of the smooth running of the traditional model. In the traditional model, the party was at all levels played an essential role. They cut through the maze of conflicting bureaucracies and enforced the priorities of the centre. Once they withdrew from the economy, however, factories, cities, regions, and republics were free to do what they thought best, regardless of the documents emanating from the centre. Furthermore, the process of decentralisation, by transferring much power to the Soviets and permitting the emergence of independent social organizations, led to destabilizing economic consequences,
varying from the introduction of customs prohibitions, police roundups, and depriving non-residents of certain cities of the possibility of shopping there, to the case of Selbstverwaltungen (self-governing communities) in economically-harmful factories. It also led to the growing power of anti-communists in parts of the country (Moscow, Leningrad, Rumania, Baltic republics, Georgia). These anti-communists were prepared to go ahead with reforms regardless of their short-term negative effects.... One of the striking effects of the disintegration of Marxism-Leninism was that it was partially restored by the national and nationalist. In a multi-national and multi-religious state... the disintegration of Marxism-Leninism and the resurgence of religion and nationalism automatically led to a weakening of the USSR as a unitary state Region and those of which was uniform throughout the country by which divided it on ethnic lines as a recipe for conflicts... and the economic costs. Numerous examples are appended.

18. So finally, a Stalinist counter-revolution of some kind did take place and destroyed the worker state, building socialism. But not until 1990–91, on average, 60 years after the first elaborations of fake 'lefts' started putting their boot into the Soviet Union for a variety of reasons. 'Real' 'nationalist'. These same petty-bourgeois still argue: 'So it collapsed eventually anyway. So what?' Utterly irrelevant and not the time for the same comments about 'call that socialism? Life in a capitalist prison would be preferable'. Such philistine Westerners who ignore will count for a little in the long run as any other mentality originating in the colonial-ruled to a dynamic monopoly-imperialist relation, it is the survival of the West's world-exploitation for so long that is the real historical anomaly, not the outstanding achievements of the world's first workers state, lasting 70 years despite starting in the most difficult and backward country imaginable, and where being three times dismembered or devastated by war since October 1917; threatened or sabotaged by further imperialist economic domination continuously; ecologically bloomed, subverted, and blackmailed throughout; and vilified, provoked, lied about, and beatified by non-stop hostile propaganda and hatred between states, nothing of the like of which has been seen in all history. Not anti-communist Cold War poison atmosphere is still polluting the world as dominantly as it was (e.g. Zimbabwe has just been given the full treatment for refusing to toe the West's monopoly-commercial line. Yugoslavia, Iraq, China, Korea, etc. got it before. The IRA and Sinn Fein got it in Britain. Revolutionaries in Colombia, Palestine, and Mexico are being lined up for it next. Or possibly China again, or Viet Nam. Wherehere a liberal imperialism sees the next threat looming to Western prestige as the least way to destroy the world, politically or otherwise. It has in the deadliest threat of how it might give billions of others in the Third World the idea of revolution against Western control as well.)

It is on these basic class-war questions that Soviet communism is not dead at all. For 90 years bourgeoisie has dominated the world and every sphere of human achievement with its 'dominant national temporary/ way of doing things'. But it could never stop ending up as monopoly-imperialist domination-exploration of world at large and through war-conquest and the market. The Soviet workers state was the first successful instance of that domination, the miraculous achievements without a bourgeoisie-capitalist class in sight, let alone in total control (as is the condition of the free world). No wonder was it so ill, so hated by every scrap of ruling-class and petty-bourgeois propaganda.

19. But if it failed in the end, why does it matter? Where any part of the world want to re-tread the Soviet Union's route? The vast majority of impoverished Third World countries think ill would. And they are going to want to emulate Soviet workers-state achievements even more urgently, before they are longer, because of the fundamental reality of world development which every wretched renegade from the dictatorship of the proletariat has always ignored (Revisionist, Trotskyite, or Reformist). - the basic Marxist scientists that no new period in imperialist world trade can last forever. A crisis of 'surplus' capital must come. Economic recessions and, later, All-out trade war and shooting war will inevitably follow. Relatively speaking, the world will be back to where it once was. Billions of ordinary people around the globe, suffering capitalist war horrors as well as capitalist social horrors more, after stifling endlessly under capitalist exploitation anyway, will not put up with it. Communist revolution will yet again be the only future for mankind.

20. Left' electoralism, without a genuine revolutionary content, will soon have the Trots, etc., as hated as the rest of bourgeois political opportunists in Parliament. Only renewed parties of Leninist revolutionary theory will capture long-term working-class allegiance now, and be able to take it into successful revolutionary struggle. There is no way forward for mankind but via whole world of Leninist scenario. Tactical compromises can be endlessly flexible over broad-front possibilities for mass political unity, but such has been the corruption of workers'-movement thinking by 80 years of Cold War anti-communism and the triumphs of reformist single-issue political correctness pursuing extreme individualist philosophies (feminism, black nationalism, homosexuality, etc) that any restriction on Marxist-Leninist polemics can only lead back again to total collapse. 'Left' electoralism may briefly be turned to out of working-class habit in this country, for while it may temporarily opportunize for a short opportunism, it will not be able to prevent electoralism itself being held in ever-increasing contempt by the working class.

Regional parliamentary nationalism will proliferate as sterile. The working class in Britain has far more culture in common than the average proletarian does with the average Scot, Welsh, or Irish in part of the land. England, Scotland, or Wales, and on far more crucial questions in view of the coming crisis of today's international imperialist counter-revolution is on the rampage everywhere, the working class in Britain will stand fairer chance of defending any revolutionary gains made if united rather than if atomised into a series of 'nations': England, Scotland, and Wales. Blair's devolution concessions are strictly a boontime gimmick to gain electoral popularity. 'Socialism in the working class with yet another layer of bloated bureaucracy to support, and wrapping yet another confusion -parliamentary cover-ups around the still-continuing basic capitalist system, which will remain as dominant as ever, monopoly-imperialist interests as ever, and which will carry on the class-divided exploitation of the unpropertied masses, the owning proletariat the same as before. Come the slump, and the contempt for this petty-bourgeois nationalist playing will have no bounds.

The defeat of British colonial-imperialism by the heroic Irish nation-building struggle truly re-
2. Thinking that 'free-world triumph' means imperialist war-fascism epoch has ended will be a fatal mistake. 'Human rights' fraud is just a cover for West domination.

22. That the expectation of ceaseless revolt of a 'legitimate' is just a reaction to the mentality at the heart of a genuinely Marxist philosophical outlook, will be demonstrated by the US imperialist retreat in June 2000 over the case of Elian Gonzalez, (the 6-year-old kidnapped from Cuba to go on a failed 'refugee's attempt to 'boat people' disaster, seduced by Miami's bright lights), and then kidnapped again by the American authorities, preventing the lad being restored to his father in Cuba.

The worst thing that might occur is that the mass of the people and workers will not take to the streets to demand that those responsible be brought to justice. To prevent the situation from getting out of control, the military will then be called in. The people will then be told that the situation is getting out of hand and that if they do not obey, the military will not be responsible for any consequences. The people will then be told that if they do not obey, the military will not be responsible for any consequences.

Workers states will all the time be able to take advantage of all sorts of weaknesses and anomalies in the frequently chaotic and unstable policies and plans of the imperialist countries, and thus exploit these states and workers, that artificial credit creation has constructed (in effect through huge dollar hand-outs to every anti-communist country) is a real operation on earth since 1945, just as the devastating will be the write-out of surplus capital and the rate of profit collapsing confidence shatters everywhere. The world is in for the most catastrophic crash and slump in history. If this war for economic survival is inevitable. Suddenly, the mass involvement in the slow motion, but the progress of the Soviet economy, however muddled and bureaucratic, will seem like paradise.

And how are workers states supposed to be able to function anyway? Like the disorganised chaos of the average trade union or 'left' party in Britain? The only model in history of any sort of workers state is the Soviet one, followed by a couple of dogmatic and bureaucratic states. How is the underclass in Britain expected to learn statecraft for building towards an egalitarian society? With difficulty, and by massive hard work and discipline, under a mass-party-led proletarian dictatorship, exactly as the Leninists did it.

The only reason for refusing to rebuild a Leninist movement in open polemic struggle is therefore because petty-bourgeois complacency, philistinism, and cynicism still does not believe that capitalist imperialism is about to collapse, or sees nothing wrong with its total collapse and destruction anyway. But only three years ago, the SWP said Blairism had a future worth voting for, and look at the shock collapsing mess now, dithering whether to crawl into the German imperialist camp, or declare it to be the American laager, the eventual humiliation and war in either direction. By its incurable nature, capitalism is on a course to increase frustration, alienation, and divisiveness. Only Marx-Leninist science offers a sane constructive way forward for human community. Build the ESR!

Cynicism has most difficulty getting its brain round how easily derisible unsophisticated Soviet bureaucrats made it itself, in its sick cult of the individual days; in its farcical self-deception which no one ought to be able to prevent; in its clumsy pollution; in some of its crude simplistic brutalities for political control. The only answer to this is that some cultural pressure. How could part of the future frequently look so embarrassingly naive and barbaric, and end up flating on its face anyway?

The first point is to forget all comparison with life in the West and compare workers-state achievements with the hell-hole of Tsarist Russia, or even with the hell-hole of Imperialist China. In spite of massive western aid and investment flooding in to try to make capitalism look appealing the only comparison for Soviet achievements would be with some other vast backward semi-Asian hell-hole like Tsarist Russia. It is no use trying to make the best of a bad job, and pretending that life is better in China. The people of China have been through the same and have had to face the same problems, which China has won hands down. It is then partly confused the picture by borrowing some capitalist methods of development for its own use.

A clear sight of Cuba's outstanding superiority to anywhere else in Latin America in eradicating illiteracy, in ending to end all plagues and sickness, and much else of tradition backwardness of the region, has been deliberately confused by the imperialist right bending every sinew to subvert, undermine, blockade, poison, terrorise, vilify, etc., etc., to keep everything on edge, and prevent people even thinking about Cuba's remarkable achievements. By accident or design, Vietnam's progress has been covered up by the massive surrounding miracle economies of the South East Asian 'tigers'. But the first collapse of capitalism is now in flames of revolt. When the world crash comes, how will the comparison seem then?

And what crucially matters is how it is seen locally. From Shetland to Islington, China's potential for revolution workers-state regional leadership is far from over yet. As was the case in 1949, so will be the case, the fate of the world imperialist trade-war crisis will be decisive in whether the Third World chooses for itself, throughout Latin America, Africa, Asia, and the Middle East. And once revolution workers-states become the dominant pattern on earth, then the Western imperialist 'free market' racket of exploiting the whole planet for its own benefit really will find its days numbered. A much healthier, more rational world is in view. Build Marxism-Leninism.
ple of this crucial lesson for the only realistic world philosophy available to progressive mankind for some time to come. This completely manufactured ferocious vilification against ZANU is entirely because it has dusted down some class-war actions and rhetoric for addressing the land-reform crisis with the openly threatening confiscation of vast monopoly-capitalist landholdings as the correct approach towards more justice and equality for the Third World's poor masses, especially where the property-less poor are black and the rich & powerful are clearly representative of white international bourgeoisie culture, - the ZANU class-war threats have sent alarm bells ringing right round the world market economy. And this is particularly so because Mugabe had previously been willing to play dutifully the 'restrained international statesman' role that imperialist compromise expects and loves in former national-liberation-war leaders. Having won and been granted 'respect', the Western hatred could be unbounded (for any 'national-democracy' leader who then reverts to guerrilla warfare by 'setting a bad example' to billions which could terrify international-capitalism in due course.

24. Another clue to the real issues which strike fear into the very heart of the bourgeoisie is long-standing on earth, - and therefore instruct workers on what is the crucial essence of the whole struggle in this situation, - is capitalist propaganda's relentless campaigning on the matter of so-called 'two-state solution', -(meaning the revolution's audacity in establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the existing 'capitalist democracy' world of the bourgeoisie (and there is no alternative to replacement), - but dressed up by the philosophical individualism of the imperialists as questions of 'human rights'. This complete fraud of supposed totalitarianism versus supposed 'humanitarianism' has been used as a get-out clause by more millions of bourgeois-minded people than anything else for escaping into anti-communism from the pressures in the West against loyalty to the workers' states and to the socialist revolution.

Serious scientific research may one day be able to sort out the actual record of any mistakes, disasters, or wrong-headedness which workers states might have been responsible for, but a blood-curdling worldwide torrent of lies, distortions, and rumours has been poured against the dictatorship of the proletariat from day 1 in 1917 and continues to this moment against Cuba, Korea, etc., and unceasing in retrospect against the USSR, - constantly alleging 'millions' of deaths here, there, and everywhere.

If that same research were also to count up the millions allegedly killed by the revolution since October 1917, in all the newspaper, magazine, book, and broadcast hysteria of this same world, it would come to many, many hundreds of millions of dead bodies. Populations would have been estimated. As it happens, the population of Tsarist Russia/USSR went from 140 million in 1917 to nearly 280 million by 1989, despite having almost an entire generation of young men killed liberating Russia and Europe from capitalist-imperialist war-aggression in 1941-45 which killed more than 20 million Soviet citizens, - the population increase for a European state, Over the same 72 years, 9 the population of France, for example, which lost very few people in World War II, went from 50 million to 52 million. And the positive stability making the most that huge Soviet popul-
oration increase, has disappeared completely following the destruction of the Stalinist dictatorship of the proletariat in 1990, and life expectancy, plus population totals and projections, are now falling sharply.

What Western brainwashing has also never bothered to explain is why would any workers-state regime, such as that USSR, which never had a unemployment problem, only labour shortages because of its planned economy, and which only became a Greater-Ceremony for its ever-expanding highly-educated and scientifically-skilled mass population, ever want to join this fallling all its own people for no reason?

The defence of the workers states against non-stop counter-revolutionary attempts to sabotage their liberation surrounding imperialism since 1917 is obviously a different subject entirely. After all, it was from the leading capitalist countries staged a counter-revolutionary invasion of the Soviet Union after it was declared and virtually the whole territory with bombing and scorched-earth terror, and then financed and armed a further two-young-scaring civil war, followed by endless sabotage against the young workers state, the tension in the Union, the rush within the rush to build the country up before the next terrifying invasion threat from vastly-stronger imperialist satellites just 12 years later when Nazi Germany began its colossal master-race rearmament programme, financed by another blind eye to the other Great Powers (despite its obvious fascist-aggressive danger; and quite being forbidden by the Versailles Treaty) because of Hitler's Treaty determination to find more Lebensraum for a greater Germany to the East, meaning the Soviet workers state would soon be invaded and put to the sword again.

Another interesting propaganda point is that the famous Tianshann Square massacre which the whole planet has a graphic grasp of and will unfailingly bring up whenever a capitalist world (as an alternative to capitalism) is spoken of. What is fascinating is that of some 50,000 days that workers stage every day since 1917 for massacring the hundreds of millions of people supposedly to their credit, only Tianshan is always confidently quoted as an example of this happening. Other names 'massacres' confidently quoted might just include the Katyn Forest in May 1940, or the Ukraine famine, or the Moscow Trials, but not much else. Now although Western sources have subsequently admitted that not a single life was actually lost on Tianshan Square itself (despite the terrifying torture, repressions, castration, bicicles, and barricades crushed by tanks), nevertheless there was undoubtedly a civil war in Moscow in 1919, 900 people lost their lives in total in that centre (and one or two others), as agreed by all slightly-more-responsible and more-communist Western historians. And at least 50 of these were state officials (soldiers, police, postmen, bus-drivers, etc.) murdered by the mob.

But if a round 500 million is the total butchered by communism since 1917 after adding up every single Western horror story published or broadcast since then, then the accounting for them by Western anecdotists, who never really go far beyond Tianshan when proof is demanded, would still leave 499,999,900 butchered by communism unaccounted.

Throw in the most exaggerated anti-communist estimates of deaths due to work-er's self-repression and all this (in the Ukraine famine, Moscow Trials, Katyn, Hungary, and there are still more than 450 million dead at communist hands since 1917 that most people cannot remotely quote a source for, place, incident, struggle, or whatever. In other words, the difficulty in remembering Auschwitz and the holocaust which killed several million Jews, Gypsies, communists, traditionalists, Soviet prisoners-of-war, etc, etc (although never described as the victims of capitalism's excesses (which voted Hitler into power in 1933) as opposed to everyone always bringing up the victims of communist rule). The Somme and other phases of trench-war butchery of tens of thousands at a time are also easily remembered. Yet people cannot put a place and a time to at last 496 million people killed allegedly by communism since 1917. But the name Tianshan, on the other hand, is never forgotten by anybody - a massacre' if just 100 people. If 'labour camps' is the supposed answer, why are there no names? Without any research necessary, most people can name genuine labour death-camps from the same period of history, capitalist labour-death-camps: Auschwitz, Belzen, Birkenau, Treblinka, Dachau, Buchenwald, Mauthausen, etc. Russian names too difficult? But everyone had heard of Lytchkov the KGB's prison HQ. Actual historical records will one day dispel this 'Soviet death-camp' nonsense.
dictatorship of the proletariat is the turning point of all world history, guar anteeing the eventual end everywhere of the capitalist system and the eventual triumph of a completely new socialist civilisation of international character on earth; 3) it would even be better if the Chinese workers state had acted far more vigorously, decisive ly and effectively, tonullify the deadlock of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and thus to have a broad and clear understanding of the need to be far more vigilant and alert to the counter-revolutionary forces, and to act far more ruthlessly, the next time that Western influences manufacture such a provocation, (as will surely come if China learns the lessons of the Gorbachev catastrophe, and instead of fatal class-compromise with "market forces" is strengthing the dictatorship of the proletariat instead). 25. Spontaneous anticommunism on the left! will dismiss such EPS-Perspectives concerns as "not in the real world", etc., and will prefer to be busy networking and manoeuvring to provide plat forms and rub shoulders with left Labour ites like Livingstone and those at the tenuous 'Marxist summer university', or in semi-detached electoral support, or in draw ing up 'joint tick ets' with flyin atter-class celeb rities like Paul Foot, Mark Steel, Jeremy Hardy, and Ken Loach, – is the only thing that 'can be done'. The pretence is that such activities can make possible "real polemics" for eventu ally hammering out a new programme for socialism". It is all total delusion and a grotesque hoax on the working class. Such opportunistic lash-ups can never produce serious worthwhile polemics because such 'personalities' have nothing to gain and everything to lose by genu ine or philosophical thinking flourish but the "left illiterate museum-Stalinism, and trade-unionist anti theory philistinism", – further proving the point about the impossibility of polemics within such a deliberate electoral opportunist latch-up. Running an occasional journalistic transmission of anecdotes which consciously rules out any polemics on historical turning points in the anti imperialist internationals class war or any "intermediate steps" against anti communist ideology around the SLP, is not what we need. Workers at this crucial moment for understanding imperialist crisis as the revolution ary driving force, and proletarian dictatorship shows the only possible answer to it. War or Bolshevism is the only realistic choice open to the working class to the entire planet (as the Yugoslav people recently discovered, criminally ill-advised by the SLP along with the rest of the "Leninist fake-left" swap to try to stem NATO-Nazi imperialist aggression with social pacifist 'No to war' nonsense) for the Trot and Revisionist world of re tread 'left-Labour' electoral opportunism to pretend that petty bourgeoisie 'summer university' celebrity posturing; Ken Livingstone's electoral cof tails; and Pollet's follies making possible the fresh rem port from New Labour!, is the real world, is to live in a pipe dream.

26. Such affluent middleclass concerns in the West are almost sealed off from the actual life of the overwhelming masses on the planet, where these different existences entirely can be deduced from capitalist-press ad missions about the Third World on virtually any day of the year. Catastrophic declines in living standards and intolerable deterioration in circumstances through typhoon, wars, natural disaster are an ever-widening experience as sharpening imperialist aggressions that the rich become ever richer and the poor ever poorer, even on official UN income stats. The astounding phenomena seen of countries like Mongolia, supposedly "liberated" from Soviet communist tyranny only 5 years ago to join the "free world", is now using national elections to practically unanimously vote their former ruling Communists ("Soviet stooges-tyrants yore") back into power, – such has been the cataclysmic experience of monopoly-imperialist global forces on an economicallysmall and relatively fragile country. Sadly, as has happened all over East Europe, with the Stalinist election "shocks" have taken place, Revisionist nonsense still dominates understanding, as under Moscow" (p. 132) previously; but now that the dictatorship of the proletariat has been dismantled, replacing planned command economy with market forces, the "reform socialist" gibberish of these former ruling parties is utterly useless for helping to actually change the situation.

The world's torment from the slump/overproduction crisis of the monopoly-imperialist world (and Western market forces is growing relentlessly worse. Already there are flames of revolt everywhere, in Indonesia and the Philippines in the Far East, Colombia and Mexico in the Far West, the whole world over. The "new order" was doomed from the start to be able to produce nothing but new communist revolutions, – as the 1998 UNSR was explaining must happen even as Gorbachev was dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat in the "free world", and the outstanding achievements of the planned workers states since 1917 which represent the only progressive, stable, and secure future for civilisation and the planet. Build Marxism-Leninism.
3. The greatest myth is that the Soviet workers state went wrong because over the years, its leadership had acted bureaucratically and dictatorially. The Stalin era went wrong because of theoretical bankruptcy in failing to understand what was really happening to the world. The incur-

able revolutionary-crisis essence of imperialism was deliberately suppressed in favour of vain hopes for 'peaceful roads to socialism' and permanent peace with 'good' imperialists.

27. The most catastrophic mistake of all by the fake 'left', dominating the international workers movement, - a mistake which makes them the paralysed stooges of Western propaganda on the essential question of anti-imperialist struggle, is the imbecility, delusion that the Soviet workers state 'failed' because of 'a lack of democracy'. Firstly, it was not the workers state which failed at all. It was its leading philosophy which failed disastrously, deliberately handing the workers state over to destruction by dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat. (See paragraphs 16 & 17). Secondly, it is utterly senseless, closer to voodoo than Marxism, to speculate that practices closer to Western traditions of 'party democracy', actually petty-bourgeois traditions, - would have saved the CPSU bureaucracy from its ultimate renunciation and destruction.

It makes utter gibberish of Marxist history to give credence to the base notion that Revisionism's damage to the international workers movement should best be categorised as a lapse in behaving bureaucratically or dictatorially, and that stricter observance of a more democratic set of standing orders for the revolutionary party is the essential question to worry about for solving the problem.

12. The 100 volumes of the collected works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, an enormous part of which was devoted to the polemical defeat of Revisionist nonsense attempting to undermine, hold back, or misleading the understanding of the world, being fought out in the First, Second and Third Internationale, - it was the wrong analysis and ideas of the Revisionist backsliders, misinterpreting capitalist society developments, which bore 99.99% of the anti-Leninist onslaught, not the undoubtedly arrogant and undemocratic disposition of these Revisionists, or their bureaucratic practices. Lassalle, Proudhon, Bakunin, Bernstein, Kautsky, Plekhanov, Trotsky, etc., may all have been the bête noire of Revisionists hypocrisy on earth, - denouncing Marx, Engels, or Lenin for their allegedly 'dictatorial ways', etc., without ever being genuinely hostile to the true spirit of communist democracy and objective truth themselves.

Denouncing such 'dictatorship' hardly features at all in the classic Marxist-Leninist destruction of these false prophets. Always it was their utterly wrong leadership which they attempted to give the socialist movement about the correct assessment of the latest stage in the capitalist system and the class & national struggle internationally, and the perspectives for revolution, - which Marxist science concentrated on.

But despite 75 years of living experience of the Soviet workers state's successes and failures, and a further 10 years hindsight on the causes of the self-liquidation debacle, the CPSU leadership Western petty-bourgeois ideological influence has proved powerful enough to leave contemporary Russia with 'left' groups (already 57 various kinds of them) parroting nothing better than the same dumbed-down superficialities that the Trotsky-Revisionists failed to get limited to in the West.

Although, useful, in their descriptions of USSR problems there is no attempt to deny the considerable success of the completely publicly-owned and entirely planned Soviet economic achievements, - or any thought of denying it, - the feeble conclusions of this new 'left' swamp in Russia about what went wrong with the USSR fail to rise above such shallowness as:

* As a result of Russia's economic difficulties and isolation, the domestic need to take political power out of the working class's hands, seized in 1917 by the proletariat. Having become an over-classified parasitic layer, the hierarchy made broad use of bureaucratic manoeuvring methods enabling it to protect itself both from petitist restorationists and from the pressure of the working class. Such balancing between class enemies and parties in society bears the name bonapartism.

* The bureaucratic system had its resources for historical development since it confirmed itself on the gains of October. But the USSR's economic stagnation, plus the zillion of bureaucratic planning, signalled the exhaustion of the proletarian revolution's potential. At a critical moment in the 1990s, practical development left only two ways out. Either society had to be demilitarised with the building of class-based Soviets (councils) and freeing the plan from the clutches of the bureau-

ecracy; or the economy had to be transferred into private hands and the dictatorship of the market.

"However, the hierarchy was not united, and under the blows of the crisis in society, it split into those distinguish rival factions. The most cynic, young, and active branch of the bureaucracy ('the democrats') saw the possibility through the market of turning state property, of which it was only the management, into its private bourgeois property. It found a leader in Yeltsin."

* "A more amorphous but more numerous sector of the commercial revolutionaries" feared exchanging their privileges for the risky life of a bourgeois. They just wanted cautious reforming the disease pattern. Ligachev became the mouthpiece for this fraction, and after him Zhugan-

ov.

* A third wing of the bureaucracy ('the irreconcilables') was the least clued-up, not grasping the history of Stalinism and the necessity for reform, and incapable of coping with the new conditions. The party secretary of the CPSU, or primary organisations would usually be in this group, pathologically opposed to any changes. The voice of this section was Nina Andreyeva, and after her General Makashov.

* In the sharpening confrontation, Gorbachev could neither pacify nor strike down these factions because the virus of these splits had penetrated into the core of the control run by the KGB and the Ministry of Internal Affairs. As a result, in August 1991 there came into power the greatest of the least determined fraction of marketers.

* An independent workers movement and the cultivation of Marx-
ist thinking had been destroyed in the Stalin years. Without any experience of struggle, and without any real idea of what the mass of workers was thinking and feeling, the CPUS, a section of workers which might have become active, was confused by the radical anti-bureaucracy slogans, and gave him their support. The lesson is obvious. It is only possible to build a revolutionary party on a basis of democracy, internationalism, and conscious principledness. Any other course leads to division, splits, and extinction.


Such is the astonishingly sad and reactionary confusion which 60 years of Revisionist domination in Moscow has produced. A whole generation of Trot and Revisionist fake 'leftists' in the West, have produced. This was some 'bonapartism'! In Trotsky's day, such was always implying chronic instability, lack of clear-cut purpose, and regimes of a likely extremely temporary character. This so-called 'bonapartism', however, totally transformed the most difficult country on earth to rule, by the relatively degrading backward illiterate depths of collapsed Tsarist autocracy in 1917 to becoming a world superpower only 40 years later, able to hold at bay the greatest imperialist strength and domination the world has ever seen, and able to innovate virtually the entire Third World, breaking free from colonial empire, - eventually obliging the Americans, Brits, French, Dutch, Portuguese empires to abandon their counter-revolutionary struggles through aiding in one way or another the local national-liberation forces. It managed to develop every aspect of modern society and statehood, easily equal to the average development over the whole capitalist world market, and to easily keep this going for 75 years (1917 - 1990) in spite of the country twice being to be destroyed by Western imperialist intervention, and despite its being to cope with permanent international economic embargo thrown at it - and without a scrap of any capitalist class or free market in sight! Some 'instability'!1!! Some 'lack of direction'!!!

This imbecile Trot gibberish now puddling young minds in Moscow as usual fails to specify when, and at what effective 'counter-revolution' took place whereby this apparently classless 'officialdom' achieved this astonishing feat of managing to take political power out of the working class's hands. - A remarkable accomplishment which Lenin, for example, died 1924, convinced that 7 years of non-stop war-intervention, scorched-earth destruction, economic strangulation and sabotage had failed to achieve despite the best efforts of, first, German imperialism and its allies (who were succeeding in giving the mighty American and West European imperialist such a hard time in the First World War (1914-1918); then the 14 capitalist invasion armies including troops and bombarding aircraft from all the leading Western powers; and finally the unspeakable destru- tion and savagery of the Western-backed counter-revolutionary White-guard armies which put the whole country to the sword from 1920 to 1923. And if that Lenin lived in these six most dramatic years of all world history was a proletarian state, the world's first, locked in life or death conflict of unbelievably savage class and national war to keep the power in the hands of the working class (which in Marxist science of modern society is the only way possible of preventing power returning into the hands of the bourgeoisie), then how can any alternative description be applied to the even more titanic and destructive armageddon fought by that same proletarian state from 1941 to 1945 against an even mightier bourgeoisie-imperialist forces. That most colossal destruction in the whole history of warfare aimed to defeat which the West had failed to achieve from 1917 to 1922, to defeat the Soviet workers state and to take over power in the capitalistic-colonialist system, or in class terms to get power back into the hands of the bour- geoisie by taking it out of the hands of the working class. So still in 1945, power is obviously still in the hands of the defeated, party-led Soviet working class, and hardly makes sense to suggest that the greatest invasion force ever, - fleets, tanks, planes, guns, and millions of troops, - was defeated by 'officialdom'.

So when and how was this mighty trick done which the whole might of imperialist was not able to, could not do, - taking over control of the USSR, the government of it, the political power, - but which somehow little-time working-class 'officialdom' managed to do, apparently, but which has no historical date to it, no venue, no noteworthy incident?

It might be argued that not much of a fight was put up in 1991 when political power clearly was finally losing itself by new class forces of a deliberately-revived privatising-bourgeois mentality deliberately supported by official encouragement, middle-class intervention.

But the pointlessness of the analogy is made by the fact that the intervention between the Soviet workers state and the freebooting capitalist hell-hole which Yeltsin unleashed upon the state was unmissable. Times, places, personalities, and incident after incident after incident. The stripping of political and economic power from the planned socialism of the workers state is an undisputed matter of detailed history from 1989 to 1991. So the whole illusion remains: When, comparatively, was political power lost by the working class before that? Time? Place? Personalities? Incident after incident...??

The entire thesis of these fake 'lefts' about the Soviet Union having been a 'bonapartist' state, is an embarrassing political illiteracy from the start. Marxist science knows only of bourgeois as a temporary class between the two major classes fighting for power within any country, - a regime which must very quickly, - within weeks at the most, reveal which decisive class force it wishes to throw in its lot with and gain legitimacy (and survival). - From this Trot verbal trickery wisely avoids saying that any Bolshevik government survived by actually 'resting' on the Russian capitalist class and the whole history of the USSR from 1917 onwards is known by the world as one non-stop battle to destroy the capitalist class - Russian Bonapartism - and succeed fairly rapidly.

But since it is also well-known that Western intervention never ceased, after trying to restore the capitalist class to power in Russia, then describing the Bolshevik government as always seeking to protect itself from capitalist restorationists and from the pressure of the working class can appear, at superficial level, to have established the conditions for 'bonapartism'. No such thing. Only one class was left with any power by Russian Revolution, - the working class.

The notion of the Bolshevik regime "protecting itself from the pressure of the working class" is just sick slick meaninglessness from the phrasebook of anarchist philosophy, the lifetime hobby of the Trot. Marxism in the workers mo-
viation world socialist revolutionary struggle was the only possible objective perspective for civilization's further survival and flourishing, and that without such a philosophy being restored to the CPSU, the Soviet workers state itself would find it increasingly difficult to maintain production and innovation enthusiasm or sufficient socialist harmony in social. Moreover, long decades of Revisionist, anti-revolutionary, incipient international-class-collaborationist mental decay would lead to total paralysis or worse if the pointless and insane perspective of overtaking the higher level of modern consumer life with even higher levels of Soviet consumer life was not abandoned.

28. Earlier in its struggles for an objective scientific understanding of world development, the EPSR/ILWP Bulletin campaigned against Trotsky's repeated warnings that Gorbachev's frustrated tinkering and anti-Marxist ignorance was missing the point in a battle about the world's future (and the USSR's) and threatened real danger. Chapter titles from a collection published in 1990 (ILWP Books 15) illustrated: "Only Leninist revolutionary theory can inspire USSR, not Gorbachev's exhor-tations" (No 551, 26 28/7/86); "Great presid+ent' problem will become unmanageable unless there is a return to Leninist international revolutionaries' attitude" (No 375, 7/1/87); "The West's enthusiasm for Gorbachev's distortions of Lenin on peaceful coexistence, class struggles, and human rights is grave counter-revolutionary warning" (No 376, 1/1/87); "Revolutionary communism is the only worthwhile individualism. The 'artists' are purely bourgeois stooges. West cheers Soviet 'shake-up' so as to undermine dictatorship of proletariat" (No 385, 18/3/87);

"Death of Marxism through ignorance is the only real Moscow news" (No 419, 11/11/87); "Nationalism rampant due to Gorbachev's leadership by Gorbachev" (No 453, 2/5/88); etc.

Conclusions written for that 1988 collection (and first published in EPSRs 403, 451 of 29/6 & 6/7/88) fail to resolve a mistaken assertion frequently repeated in this period by the Review that the collective, responsibly-run society and the planned economic gains of the USSR were by now so deeply ingrained in the Soviet state that the way of life of capitalist free-for-all would no longer be possible, (although repeated clear reminders that such a danger was posed are evident from the conclusions-extracts (below) and the chapter headings (above). Such collective confidence was a mistake in understanding, born of personal cadre limitations in the EPSR at that time; but although the Review now about just how immense was the paralyzing damage to the workers state population's political consciousness and Marxism's petrified revisionist dogma and refusal to daily pursue every new development worldwide to extract the maximum revolutionary inspiration, understanding, and propaganda from it, - the particular grasp of historical forces which led the EPSR on that point remains an important and valid factor in other considerations.

Having developed so far in last 73 years, the powerful influence on international proletarian thinking of the Soviet workers state's successes over 73 years never die. Even now, in spite of the revisionist bureaucracy's subsequent self-liquidatory shame, it still looks for hammer-and-sickle flag or symbol which most spontaneous revolutionaries like to associate themselves with most. So much for anti-revolutionary! Trotschists choose to posture under. And even though fai-

Tragically, as is obvious, decades of 'peaceful-road-to-socialism' and 'imperialist decay-collaborate-develop-economically' Revisionist confusion had undermined any Marxist scientific ability to grasp that an international working-class fight against imperialist crisis
ly crowned with Gor- 
bachev’s deliberate 
suicidal self-destruc-
tion.

29. The EPSR’s 1988 attempts to summarise 
the long view of how the first workers-
state epoch influ-
cenced the world and was 
inspired out of its exact 
shape, somehow still 
retained some 
relevance although 
continuing to be 
peculative and unproven, 
in parts.

No 450, 29/6/88:

#7) The horrifying philis-

tist outpourings of 

anti-Leninism now 
swa-

mping the Soviet Union 
(see IFP Books vol 15)

are no part of the 

Belshock ‘revolution’ at 
all, it is its exact oppo-

site, — the re-enchant-

ement of leaderless petty-

bourgeoisie crisis which 
will fall easily 

manipulable to Western 

imperialism’s ceaseless 

clearing house of 

anti-communist disinform-

ation, black propaganda, 

dirty tricks and 

outrageous subversion if 
Gorbachevism continues 
unabated.

Although still badly 

handicapped prior to 

Gorbachev by Stalinist 

revisionism as much as 

it has been since the mid-

1920s, the Soviet soci-

ally revolutionary 

monolithic stability 

itself, and in no kind of 

disorder. But just as the 

anti-Leninist camp 

succeeded in Prague in 1968, in the face of 

massive Western interven-
tion, Gorbachev could 

quickly create danger-

ously unstable, unclub-

less confusion if he 

is not stopped.

The decisive financial 

power and subversive 

organisation of the CIA 

which has toppled coun-
tless regimes since 

1945 (seemed to be ‘host-

ile’ to American inter-

cests, — from Ayub 

Qh’s Iran to Allende’s 

Chile, from Lumumba’s 

Belgian Congo/Zaire to 

Aran’s Guatemala, 

from Jagan’s Guyana to 

Sankara’s Burkina Faso, 

from Amin’s Uganda to 

Obote’s Uganda, from 

Bosch’s Democratic Repub-

lic to Dien’s Vietnam 

etc, etc, plus scores 

more failed attempts in 

Poland, Hungary, Che-

Celles, Libya, Cuba, Afgha-

nistan, Kampuchea, Moz-

ambique, Ethiopia, Nicaragua, 

etc (see the entire 

library of memoirs of 
ex-CIA agents now avai-

able). — is a history 

lesson obviously total-

ly wasted on the anti-

Marxist philistine Gor-

bachev.

And he is undoubtedly 

equally ignorant of the 

vast and impressive Le-

nin literature on the 

inevitability of “all 

the old crap reviving” 

if there is any weak-

ning of the dictator-

ship of the proletari-

at’s class rule during the 

long inter-regnum 

between the wholly 

imperialist-dominated 

epoch of the world 

(before 1917) and the 

eventual winning of a 

planned organised world 

of communist abundance 

built on the great waves of 

inter-imperialist 

warmongering (by denega-

tion of monopoly capita-

lism).

By capitulating the 

Soviet workers state 

to now being laid and 

held up by every last 

manifestation of petty-

bourgeois ideology, 

bollocks that has ever 

been spawned by Western 

anti-communist philoso-

phy and intrigue, Gor-

bachevism has now 

opened the door towards the 

total paralysis that 

Dubcek achieved before 

he was removed, in 

Czechoslovakia.

The contemptible 

demonstrations suggesting 

that the sure patina of the 

Soviet state security ser-

vices (the KGB) are one 

particularly degenerate 

example of the conceit-

ed small-mindedness of 

political sects and 

individualists of the 

dislike of the international class struggle 

is only exceeded by their 
desire to go on 

unmentionable im-

peccable for for the 

world’s proletarian 

masses from imperialist 

warmongering crisis.

The incorrect policies 

and tactics of the 

KGB (and its predecessor organisations) 

carry the political errors of the 

party leadership, — nothing else. It is 

another instance of philistine 

hatred of Leninism caus-

ing childish irrespon-

sibility of demagoguery 

that the baby be thrown 

down the pan because 

the bathroom has be-

come a bit mucky.

Lamin built up powerful 

state security since 

one of his first 

priorities against counter-

revolution. It is an 

outrage that the party 

under Gorbachev sees no 

need to immediately at-

tack such confusing and 

destabilising drive as ‘Close down the KGB’ as 

soon as it received 

publicity from Western TV broadcasts from 

Moscow.

And there are many other 

examples of similar 

political ignorance 

and complicity.

The nationalisation unlea-

shed in Azerbaijan, Ar-

menia, Kazakhstan, Estoni-

a, etc, is no joke, e.g.

And Gorbachev is al-

ready in grave danger of 

being too late now to 

detour the non-profit-

small-minded national 

exclusive by merely 

urging these rebellious 

republics to “stop be-

ning silly” (which is ab-

out all Gorbachev is 

capable of.)

In the modern world, 

the track record of tell-

ing people to “stop 

feeling so Armenian” or 

“stop this Azerbaij-

an conceit”, etc, is a 

vicious one, completely 

understandable, and to a 

limited extent, justi-

fiable. Imperialist exploita-

tion has always either had 

to crush dissent 

nationalism (95% of the 
time), or else had to 

get by granting some 

privileged colonial po-

licial position or oth-

er (Ghurkas, etc).

The Soviet workers 

state can pursue noth-

ing, except to give up.

The USSR has held 
together hitherto because 

there has always been 

sufficient momentum in 

the socialist revolution 

to win all the forces of 

the proletariat in the 

more than 160 nation-

als making up the 

Soviet Union, including 

all the 15 major republics.

That would also easi-

ly be the case if the 

class-proletarian 

instincts of the masses 

were what was being ap-

pealed to, — against, 
say, manifestations of 

counter-revolutionary 

bourgeois nationalism 

of a separatist, individ-

ualist (anti-communist, 

not necessarily anti-capitalist kind), — 

whether disguised or 

not (as we have 

incredibly been 

blessed with “multi-

party democracy” or “parlia-

mentary system” or “gr-

ater autonomy” or “les-

ser Russian influence”), etc.

But it does not mean 

Gorbachev would ever 

euthanise the genuine 

new revolution 

with scientif-

ically communist appeal 

to rally all the Soviet 

masses on a proletarian 

internationalist basis 

for such a delicate and 

difficult struggle against 

local petty-bourgeois 

nationalism and na-

tivism (in the after-

math of all the demor-

alising demobilising 

idolies that Stalinist 

defeatist-revisionism 

has paralysed the Sovi-

et people with (in par-

ticular after the 

time) since the abdica-

tion of Lenin’s persp-

ectives in the 1920s).

In response to the 

sinless ‘pull your 

socks up’ vacuity of Gor-

bachevism which is in 

reality just a thin ve-

ner covering bourgeois 

internationalist col-

laboration, the Sovi-

et masses may well 

feel at all sufficiently 

proletarian-internatio-

nalist to take on 

Armenian or Estonian 

nationalism, but it 

begins to fall completely 

under the influence of 

worldwide bourgeois-

imperialist reaction, and CIA subversion.

Whether or not the 

Afghanistan communists, 
etc, are to be totally 

abandoned (which remains 

to be seen), Gorbache-

vism is conflicting 

permanently with 

nationalist ideological 

demand on the entire 

international proletariat 

and inevitably on Soviet 

workers’ enthusiasm and 

loyalty for it.

Further healing 

of the socialist re-

volution) — by his philis-

tist mental diarrhoea 

on the all-important 

problem of imperialism.

Peaceful coexistence was a mere Leninist dip-

let. Gorbachev’s tactic 

for cancerous crisis 

is simply validating the 

warmongering imperial-

ist camp and keeping 

the Soviet Union out 

of direct unequal confronta-

tion for as long as 

possible, — nothing else.

The idea that it is a 

mutually beneficial 

condition between the 

socialist states and 

imperialism, or that it 

offers any kind of solu-

tion to the inherent 

catastrophe of insecure 

imperialist warmong-

ering, — is certifi-

able.

It is also a disarm-

ing ideological strat-

tage to handicap the 

proletariat with in its 

historic class-war to 

the-finish with the ca-

15
capitalist bourgeoisie. If the mortal conflict with imperialism has suddenly been glasnosted out of existence by the third rate middleneededness of Comrade Gorbachev, then all possible convulsions can all the hystirical "pull your socks up" urgings from fat bureaucrats in Moscow carry.

Gorbachev will be in a similar mess when it comes to getting the badly needed public support to counter any of the other destabilising threats to Soviet order (which his small-minded ignorance of Leninism and bureaucratic-idealist politics have made the dialectical rigour of proletarian dictatorship (as the greatest guarantee of real democracy in history) have unleashed) - such as the eruption of individualist artistic mysticism, pet-bourgeoisie formalism, and fascist religiosity, - all biliously and vengefully hostile to the dialectical independent-mindedness of proletarian commissar leadership epitomised by Leninism.

He will be even more vulnerable on difficult questions of CPSU history in a party growing increasingly remote from the rigorous discipline of Marxist-Leninist polemics on the international revolutionary movement and the arguments of creeping opportunist philistinism. One false move on the tinfoil, and Gorbachev will be swallowed up without trace, just like so many of his predecessors, or the party.

In fact there is very little stability in view for Gorbachevism in any direction. The planned socialist economy is likely to remain stultly enough for Gorbachev to add industrial perestroika 'success' or other, but that will hardly fool the Soviet people any more. Most unlikely to be achieved in thewitched revisionism swapped atmosphere endemic to the retreat from Leninism is any real of wild production enthusiasm anywhere, and almost as hard to fake.

Telling the Soviet people that US imperialism now represents everything that is friendly reasonableness towards the USSR's interests around the world is giving hostages to fortune in a spectacular big way. At any moment, the next piece of dirty CIA subterfuge on which might tread directly on Soviet toes could make Gorbachev look the biggest fool on earth.

And since it is coming anyway, then the sooner the better. The longer Gorbachev's naive stupidity rules, the greater he will be to the socialist camp and to the Soviet revolutionary workers state.

Does it mean that the old awesome productive bureaucracy, half stifling the Soviet Union, was better, and that no glasnost shake-up at all would have been preferable? It is an academic question. Leninists would have to agitate for Leninism, not Gorbachevism, which is totally opposed to Leninism. And the price that Gorbachevism is now asking the Soviet workers state to pay in terms of increased chaos and confusion from the idealist swamp being unleashed, would have to be declared unacceptable, and fought against, under any circumstances.

This ideological paralysis could prove fatal, and it is getting steadily worse, not better.

The latest outburst from Vyshinsky, Gorbachev's deputy justice minister and reform adviser, has taken contentless formalism to even more exalted heights of stupidity than the 10-year tenure rule examined earlier (Bulletin 4/46).

"We have to find the legal expression of the freedom of behaviour of an individual, of his choice of act at his own discretion," Mr Vyshinsky said. "Then the code of Soviet laws will be turned from a code of bars onto a code of peoples freedoms."

It is necessary to divide by strict and enforceable laws the function of the state and of the elected Soviets in the management of our society. A qualified lawyer, Mr Gorbachev has characterised the previous system as "lawless and uncontrolled," seeing legal reforms and the emergence of an independent judiciary as essential to the success of perestroika.

Rather than interpret the vacuum national disputes as a danger to the country's unity and superpower status, he is counting on the support of political delegates from the Baltic republics of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania. Mass meetings with the delegates and all the other groups have focused on popular demands for virtual economic and cultural autonomy, the transformation of the USSR into a federation of sovereign republics.

Only the Gorbachev reform will be the emergence of the professional Soviet politician, who need not be very moral, but who will make being an elected deputy into a full-time job, with the right to rations and spending allowable for locally-generated public money without having to depend on funds from central planning in Moscow.

Hitherto, party officials have held these reins of executive authority, but Mr Gorbachev will also propose that the economic departments within regional party buildings be closed down to party members and traditional interference in the running of farms and factories. Laws will not resolve the future of socialism. Such an approach can only make things much worse and even more chaotic by presenting the difficulties of Soviet (and world socialist) development as the phenomenon of 'leading in itself was the problem, when in the Leninist real world it is the question of leading badly, which in fact needs solving.

Yet again the era philistine emptiness of more symptoms (e.g. people feeling 'unfree' because badly led) quite uselessly getting the element will leave the disease itself, the failure to develop a comprehensive Leninist perspective as the only way back from Stalinist bureaucratic formalism and paralysis (and the only future for the whole of mankind), as painfully evident and debilitating as ever.

The contentless undialectical formalism is blatant in everything Gorbachev does, - revealing a profound ignorance of Marxist-Leninist science. An example of shooting the pianist because someone didn't like the song, or of throwing the baby out with the bathwater, was the farcical anti-alcohol campaign, virtually closing down the entire industry or pricing it out of existence just because some people didn't know, or didn't care, when they had had too much to drink. Naturally far a greater number of people who like occasionally to handle a beer or two, or even a drop of vodka, without any wish to permanently injure themselves with the stuff, immediately started brewing their own, with obvious damage to the state's vodka industry monopoly revenue, with a predictable fear of sugar shortages in the shops, and with probably slightly more drunkenness than usual as a result of all this manic behaviour.

Strong drinking is an ancient Russian - and now Soviet - tradition. It is a problem, of course, because the state has dreamed up closing up the breweries and distilleries, and putting the price up, as a way of dealing with the cultural, social, psychological, and political reasons why the idea of Leninist objective science still exercise too weak an attraction or influence on too many Soviet citizens, - is as much needed for deeper education as they are.

The Soviet Union is a very modern-minded, technologically-capable and learning-oriented society, as well as already very mature and enlightened. It is crying out for even better education, and above all for far more advanced revolutionary and political inspiration. In a word, it needs much, much more Leninism. From Gorbachev & Co, it is getting fatal, anti-Marxist idiocy, dictated by Gorbachev's pettybourgeois philistine hatred of Lenin's international revolutionary perspective for the worldwide dictatorship of the proletariat as the only possible opening to the first truly international civilisation communes.

Tragically, this influence of Gorbachevism is now churning in disastrously with the nationalistic right-wing revisionist nonsense which grouped Peking in the aftermath of the Tiananmen massacre into a bitter over-reaction to the Stalinist stupidities and insults from Moscow earlier. These latest quotes on capit
alism sum up much of the revisionist 'new thinking' from many revisionist groups in the socialist camp.

They make insane re-visions of the events of the Western world's most cataclysmic financial and trade crisis in its entire rotten imperialist-monopoly history,—the certain present post-war catastrophic collapse into war and fascism at the end of the coming re-run of the 1930s decade of Depression, trade-war, and inter-imperialist war-mongering in arms-case.

Some people fear capitalism because 'they don't realise the modern capitalism is capitalism as a great creation of human civilization,' says Xu Jia-tun, China's representative in Hong Kong.

The great mart teachers had failed to envisage that workers' salaries would increase, social welfare improve or a capitalist shareholder system emerge, he argued. 'The trend of people's capitalism has emerged and the difference between the classes has narrowed,' Mr Shao said.

'Most of our understanding of capitalism is from the works of Marx and Lenin, who had little understanding of modern capitalism,' the authoritative Guangzhou Daily writer said.

Marx and Engels erred in their assessment of the historical reality of the time when the Communist Manifesto was written, theoretician Hong Zhao-long wrote in another article.

They are also grotesquely insensitive and carelessly ignorant of comments to the world's proletarian masses who are daily suffering the most abysmal extremes of murderous sweatshop exploitation still involving such social slavery and virtual slavery all round the capitalist 'free market' world;—plus, even worse, the dictatorial tyranny of fascist terror under endless stooge military regimes proportionate to US imperialism;—to mention the wholesale starvation and poverty which massacres 40 million people every year prematurely around the modern capitalist system.

It took the socialist revolution to end perpetual mass famines in China created by capitalism. A few more Leninist revolutions are now going to be needed in the planet to restore an international objective scientific atmosphere which will see off the pea-brained revisionist oafs who have temporarily captured bureaucratic office in Moscow and Peking.

This total ignorance of Leninist revolutionary philosophy leaves the posturing Moscow opportunists incapable of grasping that the difficulties of powerful leadership positions in an international world with very imperfect individuals — are precisely resolvable only by an even deeper understanding of Leninism itself and its crucial science of a strong leader as class representative of the masses.

It was precisely when the Stalin group lost its confidence in leading and teaching a Leninist revolutionary perspective to the world proletariat that all the old cloak of deliberate falsifications and 'letting people know only what we want them to know', etc., began to disintegrate.

Not strong enough to explain their own appalling mistakes in the conduct of the Marxist-Leninist world revolution, the Stalin group simply retreated from the only really realistic, dialectical-materialist explanation of the necessity for world revolution into the make-believe fantasies of defensive Soviet nationalism, bureaucratic vanity, routine-stereotyped and instrumentalist—degenerating later in to all manner of arbitrary stupidity and viciousness,—anything rather than the leadership role of constant expansion of Leninist consciousness for the Soviet and international proletariat.

Where this kind of Leninist leadership applies — willing to raise masses to ever higher levels of achievement in independently grasping (and acting upon, and innovating over) the demands for communist reconstruction and the immediate opportunity in the USSR and in the world at large,—then there can hardly be a problem of leadership appearing to limit people's activities — otherwise than the dying counter-revolutionary relics of middle-class anti-communism,—in all its forms (religion, nationalism, profiteering, opportunism, etc.)

Lenin's world revolutionary philosophy is precisely an invitation to every individual on earth to develop their freedom as rare and mighty as possible,—the freedom from ignorance, from fear of bourgeois-idealist bullshit, from difference about demanding; and giving, a revolutionary communist lead to anyone in any part of the planet.

The idea for all this was still intact when the last Soviet volunteer force went to fight in Spain in 1936 against the imperialist axis-led fascists, but by that time, of course, Stalinist defeatism had already stifled the Leninist content out of the Soviet form, and the heroic efforts and sacrifices were all in vain because of the hopelessly doomed political perspectives of fighting only in support of the bourgeois revisionist government, (instead of fighting merely against Francoism, and with full opportunities and expectations preserved that a Spanish communist revolution would take over the leadership of anti-fascist Spain as soon as possible strong enough to hold onto power). This 'Popular Front' nonsense meant only the certain death both of the Republic, and of the independent communist movement.

This was one feature in a steady degeneration from Leninism from the late 1920s onwards. The philosophical inspiration of the Soviet Union and its people has been relentlessly deteriorating commensurately.

At this stage, the Soviet Union should be boosting with millions of its Bolsheviks thirsting to storm the world (bringing health, agricultural organisation, education, industrial science, etc.) to the exploited and alienated and backward billions in the majority of the planet suffering from colonialism and neo-colonialism), and in particular burning with indignation at the Western-backed fascist tyrannies (still slaughtering the proletarian masses from South Africa to Zionist-occupied Palestine, from the Philippines to Chile, from Guatemala to Pakistan, etc), and ready to help fight Nazi reaction.

But the Soviet bureaucracy's retreat from Leninism has now been exacerbated so far that not even the formal idea of volunteering to combat fascist intervention (as against Spain) now has any echoes.

And one can only expect that it is with Gorbachev's encouragement that utterly spurious reformist mini-passions are being souped up around such drushe -- a monotonous echo for the victims of the terror or for 'multi-party democracy to allow us to become socialist democracies Scandinavian style' to act as a deliberate diversion from any possible real campaign to return to Leninism.

If a sick industry in pity, nostalgia, and bathos is suddenly thought (Polish Catholic style) to be the best thing to do with the Soviet state of mind, then the leader of the most obvious claim that the USSR number one of the victims of the vastly greater number of millions of victims of pre-1917 class conflict in Russia's bitter history being ignored? There is no especially-famous moment yet in the USSR to the victims of Tsarist terror.

And better still, why not combine two of the greatest current 'reforming' passions, and demand that the monument be to the victims of precisely the 'multi-party' period of Stalinist history when the capitalist-state terror continued unabated throughout the empty posturings of Liberals, Constitutional Democrats, Monarchists, and every variety of fateful 'Social Democrat, who all went along with the slaughter of nearly 15 million Russian subjects in the Great War', the nationalist-imperialist holocaust of 1914-1918 which wholly only been going by Russia's Social Democrat and monarchic parties in its final deprived year until the Bolshevik revolutionaries put the entire sordid bourgeois
and petty-bourgeois ‘multi-party’ mess to the sword,—the only way it could be ended then, and the only way that imperialist warmongering has ever been ended since.)

The Leninist answer to these ‘momentum’ and ‘multi-party’ ghosts is stifled by the stench of Gorbachev’s opportunistic class-collaborationism.

The wresting of Stalinism degeneracy now prevailing in the Soviet Union, but a barren monument feeding on sentimentality which is directly out of the very same ideological mud that bedevils dreams, distorting the real essence, importance, and perspective on events,—which Stalin ousted Leninism with in the first place and is absolutely the most counter-revolutionary way of going about it.

Once again, it concentrates all the attention on personal tragi-comedy symptomatic of what was going wrong, but away from the profound political causes in the international class war which were making things go wrong.

To return to the monument theme, if some eruption or other of sentimental impressionism cannot be avoided, then the best way of recalling the disasters of the revisionist Stalin era’s defeatist retreat from world revolution might be to commemorate all the mildest of forced labor and to continue to languish under imperialism because the ‘peaceful road to socialism’, the ‘Popular Front’, and other idiocies of Chile to Spain and Germany fail to organise a correct Leninist revolutionary answer to fascist reaction; or because class-collaborating illusions internalized Zionism’s Stalinism on 5 million Palestinian people through a Soviet UN vote (and subsequent arms aid to the Zionists) in 1948.

18 Commemorate the retreat from Leninism by commemorating the disasters which befell the international proletarian because of Stalinism’s counter-revolutionary abandonment of Leninist world socialist revolution.

And tack Gorbachev’s stunt onto this lamentable record of defeatist revisionist disasters.

No 451, 6/7/88: ‘The historical record is clear. The post-Lenin Belaevich leadership, trained in Leninism’s world revolutionary perspective, significantly carried out certain aspects of Leninism’s science (building a strong international state of proletarian dictatorship-preserving party, and on the foundations of the revolutionary mass struggle, including the constant class-collaborating nonsense of the ‘Popular Front’ abandonment of revolutionary leadership, and eventually the ill-fated road to socialism’s ideology which tried to wipe out any notion at all of the inevitable future revolutionary advance, of whatever class, of the only one it open to it, in reality).

Stalinism as the management of the world’s first socialist state had a face of horror in its difficulties to just stick with running Soviet development, and keeping out of harm’s way as much as possible from imperialist war—something which, while remaining strictly for whatever defensive operations would be needed against direct imperialist intervention on the international or national level. Or what it should actively pursue Lenin’s revolutionary internationalist line of triumphant profound analysis of revolutionary situations, strategy and tactics all round the planet coupled with preparations to take on imperialist counter-revolution wherever there was the slightest possibility within the still-developing potential of Soviet power.

Having found the first choice made far from easy, difficult, their lives as a leadership wishing to be regarded as at least successful in managing the Soviet Union’s affairs, even if international problems presented dauntingly dismal and difficult at times, and the embarrasing failures hard to explain and analyse (for their venality in Leninist science), the Stalin leadership increasingly distorted the historical record of Leninism, and its own diversity, and increasingly withdrew into a new ‘fortress USSR’ style of management, eventually full of such subjective illusion.
which threaten the most serious trouble or even collapse to the people's security, well-being, and peace-of-mind, individually and collectively. 

The petty-bourgeois anarcho-capitalist mentality quickly gets into its fake 'left' stride against the Bolshevik Revolution, during the Leninist movement (which had brilliantly led and consolidated the seizure of power, having from the year 1917 onwards consciously fought against all tendencies to build just such an organised, scientifically-educated workers party as was the Bolshevik Revolution's supposedly 'dictatorial' party of leaders. One Lenin reappears in May 1920 in 'LEFTWING COMMUNISM, AN INFANTILE DISORDER.'

Any Bolshevik will at once say 'What old and familiar words.' This is childishness... The mere presentation of the question 'dictatorship of the party OR dictatorship of the leaders OR dictatorship of the class' testifies to the most inexcusable and hopeless confusion of mind. These people... in their efforts to be clever make themselves ridiculous.

Everyone knows that the masses are divided into classes; that classes are led by political parties... the political parties... are directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative and experienced members who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders. All this is elementary... To contrast in GENERAL dictatorship of the masses to dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculo us and stupid... Repudiation of the party principle and of party discipline, such is the opposition's main slogan. This is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interests of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to a policy that permits the bourgeoisie diffusionism; instability; incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organisation... anything that can be used to weaken the proletariat, its struggle, without a struggle, without a fight, without a party, without the enjoyment of the confidence of all that is honest in the class, without a party capable of... influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully... What we need is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism, or the lower stage of communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere for years after... the concept of power by the proletariat... The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists, but also accomplishing with comparative ease. It also means abolishing the small commodity producers, and not merely driven out or crushed; we must live in harmony with them; they can, and must, be remoulded and educated, only by very prolonged, slow, cautious, rational organisational effort. They encircle the proletariat and everything with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere which permeates and corrupts the proletariat, and causes constant collapse among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and depression. The strictest centralisation of party discipline is required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in the conviction that the organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, and courageously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle, bloody and bloodless, against the bourgeoisie, military and economic, educational and administrative, against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force, without an iron party discipline in the struggle, without a party, without the enjoyment of the confidence of all that is honest in the class, without a party capable of... influencing the mood of the masses, it is impossible to conduct such a struggle successfully... What we need is the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism, or the lower stage of communism. Classes have remained, and will remain everywhere for years after... the concept of power by the proletariat... The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists, but also accomplishing with comparative ease. 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4. The world may seem only conceivable way forward from the ever-mounting economic and social disfunctioning of the international capitalist system. 

Single-issue reformist lobbies like feminism are the most self-defeating diversions, just helping capitalism maintain an ever-worsening society. 

31. The real delusion, of course is this vision of a rational and ever-more-perfectable structure as the essence of the free market and making increasingly reasonable human beings out of all who play the system's hard but fair. This is a nice idea, but it is only a way of saying that the inevitable growing sophistication and relentlessly modernising pressures of still-inevitable social-capitalism can persuade billions of people to easily believe in the basic respectability and reformation of the current world is run.

But contradiction is the real catalyst for change, and antagonism has marked all civilization's most significant turning points. It may seem to make sense that life just gets smoother and steadier, and that working to improve it by reform is the obvious way forward for everyone, instead of anticipating total breakdown and revolutionary upheaval. But it is an illusion. The dialectical-materialist science of modern society has long been able to determine that only action can do change. It is the essential notion of contradiction at its core to start with; and secondly, the actual history of the world in the last 150 years has been the record of the most profound sequence of the greatest material and revolutionary upheavals there has ever been, and with irreconcilable contradiction at their heart.

If the path of progress of civilization has hitherto only had class war and revolutionary upturn as its most significant landmarks, and if one look at the impoverished Third World is enough to convince one that imperialism remains a system of class conflict and exploitation, then only a kind of self-definatory drivel notion of super-imperialism—of the capitalist system—can explain and obscure the despotism that the dictatorship of the proletariat (the only alternative to capitalism) can never be anything but clumsily bad or even viciously evil, can only be explained by the clear diversification that in the conflict at the root of capitalism, participation and exchange. 

32. One of the most seductive modernising aspects of present-day capitalism which has helped to bury the progressive revolution against that which bourgeois democracy (coupled with the abyssal failure of 'socialist' revisionism) has betrayed the epoch-making role that the capitalist states could have, and should have, played in giving the world continuity and lead in social improvement — has been the role of aggressive single-issue reformers such as feminism, black pride, gay pride, etc.

In the class-war long-term pattern of history which will mark the free world. The world socialism under the control of workers states everywhere replacing the 700-year imperialist period of the capitalist bourgeoisie (with its incurable built-in inevitability of exploitation, elitism, sexism, and so forth) and therefore of constantly-reviving prejudices and discrimination of all kinds, the real equalization and an end to injustice can become the natural way of life for all mankind. This single-issue reformist pressures to make the imperialism 'democracies' look ills and the so-called 'rights' that of view will only end up being identified for what their real essence is already, petty-bourgeois class-collaboration.

While capitalist states, and the world is discriminated by agitation (which might even earn the description 'revolutionary' by its bravest, including intervention, and energy, etc., in forcing significant retreats in established prejudice) to appear to capitulate to 'human rights!' pressure as the whole line, the fundamental reality of bourgeois society everywhere remains the same—capitalist-class dictatorship. The 'reforms' against racism and sexism, etc., essentially benefit the capitalist-individuals. Job promotions and professional appointments for women, blacks, and gays, etc., have made progress, and the discrimination is being tackled. But how does basic class exploitation get affected???? Not at all.

Black individuals can become as prominent as they like in politics, show-business and professions, etc., but black working-class youth continue to be disproportionately represented in the prison population, in child neglect, and school, and to the most alienated or disadvantaged sectors of society, which by the way outnumber the ranks of black lawyers, black schoolteachers, black foremen, black civil servants, etc. And the United Nations and the 68 leading powers go on contentedly administrating, the exploitation, poverty, starvation, and brutal death for non-white population (the overwhelming majority) of the capitalist world-system!
to capitalist culture. Many would argue that the increasing exploitation and discrimination against women in the capitalist system and the growing chasm between the rich and poor is leading to a sense of alienation, especially among the working class. This sentiment has been exacerbated by the current economic system, which has led to a rise in inequality and a decline in social welfare programs.

The relationship between women and the capitalist system is complex and multifaceted. Women have historically been and continue to be disproportionately affected by the negative effects of capitalism, including poverty, inequality, and discrimination. At the same time, women have also played a significant role in the development and maintenance of capitalist systems, through their roles as laborers, consumers, and activists.

Reformers argue that the capitalist system can be reformed to mitigate some of its negative effects on women, but they face significant challenges. The system is built on extractive practices, which have led to the exploitation of women and other marginalized groups. Furthermore, the system is characterized by hierarchical structures that reinforce patriarchal norms and values.

In the face of these challenges, reformers advocate for policies that prioritize the well-being of all individuals, regardless of gender. They argue that women's rights are fundamental to the health and stability of society, and that policies to promote gender equality are essential for the sustainable development of the world economy.
retain clear physical and emotional connection to the procreative cycle, will mean family life, in one form or another, remaining central to human society for the foreseeable future.

It remains to be seen what happens to all the group rowdiness and sexual exhibitionism that current youth activity has given rise to. But that "most people settle down" contains truth as well as a cliché designed to cover up and disguise legitimate aspirations and desires. For the rest of rebellious youth's problems, look no further than the problems of capitalist society itself. Nothing can be judged in advance about what post-capitalist, generational relationships will be like in the remainder of our communities are restored, — mankind rationally and reasonably working out all social and personal problems towards the goal of the free development of every individual becomes the condition registering the freedom of human cooperation in society. What is certain is that if the present total ideological confusion on the planet throws up a truth movement to imitate the reformist agitation of feminism and other single-issue individualists, the class-collaboration involved will guarantee capitalism a yet further prolonged lease of life, ensuring youth problems (like all other problems) will only get worse and be further from any solution than ever before.

34. Some anti-communist "lefts" are now attempting a philosophical ambush on Leninism with their notion of "freedom" in order to rationalise their counter-revolutionary betrayal of the Soviet workers' state. (See in the state-capitalist and Trotskyite "Revolution Betrayed" lies and delusions which, but for uprisings in 1991 when the real counter-revolution finally made its move.)

In painful abstraction the right are seeking to split the "humanist" Marx from the "brutalist" Lenin, these academics hope to cash in on the universal assumptions (examined earlier) ludicrously accusing the workers states of seeking the deliberate destruction of sections of their own populations. As throughout the USSR's existence, any garbage will do as long as these petticoat schematic illusions on left appearances while maintaining an anti-Soviet position. But in time, the actual sacrifices and achievements still in the socialist camp will help the Third World escape from colonial subjugation, and building personal and revolutionary workers' groups from one end of the world to the other will challenge imperialist aggression, — will live on, on the ridiculed, mythic terms of "deliberate, murderous tyranny" will be discredited.

Cuba sensitively refused to allow Gorbachev's revisionism's insane path of dismembering the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country to be coupled with the west by embracing market forces, and thereby has it evaded counter-revolutionary overthrow so far.

Now, despite having been an undeveloped, backward island, typical of the poverty of Latin American poverty and as corrupt and hopeless a country as any victim on earth of past Western colonial domination (next-door Haiti is officially still the world's poorest country), Cuba is poised for possibly the greatest socialist propaganda triumph of all time.

In the teeth of 40 years non-stop US imperialism, blockades, sabotage, subversion, and relentless brain-washing propaganda onslaught (which the fact-LEFTSEMICOMMUNIST RIGHTSEMICOMMUNIST AGREED, and described all the consequent difficulties for Cuba down to Stalinist tyranny and lack of basic information, etc.), the dictatorship of the proletariat under Castro's party leadership is on the verge of a magnificent American embargo, stifling the sneers that totalitarianism destroys human freedom and ingenuity, and getting inter-imperialist trade-war to disrupt the blockade around Cuba as a result of creatively out-performing the US research the very best that the entire wealthy West can produce, and coming close to the holy grails of modern commercial science.

The communist-hating capitalist press itself reports the following:

Clinical trials of a cancer therapy genetically engineered by the Cuban biotechnology industry are due to begin in London next month. It may prove to be a landmark both for medicine's struggle with the disease that killed Fidel Castro and an attempt to break out of Cuba's US-imposed isolation. Despite a stark lack of resources, laboratories in the impoverished suburbs of the capital, Havana, have made startling strides in developing revolutionary vaccines and antibodies against meningitis, hepatitis, lung, breast, head and neck cancers. The disease in those parts of the world has been hindered up to now by the Helms-Burton Act, the US measure which penalises foreign companies for dealing with Cuba. A further barrier the wall is now beginning to crumble in the more general thaw in US-Cuban relations, and western investors have found that Cuban scientists, such as Angelo Varela, a month, are ahead in some fields of their colleagues in the US and western Europe in the race to produce genetically engineered medicines. After months of intense lobbying, the British pharmaceutical company Smith Kline Beecham succeeded a year ago in persuading Washington to give it an exemption from the law allowing it to develop and market a Cuban vaccine against the child-killing disease meningitis B. It is the only such vaccine in the world, and is undergoing trials prior to being launched in Europe.

In the past few weeks, as international investors have grown less afraid of US retaliation, a Canadian venture capital firm, York Medical, has come forward with funds for the clinical trials of Cuban cancer vaccines and antibodies. Its director, David Allman, said that trials of a cancer vaccine would begin in Britain in "next few weeks" for cancer patients who are not responding to conventional treatment. The hospital involved cannot be named for contractual reasons.

"I think we know it is effective," Mr Allman said. "What we are doing is confirming clinical trials. We all know the answer."

The vaccine does not prevent cancer in a healthy person, but it prevents existing tumours spreading. It works by provoking the immune system into making antibodies against epidermal growth factor (EGF), a naturally occurring protein which plays an important role in childhood development but seems to have no function in adults other than nourishing tumours.

The problem in reducing its supply is to find a way to provoke the immune system into fighting a substance normally found in the body.

The Cubans found a way by bonding EGF with a bacterial protein known as P44k, which prompts an immune response to both and thus mop's up the supply of EGF.

York Medical says that the vaccine has already produced impressive results in Cuban tests, increasing average survival time by 200%.

"There's a certain degree of inventiveness in Cuba," Mr Allman said. "We all learn, the same time, the same thing in medical school, but the Cubans are not bound by what has been in the past."

They have also developed an antibody which could provide a second line of attack against certain tumours. It works by blocking EGF receptors on cancer cells and prevents them connecting with and being nourished by the rest of the body.

The strategy, first laid out by a Cuban scientist, Rolando Perez, in a scientific paper in 1984, not only stops the tumours growing but weakens the cancerous tissue to make it vulnerable to chemotherapy and radiotherapy.

To Cuba the success of these trials is essential. In the last 10 years, President Castro has plunged an estimated $1bn into its cluster of biotech institutes, capitalising on a long-term investment in medical expertise which has given Cuba more doctors per capita than any other country in the world.

Mark Rassenick, a University of Illinois physiology professor who watches Cuba's progress, said: "Because there are few rich patients, they are able to allow the best and the brightest to engage in work which supports a system of biomedical research. It's considered a national priority."

The investment also represents, in the words of a diplomat in Havana, "Fidel's moonshot" — a bid for national greatness and an important
The anti-communist fake 'lefts' (SWP, SF, AWL, OP, CGP, etc.) will still sneer and dismiss Cuba's success in this as some kind of 'one-off' exception due to special circumstances, etc., but they have left the regime 'doomed for lack of democracy,' etc., — which is, of course, exactly the lying caricature which the Stalinist-bourgeoisie spread around the world for these little petty bourgeois to pick up on.

But another recent capitalist press admission importantly gave the lie to this as well, confirming the analysis of Eljman and Koutouzov (see 16a and 17) which frustrated its own Western anticipation and found, in spite of everything, that the planned Soviet economy was potentially as productive and creative as ever in 1990 but only when there was management and deliberate political destruction of the dictatorship of the proletariat was what ruined it. This report concedes that Soviet science was phenomenally creative, combinatorially creative, achieving the achievements as being in part produced despite being locked up, which pays homage to the myth of the planned economy as it agatha finds it necessary to keep going, but simultaneously makes a mockery of them by juxtaposing these two theses which rule each other out, — being 'denied freedom,' and producing pioneering creative science for a mass market. Like Cuba, like the USSR:

The streets of Akademgorodok a maze of tunnels links key buildings so that academics in Russia's science city can get through the harsh Siberian temperatures outside. For the first 30 years the town — with its 37 institutes and thousands of researchers, not to mention the boundaries of knowledge — was a symbol of the grandiose intellectual ambition of the Soviet Union. Scientists were treated with deference in the USSR. Lenin began to promote their interests immediately after the revolution, and, once industrial society was created, a new institution of science was born in a new country.

The street-level and underground services' work has led to the creation of a powerful new society. In the lean years they received extra rations.

Later, under Stalin, the better elements in state security boosted the state's devotion to science. Most scientists escaped the repressions because they were needed to defend the USSR's huge armaments. Even those who were imprisoned continued to work in specially developed research camps.

The scientists of the totalitarian state, but we didn't mind because we were doing interesting work and we felt that the state needed and respected us," said a 1930s physics professor who worked during the 1940s to develop the Soviet atom bomb. "I don't think we were a mere adjunct of Soviet life — it was at its core, the key to transforming Russia from a backward agricultural country into an industrially advanced power, and we felt we had to defend itself against the capitalist enemy.

The government poured large measures of the budget into cultivating this scientific elite, whose ideas made them internationally acclaimed — and feared — advances: pioneering aerodynamics, rocket technology, the first man in space, the first atomic power station, the hydrogen bomb.
goods, which most people looking in from outside, only wish they could afford. The USSR's supply industry saw it outperform capitalism's then most inventive and innovative countries, Germany, Hungary, efficient under the most testing conditions imaginable. World War II. It sustained a country with a young population for 74 years and one of the healthiest and physically fittest in the world. Only since the markets for consumer goods systems and industries started flooding Russian shops to make them look like the West, when once the population and life-expectancy started to plummet, and the national health with it. Life expectancy in Russia has now dropped to the low fifties, a drop of more than 10 years. People who believe in the benefits of capitalism think lack of consumer goods is not thinking seriously. Despite its endless obvious burdens and shortfalls, the Soviet workers' state nevertheless fell into an inexcusable stagnation, or any terminal reversal of the party's policy of rapid growth in the planned economy was destroyed by reactionism via dismantling of party-led proletariat and state control of the economy in pursuit of 'faster growth in order to catch up with the Western way of life. Via market forces! An utterly insane and suicidal aim for socialism at that stage of world history.

But the anti-communists take the theoretical angle on Cuba or the Soviet Union, in practice. The anti-communists have destroyed the economy by reactionism via dismantling of party-led proletariat control of the economy in pursuit of 'faster growth in order to catch up with the Western way of life', via market forces. 

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ism has gradually been accepting the need for a small-paced withdrawal from Northern Ireland. For a long time, and also the implication that the fact of Northern Ireland's colonial status, as it existed after enforced Partition at bayonet-point in 1921, was deemed as well. Which clearly implies that Ireland's eventual return to Nationalship and a single independent republic is also inevitable in due course. Which all amounted to the fact that British imperialism was no longer the world power it once was. The world was no longer quite so performist to big-bruised domination as once was, and that the Sinn Fein and IRA determined and skilful nationalist policy was not going to be beaten. In all that was possible were rearward-action tactics to frustrate Irish self-determination for as long as possible; to undermine Ulster Unionism's Orange-loyalism in the north; to reduce the dangers of UDI 'protestant' violence to as little as possible; and to continue the smokescreen propaganda as large as possible to hide the fact that essentially, British imperialism and colonialism could no longer be continued to Sinn Fein and the IRA's national-liberation guerrilla war. - Their formidable weapon. And the armistice still at hand, and uncommitted. Only the most determined and incorrigible anti-Marxists could fail to see the outstanding, epoch-making anti-imperialist triumph, cossignificantly significant for Ireland; importantly indicating a change in world, the current period of imperialist decline; and prices for the fight for anti-imperialism inevitable in Britain, now that triumphalist anti-Irish chauvinism has had its full suppression. (Surrender to the IRA, really?) Only the poisoned defeatist petty-bourgeois mentality of Western Europe could, under the empty posturing ultra-left banner of 'socialist revolution now', jeer at the anti-imperialist triumphs of the Irish national-liberation guerrilla war as contemptible 'green nationalists' or 'nationalists', no matter than Orange nationalist terrorism', etc. Only the most cynical academic dilettantes plying as 'communists', could launch ultra-reactionary agitation (like the CPGB) for allowing the defeated Orange colonial fascists to be the restarted four-county Partitioned hell-hole of the same old 'Northern Ireland' tyranny in which to strut their stuff and persecute whatever wretched nationalistic Irish were forced to suffer within the artificial barrier of 'British-Occupied Ireland'. Nor do these incurable middle-class anti-communists stop their fake 'left' gibberish with Ireland. The whole Trot and revisionist swamp was at the same backward nonsense over Yugoslavia,妄想 playing into imperialism's hands for the NATO-Nazi blitzkrieg destruction of Serbia and the savage state reprisals by falling for the CIA's long-prepared gimmick of 'Kosovo self-determination' behind the myth, based on region Albanian drugs-mafia; and the revisionists doing the same with the hopeless social-pacifist postures of 'anti-war', or the equally confusing nonsense of 'victory to the Milosevic regime', as bankrupt and demoralised as revisionist nationalism as could be imagined. The workers-state remnants NATO was so keen to destroy, with premeditated, conscious revolt against all its proven scientific understanding, British imperialism established its military-conquest of Northern Ireland over 800 years ago. Its Orange colonial plantation was first imposed on Ulster more than 350 years ago backing the north-east corner of Ireland 'British for ever more'. This blatant Zionist colonial conquest of Ireland, disguising the settled nation four million strong (now five million) from its human population completed only 35 years ago. It was imposed in a period of world monopoly-capitalist boom when US imperialism could guarantee militarily supply every reaction possible, and when the great anti-imperialist epoch of world history was still young and its infancy but already temporarily hobbled by class-collaborationist revisionist stupidity, by defeatism in Moscow. These conditions will pass. And five million Palestinian people will not forget our 250 million humiliated Arab people beyond that; nor a billion humiliated Muslims people beyond that. This imperial, revisionist colonisation, conquest and annexation of the Palestinian nation's homeland in living memory is one of the most ludicrous, incredible, and unstable monstrosities of colonial tyranny ever perpetrated, bringing millions of Zionist fanatics from every corner of the world and America to usurp the lands of the Palestinian people and then subject them to the savage, murderous cowardly violence and violent prejudice that any nation has ever suffered in history, doing exactly to Palestinians what German imperialism (and other imperialists) did to the Jews (and far more others) which brought the desired destruction of that imperialist aggression not long after. That 'unbeatable' thousand-year-old people will survive 60 years. This one will have a longer run as Third World revolutionary might continues its incubation in the wake of Western Europe's self-destruction and imperialism's unprecedented economic world-wide. But not that much longer, if 'lefts' are nothing but a confusing defeatist menace to the working class. Build the EPSC right for Marxist-Leninist science.
5. Analysing the necessary revolutionary future of progress is not guesswork but the essential reliable science about society without which there will be no transformation to workers running their own lives.

Grotesque imperialist rivalry at the heart of 'Euroland', plus the conspiracy to defraud the vote in the 'world greatest democracy', puts pressure on bogus 'socialists' to say when and how this 'free world' farce will be ended. Phantom 'popularity' is as big a hoax on the petty-bourgeois 'left' as it is around the regular representatives of parliamentary capitalist opportunism. Mass movements unlikely until some worthwhile revolutionary perspectives are outlined. Empty 'Marxist' posturing which cannot explain its revisionist or anti-communist history will not be believed. Hindsight lessons from the past, such as Spain, are crucial for building scientific socialist consciousness. An accurate analysis of Third International revisionist disasters is now vital for routing Stalinist and Trotskyist sectarian defeatists. Stalin's 'peace' theory was just a catastrophe, doing 60 years damage to the Soviet workers state and the socialists camp cause, - and still unresolved to this day.

The crisis sharpens for fake 'lefts' in Britain (and elsewhere) to come off the fence and tell the international proletariat how the fight against monopoly-imperialist world domination is going to end. From the 'electoral reform' opportunism of the 'Socialist Alliance' Trotskyists to the anti-theory museum-Stalinist philistinism of the CPB/SIP/Lakans, the working class is denied all leadership on the utterly crucial question of exactly how the class war for socialism is to be won.

The ever-increasing signs of the Western monopoly-capitalist system failing apart everywhere, - economically, politically, and socially, - make this an issue of growing urgency. These 57 varieties of fake 'lefts' are all pretentious and all they like about getting 'increased following' on the way-towards 'mass support' but there is not one word of truth in it, - and there will be no serious worthwhile socialist movement until millions of workers start to hear an explanation of capitalist chaos, - and how it will end, - that begins to make sense.

The largest fake-'left' group, the SWP, notoriously refuses ever to commit itself to detailed perspectives about how imperialism is ultimately to be toppled. Other groups in the anti-communist Trotsky spectrum may formally acknowledge the desperately needed for a scientific programme for a non-capitalist future (before any serious socialist consciousness can be successfully fought for in the workers movement), but it invariably remains a purely sketchy academic offering which never gets elaborated in the course of immediate 'practical' agitation and struggle, - which is, of course, the only place where the necessary theory can begin to be made real for the working class. In their sectarian journals, there is background reportage about Palestine, Kosovo, Third World poverty, Ireland, inter-imperialist strife, etc, etc (i.e. on good days when filled with shallow propaganda about tedious manoeuvring for opportunist advantage against each other from among the 57 varieties, within the arenas of joint activity they share (union disputes, election campaigns, membership poaching, etc)), - but almost never any conclusions drawn about how these new developments on some frontline anti-imperialist struggle or other, demonstrate the truth or otherwise for whichever particular theory is held-to for achieving the socialist revolution on earth.

Passionate arguments are put forward for or against Kosovan Albanian self-determination rights versus Serbian self-determination rights to a backlash of Western imperialist subversion, intervention, and generally reactionary skullduggery which is going to continue to swamp everybody - but little is ever said, if anything at all, about how the whole monstrous Balkanisation war-mongering nonsense ends. How is the obvious way forward for socialism for mankind being illustrated by the steadily-growing mess in the Balkans? Or in Occupied Palestine? Or in Blair's crisis (petrol blockade; Peckham youth anarchy; European Union unwending conflict; etc, etc)? Or in everything else that is happening and getting discussed? There is either zero
inspiration for the working class towards socialist consciousness; or there is even only a reactionary education, when the only perspectives being worked into the debates are limited to 'get out of Europe'; or 'Keep the pound'; or 'Peaceful coexistence between East and West and a Palestinian state would be nicer'; or 'Back left' Labour candidates or TUC office candidates if they accept a minor reformist programme'; etc, etc, etc.

None of this remotely addresses the crucial role that revolutionary theory is inevitably going to have to play before working class socialist consciousness is forthcoming, not in the sense of a political force on earth. Every variety of revisionism and Trotskyism spouts about its 'Marxist-Leninist correctness but uselessness'; but every vital lesson is in reality ignored, especially the key understanding that without revolutionary theory, there will never be lasting successful revolutionary practice.

How, for example, is it possible of the abstract 'right to self-determination' for the Kosovo Albanian pro-American mafia-separatists going to help to change the course of the international proletariat for defeating US imperialism domination worldwide??? The Trotskyists simply ignore the question, because they are the confused and frustrated working class in Britain (or anywhere else) supposed to become passionately involved in this one issue one way or the other?

Or how, for example, is the 'defence of Yugoslavia' (which amounted to a defence of the crooked, mercenary, anti-communist Milosevic regime) going to inspire an international proletariat to build dedicated workers' state regimes, building socialism??? The museums-Stalinists and other revisionists did not say when calling for support for the Belgrade regime; and delicately forget about the previous slogan now that these wretched mercenary Milosevic losers have halfway abandoned their joke 'anti-imperialist' fight altogether.

The working class is never going to respond in vast revolutionary-fighting numbers to this endless fence-sitting mealy-mouthed bourgeoisie and its Zinovievite and Trotskyite 57 varieties of Trotskyism and revisionism, whether bogusly 'united' in phony (anti-theory) 'alliance' or not. The serious perspectives for the eventually inevitably worldwide victory over the rapidly decaying imperialism of the West and system will inspire workers to the revolutionary front-line again, fighting for socialism.

Drawing a caricature of this as a demand for 'instant revolution, now, immediately, on every issue', etc, etc, will not make the problem go away. The working class will remain uninspired by just re-runs of electoral 'left reformist promises' now wearily after they first failed with Labour (as the 'Socialist Alliances' are trying). Or by re-runs of revisionist 'equality of wage' 'left pressure' and 'anti-monopoly fronts' nearly 70 years after their first failure under the already-theoretical poltrope which revisionist theological muddle eventually destroyed the world's first workers state with.

The Popular Front, or more particularly the propaganda illusions which developed alongside this policy in Spain, were at most most prominently established the later totally-dominant understanding around the Third International (especially in the West) that protecting the USSR from all-imperialist annihilation; sagitating for world peace against fascist aggression and applying constant 'left pressure' in every capitalist country; - would finally all add up to the socialist development of the socialist camp eventually proving its superiority to the world colonial-imperialist system.

In the end, all this amounted to completely disarming nonsense, pushing the Third International European parties, for example, down the 'peaceful road to socialism' blind alley where the other side was more and more revisionist illusions, eventually resulting in open hostility to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet workers state,(including by the CPSU leadership itself in due course), and self-liquidation into a basically serious 'communist parties' any more. If the huge revolution ary tasks facing mankind are going to be specified it was spelled out but were going to be deliberately ignored, then the quietist complicity of the so-called world view (as to the best way to socialist-state salvation of human civilisation) was going to be bound to relent less and less with the disabling revisionist confusion and nonsense henceforth, post-1930s.

Stalin's report to the 18th CPSU Congress was delivered in March 1939. Despite correctly describing the warmongering world imperialist crisis, then in almost full swing, the report disastrously fails to even mention socialist revolution as the best (and only final) answer to imperialist warmongering; or discuss its prospects at all. Quite the contrary, Stalin yawns out the most compelling Bolshevik programme so as to go through the bureaucratic motions of his 'world communist leader' report, and retain his standing ovation.

Here is the best of all that Stalin had to say for inspiring the world communist revolutionary movement with, at this infamous-foul and explosive moment in imperialist history which was about to plunge the planet into its most appallingly murderous blood bath ever (and had already started in the Far East, in Spain, in Central Europe as Stalin's records). It is littered with such barmy complacencies as describing British and French imperialism, for
example, as "the non-aggressive countries"; and while aware of the Western conspiracy to provoke a German invasion of the USSR, treats the threat almost as a casual joke. After all, after all, this address, the world revolutionary movement would have turned over for another long comfortable sleep. The amazing heartbreaking tragedy in Spain does not even get any report at all, apart from mentioning the ruthlessness of the German-Italian "seizure of Spain" and the rank hypocrisy of the rest of the West's bogus "non-intervention policy", almost in passing.

In its foreign policy the Soviet Union relies upon:
1. Its growing economic, political and cultural might;
2. The moral and political unity of our Soviet society;
3. The mutual friendship of the nations of our country;
4. Its Red Army and Red Navy;
5. Its policy of peace;
6. The moral support of the working people of all countries, who are vitally concerned in the preservation of peace;
7. The good sense of the countries which for one reason or another have no interest in the violation of peace.

* * *

The tasks of the Party in the sphere of foreign policy are:
1. To continue the policy of peace and of strengthening business relations with all countries;
2. To be cautious and not allow our country to be drawn into conflicts by warmongers who are accustomed to have others pull the chestnuts out of the fire for them;
3. To strengthen the might of our Red Army and Red Navy to the utmost;
4. To strengthen the international bonds of friendship with the working people of all countries, who are interested in peace and friendship among nations.

At the same time, in order to strengthen its international position, the Soviet Union decided to take certain other steps. At the end of 1934 our country joined the League of Nations, considering that despite its weakness the League might nevertheless serve as a place where aggressors could be exposed, and as a certain instrument of peace, however feeble, that might hinder the outbreak of war. The Soviet Union considers that in alarming times like these even so weak an international organization as the League of Nations should not be ignored. In May 1935 a treaty of mutual assistance against possible attack by aggressors was signed between France and the Soviet Union. A similar treaty was simultaneously concluded with Czechoslovakia. In March 1936 the Soviet Union concluded a treaty of mutual assistance with the Mongolian People's Republic. In August 1937 the Soviet Union concluded a pact of nonaggression with the Chinese Republic.

It was in such difficult international conditions that the Soviet Union pursued its foreign policy of upholding the cause of peace.

Or take Germany, for instance. They let her have Austria, despite the undertaking to defend her independence; they let her have the Sudeten region; they abandoned Czechoslovakia to her fate, thereby violating all their obligations; and then they began to lie vociferously in the press about "the weakness of the Russian army," "the demoralization of the Russian air force," and "riots" in the Soviet Union, in order to lull the Germans to march farther east, promising them easy pickings, and prompting them: "Just start war on the Bolsheviks, and everything will be all right." It must be admitted that this too looks very much like egging on and encouraging the aggressor.

The hubbub raised by the British, French and American press over the Soviet Ukraine is characteristic. The gentlemen of the press there shouted until they were hoarse that the Germans were marching on the Soviet Ukraine, that they now had what is called the Carpathian Ukraine, with a population of some seven hundred thousand, and that not later than this spring the Germans would annex the Soviet Ukraine, which has a population of over thirty million, to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine. It looks as if the object of this suspicious hubbub was to incense the Soviet Union against Germany, to poison the atmosphere and to provoke a conflict with Germany without any visible grounds.

It is quite possible, of course, that there are madmen in Germany who dream of annexing the Ukraine, that is, the Soviet Ukraine, to the gnat, namely, the so-called Carpathian Ukraine. If there really are such lunatics in Germany, rest assured that we shall find enough strait jackets for them in our country. (Thunderous applause.) But if we ignore the madmen and turn to normal people, is it not clearly absurd and foolish seriously to talk of annexing the Soviet Ukraine to this so-called Carpathian Ukraine? Imagine: the gnat comes to the elephant and says perkily: "Ah, brother, how sorry I am for you.... Here you are without any landlords, without any capitalists, without any oppression, without any fascist bosses. Is that a way to live?... I look at you and I can't help thinking that there is no hope for you unless you annex yourself to me.... (General laughter.)

Not absurd at all, of course; but Stalin (allegedly) was to repeat this complacency in (supposedly) denying the reality of German invasion plans right up to the last minute. In June 1941 when the greatest land-war in history was finally unleashed against the USSR, thereby unnecessarily underestimating the Soviet defence capabilities enormously in the first instance, (it is said).

Avoiding giving the imperialists the slightest provocation for unleashing invasion is one thing (e.g. by refusing to rise to Western alarmist propaganda and deliberately trying to humiliate the Soviet Union). Signing the USSR-German non-aggression pact in August 1939 in order to split the growing forces of Western imperialist aggression into two camps was sound tactics. But the complacency about how dangerous an imperialist war threat might be to the Soviet workers state is a piece of infamous nonsense, inextricably tied up with the now-by-then utterly static attitude to world developments.

But the greatest crime of all is this failure to realize that a single word to the international revolutionary movement of the working class at such a decisive turning point in the anti-imperialist history and colonial-liberation struggle, which was to see the world virtually transformed within an atomic framework by such momentous developments as the Chinese revolution, and the start to the enforced (by rôle) disarmament of the physical Western colonial empires. Such non-consideration of the crucial role in world history to be played by the proletariat's own revolutions all over the world has no doubt as to the prime source of the self-liquidating revisionist gibberish which, for example, has now turned the British CP into the 'peaceful road to socialism' nonsense by 1950 (Moscow-approved, and Stalin still with three years to go in office), and had transformed the whole world movement into not much more than a ludicrous campaign for disarmament and peaceful coexistence.

This "upholding the cause of peace" (JVS) is in fact such imperialist deceitful twaddle unimaginable. There is only one scientific Marxist message for mankind, and that is there will be no peace for mankind for as long as the imperialist system continues to hold sway on earth.

And only truly monotonous sophistry would try pretending that this 'world peace' perspective, which obliterated all else from large parts of the international communist movement for the next 50 years, was just a 'temporary tactic to avoid giving imperialist aggression cause for protest'. It failed to disarm imperialism from the worldwide holocaust of World War II, and was bound to fail. It failed to start a side-line to imperialist aggression in the new period. It failed to disarm imperialism from more wars since 1945 than in any other period of history, together cumulatively dwarfing by far the maddening destructiveness of
WWII. It succeeded only in temporarily disarming Soviet defenses for 1941; and in permanently disarming the world communist-led workers movement from any understanding of the revolutionary socialist future for mankind for the following 50 years.

It was no "clever, temporary tactic". It was total revisionist degeneration.

It could truly be argued about Spain, (against the light-minded imbecilities of Trotula ultra-leftism!) that the socialist revolution was there for the taking, and that it was deliberately counter-revolutionarily sabotaged (secret agents, etc.)—the declaration of aggressive foreign war was soon after the world imperialist economic anarchy-system runs into uncontrollable international crisis!—the weak fusion of the German parliament of petty-bourgeois democracy which actually elected Hitler to be Chancellor and head a new coalition government, it was the weak fusion of the Spanish parliament of petty-bourgeois democracy which abysmally failed to rally Spain to defeat Franco's fascist coup, despite the heroic individual efforts of the communist contingents and others in the civil war.

The only call which might possibly have succeeded in rallying sufficient class forces to defeat the fascist-imperialist lumpen/petty bourgeois reaction would have been that for a socialist state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, rallying the working class and the peasantry, the majority of the population.

The communist movement went down to bitter defeat never having succeeded at all to stop it, thanks to the miserable revisionist corruption of Third International theory begun in time.

This theoretical bankruptcy was to get worse and worse and worse. So-called 'fascism'-in reality only the imperialist bourgeois system, in crisis and needing to bang aggressive chauvinist-war drums and dictator internal scapegoating of the enemy within, in order to get the working class from socialist revolution as a better answer to capitalist collapse & slump mess)—was further enhanced by insane point of differentiating 'bad' imperialists (Germany, etc) from 'good' imperialists (the USA, etc) that real alliances could be developed with. The worst 'fascist' crimes in history (the US imperialist brutal destruction and mass-murder inflicted on Korea and Vietnam while McCarthyist persecution and witch-hunts drove people to suicide in the USA just for opposing the war-mongering-committed by the 'good' imperialists and repeated more than 100,000 times in 1945 in endless countercultural revolutionary bullying, coups, interventions, and sabotage, all round the world, in the most dangerous years of the world war)--failed to curb this revisionist theoretical nonsense. The world communist movement was still resolutely led to continue holding to the "cause of world peace" alongside these 'good imperialists' war-mongering monstrous through-out every brutal counter-revolutionary crime imaginable, imposed on a worldwide scale.

Tactical caution was always needed, undoubtedly. No one can deny the case was worth the nuclear annihilation of the Soviet Union—or anywhere else, come to that. But corrupted revisionist theory had nothing whatever to do with tactical caution to avoid giving US imperialism cause to 'go to war'.

The tragedy of the two world wars was the paranoid obsession of stopping Franco's victory.

Except that in reality, a lot was stopping the Spanish anti-fascist movement from its one real hope of triumph—and that was the policy of the CPSU, the Third International, and the Spanish CP. Their policy was not for a socialist revolution to defeat Fascism, but for a Popular Front of every brand of petty-bourgeois parliamentary democracy in sight to all band together to "defend the world from fascism" and internationally to combine to "uphold the cause of peace".

But the permanently confused nonsense of every brand of petty-bourgeois parliamentary democracy in the face of war-wrangling imperialist aggression is the very guarantee of the victory of fascism for getting the guns and police-dictatorship out, plus the direction of aggressive foreign war was soon after the world imperialist economic anarchy-system runs into uncontrollable international crisis!—the weak fusion of the German parliament of petty-bourgeois democracy which actually elected Hitler to be Chancellor and head a new coalition government, it was the weak fusion of the Spanish parliament of petty-bourgeois democracy which abysmally failed to rally Spain to defeat Franco's fascist coup, despite the heroic individual efforts of the communist contingents and others in the civil war.

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ing to deny that the plain revisionist non- socialist socialists ever in fact stated.
For the unteenth time, just read the
words which follow:

It may be confidently said that,
with this pace of industrial development, it will soon come
to pass that these countries will not only be in no need of
imports from capitalist countries, but will themselves feel
the necessity of finding an outside market for their surplus
products.
But it follows from this that the sphere of exploitation of
the world's resources by the major capitalist countries
(U.S.A., Britain, France) will not expand, but contract; that
their opportunities for sale in the world market will deterio-
rate, and that their industries will be operating more and
more below capacity. That, in fact, is what is meant by the
deepening of the general crisis of the world capitalist system
in connection with the disintegration of the world market.
This is felt by the capitalists themselves, for it would be
difficult for them not to feel the loss of such markets as the
U.S.S.R. and China. They are trying to offset these difficul-
ties with the "Marshall plan," the war in Korea, frantic
rearmament, and industrial militarization. But that is very
much like a drowning man clutching at a straw.
This state of affairs has confronted the economists with two
questions:
a) Can it be affirmed that the thesis expounded by Stalin
before the Second World War regarding the relative stability of
markets in the period of the general crisis of capitalism
is still valid?
b) Can it be affirmed that the thesis expounded by Lenin
in the spring of 1916 — namely, that, in spite of the decay of
capitalism, "on the whole, capitalism is growing far more
rapidly than before" — is still valid?
I think that it cannot. In view of the new conditions to
which the Second World War has given rise, both these theses
must be regarded as having lost their validity.

This insane idea was repeated in Soviet econ-
omic textbook after
Soviet economic text-
book. Not a single
young Russian grew up
not believing that
the West was economi-
cally crumbling. It
was a confirmed arti-
cle of faith in the
Higher Party School
in Moscow, no matter
how vigorously some
visitors tried to warn
them off such a dis-
credited understanding
of the essential harm
to mankind of Western

Our agriculture, consequently, is not only run on the largest
scale, is not only the most mechanized in the world, and therefore
produces the largest surplus for the market, but is also more fully
equipped with modern machinery than the agriculture of any
other country.

It was gibberish,
by revolutionary means.
Keep sowing the idocy
that 'peaceful road to socialism' can
solve all problems,-
and the complications

It is said that the contradictions between capitalism and
socialism are stronger than the contradictions among
the capitalist countries. Theoretically, of course, that is true. It
is not only true now, today; it was true before the Second
World War. And it was more or less realized by the leaders of
the capitalist countries. Yet the Second World War began
not as a war with the U.S.S.R., but as a war between capital-
ist countries. Why? Firstly, because war with the U.S.S.R.,
as a socialist land, is more dangerous to capitalism than war
between capitalist countries; whereas war between capitalist
countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalistic countries over others, war with the U.S.S.R.
must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself.

But reality most
But reality most
famously was exactly
famously was exactly
the other way about.
the other way about.
The most important
The most important
events in world his-
tory, the Russian and
Chinese socialist rev-
olutions, flourished ex-
actly in the midst of inter-
Imperialism, it was pre-
cisely the outcome of
inter-imperialist wars
which "put in question
the existence of capita-
lism itself".
Put in question the ex-
istence of capitalism itself.

And precisely the
And precisely the
contrary of Stalin's
assertions was the tr-
uth about the third
greatest event in world
history, the survival of the Soviet workers
state of the second
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sultant to crush it.
state of the second
great imperialist on-

It was "war with the
It was "war with the
U.S.S.R.", but far from
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pakistan, for ex-
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Europe fell to workers-
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overthrow of capitalism.

The real point is
The real point is
that Stalin's judgement
that Stalin's judgement
of the importance of rival world perspec-
tives is all wrong. The revolutions in Chi-
ina, Vietnam, Cuba,
rigmarole (see Review 1068) on Palestine, reporting on everything but the necessity to restate the perspective of socialist revolution to the anti-imperialist fight. This museum-

Stalinist structure for the conscious prolongation of philis-

thinism in the workers movement, even has the gall to neck-

leave out of its historical
cal resume any refer-

ence at all to Stalin-

ist revisionism's role

in agreeing to the

setting up of the Zion-

ist colonization of

Palestine in the first

place in 1947-48,

let alone any analy-

sis of its disastrous

lunacy, or even any

traditional revision-

ist 'apologies' for

this counter-revolu-

tionary imbecility.

Stalinist and revision-

ist anti-theory philis-

thinism are as rotten

as each other, - and

as anti-communist.

But imperialist cri-

sis goes on deepening relentlessly. Postur-

ing front of the working class about this and that but with-

out committing one word or thought about what role all revolu-

tion fits into the scheme of things in order to give a seri-

ous worthwhile perspec-

tive to anti- imperi-

alist struggle. But will be unlikely to inspire mass workers movements henceforth.

"But we have heard it all before about capitalist or socialistic cynics will say, "Let

us get on with some-

thing practical", what,

like "uphold world peace" or "1997 SWP style "making the Tories get defeated

(i.e. by voting Lab-

our!!!). The working

class is learning con-

tempt for all this fake left posturing.

So how bankrupt is the capitalist system?

Any week, the capital-

ist press will give the answer, ex-

actly the ERS regul-

arily re-presents it (as below).

The Observer discovered that

Harris's office had ordered the elimination of 8,000 Florida voters on the grounds that they had committed felonies in other states. None had. Harris bought the bum list from a company called

ChoicePoint, a firm whose

Atlanta executive suite and boardroom are filled with Republican funders. Choice-

Point...
year to boost personal consumption. In the meantime the government is preparing its 10th supplementary budget or "extraordinary budget" since 1992. Most of the money will go to construction projects of dubious value — such as the 10 giant bridges connecting Honshu and Shikoku islands. The construction companies form an important constituency for the ruling Liberal Democratic Party. Their debts are often repaid by the government which is frequently involved in corrupt deals. Earlier this year a former construction company minister was arrested on charges of accepting kickbacks. Yet most of the 10,000 construction companies — employing about 10% of the workforce — are unprofitable and on the brink of insolvency.

Ron Bucacqua at Commerz Securities in Tokyo says: "There is no economy in Japan. Everything is just o.k. They are no better than they were two years ago. The government deficit is running at 10% of GDP, when growth is 2%. That is not sustainable. It still looks a pretty bleak picture."

The United Nations secretary general has recommended withdrawing its mission to Haiti after more than five years, warning that attempts to strengthen democracy and reduce the threat of mounting violence aimed at the international community. In a highly critical report, Kofi Annan effectively accused the country's dominant political party, Fanmi Lavalas, and its leader and current president and one-time president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, of drifting towards international isolation and violating democracy by refusing to recount the results of the first round of May's disputed parliamentary elections.

Mr Annan's written comments, dated November 9, were released this week after Sunday's presidential election — boycotted by the opposition.

"A combination of rampant crime, violent street protests and incidents of violence targeted at the international community, could severely limit the ability of [the international mission in Haiti] to fulfil its mandate," Mr Annan wrote. He recommended with regret that the mission be terminated when its current mandate expires next month.

The UN mission has been substantially scaled down in recent years — almost all the US troops who arrived in 1994 left 18 months ago.

The UN vehicles were fired upon and some international aid donors have suspended projects in protest at the political crisis, although Britain's Department of International Development still claims that 6,000 of its staff in Haiti have done their utmost to help the poor.

Towards aid schemes in Haiti, the poorest country in the western hemisphere.

In ten years Russia has gone from having a tiny fraction of HIV cases compared with Western countries to last year, when it had recorded the steepest rise in the world, in Moscow the rate of HIV infection quadrupled in 1998 and in August this year it had doubled again.

There's denial of a different sort going on nightly in Moscow's burgeoning club world. While the city around them crumbles, anything goes in the neon hearts of the town. Approaching Studio, one of Moscow's trendiest clubs, I watched women in Lacroix and men in Armani step out of the latest Land Cruisers and Mercedes. These "New Russians" are the new elite, they have plenty of money and are attractively dressed to clubs like moths to a flame.

Misha a "male actress" had once been a biology teacher but is now a performer with a unique style and is an example of how times have changed since the break-up of the USSR. "Now I can be myself. Before perestroika, I could only work in my office as a clerk, or for a Young Pioneers organization," she said.

But that was communism, she went on. After Misha's show, I took me to Chameleon, once a gay venue, but now a club for men and women who have never been introduced are picked out of the crowd to strap on stage and simulate sex. In another room simulation gives way to the real thing. Moscow has reinvigorated itself and has not only escaped to a city where anything is possible. Most of Misha's friends are grappling with the new Russia where there are no longer guarantees of jobs, education, pensions and medical care.

Some of Misha's friends have, in despair, turned to vodka and drugs. Misha is now frightened to visit them. "We keep in touch, though I realise that when I visit them, one of them is going to be caught in a police round-up."

She lived alone with a rat that was kept in a glass bookshelf below books by Eric Maria Remarque, Dostoevsksy and Proust. Above her bed was a trade union flag with Lenin's face emblazoned on its crimson background and text in gold lettering, glorifying the values of Marxism and Leninism. Svetlana's friends arrived alone in twos and threes. Now I came to be at a "shooting party" in the late afternoon with the setting sun invisibly behind the permanently closed blinds.

Svetlana once worked for the Russian railways as an engineer, and Dina, her friend, was a ballet dancer with the Bolshoi until she fell ill. When they thought they had once been hanged on the walls of the Soviet Union they were then falling off the edge of the capitalist world.

As her group of friends injected the red solution they stepped into a grotto, where a waterfall was in the bushes metres away, I can hear what happens five floors above me, explained Maxim. For a moment in their tiny lives despair turned to peace. The two were the starkness of the bare lightbulbs they soon looked broken and exhausted and needed in order of another fox. Most of them were emaciated, and gave only Svetlana (the healthiest looking of the group) had an HIV test, it was possible that thousands of Moscow's intravenous drug users, were also HIV-positive.

Sergei summed up the prevailing attitude among the high-risk groups: "I think a Russian, unless he acquires danger with his own eyes, will not understand how dangerous it is. We are wise after the event." Indeed, for just weeks after I left, Svetlana herself died.

Lena is 21 years old, dresses in suits, and always looks smart. She could be anyone's sister, with a ready smile and an infectious laugh. She had worked as a florist until the company went bust. "I couldn't find a job, but soon went through my savings. What could I do? I went out on the streets. I used to be sent to men who were responding to a newspaper advertisement. The police controlled the business and then they decided to replace a lot of Moscowite girls with girls from Belarus and the Ukraine. Now I work on my own without the police or a pimp.

Lena lives with her grandmother on the eighteenth floor of an apartment block that is as functional as its grotto — concrete and wood. Most of the block's doors are fortified as they are in the eyes of the police. I visited the cramped kitchen and as we drank tea, the sounds of the cockroachy plumbing blared in the background.

Do you know what your grandmother would do for a living?

"Yes, but she is not very good at it; other girls make a lot of money, they have their own apartments. She's too honest. I am very sad I can't help her, Lena. Let me know if there is anyone who stayed with her. Don you know how much rent and services cost? 4000 roubles ($150), which is half of my pension. How can I live? And Lena cannot find a job. Sometimes I am crying, I can't fall asleep. I ask Lena: 'How will we live?' I am suffering so much. Now I don't know what God to pray for to help. Look, she is so beautiful,"

On the boulevard where she stands, there are so many prostitutes that they line up in the car's headlights waiting for the clients to make a choice. "Usually, I ask clients to use a condom. But sometimes he says he doesn't like them. In such a case I serve him without a condom."

It is easy to see how quickly the virus can spread; an average night for Lena is to have sex with five or six clients.

When I next caught up with Lena I found her on "Aids street".

"If someone, you managed to find us!" said Lamine, his head appeared above the parapet of a manhole. "Be careful if you come down. I grabbed the rungs and descended into Moscow's sewer system. With blankets and cardboards laid out across a platform above the water being carried beneath the city, this is where Lamine, three other Africans and their Russian girlfriend had made home.

Lena and I then walked through a slum and to an adjacent, condensed building where she introduced me to Andrew, a Ghanaian with a PhD in Engineering, "Italians", a refugee and former captain in the Somaln navy, and to her Nigerian boyfriend, JC. All these Africans had one dream — to return to Africa, but all had been stranded by the breakup of the Soviet Union; their future had dried up and with them any hope of getting an airline ticket. The 筋 to get home, JC told me, "No one will employ us because we are black, so for us of the only way to survive is to sell heroin." On the second floor of the condemned building, we sat on breeze blocks drinking vodka while male and female homeboys came to buy their 200 ruble fix.

Misha had explained to me that prior to the breakup of the USSR, life had been very different. Under communism the propaganda put out by the state was that there was no drug addiction. Under privatisation — those that were caught were immediately packed away to hospital, prison or sent on to co-op.

Russia now has to contend with a crumbling health service, doctors who, are badly paid and feel resentful about treating drug addicts and prostitutes, and a criminal justice system that inhibits harm-reduction programmes run by charities and NGOs, believing that they encourage drug use.

"Officially there are not people infected with HIV/AIDS in Russia, but it is estimated the figure could be ten times that. Forty per cent of HIV/AIDS cases are drug addicts, and 90 per cent of those are under 30. Region is estimated to have three million drug addicts. If the infection rate cannot be controlled, the impact will be felt in the rest of Europe.

No wonder they want to bring back the Soviet national anthem. At some stage, a return to the full welfare state is inevitable. But an unstoppable monopolistic course of the imperialist system means that Third World conditions, with their low productivity and stunted population growth, will not change the intolerable exploitation relationship between the First and Third worlds one bit. And that is why the year aid for the entire country of Haiti (6 million population) is less than this country pays some of its footballers for just one week's kicking a ball about. As Russia plunges towards Third World conditions, more than any other to go Soviet. Build Leninism, EPSR