

ONLY HE IS A MARXIST who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested.
V.I. Lenin

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Re-assessing the giant achievements of the 20th century workers states is crucial in the great debate stirring as revolutionary turmoil erupts against capitalism's world crisis catastrophe. But taking on anti-communist brainwashing, (including Trotskyite biliousness) and resolving the great outstanding questions is flawed by blind Stalin worship, denial of errors, cover-up and sectarian paralysis. Leninism needs rebuilding

Unanswered polemics v Lalkar/Proletarian (2003). Against museum-Stalinist revisionism.

Fake-'left' remnants from the former world Communist movement (both Stalinist-Revisionist and Trotskyite-Revisionist) still all resolutely ignore the now obvious need for an openly **revolutionary** movement to be built again at last, – one **consciously** and **loudly** accepting **in advance** that imperialism's vicious, miserable degeneracy into warmongering can only possibly end by the **revolutionary** overthrow of the bourgeois "democracy" racket ("parliamentary democracy", which will only ever be controlled by monopoly propaganda and monopoly money).

But spontaneous resistance to imperialism is plainly not going to stop growing now, and it is inevitably bound to start educating a new world revolutionary movement in the very near future.

That will lead to a mass of international polemical debates such as the world has never known before; but Marxist-Leninist science has already provided the basis for resolving successfully most of these arguments.

It only remains for anti-imperialists to keep up the fight for a **serious polemical struggle** to at last be accepted by the labour movement (to replace the sectarian idiocy whereby "larger" or "more important" sects will never mix-it with challenging ideas supported by "smaller" or

"less important" sects for fear of "giving them publicity", etc, etc).

These sad demagogues and religious freemasonries dominate the entire fake-'left' and only observe the narrowest pecking orders wherein one guru-group might just occasionally cross swords with one or two "comparable" guru-groups just for sectarian point-scoring purposes, but serious philosophical debate (about the whole dramatic epoch the world is living through) seldom gets touched upon.

It remains obvious, but has to be constantly repeated, that this sectarian paralysis carries on dominating because of the still unresolved **crucial** historical questions of what the world's first 86 years of building workers states has taught mankind.

Still ranging all the way from the sickest Stalin worship to the most demented anti-communism, the entire fake-'left' justly continues being scorned or viewed suspiciously by the working class because of its **total** inability to come up with any remotely coherent, convincing, or believable world philosophy, – still all peddling the same old "left reformist" fantasies and deception that kept the proletariat deluded by the promises of "left" Labourism for more than a century.

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For imperialist defeat but no support for Saddam etc – Lenin's defeatism line

Passing EPSR reference has already been made to the SLP Youth paper *Spark* trying to confuse working class opposition to imperialist warmongering against Iraq by pretending that such hostility needed to cheer a Saddam Hussein victory in order to be really bold,

sincere, and effective.

In the aftermath of the Baghdad nationalist posturer's farcical capitulation to US imperialist occupation without a fight, the ideological origins of this juvenile nonsense in the cultist museum-Stalinism of *Lalkar* and the SLP deserve further

exposure. The *Spark's* misplaced anti-imperialist enthusiasm declared:

Today in Iraq, as the imperialist forces of the US and Britain prepare for a bloody war, Saddam Hussein is leading his peoples struggle against these mighty foes. Saddam Hussein, along with the Palestinian people, is at the forefront of anti-imperialist resistance in the Middle East and yet we are continually told by many of those in the left wing movement that we should not support him. There is no denying that he has been an outright reactionary in the past, that he has been a stooge of US imperialism, that he has killed many of our people. But is it not true that he is now preparing to fight our biggest enemy? Is it not true that a victory for him and his people is a victory for all those who fight against imperialism?

It is the Revisionist premise for this embarrassing guesswork which is worth examining, not the humiliation as such for would-be sincere anti-imperialist leadership. Mistakes in understandings and assessments can be made by the Revolutionary Party at any time, – and they need to be owned up to as quickly as possible, analysed fully, and corrected.

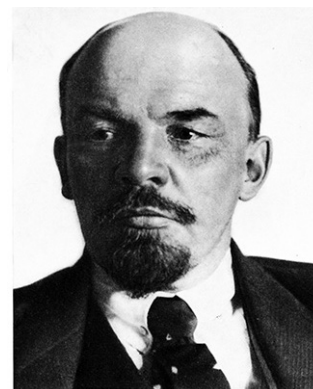
But what is so paradoxically interesting about this new Stalinist farce, – repeating never-corrected Revisionist-Stalinist theoretical flaws which run right through the whole misleading "left-reformist" doctrine of *Lalkar* and SLP opportunism, – is that it comes in an article which quotes extensively from some not-too-bad rehash of sound Leninist science on the national question produced by Stalin himself in *Foundations of Leninism*.

This is routine for the general continued worship of Stalin which this sick sectarian corner of politics still clings to.

But the one quote from that book which rarely gets an airing is the most vital one for the whole understanding of 20th century world politics, and runs as follows:

"I need not speak of the fear the parties of the Second International have of self-criticism, of their habit of concealing their mistakes, of glossing over sore questions, of covering up their shortcomings by a deceptive show of well-being which blunts living thought and prevents the Party from deriving revolutionary training from its own mistakes, – a habit which was ridiculed and pilloried by Lenin. Here is what Lenin wrote about self-criticism in proletarian parties in his pamphlet "*Left-Wing Communism*:"

"The attitude of a political party towards its own mistakes is one of the most important and surest ways of judging how earnest the party is and how it in practice fulfils its obligations towards its class and the toiling masses. Frankly admitting a mistake, ascertaining the reasons for it, analyzing the conditions which led to it, and thoroughly discussing the means of correcting it—that is the earmark of a serious party; that is the way it should perform its duties, that is the way it should educate and train the class, and then the masses."



It is tragic that the catastrophic Revisionist mess that Stalinism eventually turned into should still be misleading the anti-imperialist movement into identifying with Saddam

Hussein's rotten nationalist opportunism as an acceptable and possible "solution" to US monopoly-capitalism's new wormongering era.

It is **exactly** where this crap guru-worshipping petty-bourgeois mentality went wrong in the first place.

The Cult of the Individual was the abandonment of all objectivity and criticism over a 30-year period of properly-lauded Soviet workers state triumphalism in which, however, Stalin began to make more and more **grotesque** theoretical moves.

Only an outlook akin to blind religious faith (a petty-bourgeois outlook of immature individualist conceit) can still fail to see the origins of Gorbachev's ultimate liquidationist insanity of "building our common European home in peaceful coexistence with the whole world" in the Stalinist anti-revolutionary programme for the "peaceful road to socialism" based on the "ultimate victory of socialism in competition with imperialism which can no longer manage any sustained economic expansion in the new conditions of vast Socialist Camp extension post 1945" (paraphrasing Stalin's ultimate 1952 theoretical disaster *The Economic Problems of Socialism* - for full textual analysis and extended polemics, see *EPSR Perspectives* 2002).

But the real joke is that Stalin is still worshipped **now** in the same half-brained way that led to all the trouble in the first place, e.g. quoting from *Foundations of Leninism* but totally ignoring the crucial truth about learning from mistakes, just as in real Third International history, the USSR's continued achievements were all correctly lauded, but the ever-increasing world-revolutionary **theoretical** nonsense which Stalin was coming out with was either quickly conveniently forgotten about (as were the increasing disasters it led to), or else was ludicrously turned into yet more excuse for further demented hero-worship of "our

great leader Stalin", etc, etc.

The attempt to blame Khrushchev's late-1950s rule for the setbacks, difficulties, failures or disasters that hurt, damaged, or destroyed various victims of theoretically mistaken Stalinist polices (China 1927; Germany 1933; collectivisation 1930s; Spanish Civil War 1936-39; disbelief in German blitzkrieg 1941; agreement to let imperialism occupy West Berlin postwar 1945; letting imperialism re-occupy communist-liberated Greece 1945-49; supporting Zionist-imperialist colonisation of Palestine 1947; approving the "peaceful road to socialism" counter-revolutionary bollocks post 1945; refusing to fight in Korea 1950; pressuring China to curb world revolutionary enthusiasm post-1950; etc, etc, for scores more examples) - - - is simply insane,-- a form of religious-faith insanity.

But while **all** of these vexed and complex questions **must** be polemicalised to a satisfactory understanding from the perspective of a future successful world socialist revolutionary movement's needs some time soon, - for the moment the conflict for agreeing on a party of revolutionary theory can continue to concentrate on just two related issues:- the undoubted fact that the Revisionist CPSU, bequeathed by Stalin after 30 years total dominance & backed by a similarly Stalin-created world Revisionist movement, - effectively agreed to liquidate the Soviet workers state and the international communist movement after 1990 in favour of "market economics" and the "peaceful road to socialism"; - coupled with Stalin's 1952 summation in *Economic Problems* of his belief that only imperialist war-provocations had to be avoided in order for the Socialist Camp to simply outperform "non-expanding" imperialism into capitalism's total collapse in due course.

But even getting the guru-worshippers to debate these issues, let alone even consider that Stalin might have made a

series of catastrophic anti-revolutionary retreats in his 30-year career, culminating in this **total** Revisionist disaster, - is as impossible now as it was inside the communist movement in Moscow's hayday.

The SLP Youth delusions about Saddam Hussein's "anti-imperialist" credentials flow directly out of this paralysed inability to discuss Stalinism's ultimate bankruptcy.

Moscow's weak-minded determination to discourage "revolutionary provocations", which led the mighty German CP to sleepwalk into total annihilation in 1933 and the Indonesian CP (even bigger and even more impressive) to do the same in 1965, - never stopped pretending that anti-imperialist nationalism (e.g. the Sukarno regime pre-1965 in Indonesia) was just as good for the eventual triumph of world socialism (via the Soviet camp winning the peaceful competition with the imperialist camp) as all-the-way revolutionary socialist regimes.

In such Revisionist thinking, once Saddam had stopped being a totally tame stooge of US imperialist policy in the 1970s and had started doing arms deals with the Soviet Union, - then nothing further should be anticipated than the continued onward triumphal march of Moscow's international "anti-imperialist" coalition of the Socialist Camp, the Non-Aligned states of national-liberation, and the world communist movement.

The obvious total collapse of this Revisionist nonsense post-1990 still cannot register with Stalin worship sectarianism. Naturally, in the world of such long-standing gradualist delusions, such spontaneous "anti-imperialism" resistance (as Saddamism had evolved into under decaying monopoly capitalist pressure), would "inevitably go the whole hog one day into total socialist defiance and independence"; - just like it was supposed to happen the whole world over in the good old days of Stalinism. What sad rot.

Leninist science, freed from Revisionist blinkers, would surely have reached the completely different conclusion that the opportunist tyrant Saddam (admitted by SLP Youth) was first and foremost never to be identified as anything but **totally unreliable**, - a petty bourgeois class-treachery, anti-theory disaster just waiting to happen, - going completely rotten just like so many other

Moscow Revisionism protégés of the treacherous "peaceful road/peaceful coexistence" era.

Any defeat or setback for the imperialist occupation policy, - by any means, - was the only sensible perspective to educate the world revolutionary movements understanding with, concentrating on the **class enemy** as the only fixed point in this swirling, anti-theory, anti-communist chaos that has been unleashed on the world by the ultimate failure of Stalinist Revisionism, - and encouraging no confidence whatever in any chance defiance of monopoly imperialism that opportunist nationalism might produce (but didn't under Saddam, - but might usefully yet, under the Shias).

In Iraq as everywhere, an **absolute necessity** is a party of world revolutionary perspective, replacing the collapse into Stalinist Revisionist nonsense of the Third International from the 1920s onwards, - and **only** such a party can be built on and relied-upon, in Iraq or anywhere else, including Britain.

Scargill was the last hope to start off building such a party but it rapidly collapsed into the silliest, guru-worship, anti-theory, chauvinistic opportunism, - a complete farce of back-stabbing philistinism, with *Lalkar* as its museum-Stalinist willing accomplice. And the silliest thing in all this is that the formula for building the "party of a new type", - a Leninist party of revolutionary theory, - is, literally, an open book (or rather 100 volumes of Marxist Leninist science) which all can read, interpret, and try to apply to modern conditions just as readily as EPSR supporters keep trying. But two crucial elements of Leninist science, - the **crucial need** to always publicly own-up-to and learn-from inevitable occasional mistakes in understandings and assessments, on both large and small matters; - and the **crucial need** to advance understanding by non-stop polemical struggle, inside the party first and foremost, but taking on **all comers** outside the party too, - are intolerable to the small-minded guru-conceit of the cliques and sects which currently dominate the fake-'left'.

But the great global philosophical debate is coming whether these self-serving opportunists and anti-communists of every persuasion like it or not [...]building the openly-polemical party of revolutionary theory will remain the one



“Free market” collapse again

In Marxist terms, the “free market” has been facing collapse again, ever since its warmongering “recovery” was engineered by 1945 via the, most colossal destruction ever known of civilisation’s industrial, economic, social, and cultural achievements.

Entire major countries such as Germany, Italy, Japan, Russia, and much of East Europe were reduced to total rubble, and a dozen more countries did not fare much better.

But 2003 is no longer 1945. To merely repeat the scientific certainty (that by the Marxist laws, the post-war “recovery” definitely will end ultimately only in another warmongering collapse) is an abandonment of the revolutionary journalism Lenin strove to describe in *What is to be done*.

Serious, global, anti-imperialist struggle will get no further than mere protests unless a perspective of working class state power is adopted, and that won’t happen without a clearer and more vigorous understanding of where insoluble imperialist economic crisis is taking the planet (into generalised warmongering-destruction and slump) and how soon. No leadership is possible for serious anti-imperialism for as long as fake-‘lefts’ of every description continue refusing to make a committed judgement about the disaster capitalism is already inflict-

The vital dividing line in politics is the philosophical one over whether “reasonable reforms” can change the world, or whether history’s only natural and inevitable process is class-war revolution.

On one side, the tiny following for Leninism; constantly analysing the imperialist-system economic crisis for evidence of how, where, and **when** the revolutionary breakdown in the West’s control of the planet draws near, so that working class support can mobilise to build a **conscious** revolutionary party to combat imperialism’s total chaos and warmongering disaster.

On the other side, everyone else, urging a non-committal stance on the imminence of capitalist crisis, and pressing for “full socialism” in various fake-‘left’ (Trot & Revisionist

It also happens to be a formula behind which Third International Revisionism was perfectly content to hide.

The grotesque flaw with Stalin’s *Economic Problems*, 1952, is not in wishing to deny that imperialism remains an economic system of ultimate crisis.

That is accepted.

The problem lies in Revisionist theory’s total denial that it is imperialism’s aggressive economic **expansion**, en route to a fall, that was going to be the absolute driving force governing or influencing **all** world developments after 1945.

To this day, the Revisionist remnants will still agree (*Morning Star*, etc) that “of course imperialism is still a system of crisis; we are Marxists”, etc, etc, and then proceed to “analyse” world developments in exactly

appeals to workers.

The whole history of the Stalinist destruction of the Third International flowed from corrupting workers’ understanding by a belief that “good imperialism” (that which fought Nazi Germany) would eventually be persuaded to “peacefully coexist” with the workers states, thus making “peaceful roads to socialism” possible.

This philosophical rotteness lives on today in continuing vast swathes of world politics (UN; social democracy; “voting for **real** socialism”; anti-fascist movements; nationalism of all kinds; environmentalism; stop-the-war movements; etc, etc, etc) which **still** expect “justice” from imperialism, continuing Moscow’s Soviet-era influence - typified by Arafat and the PLO.

And the arguments and “justifications” remain the

the same old impressionistic way as ever, devoid of any revolutionary perspective whatsoever, and attacking capitalism’s ad hoc difficulties purely episodically, with ALWAYS only a reformist “solution”, plus the words “we want socialism”, tacked on at the end.

This Scargillite crap is buried deeply in British workers spontaneous trade unionist consciousness.

How to dig it out? Certainly, just shouting “imminent”, or “on the brink” about crisis collapse all the time would be counterproductive.

And certainly, if the “free market” is henceforth destined for another 10 to 20 year period of “recovery” before finally succumbing to Marx’s “overproduction” breakdown, then the *EPSR*’s attempted political tradition is going to be even more marginalised than ever.

But the *Review*’s presentation is not some silly gamble.

ing. And until the shallow hysteria about “bureaucracy” publicised by police spy Orwell’s childish books is faced up to, and a rational history of its Cold War balance with imperialist warmongering drawn up on all questions, then the Trot and Revisionist swamp will continue to be trampled on by the dictatorship of monopoly capital. Only exposing the wretchedness of Stalinism’s cowardly theoretical weaknesses will make it possible to restore proletarian dictatorship to its crucial role in Marxist scientific understanding of how civilisation must proceed at some stage.

same, too.

“What else could the USSR have done in 1945 faced with the American atomic bomb?”, echoed in “What else can the PLO do but seek a two-state compromise deal from vastly stronger Zionist imperialism?”, etc, etc.

In an earlier period of Revisionist nonsense, the socialist revolution in Spain was told to trust in Republican parliamentary democracy as the best bet for halting fascist dictatorship; and the German socialist revolution told to rely on a Hitler-NAZI failure at bourgeois government to open the door for the Communist Party.

In scores of cases throughout the Third International’s record (and after), Stalin’s Revisionist delusions meant that Moscow’s influence repeatedly backed the wrong programme, strategy,

Its style of anticipatory perspectives obviously lends itself to giving many hostages to fortune, both large and small; but journalism as revolutionary agitation is impossible without it.

On another plane of struggle entirely, an entire stupid bourgeois industry has grown up of academic pedantry which has reduced world history to one long jeer at “Marx’s wrong predictions”, etc.

The *EPSR* was born because nothing existed that would champion the achievements, so far, of the existing workers states but at the same time denounce Revisionism for its refusal to understand that imperialist boom/bust even existed, let alone be the great significant driving force for all future developments on Earth, which could only be of a totally **revolutionary** character, therefore.

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or tactics in the international anti-imperialist struggle.

Although a post-1945 attack on the West would have been a fruitless and idiotic policy, the alternative did not have to be the even greater imbecility that “peaceful coexistence will guarantee the eventual victory of socialism worldwide”.

However long the post-1945 capitalist boom was going to last, the only rational science of society that exists demanded that nothing but a **revolutionary** analysis of imperialist crisis should continue.

A world communist movement pursuing a Leninist programme, strategy, and tactics non-stop, may have provoked even more US imperialist counter-revolutionary interventions around the globe than actually did take place anyway; and maybe it would still have



been unwise or impossible for the USSR to have openly gone to the assistance of legitimate revolutionary governments in many cases. But could US imperialism have invaded and conquered the Soviet Union as its ultimate counter-revolutionary policy????? It is utter nonsense. It would have been the end of imperialism. Imperialism was either incapable of inflicting counter-revolution, or was defeated in the attempt, in very many revolutionary situations post-1945, including failed or defeated American attempts to roll back the clock as in Korea, China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, etc.

But it was Stalin's delusion of 'world socialism through peaceful-coexistence reformist-pressure' which prevailed, - a deliberately **anti**-revolutionary influence, fearful of "adventurism" - and "theoretically grounded" on the infantile, anti-Marxist, shallowness of *Economic Problems*, 1952 which invented the nonsense that expansionary economic booms were no longer possible in the imperialist world following the spread of the Socialist Camp, and that socialist production and living standards would relentlessly overhaul the West, and put an end to the Cold War on a positive, peaceful note for socialism.

As a result, the entire international working class, virtually, is just about totally disarmed now from any preparedness at all to meet the rapidly escalating **revolutionary** crisis of the whole global imperialist system.

The fake-'left' everywhere is dominated by addle-brained Revisionist remnants (CPB, NCP, SLP, etc, etc) who no longer have the faintest idea of even what the role is of a "party of revolutionary theory", let alone any notion of what theory to put in it; or by the "Trotskyite" cover for pure anti-communist venom, fuelled by a petty-bourgeois hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat, typified by George Orwell, the "hero" of middle-class "socialism", which slides its fear of the workers

state behind fantasy-nightmares about "bureaucracy" and childish daydreams of leadership-less "rank-and-file socialism", born in never-never land, - a "hero" admitted by the bourgeoisie itself to have been a common-or-garden police spy for the imperialist state against "communists" after an earlier career as a colonial policeman, an anti-semitic, and a "revolutionary" dilettante in Spain:

George Orwell, venerated as "the wintry conscience of a generation", gave the British government a list of 38 suspected or actual communist sympathisers, the *Guardian* reveals today.

A carbon copy of the document - which the government still treats as secret 54 years later - is reproduced for the first time in today's *Review*.

The find confirms evidence first raised seven years ago. Among those singled out for suspicion by the author of *Animal Farm* and 1984 in the late 1940s, sometimes highly tentatively, were the comedian Charlie Chaplin, the bestselling novelist JB Priestley, the actor Michael Redgrave, the Soviet historian EH Carr, the historian of Trotsky, Isaac Deutscher, and the leftwing Labour MP Tom Driberg. The list is revealed in a 4,000-word article in *Review* by the political historian and commentator Timothy Garton Ash. er.

It contains 38 names of journalists, scholars and actors who "in my opinion are crypto-communists, fellow-travellers or inclined that way and should not be trusted as [anti-communist] propagandists".

[...]Yet - says Garton Ash - nobody knows how IRD staff used Orwell's information in their contacts with MI6. ..

"IRD officers almost certainly did not stop there. Using methods they had learned in the previous war, working for the cloak-and-dagger Political Warfare Executive or MI6, they tried to combat what they saw as communist infiltration of the trades unions, the BBC or organisations like the National Council for Civil Liberties by tip-offs, spreading rumours - and perhaps worse.

At the time of fevered speculation about the list in the 1990s, when Gerald Kaufman MP was writing in the *Evening Standard* that "Orwell was a Big Brother too", Celia Kirwan (by now Celia Goodman) said "I think George was quite right to do it."

But if this was Britain's McCarthyite witch-hunt, then it looks quite amateur, scrupulous and mild by comparison with

the American McCarthyism that prompted Arthur Miller to write *The Crucible* and Charlie Chaplin to flee back to Orwell's Britain.

The only case that I have yet found of something like a possible "blacklisting" is that of Alaric Jacob. According to Mark Hollingsworth and Richard Norton-Taylor's book *Blacklist*, Alaric Jacob joined the BBC monitoring service at Caversham in August 1948, but in February 1951 was "suddenly refused establishment rights, which meant he would receive no pension".

A two-year loss of BBC "establishment rights" is hardly *Darkness at Noon* or a session with the rats in Room 101. Anyway, there is thus far no evidence that Orwell's list had anything at all to do with the temporary blacklisting of Alaric Jacob 20 months later.

If the charge is that he was a secret police informer, the answer is plainly no. IRD was a rum cold war outfit, but it was nothing like a Thought Police. Unlike that dreadful genius Bertolt Brecht, Orwell never believed that the end justified the means. The Freedom Defence Committee, of which he was vice chairman, thought political vetting of civil servants a necessary evil.

We may, according to taste, be more shocked or amused by the entries in his notebook. There is about them a touch of the old imperial policeman, a hint of the spy, as well as a generous dose of his characteristic, gruff black humour.

One thing that does shock our contemporary sensibility in the notebook is his ethnic labelling of people, especially the eight variations of "Jewish?" (Charlie Chaplin), "Polish Jew", "English Jew" or "Jewess" (Marjorie Kohn). Orwell's whole life was a struggle to overcome the prejudices of his class and generation; here was one he never fully overcame."

Note the line that these extreme reactionaries like Garton Ash, now apologising for Orwell, have to take to "justify" this self-important, idiot-fink.

Using Orwell's "left-author" posture to fill British imperialism's anti-communist blacklists "was hardly *Darkness at Noon* or a session with the rats in Room 101", he smirks.

But Room 101 and *Darkness at Noon* happen to be fiction. Pure invention. By venomous anti-communists and wholly unsavoury bourgeois individualists. Orwell's role as a stoolpigeon for the imperialist secret police was **real**.

"IRD was a rum cold war outfit, but it was nothing like a Thought Police" Ash goes on. But Thought Police is sci-fi, an imaginary world invented by a feverishly anti-communist bourgeois. The IRD, for which Orwell was a nark, was a **real** Secret Police.

And "all writers are spies" only in the cynical world of

bourgeois hypocrisy which feeds off its individualist conceit to invent "the horrors of a world run by a faceless bureaucracy" but then delivers the names of its friends and acquaintances to be stabbed in the back by precisely such a **real life** faceless bureaucracy.

Between them, the fake-'left' have almost brought about the abandonment temporarily in history of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the only scientific alternative to the continuing filthy world of imperialist warmongering, capitalist exploitation tyranny, and bourgeois lies and hypocrisy, - the Revisionists through weakminded cowardice, and the Trots through petty bourgeois anti-workers-state hysteria and treachery.

But the revolutionary bureaucracy is precisely what has to be defended in history.

The old monopoly enterprise order of monstrous class privileges; grotesque tyranny against the Third World; and monumental, periodic, war-destruction, waste, chaos, and cruelty; etc, will **never** be left behind in history without a New Revolutionary Order taking temporary charge (for a century or two?), KGB and all.

The Soviet "totalitarian nightmare" just benignly closed itself down at the end of the 1980s, (foolishly believing (under the delusions of Revisionism) that the 'taming-of-imperialism' task was now completed), - having already ceased to terrify its anti-communist enemies for 30 years previously (half its lifespan).

But the **real** "totalitarian nightmare" of warmongering imperialism????? After the horrors of World War I and World War II, - and 400 acts of warmongering bullying or fascist/military putsch since, it is just getting into its stride again.

The capitalist press itself struggles to digest just how monstrous is the West's counter-revolutionary hypocrisy, still failing to grasp the full Goebbels mendacity of pro-imperialist propaganda such as the totally play-acted, stage-managed "military rescue" of Jessica Lynch from a wounds hospital behind Saddam's Iraq front line, - a US soldier POW already safe in the hands of anti-Saddam Iraqi medics.

[...]

This is the **real** world, the only "freedom" there has ever been. The dictatorship of the bourgeoisie is defending its imperialist power, in whatever

way is necessary.

This is precisely the sly, hypocritical world of the Information Research Department secret police, backed by Orwell's Freedom Defence Committee.

But when the dictatorship of the proletariat obviously has to take superficially similar measures to disarm or neutralise its internal and external enemies, hysteria about "totalitarian bureaucracy" drowns out every other voice the length and breadth of Western culture.

[...]

The whole stinking capitalist racket is on the edge of a cliff, which brings the argument round full circle to Orwell's "bureaucracy" again, and the wretchedness of Trot and Revisionist anti-communists, who duck the all-important **historical** challenge to the "parliamentary democracy" sneers that "state bureaucracy" can "never match the efficiency and innovations" of private finance initiatives. A few lone voices will still defend the nationalised industries' records, but on the really vital historical questions of the USSR's achievements for 60 years, 99% of the fake-'lefts' avoid the argument because of ignorance, fear of political vilification, or their eager and delighted anti-communism.

But the question of "state

bureaucracy" or "free enterprise" needs facing squarely on its Cold War experience which for most of the 20th century was the pivotal question for civilisation, - could communism triumph or would capitalism survive.???

This is not to slight the achievements of the National Health Service or the nationalised industries in postwar Britain, or their advocacy in the face of the threat, or disaster, of future or past privatisations that they are deservedly currently receiving.

But the issue is not really about just management as such, or staff loyalty and a sense of collective, worthwhile, endeavour, etc, etc.

This is a deeper democracy matter of a state's whole achievements based on its class structure and ethos, and based on what international balance of class forces is prevailing to constantly encourage, or deliberately undermine, or beligerently sabotage (the planned publicly-owned-economy alternative to the free market, from which no workers state, attempting to construct socialism, is ever going to be free for as long as the current imperialist-dominated world scene lasts, and which must be assessed and analysed only from the very longest-term perspectives).

The Stalinist legacy, revising Marxism into reformist, peaceful-pressure delusions as the supposed answer to imperialist warmongering crisis, is still catastrophically undermining the necessary revolutionary understanding for the international working class. Peace campaigning might be OK as a propaganda tactic, but it is a disaster when believed-in as the way to successfully contain imperialist warmongering, now back in the saddle and on the way towards WWII as world crushing economic crisis (ruled out by Stalinism) drives all before it, affecting everyone's lives on the planet, and solvable only by the overthrow of capitalism everywhere, not by the peaceful-coexistence tutoring of it, as Stalinism wanted.

Purely abstract, academic arguments about the last 100 years on whether specific international class-struggle turning points did, or did not, see Marxist-Leninist science of society appropriately applied,

are sterile if the current crisis in the battle against imperialism's demented, dangerous, warmongering turn is not made a key part of that historical perspective, and if the horribly confused weakness of current

It is **only** in the light of the post-1945 imperialist boom's coming **collapse** that the titanic achievements of the admittedly **bureaucracy-run** Soviet workers state can finally be properly assessed, - **including** as much or as little additional value to life that middle-class Trot hysterics wish to add (on account of supposed "Soviet totalitarian bureaucracy" while genuinely fighting imperialist counter-revolutionary sabotage before tamely limping off the scene of history in 1990); - compared to the butchery, lies, warmongering, and exploitative tyranny inflicted on hundreds of millions of people in the Third World by the "free market" since 1945.

Clearly, the totally war-ravaged, crazily Revisionism-disadvantaged, cruelly-sabotaged and isolated Soviet workers state **totally outperformed** the West's amassment of the mightiest imperialist wealth and power that the world has ever seen; - by managing to **more than** hold its own, - **and** to offer generous help and friendship to a huge number of Third World and Socialist Camp countries at the same time, winning genuine world sympathy light years ahead of where Western imperialism had forced its rotten domination and exploitation relationships to,

anti-imperialism is not taken fully into account.

The understanding that the global exploitation tyranny, the coming catastrophic economic crisis, and the terrifying threat of escalating warmongering disasters, can only be ended by the revolutionary overthrow of the world monopoly-capitalist ruling class, is barely alive at the moment, especially throughout the West.

That this retreat from Marxist-Leninist science about how the world can alone be transformed, - through class-war and revolution, - happened over a long period of time during which the Third International Communist Parties were the overwhelmingly dominant influence on the international anti-imperialist struggle, cannot be denied.

It is the "No to war", and "Everything through democracy and negotiations" reformist delusions which totally dominate large parts of the international anti-imperialist struggle (especially in the West). Where world developments are heading next, and how will all the crisis-conflicts be resolved, are the questions forcing the debate

with various reactionary stooge regimes, in the same period.

That this huge advantage to a workers state planned economy was thrown away by the scarcely-credible stupidity of the Stalinist Revisionism corrupted Soviet bureaucracy is not strictly relevant to the actual facts of the USSR's state achievements, but only to the catastrophe of Third International leadership-failure due to the strange Cult-of-Stalin historical circumstances of Soviet socialism's triumph against imperialist counter-revolution **against all the odds**.

The still-staggering phenomenon of the bureaucracy's self-liquidation is also only relevant to the still-relatively naive philosophical maturity of the international proletariat so far.

China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc, may yet decide to do things differently, showing greater maturity, though without yet showing much greater grasp in public of the full world-dominating significance of the incurable and deepening warmongering imperialist crisis, or of the unbelievable defeatist stupidity of Stalinist Revisionism in cajoling the entire Third International into ignoring it or dismissing its **crucial revolutionary perspective** for the whole of mankind.

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about how things got into the confused mess they are in, and what solid, class-struggle, historical experiences are there to go on, for fighting a way through the confusion.

Looking for a Marxist line is synonymous with looking for an explanation of international events which turns out to be correct, and which thereby has enabled everyone's dream of a socialist world of harmonious cooperation (to replace cut-throat capitalist exploitation and warmongering domineering tyranny), to be brought closer.

The sterile, academic disputes about this, or about who in particular was responsible for this outcome, are mostly just a reflection of an unwillingness or an inability to back a consistently **revolutionary** line in the present-day international class struggle.

Thousands of factions derived from old Third International parties seek to cover the traces of their own current or recent opportunist backsliding via such superficial posturing on behalf of this or that "revolutionary hero".

Fake-'lefts' of every de-

scription love to champion little snippets of “hard man” gesturing with a quote from Trotsky, or Stalin, or Mao, or Ho, or carrying the hammer-and-sickle symbol, etc, etc, - but meanwhile in real life get on with their latest crawling manoeuvres for position around the Labour Party, or Scargill’s equally reactionary reformist demagoguery, or the Alliance, or the peace movement, etc, etc.

Even wider than *Lalkar* circles, some SLP elements close to Scargill still love to posture with Stalin memorabilia to imply their “communist determination and toughness” while in reality nourishing their only real political existence by swallowing the scabby, weak, cowardly crap spewed up by Scargill’s Little-Englander nationalism, his petty bourgeois trade-union conservatism, and his “anti-terrorist” demagoguery on behalf of “freedom and democracy”, etc, etc.

Another form of this careerist servility, masquerading as “revolutionary toughness”, takes the shape of pseudo-historical academic wordiness (*Lalkar* and others) making a fetish of Stalin’s safer utterings and decisions while ignoring all the dodgier and more difficult pronouncements and actions, - yet all the time relating absolutely none of it to current world problems in terms of philosophical relevance.

Thus, Arafat or Saddam are given uncritical support, but the disastrous outcomes of rowing-in behind Soekarno (nationalist Indonesia leader) too naively, or the petty-bourgeois Republican parliament in Spain, etc, etc, are not examined for useful parallels and lessons.

The great historical issue in all this is the absolute necessity of being 100% correct in the characterisation of the era.

Reassessment of specific details of Third International history, and after, will probably go on for ever, arguing about how, precisely, one thing led to another, and about which words, at which time, should be interpreted as having led the retreat from Marxist-Leninist understanding, etc.

But where the Communist Movement ended up, - in total Revisionist confusion, cannot be doubted.

Consider the 1960 declaration in Moscow by 81 international communist parties:

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. U.S. monopoly capital is clearly unable to

use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world - the United States of America - has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing under-capacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Over-production crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarised economy.

The *Declaration* points out that the working class and its vanguard - the Marxist-Leninist Party - seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today, in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary, anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but a social system which actually exists and which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Parties, and vigorously exposing anti-communism - a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat - and for winning the broadest sections of the working people for Communist ideas.

In the opinion of Communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race, ban nuclear weapons, their tests and production, dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries, disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany, turn West Berlin into a demilitarised free city, thwart the aggressive designs of the West-German revanchists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

Is lasting world peace possible?

We Communists reply:

War is not inevitable, war can be prevented, peace can be preserved and made secure.

This conviction of ours is prompted not

only by our will for peace and hatred of the warmongers. The possibility of averting war follows from the actual facts of the new world situation.

The world socialist system is becoming an increasingly decisive factor of our time. Embracing more than one-third of mankind, the socialist system with the Soviet Union as its main force uses its steadily growing economic, scientific and technical might to curb the actions of imperialism and handcuff the advocates of military gambles.

The international working-class movement, which holds high the banner of struggle for peace, heightens the vigilance of the peoples and inspires them actively to combat the aggressive policies of the imperialists.

The peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America, many millions strong, who have won their freedom and political independence, and peoples fighting for national emancipation are becoming increasingly active champions of peace and natural allies of the peace policy of the socialist countries.

The neutral countries, which disagree with the aggressive policy of the imperialists, work for peace and peaceful co-existence.

The World Peace Movement now numbers many millions of people. In every country the members of that movement strive to safeguard their homeland from a new military conflagration.

By rallying to a resolute struggle, all these forces of peace can foil the criminal plans of war, safeguard peace and reinforce international friendship.

Peace does not come of itself. It can be defended and consolidated only through joint struggle by all the forces of peace.

We Communists appeal to all working people, to the peoples of all continents:

- Fight for an easing of international tension and for peaceful co-existence, against cold war, against the arms race! If used for peaceful purposes, the vast resources squandered on armaments would make it possible to improve the condition of the people, to reduce unemployment, to raise wages and living standards, to expand housing construction and to enhance social insurance.

Prevent the further stockpiling of nuclear weapons and the arming of the German and Japanese militarists with weapons of mass annihilation!

Demand the conclusion of a peace treaty with the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised free city!

IRAN, 1946 Nuclear threat: Soviet troops told to leave north (Iranian Azerbaijan).

YUGOSLAVIA, 1946 Naval: Response to shooting-down of US plane.

URUGUAY, 1947 Nuclear threat: Bombers deployed as show of strength.

GREECE, 1947-9 Command operation: US directs extreme right in civil war.

CHINA, 1948-9 Troops: Marines evacuate Americans before Communist victory.

GERMANY, 1948 Nuclear threat: Atomic-capable bombers guard Berlin Airlift.

PHILIPPINES, 1948-54 Command operation: CIA directs war against Huk Rebellion.

PUERTO RICO, 1950 Command operation: independence rebellion crushed in Ponce.

KOREA, 1950-3 Troops, naval, bombing, nuclear threats: US and South Korea fight China and North Korea to stalemate:

Combat attempts by the governments of the imperialist powers to involve new countries in the cold war, to draw them into the orbit of war preparations!

Demand the abolition of foreign military bases, the withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries, and prohibition of the establishment of new bases. Fight for the liberation of your countries from the aggressive military pacts imposed upon them! Work for agreements on nuclear-free zones!

Demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation.

Insist on the immediate conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament.

May modern science and technology no longer serve the manufacture of weapons of death and destruction! May they serve the good of people and the progress of mankind!

May friendly co-operation and extensive commercial and cultural exchanges between all countries triumph over war alignments!

In our epoch THE PEACE FORCES ARE SUPERIOR TO THE FORCES OF WAR!

The peoples will achieve the lofty and cherished goal of safeguarding peace if they pool their efforts and fight resolutely and actively for peace and friendship among nations. Communists will devote all their energies to this cause.

PEACE WILL TRIUMPH OVER WAR!

The above excerpts are a fair reflection of this document’s preponderant world view and also the balance of coverage in its 40 pages, totally concentrating on the fight for peace.

National liberation, communist unity, and united front activities with social democrats, are treated, - but socialist revolution and proletarian dictatorship get just one brief mention as academic possibilities.

But what had been the world reality during this last period of decline into total Revisionist-reformist stupidity??

Here is a brief list of the most blatantly brutal acts of imperialist war, tyranny, and aggressive subversion throughout those years from 1945 to 1989:

A-bomb threat in 1950, and vs. China in 1953. Still have bases.

IRAN, 1953 Command operation: CIA overthrows democracy, installs Shah.

VIETNAM, 1954 Nuclear threat: Bombs offered to French to use against siege.

GUATEMALA, 1954 Command operation, bombing, nuclear threat: CIA directs exile invasion after new government nationalises US company lands; bombers based in Nicaragua.

EGYPT, 1956 Nuclear threat, troops: Soviets told to keep out of Suez crisis; Marines evacuate foreigners.

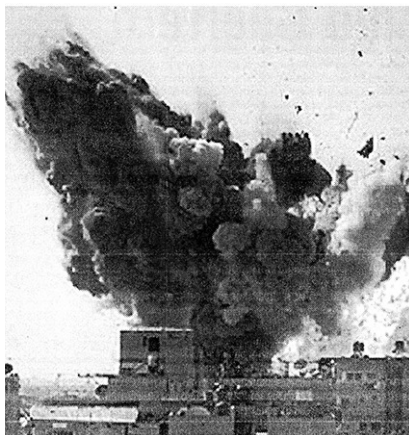
LEBANON, 1958 Troops, naval: Marine occupation against rebels.

IRAQ, 1958 Nuclear threat: Iraq warned against invading Kuwait

CHINA, 1958 Nuclear threat: China told not to move on Taiwan isles.

PANAMA, 1958 Troops: Flag protests erupt into confrontation.

VIETNAM, 1960-75 Troops, naval, bombing, nuclear threats: Fought South Vietnam revolt and North Vietnam; 1-2 million killed in longest US war; atomic bomb threats in 1968 and 1969.



CUBA, 1961 Command operation: CIA-directed exile invasion fails.

GERMANY, 1961 Nuclear threat: Alert during Berlin Wall crisis.

CUBA, 1962 Nuclear threat: Naval blockade

during missile crisis; near-war with USSR.

LAOS. 1962 Command operation: Military build-up during guerrilla war.

PANAMA, 1964 Troops: Panamanians shot for urging canal's return.

INDONESIA, 1965 Command operation: Million killed In CIAassisted army coup.

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC, 1965-6 Troops, bombing: Marines land during election campaign.

GUATEMALA. 1966-7 Command operation: Green Berets intervene against rebels.

DETROIT, 1967 Troops: Army battles Blacks, 43 killed.

UNITED STATES. 1968 Troops: After King is shot; over 21,000 soldiers in cities.

CAMBODIA, 19119-75 Bombing, troops, navel: Up to 2 million killed In decade of bombing, starvation and political chaos.

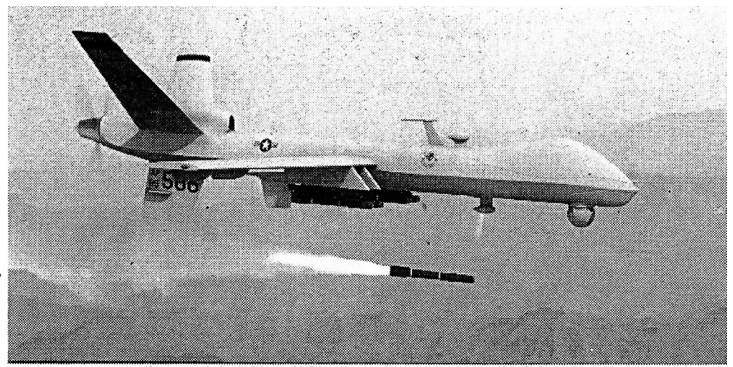
OMAN, 1970 Command operation: US directs Iranian marine invasion.

LAOS, 1971 Command operation, bombing: US directs South Vietnamese Invasion; 'carpet-bombs' countryside.

SOUTH DAKOTA, 1973 Command operation: Army directs Wounded Knee siege of Lakotas.

MIDDLE EAST, 1973 Nuclear threat: World-wide alert during Middle East War.

CHILE, 1973 Command operation: CIA-backed coup ousts elected Marxist president.



The drone program has killed more than 2,000 militants and civilians since 2001.

CAMBODIA, 1975 Troops, bombing, gas: Captured ship, 28 die in helicopter crash.

ANGOLA, 1976-92 Command operation: CIA assists South African-backed rebels.

IRAN. 1980 Troops, nuclear threat, aborted bombing: Raid to rescue Embassy hostages; 8 troops die in helicopter-plane crash. Soviets warned not to get involved in revolution.

LIBYA, 1981 Naval jets: Two Libyan jets shot down in manoeuvres.

EL SALVADOR, 1981-02 Command operation, troops: Advisors, overflights aid anti-rebel war, soldiers briefly involved in hostage clash.

NICARAGUA, 1981-90 Command operation, naval: CIA directs exile (Contra) Invasions, plants harbour mines against revolution.

LEBANON, 1982-4 Naval, bombing, troops: Marines expel PLO and back Phalangists, Navy bombs and shells Muslim and Syrian positions.

HONDURAS, 1982 Troops: Manoeuvres help build bases near borders.

GRENADA, 1983-4 Troops, bombing: Invasion four years after revolution.

IRAN, 19214 Jets: Two Iranian jets shot down over Persian Gulf.

LIBYA, 1986 Bombing, naval: Air strikes to topple nationalist government.

BOLIVIA, 1986 Troops: Army assists raids on cocaine region.

IRAN, 1987-8 Naval, bombing: US intervenes on side of Iraq in war.

LIBYA, 1989 Naval jets: Two Libyan jets shot down.

VIRGIN ISLANDS. 1989 Troops: St Croix Black unrest after storm.

PHILIPPINES. 1989 Jets: Air cover provided for government against coup.

PANAMA, 1989-90 Troops, bombing: Nationalist government ousted by 27,000 soldiers, leaders arrested, 2000+ dead killed.



The U.S. people do not forget the atrocities committed by their troops in the Asian country.

So where did this utterly lunatic nonsense come from about putting the evils of imperialism out of business via peaceful, reformist pressure???

The history of the Third International after Lenin is full of notorious disputes where the Stalinist leadership is accused of retreating from a correct long term revolutionary perspective of the only possible way to defeat imperialist reaction ultimately, into opportunist Revisionist delusions which implied that real anti-imperialist progress could be made by Popular Front compromises with petty bourgeois "democracy".

A series of "rightist" or "leftist" deviations allegedly caused setbacks to the struggle for world revolutionary socialist understanding in, for example, China in 1927 where Comintern over reliance on Nationalist military "allies", and over-exaggeration of the strength of reactionary imperialist influences, helped inflict tragic massacres and defeats on the young Chinese Communist Party; in Germany in 1932-33 where supine expectations that a NAZI failure at "democratic" government would boost the Communist Party's chances of ruling, led to the wiping out without a fight of the strongest CP in the world outside of the USSR; in China in 1933-34 where the Comintern representative Otto Braun this time caused Red Army defeats and losses by prematurely abandoning mobile guerrilla warfare for grandiose full-frontal assaults for which conditions were not yet ripe and which the young future leaders of the CPC like Mao, Zhou Enlai, and Zhu De all opposed; in Spain in 1936-39 where all of the emphasis was put on saving the petty-bourgeois Republican parliament as the best defence against Franco's fascist coup, thus almost guaranteeing a counter-revolutionary victory in the Civil War (given the international circumstances of the time with the West still encouraging Hitler-Germany expansionism; etc, etc.)

Instead of the defeat and demoralisation in Spain restoring the Comintern's revolutionary perspectives faith, the World War II experiences immediately after only strengthened Moscow's hope in long term alliances with "anti-fascist bourgeois" forces against "German and Japanese militarism", regularly singled out as in the 1960 declaration (above).

The delusion of the "anti-fascist Allied Powers" began

to totally dominate Moscow's thinking after 1945, by then more enormously influential than ever.

To please the West, the Comintern had already been formally dismantled, and the Soviet bureaucracy resolved that its highest priority internationally would be to show its Western imperialist "allies" that the USSR would always be a reliable partner in all international agreements.

Thus the Greek Communist revolution, which had ousted the German imperialist occupiers, was allowed to be butchered by re-invading imperialist forces led by British and US troops because of a "spheres of influence" wartime agreement; the United Nations fraud was set up with full Soviet backing, taking advantage of a Soviet absence in 1950 to launch an official UN war on North Korea to try to reconquer it for capitalism; the military seizure of Palestine by Zionist imperialism to set up the bastard colonial state of "Israel" not only got through the UN but even had the USSR providing Tel Aviv with military supplies in the early genocidal offensives to 'ethnically cleanse' the Palestinian nation from its homeland.

So dominant was the mood of peaceful, class collaborative, reformist pressure after 1945 that the British CP actually opposed having the khaki election (when an enormously enthusiastic anti-imperialist population gave Labour its first ever landslide majority government, bringing in wholesale nationalisation as "socialism" in Britain).

The CP agitated for the imperialist warmonger Churchill's wartime coalition-government to be allowed to continue ruling without an election.

Soon, the totally class-collaborative *British Road to Socialism* was adopted, not just with Moscow's approval, but mischievously rumoured to have been "written by Stalin".

At the time, the CP had 50,000 members, two MPs, scores of councillors, and a flourishing daily paper. The "peaceful road" shite totally destroyed all that, and where are those programmatic illusions now?? Still throttling the last dregs of life out of the pitiful, tiny, factional remnants of that once great movement.

But even the several more thousand anecdotal notoriety allegations against the Comintern's 60-year Revisionist reformist legacy, will not convince some diehard fake-'left'

posturers that Stalin himself can be blamed for any of the disasters which occurred.

The continuation of this "revolutionary" fantasy-world depends on blaming "anyone but Stalin" for the ludicrous mess which the international communist movement ended up in.

Even if some of the worst Revisionist formulations **can** first be traced to the Soviet bureaucracy **after** Stalin (e.g. Kruschev, etc), what kind of "towering genius" was this to have only succeeded, in 30 years of unchallengeable authority and power in the Comintern, in leaving it in the hands of such **trained** Revisionist dolts who signed the 1960 declaration from 81 communist parties??????

But this is all just infantile nonsense by these museum-Stalinists, – still opportunistically posturing their "revolutionary toughness" while in reality sunk into the most cowardly anti-

The disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market must be regarded as the most important economic sequel of the Second World War and of its economic consequences. It has had the effect of further deepening the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

The Second World War was itself a product of this crisis. Each of the two capitalist coalitions which locked horns in the war calculated on defeating its adversary and gaining world supremacy. It was in this that they sought a way out of the crisis. The United States of America hoped to put its most dangerous competitors, Germany and Japan, out of action, seize foreign markets and the world's raw material resources, and establish its world supremacy.

But the war did not justify these hopes. It is true that Germany and Japan were put out of action as competitors of the three major capitalist countries: the U.S.A., Great Britain and France. But at the same time China and other, European, people's democracies broke away from the capitalist system and, together with the Soviet Union, formed a united and powerful socialist camp confronting the camp of capitalism. The economic consequence of the existence of two opposite camps was that the single all-embracing world market disintegrated, so that now we have two parallel world markets, also confronting one another.

It should be observed that the U.S.A., and Great Britain and France, themselves contributed - without themselves desiring it, of course - to the formation and consolidation of the new, parallel world market. They imposed an economic blockade on the U.S.S.R., China and the European people's democracies, which did not join the "Marshall plan" system, thinking thereby to strangle them. The effect, however, was not to strangle, but to strengthen the new world market.

But the fundamental thing, of course, is not the economic blockade, but the fact that since the war these countries have joined together economically and established economic cooperation and mutual assistance. The experience of this cooperation shows that not a single capitalist country could have rendered such effective and technically competent assistance to the people's democracies as the Soviet Union is rendering them. The point is not only that this assistance is the cheapest possible and technically superb. The chief point is that at the bottom of this cooperation lies a sincere desire to help one another and to promote the economic progress of all. The result is a fast pace of industrial development in these countries. 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 deteriorate, 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

Leninist, compromise manoeuvres and betrayals that can be imagined.

Plus it is utter nonsense anyway (in terms of Stalin's own identifiable input into international communist understanding, being itself, supposedly, clear of Revisionist confusion).

Just the opposite.

To try to illuminate these museum-Stalinist fantasies once and for all, let the **whole** of the relevant chapters of his *Economic Problems*, 1952 book be quoted, – those sections specifically characterising the international class struggle, much of it remarkably good stuff, but the **whole** effect, utterly and incurably flawed.

The door to the 1960 nonsense is opened wide by Stalin's 1952 nonsense which establishes peaceful, reformist pressure by triumphant socialism as the **dominant** force for **taming** the threat to civilisation from the evils of imperialism.

It is **total nonsense**:

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 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 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.

Some comrades hold that, owing to the development of new international conditions since the Second World War, wars between capitalist countries have ceased to be inevitable. They consider that the contradictions between the socialist camp and the capitalist camp are more acute than the contradictions among the capitalist countries; that the U.S.A. has brought the other capitalist countries sufficiently under its sway to be able to prevent them going to war among themselves and weakening one another; that the foremost capitalist minds have been sufficiently taught by the two world wars and the severe damage they caused to the whole capitalist world not to venture to involve the capitalist countries in war with one another again - and that, because of all this, wars between capitalist countries are no longer inevitable.

These comrades are mistaken. They see the outward phenomena that come and go on the surface, but they do not see those profound forces which, although they are so far operating imperceptibly, will nevertheless determine the course of developments.

Outwardly, everything would seem to be "going well": the U.S.A. has put Western Europe, Japan and other capitalist countries on rations; Germany (Western), Britain, France, Italy and Japan have fallen into the clutches of the U.S.A. and are meekly obeying its commands. But it would be mistaken to think that things can continue to "go well" for "all eternity," that these countries will tolerate the domination and oppression of the United States endlessly, that they will not endeavour to tear loose from American bondage and take the path of independent development.

Take, first of all, Britain and France. Undoubtedly, they are imperialist countries. Undoubtedly, cheap raw materials and secure markets are of paramount importance to them. Can it be assumed that they will endlessly tolerate the present situation, in which, under the guise of "Marshall plan aid," Americans are penetrating into the economies of Britain and France and trying to convert them into adjuncts of the United States economy, and American capital is seizing raw materials and markets in the British and French colonies and thereby plotting disaster for the high profits of the British and French capitalists? Would it not be truer to say that capitalist Britain, and, after her, capitalist France, will be compelled in the end to break from the embrace of the U.S.A. and enter into conflict with it in order to secure an independent position and, of course, high profits?

Let us pass to the major vanquished countries, Germany (Western) and Japan. These countries are now languishing in misery under the jackboot of American imperialism. Their industry and agriculture, their trade, their foreign and home policies, and their whole life are fettered by the American occupation "regime." Yet only yesterday these countries were great imperialist powers and were shaking the foundations of the domination of Britain, the U.S.A. and France in Europe and Asia. To think that these countries will not try to get on their feet again, will not try to smash the U.S. "regime," and force their way to independent development, is to believe in miracles.

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 capitalist 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; for whereas war between capitalist countries puts in question only the supremacy of certain capitalist countries over others, war with the U.S.S.R. must certainly put in question the existence of capitalism itself. Secondly, because the capitalists, although they clamour, for "propaganda" purposes, about the aggressiveness of the Soviet Union, do not themselves believe that it is aggressive, because they are aware of the Soviet Union's peaceful policy and know that it will

not itself attack capitalist countries.

After the First World War it was similarly believed that Germany had been definitely put out of action, just as certain comrades now believe that Japan and Germany have been definitely put out of action. Then, too, it was said and clamoured in the press that the United States had put Europe on rations; that Germany would never rise to her feet again, and that there would be no more wars between capitalist countries. In spite of this, Germany rose to her feet again as a great power within the space of some fifteen or twenty years after her defeat, having broken out of bondage and taken the path of independent development. And it is significant that it was none other than Britain and the United States that helped Germany to recover economically and to enhance her economic war potential. Of course, when the United States and Britain assisted Germany's economic recovery, they did so with a view to setting a recovered Germany against the Soviet Union, to utilizing her against the land of socialism. But Germany directed her forces in the first place against the Anglo-French-American bloc. And when Hitler Germany declared war on the Soviet Union, the Anglo-French-American bloc, far from joining with Hitler Germany, was compelled to enter into a coalition with the U.S.S.R. against Hitler Germany.

Consequently, the struggle of the capitalist countries for markets and their desire to crush their competitors proved in practice to be stronger than the contradictions between the capitalist camp and the socialist camp.

What guarantee is there, then, that Germany and Japan will not rise to their feet again, will not attempt to break out of American bondage and live their own independent lives? I think there is no such guarantee.

But it follows from this that the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries remains in force.

It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true.

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 this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism - it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war, since the latter movement went farther and pursued socialist aims.

It is possible that in a definite conjuncture of circumstances the fight for peace will develop here or there into a fight for socialism. But then it will no longer be the present-day peace movement; it will be a movement for the overthrow of capitalism.

What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a particular war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a particular peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally. It will not be enough, because, for all the successes of the peace movement, imperialism will remain, continue in force - and, consequently, the inevitability of wars will also continue in force.

To eliminate the inevitability of war, it is necessary to abolish imperialism.

It is evident that, after the world market has split, and the sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) has begun to contract; the cyclical character of the development of capitalism - expansion and contraction of production must continue to operate. However, expansion of production in these countries will proceed on a narrower basis, since the volume of production in these countries will diminish.

The seventh point.

The general crisis of the world capitalist system began in the period of the First World War, particularly due to the falling away of the Soviet Union from the capitalist system.

That was the first stage in the general crisis. A second stage in the general crisis developed in the period of the Second World War, especially after the European and Asian people's democracies fell away from the capitalist system. The first crisis, in the period of the First World War, and the second crisis, in the period of the Second World War, must not be regarded as separate, unconnected and independent crises, but as stages in the development of the general crisis of the world capitalist system.

Is the general crisis of world capitalism only a political, or only an economic crisis? Neither the one, nor the other. It is a general, i.e., all-round crisis of the world capitalist system, embracing both the economic and the political spheres. And it is clear that at the bottom of it lies the ever increasing decay of the world capitalist economic system, on the one hand,

and the growing economic might of the countries which have fallen away from capitalism - the U.S.S.R.. China and the other people's democracies - on the other. *J. Stalin April 21, 1952*

The imperialist world market was nothing like a drowning man clutching at a straw.

Humane, equalled-out, Socialist Camp production and living standards **could not possibly** outperform the market brilliance of imperialism that would be apparent to the world (while its being built on unstable foundations of warmongering exploitation would not be immediately visible).

And it was **not** possible for the peace movement to contain the imperialist war threat ultimately, implying an ability to **reform** it out of harm's way. This was long term **catastrophic** nonsense (see below).

All of this totally dominant Third International perspective, fostered by Stalin, was untrue and **completely misleading**.

The communist international movement ended up **totally misled**.

The biggest joke about adopting Stalin for a "revolutionary hardman" image, of course, is that Revisionism's essence is a **retreat** from the dictatorship of the proletariat, not its ruthless upholding at all.

Bourgeois ideology's anti-communist hysteria paints Stalin black because of the alleged record of his arbitrary, paranoid **weaknesses**, not his obvious, early-Leninist **strength** in bolstering the Soviet proletarian dictatorship when international communist defeats were causing others to think of giving up or abandoning the difficult struggle.

But Stalin abandoned promoting proletarian dictatorship as the only hope for mankind from very early on, certainly keeping the USSR developing on track, but increasingly looking to Popular Front and United Front alliances as the easiest and surest route towards completing the world socialist

revolution.

It was a catastrophic Revisionist delusion.

And how do things stand now in the world?

More desperate for the restoration of Marxist-Leninist **revolutionary** science of world development than ever before in history.

The most monstrous capitalist boom in historical records, artificially stimulated by Cold War fears to stretch far beyond the West's wildest dreams of success, - (finally not only outspending the USSR on arms, causing the Soviet economy to suffer, but even persuading the final generation of Revisionist bureaucracy that it must be rigid socialist planning and the absence of market forces which had prevented the Stalinist Revisionist promise of socialism winning the production war with capitalism from being fulfilled, - not the blatantly impossible nonsense of Stalin's perspective itself), - is up.

(It was precisely because he **was** such a loyal and blinkered Stalinist that Gorbachev made the final class collaborative compromise with the imperialist world and dismantled the proletarian dictatorship state to let in "free-market" forces. The bureaucracy just could not believe that it was Stalin's "catching them up and surpassing them" theory, established in the *Economic Problems* gospel, which was wrong.

And if peaceful coexistence with imperialism had been so triumphant a Stalinist policy so far, then accepting the even greater cooperation being offered by Reagan and Thatcher for actual disarmament breakthrough savings, and help in "building our common European home", etc, etc, was surely only a further Stalinist step in the right direction?????)



10 *The Honduras coup in 2009 show just what bourgeois "democracy" means ie murder and repression if necessary to maintain bourgeois rule*

And as that boom fades, the full Stalinist nonsense of the Soviet bureaucracy's determination to take peaceful coexistence with the imperialists all the way, will become ever more painfully clearer and clearer.

Far from being containable by peace protests, imperialist warmongering is getting away with it precisely **because** the anti-war campaigning is so Stalinist dominated that it **still** doesn't see the need to organise for socialist revolution as the only **serious** programme to end wars; and it **still** believes, despite 58 years of postwar evidence, that the "anti-fascist" Western bourgeoisie will actu-

In a democratic republic, Engels continues, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely", first, by means of the "direct corruption of officials" (America); secondly, by means of an "alliance of the government and the Stock Exchange" (France and America)'.¹

At present, imperialism and the domination of the banks have "developed" into an exceptional art both these methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions.

The reason why the omnipotence of "wealth" is more certain in a democratic republic is that it does not depend on individual defects in the political machinery or on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and, therefore, once capital has gained possession of this very best shell (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis and Co.), it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois democratic republic can shake it.

We must also note that Engels is most explicit in calling universal suffrage an instrument of bourgeois rule. Universal suffrage, he says, obviously taking account of the long experience of German Social Democracy, is "the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state."²

The petty-bourgeois democrats, such as our Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and also their twin brothers, all the social-chauvinists and opportunists of Western Europe, expect just this "more" from universal suffrage. They themselves share, and instil into the minds of the people, the false notion that universal suffrage "in the present-day state" is really capable of revealing the will of the majority of the working people and of securing its realisation.

We have already said above, and shall show more fully later, that the theory of Marx and Engels of the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. The latter cannot be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of "withering away", but, as a general rule only through a violent revolution. The panegyric Engels sang in its honour, and which fully corresponds to Marx's repeated statements (see the concluding passages of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Communist Manifesto* with their proud and open proclamation of the inevitability of a violent revolution: see what Marx wrote nearly thirty years later, in criticising the Gotha Programme of 1875, when he mercilessly castigated the opportunist character of that programme) - this panegyric is by no means a mere "impulse", a mere declamation or a polemical sally. The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with this and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the entire theory of Marx and Engels. The betrayal of their theory by the now prevailing social chauvinist and Kautskyzite trends expresses itself strikingly in both these trends ignoring such propaganda and agitation.

The state and revolution - Lenin

There is an "anti-fascist" bourgeoisie calling the tune only for as long as it suits any imperialist establishment to continue bamboozling its proletariat via the "parliamentary democracy" racket rather than openly embracing intolerant, warmongering chauvinism as the dominant state philosophy of the moment.

ally talk itself into disarmament and saying "No to war ever again."

Simultaneously, the Bush/Blair warmongering is also destroying the subsidiary Stalinist Revisionist nonsense about there being "anti-fascist" imperialist powers, the USA and Britain, as opposed to the "fascist" imperialist powers of Germany and Japan, - alone singled out by Revisionist confusion as the "militarist" danger.

As Lenin explained, the "democratic republic" cover for imperialist tyranny is the best deception possible, and Stalinism fell for it:

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The state and revolution - Lenin

The nearly 400 acts of reactionary subversion, military coups, and warmongering interventions by the USA since 1945 put all other fascist imperialist records in the shade.

And in America's Iraq current imitation of German imperialist blitzkrieg-warmongering (in a comparable attempt to get the monopoly-capitalist world out

of economic crisis) how does the mass bombing-destruction earlier, and the collective punishment shootings now, differ from anything Germany, or any colonising belligerent, ever did before??

The seriousness of what is now happening in the world is still largely misunderstood by fake-'left' feebleness because such developments effectively were rendered "impossible" by finding no place in the Stalin perspective for the future world's transformation.

A towering, inter-imperialist, economic **crisis** between the hugest conglomerations of monopoly capitalist productive wealth and firepower the world has ever seen, - all desperate for top-dog survival and driving all before them in their mad thrashing-around, - is what is now taking the planet by storm,-- and it is a world totally beyond the comprehension of the Stalinist, complacent, Revisionist blinkers of the 1952 road map,---- but NOT remotely alien to the continuation of Marxist-Leninist science, once freed from the treacherous and disastrous Stalinist Revisionist nonsense.

Oil and neo-colonialism come into it, but in 2003 and in the midst of the most spectacular economic crisis in history, it is last century's inter-imperialist pattern of **world war** which is the really relevant guide to what is happening, - a possibility which Revisionism **criminally** closed the world's minds to.

And in Marxist-Leninist science, World War III was **always** going to be **inevitable**, something else which got revised into oblivion by Stalinism.

US imperialism's worldwide blitzkrieging threats are like

the Balkan Wars preliminaries to World War I where the Big Powers were throwing their weight around on proxy battlefields to test out each others' strengths and determination.

Or it can be seen as an extension to the Cold War, now brought at last to boiling point by the no-longer-containable **global economic crisis** which will now impose itself **on all world affairs, dominating everything**, - once again in the only real world, (with which Stalin's 1952 perspective, which totally suffocated the international communist movement to death, had not the slightest connection, - a smug, complacent, let's-not-do-anything-and-that-way-we-won't-make-any-mistakes, bureaucratic **catastrophe** in the making, - and the USSR is no longer there, proving it).

Under Stalin's long, decisive influence and massive prestige, a phony, calm perspective was invented which would give the Third International's inadequate leadership-record the fewest problems and the fewest new embarrassments.

It was the spontaneously, forever-re-erupting, petty-bourgeois, ideological resurgence, that Lenin endlessly warned the Soviet workers state about, which had triumphed again temporarily, reflecting the influence of the imperialist world economy's phenomenal powers of recovery after 1945, - a reformist ideological comeback which the Stalinist world perspective set the communist movement up for, - (succumbing to it) - almost with perfection by the daydreaming nonsense of his 1952 treatise.

Trotsky's occasional world-analytical brilliance, allied to his permanent individualist



Churchill's plan to take Russia

Secret documents in the Public Record Office came to the *Daily Telegraph's* attention this week. They described Churchill's contingency plans for an offensive strike against Stalin only months after the German surrender. The document which outlined the plan, code-named "Operation Unthinkable", contained a strategy for the "elimination of Russia" which would have started on July 1, 1945

The operation envisaged an attack on Russia by a British and American army using up to 100,000 German troops as a back-up. Its objective: ...the overall or political object is to impose upon Russia the will of the United States and British Empire, [although this] may be defined as no more than a square deal for Poland, that does not necessarily limit the military commitment... 'this is a very long-term project and would involve: a)

biliousness, bequeathed generations of workers **effectively** predisposed to hostility towards near **anything** needing to be done by workers states in defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, - a permanent poison-pit of vicious anti-communism, posing as fake-'lefts'.

Stalin's ludicrous delusion of "peace protesting" the world's

the deployment in Europe of a large proportion of the vast resources of the US; b) the re-equipment and reorganisation of German manpower and of all the Western European Allies."

An appendix to the document considered the possibility of having 100,000 former enemies fighting alongside the Allies: "War-weariness will be the predominant feature of the German civil population. However, ingrained fear of the Bolshevik menace and of reprisals by the Russians should make the German civil population prefer Anglo American to Russian occupation and therefore incline it to side with the Western Allies. [German PoW's would provide] a very grave source of potential disorder [with] the inevitable anomaly of, changing sides ...the known hardships of fighting on the Eastern front ...war weariness ... Russian propaganda and a certain satisfaction in seeing the Allies embroiled with the Russians:"

path to final anti-imperialist containment, and then anti-imperialist triumph via socialism's productive superiority (an insane notion while imperialist cut-throat exploitation markets last -- see countless past EPSRS) drugged to stupor the rest of the international working class.

Build Leninism

[EPSR No 1191 01-07-03]

Not Stalinist "stop the war" reformism, but for imperialist defeat in Iraq, - the only Leninist policy. The "peaceful road to socialism" Revisionist delusion is still destroying the working class. "Democracy" is the problem, and workers see "left pressure" parties as a waste of time. But to build a party of revolutionary theory, the theory has to be correct as far as possible, and to be as boldly projected as possible. But clear perspectives is what the fake-'left' are all busy shirking.

The leaked US warmongering plans to station large, counter-revolutionary, blitzkrieg forces

all round Africa; and Bush's "bring 'em on" threat to inflict even bloodier repression on

the Middle East; will hopefully help deepen 'left' thinking in the West about how serious is the imperialist war perspective, and how totally disarmed the working class has been by all post-1945 politics.

It is still being argued that some of Stalin's contributions about a continuing inevitability of wars between capitalist countries (despite socialist-camp growth and a powerful international peace movement) amounted to a continuation of Leninist understanding on the question of war and imperialism.

So let the record be examined from another angle, Lenin's last warnings on imperialist war before he died, compared to

Stalin's.

Add in the more than 400 acts of imperialist counter-revolutionary aggression and blitzkrieg-war since 1945 (see last pp6-7); plus the international warmongering "shock and awe" hysteria which the USA is relentlessly now building up, menacing the whole world with the most terrifying and colossal destructive power ever assembled in history rather than suffer the failure of economic crisis in the USA, - in order to balance out any claim that "things were different in Stalin's time than in Lenin's".

What the comparison demonstrates is that Lenin's perspective, even today, still scores 100% because of his

grasp of Marxist science, while Stalin scores 0% because of the total **revisionist** illusions and complacency that the workers state bureaucracy had degenerated into.

Lenin gives a bloodcurdlingly accurate preview of total international war without end as an ever-tinier group of dominant, Western, monopoly-imperialist powers inflicts every-greater slaughter to keep the whole of the rest of the world in continued economic subservience, – exactly the picture still presented by today's perspective. And just to survive **until** that crunch comes around again (and again, and again), the rest of the world **must** become "civilised" (i.e. more industrially developed).

And no war preparations will **ever** be stopped by a peace movement, Lenin explains.

All "no to war" manifestos by international trades unions and workers parties such as the 1912 *Basle Manifesto*, or new boasts at The Hague to wage a strike or a revolution if new wars are threatened, will always be a total fraud on the working class, Lenin adds.

Chauvinist lies and propaganda will **always** drag workers into war, and **only** an underground revolutionary fight to turn "patriotic" war into civil war, once the carnage is established, can provide mankind with a way out.

Despite Lenin's fervent conviction that Soviet socialist construction could become a very important and highly influential historical development, nowhere does Lenin remotely suggest that the **size** of the global economy would have the slightest influence on

the imperialist system's war-making destiny.

Such systemic belligerence would only **ever** end by revolutionaries turning national-chauvinist wars into civil wars, no other way.

Stalin says or implies the exact opposite.

The peace movement will stop many wars, he insists.

And he specifically warns **against** trying to stop carnage by turning imperialist war into civil war, – (in Leninist science the only possibility for stopping any war.)

Stalin's ponderous muddle counterposes "another world war" to "wars between capitalist countries generally", and by totally avoiding giving any serious warning about how titanic and brutal will be future imperialist onslaughts (as Lenin did and as is actually unfolding again now), Stalin creates an unmistakable impression that major, global, imperialist onslaught is no longer on the cards.

He cements this ludicrous, disastrous delusion, – totally undermining the Communist International all the way to self-destruction, – with the crass revision of Marxist-Leninist science to declare that the monopoly capitalist economic system can no longer expand its production because of losing territory to socialist property. Astonishingly overwhelming economic, industrial, and military firepower-might of American imperialism, governed by increasingly arrogant, master-race aggressiveness from a *de facto* global ruling class, – was covered up completely by Stalin's total theoretical degeneration:

[LENIN] The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must *inevitably* engender new imperialist wars, that must inevitably cause an extreme intensification of national oppression, pillage, brigandry and the strangulation of weak, backward and small nationalities by a handful of "advanced" powers - that question has been the keystone of all policy in all the countries of the globe since 1914. It is a question of life and death for millions upon millions of people. It is a question of whether 20,000,000 people (as compared with the 10,000,000 who were killed in the war of 1914-18 and in the supplementary "minor" wars that are still going on) are to be slaughtered in the next imperialist war, which the bourgeoisie are preparing, and which is growing out of capitalism before our very eyes. It is a question of whether in that future war, which is inevitable (if capitalism continues to exist), 60,000,000 people are to be maimed (compared with the 30,000,000 maimed in 1914-18). In this question, too, our October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history. The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men, the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and the petty-bourgeois, allegedly "socialist", democrats all over the world-derided our slogan "convert the imperialist war into a civil war". But that slogan proved to be the *truth* - it was the only truth, unpleasant, blunt, naked and brutal, but nevertheless the *truth*, as against the host of most refined jingoist and pacifist lies. Those lies are being dispelled. The Brest peace has been exposed. And with every passing day the significance and consequences of a peace that is even worse than the Brest peace - the peace of Versailles - are being more relentlessly exposed. And the millions

who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace (if the old orthography were still in use, I would have written the word *mir* in two ways, to give it both its meanings)* which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.*

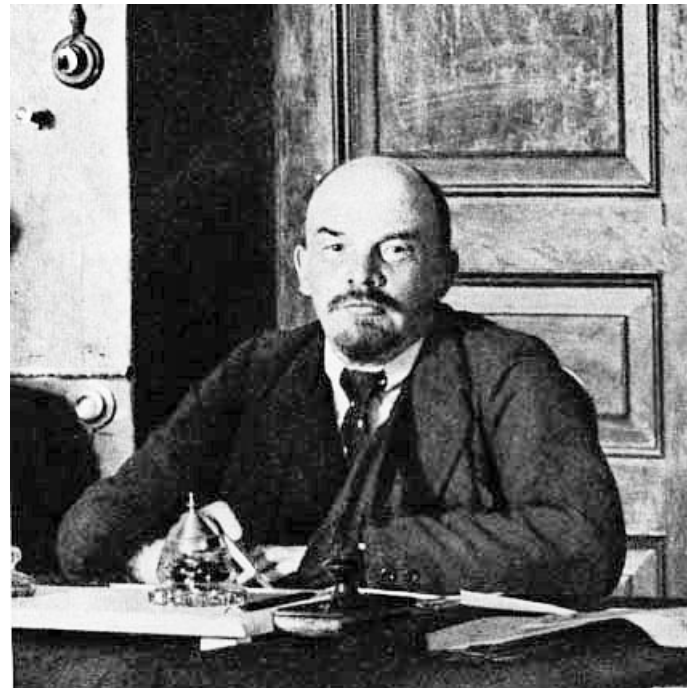
Let the bourgeoisie and the pacifists, the generals and the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalists and the philistines, the pious Christians and the knights of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals vent their fury against that revolution. No torrents of abuse, calumnies and lies can enable them to conceal the historic fact that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the slaves have replied to a war between slave-owners by openly proclaiming the slogan: "Convert this war between slave-owners for the division of their loot into a war of the slaves of all nations against the slave-owners of all nations."

For the first time in hundreds and thousands of years that slogan has grown from a vague and helpless waiting into a clear and definite political programme, into an effective struggle waged by millions of oppressed people under the leadership of the proletariat; it has grown into the first victory of the proletariat, the first victory in the struggle to abolish war and to unite the workers of all countries against the united bourgeoisie of different nations, against the bourgeoisie that makes peace and war at the expense of the slaves of capital, the wage-workers, the peasants, the working people.

This first victory is *not yet the final victory*, and it was achieved by our October Revolution at the price of incredible difficulties and hardships, at the price of unprecedented suffering, accompanied by a series of serious reverses and mistakes on our part. How could a single backward people be expected to frustrate the imperialist wars of the most powerful and most developed countries of the world without sustaining reverses and without committing mistakes! We are not afraid to admit our mistakes and shall examine them dispassionately in order to learn how to correct them. But the fact remains that for the first time in hundreds and thousands of years the promise "to reply" to war between the slave-owners by a revolution of the slaves directed *against* all the slave owners *has been completely fulfilled*- and is being fulfilled despite all difficulties.

We have made the start. When, at what date and time, and the proletarians of which nation will complete this process is not important. The important thing is that the ice has been broken; the road is open, the way has been shown.

Gentlemen, capitalists of all countries, keep up your hypocritical pretence of "defending the fatherland"- the Japanese fatherland against the American, the American against the Japanese, the French against the British, and so forth! Gentlemen, knights of the Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals, pacifist petty bourgeoisie and philistines of the entire world, go on "evading" the question of how to combat imperialist wars by issuing new "Basle Manifestos" (on the model of the Basle Manifesto of 1912). *The first Bolshevik revolution* has wrested the first hundred million people of this earth from the clutches of imperialist war and the imperialist world. Subsequent revolutions will deliver the rest of mankind from such war and from such a world.



Oct 1921 Fourth anniversary of the October Revolution

[LENIN] We accomplished the task of getting out of the most reactionary imperialist war in a revolutionary way. That, too, is a gain no power on earth can deprive us of; it is a gain which is all the more valuable for the reason that reactionary imperialist massacres are inevitable in the not distant future if capitalism continues to exist; and the people of the twentieth century will not be so easily satisfied with a second edition of the "Basle Manifesto", with which the renegades, the heroes of the Second and the Two-and-a-Half Internationals, fooled themselves and the workers in 1912 and 1914-18.

Notes of a publicist (Feb 1922)

On the question of combating the danger of war, in connection with the Conference at The Hague, I think that the greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this is a simple, clear and comparatively easy question.

"We shall retaliate to war by a strike or a revolution" that is what all the prominent reformist leaders usually say to the working class. And very often the seeming radicalness of the measures proposed satisfies and appeases the workers, co-operators and peasants.

Perhaps the most correct method would be to start with the sharpest refutation of this opinion; to declare that particularly now, after the recent war, only the most foolish or utterly dishonest people can assert that such an answer to the question of combating war is of any use; to declare that it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by a strike, just as it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by revolution in the simple and literal sense of these terms.

We must explain the real situation to the people, show them that war is hatched in the greatest secrecy, and that the ordinary workers' organisations, even if they call themselves revolutionary organisations, are utterly helpless in face of a really impending war.

We must explain to the people again and again in the most concrete manner possible how matters stood in the last war, and why they could not have been otherwise.

We must take special pains to explain that the question of "defence of the fatherland" will inevitably arise, and that the overwhelming majority of the working people will inevitably decide it in favour of their bourgeoisie.

Therefore, first, it is necessary to explain what "defence of the fatherland" means. Second, in connection with this, it is necessary to explain what "defeatism" means. Lastly, we must explain that the only possible method of combating war is to preserve existing, and to form new, illegal organisations in which all revolutionaries taking part in a war carry on *prolonged* anti-war activities - all this must be brought into the forefront.

Boycott war - that is a silly catch-phrase. Communists must take part in every war, even the most reactionary.

Examples from, say, pre-war German literature, and in particular, the example of the Basle Congress of 1912, should be used as especially concrete proof that the theoretical admission that war is criminal, that socialists cannot condone war, etc., turn out to be empty phrases, because there is nothing concrete in them. The masses are not given a really vivid idea of how war may and will creep up on them. On the contrary, every day the dominant press, in an infinite number of copies, obscures this question and weaves such lies around it that the feeble socialist press is absolutely impotent against it, the more so that even in time of peace it propounds fundamentally erroneous views on this point. In all probability, the communist press in most countries will also disgrace itself.

I think that our delegates at the International Congress of Co-operators and Trade Unionists should distribute their functions among themselves and expose all the sophistries that are being advanced at the present time in justification of war.

These sophistries are, perhaps, the principal means by which the bourgeois press rallies the masses in support of war; and the main reason why we are so impotent in face of war is either that we do not expose these sophistries beforehand, or still more that we, in the spirit of the Basle Manifesto of 1912, waive them aside with the cheap, boastful and utterly empty phrase that we shall not allow war to break out, that we fully understand that war is a crime, etc.

I think that if we have several people at The Hague Conference who are capable of delivering speeches against war in various languages, the most important thing would be to refute the opinion that the delegates at the Conference are opponents of war, that they understand how war may and will come upon them at the most unexpected moment, that they to any extent understand what methods should be adopted to combat war, that they are to any extent in a position to adopt reasonable and effective measures to combat war.

Using the experience of the recent war to illustrate the point, we must explain what a host of both theoretical and practical questions will arise on the morrow of the declaration of war, and that the vast majority of the men called up for military service will have no opportunity to examine

these questions with anything like clear heads, or in a conscientious and unprejudiced manner.

I think that this question must be explained in extraordinary detail, and in two ways:

First, by relating and analysing what happened during the last war and telling all those present that they are ignorant of this, or pretend that they know about it, but actually shut their eyes to what is the very pivot of the question which must be understood if any real efforts are to be made to combat war.

Secondly, we must take the present conflicts, even the most insignificant, to illustrate the fact that war may break out any day as a consequence of a dispute between Great Britain and France over some point of their treaty with Turkey, or between the U.S.A. and Japan over some trivial disagreement on any Pacific question, or between any of the big powers over colonies, tariffs, or general commercial policy, etc., etc.

Perhaps on a number of questions the mere quoting of facts of the last war will be sufficient to produce serious effect. Perhaps on a number of other questions serious effect can be produced only by explaining the conflicts that exist today between the various countries and how likely they are to develop into armed collisions.

Apropos of the question of combating war, I remember that a number of declarations have been made by our Communist deputies, in parliament and outside parliament, which contain monstrously incorrect and monstrously thoughtless statements on this subject. I think these declarations, particularly if they have been made since the war, must be subjected to determined and ruthless criticism, and the name of each person who made them should be mentioned. Opinion concerning these speakers may be expressed in the mildest terms, particularly if circumstances require it, but not a single case of this kind should be passed over in silence, for thoughtlessness on this question is an evil that outweighs all others and cannot be treated lightly.

A number of decisions have been adopted by workers' congresses which are unpardonably foolish and thoughtless.

All material should be immediately collected, and all the separate parts and particles of the subject, and the whole "strategy" to be pursued should be thoroughly discussed at a congress.

On such a question, not only a mistake, but even lack of thoroughness on our part will be unpardonable.

Dec 1922 Notes on tasks of our delegation at the Hague

[LENIN] Can we save ourselves from the impending conflict with these imperialist countries? May we hope that the internal antagonisms and conflicts between the thriving imperialist countries of the West and the thriving imperialist countries of the East will give us a second respite as they did the first time, when the campaign of the West-European counter-revolution in support of the Russian counter-revolution broke down owing to the antagonisms in the camp of the counter-revolutionaries of the West and the East, in the camp of the Eastern and Western exploiters, in the camp of Japan and the U.S.A.?

I think the reply to this question should be that the issue depends upon too many factors, and that the outcome of the struggle as a whole can be forecast only because in the long run capitalism itself is educating and training the vast majority of the population of the globe for the struggle.

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., count for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And during the past few years it is this majority that has been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.

But what interests us is not the inevitability of this complete victory of socialism, but the tactics which we, the Russian Communist Party, we, the Russian Soviet Government, should pursue to prevent the West-European counter-revolutionary states from crushing us. To ensure our existence until the next military conflict between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East, between the most civilised countries of the world and the Orientally backward countries which, however, comprise the majority, this majority must become civilised. **Better fewer, but better** (March 1923)

[STALIN] 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 deteriorate, 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 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.

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.

It is said that Lenin's thesis that imperialism inevitably generates war must now be regarded as obsolete, since powerful popular forces have come forward today in defence of peace and against another world war. That is not true.

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 this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism - it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace. In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war.

What is most likely is that the present-day peace movement, as a movement for the preservation of peace, will, if it succeeds, result in preventing a *particular* war, in its temporary postponement, in the temporary preservation of a *particular* peace, in the resignation of a bellicose government and its supersession by another that is prepared temporarily to keep the peace. That, of course, will be good. Even very good. But, all the same, it will not be enough to eliminate the inevitability of wars between capitalist countries generally.

It is evident that, after the world market has split, and the sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (U.S.A., Britain, France) has begun to contract, - the cyclical character of the development of capitalism - expansion and contraction of production - must continue to operate. However, expansion of production in these countries will proceed on a narrower basis, since the volume of production in these countries will diminish.

Given Stalin's class collaborating complacency which emphasised "the peaceful road to socialism" and the possibility of the class collaborating "peace movement" being capable of the preservation "of a **particular** peace", (*Economic Problems*, 1952 - as above), then why would Gorbachev, several degenerate bureaucratic leaderships later, - **not** be utterly convinced that the spectre of global imperialist blitzkrieg was even **more** remote (than its total absence from Stalin's perspectives) when the Reagan presidency, of all administrations, offered "historic disarmament agreements" in the 1980s???

And how does this not rate as the **total** disarming of the international workers movement by **Stalinist** revisionism?????

And how did such a class-collaborating, theory-less, wretched nonentity as Gorbachev end up leading the Soviet workers state and the world communist movement anyway???

Clearly because he was perfect for the Revisionist nonsense that the Comintern had become, totally corrupted by Stalin's ludicrous cult elevation into the role of "original thinking Marxist genius" etc, etc.

And whatever further nonsense his successors added to these Revisionist delusions,

it came via a massive party leadership which Stalin had hand-picked, exercising total sway over for 30 years.

Kruschev, for example, the scapegoat most blamed by academic Stalin apologists for "introducing Revisionism" while still themselves, in 2003, defending 100% Revisionist delusions about the world, (SLP's non-existent perspectives, for instance), was Stalin's handpicked Politburo commissar at Stalingrad in 1942, fresh from running the Ukraine, a job Stalin appointed him to in 1938.

Kruschev had been Stalin's personal protégé since 1931 when the young Ukrainian routed the Rykov and Bukharin "rightists" at the party's Industrial Academy in Moscow.

He was then, in 1932, made secretary of the Moscow communist party, in succession to Molotov and Kaganovitch, Stalin's chief henchman; & in Politburo by 1935.

Kruschev was a personal, dinner-guest, family friend of Stalin from 1931 onwards.

Kruschev preferred to think of himself as a Leninist, but he was an outstanding, lifelong Stalinist in practice.

A generation later, Gorbachev was likewise totally trained lifelong, and promoted, in Stalinist political ideology of Revisionist



illusions.

The "peaceful road to socialism" is class collaboration, - total Revisionism, a complete illusion, and its pathetic nonsense killed the Communist Party in Britain (and elsewhere).

In a democratic republic, Engels continues, "wealth exercises its power indirectly, but all the more surely", first, by means of the "direct corruption of officials" (America); secondly, by means of an "alliance of the government and the Stock Exchange" (France and America).

At present, imperialism and the domination of the banks have "developed" into an exceptional art both these methods of upholding and giving effect to the omnipotence of wealth in democratic republics of all descriptions.

The reason why the omnipotence of "wealth" is more certain in a democratic republic is that it does not depend on individual defects in the political machinery or on the faulty political shell of capitalism. A democratic republic is the best possible political shell for capitalism, and, therefore, once capital has gained possession of this very best shell (through the Palchinskys, Chernovs, Tseretelis and Co.), it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that no change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois democratic republic can shake it.

We must also note that Engels is most explicit in calling universal suffrage an instrument of bourgeois rule. Universal suffrage, he says, obviously taking account of the long experience of German Social Democracy, is

"the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state."

The petty-bourgeois democrats, such as our Socialist Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, and also their twin brothers, all the social-chauvinists and opportunists of Western Europe, expect just this "more" from universal suffrage. They themselves share, and instil into the minds of the people, the false notion that universal suffrage "in the *present-day* state" is really capable of revealing the will of the majority of the working people and of securing its realisation.

We have already said above, and shall show more fully later, that the theory of Marx and Engels of the inevitability of a violent revolution refers to the bourgeois state. The latter *cannot* be superseded by the proletarian state (the dictatorship of the proletariat) through the process of "withering away", but, as a general rule, only through a violent revolution. The panegyric Engels sang in its honour, and which fully corresponds to Marx's repeated statements (see the concluding passages of *The Poverty of Philosophy* and the *Communist Manifesto* with their proud and open proclamation of the inevitability of a violent revolution; see what Marx wrote nearly thirty years later, in criticising the *Gotha Programme* of 1875, when he mercilessly castigated the opportunist character of that programme) - this panegyric is by no means a mere "impulse", a mere declamation or a polemical sally. The necessity of systematically imbuing the masses with *this* and precisely this view of violent revolution lies at the root of the *entire* theory of Marx and Engels. The betrayal of their theory by the now prevailing social-chauvinist and Kautskyite trends expresses itself strikingly in both these trends ignoring such propaganda and agitation.

V. I. Lenin *The State and Revolution*

So what is it but a total Revision of Marxism-Leninism for Harry Pollitt, Moscow-approved boss of the Soviet subsidised communist party in Britain, to be writing in 1947 in his book

Looking Ahead the following rotten deception of the working class, already relentlessly leading towards the complete collapse of the communist movement eventually:

The progress of democratic and Socialist forces throughout the world has opened out new possibilities of transition to Socialism by other paths than those followed by the Russian Revolution It is possible to see how the people will move towards Socialism without further revolution, *without the dictatorship of the proletariat*. . . Thus there exists today new possibilities of advance to Socialism in Britain also, new ways in which power can be removed from the hands of the capitalist class . . . (*Looking Ahead*, pp. 88-89 emphasis added).

It is farcical to pretend that the subsidised British CP was pursuing this class collaborative reformist line without Moscow's knowledge and approval; and years later, as a result of communist movement fall-outs over rival Revisionist retreats into stupidity and decay, Stalinist Moscow's involvement in this retreat from a Marxist understanding of the world was spelled out in a report to the British CP's executive committee, on Sept 14, 1963, as reported in the *Daily Worker* four days later:

General Secretary John Gollan
We saw *Long live Leninism* [the book published by the Chinese Communist on the 90th anniversary of Lenin's birth - it was an attack on reformism and revisionism as personified by the Tito leadership of the Yugoslav CP] and the general Chinese Party approach not only as a dispute with the CPSU but also a challenge to the general line of our Party embodied in our programme *The British Road to Socialism* ... We should note that the *British Road* was published in 1951 - before the 20th Congress and while Stalin was still alive. The Chinese comrades by implication suggest that Stalin was against the concept of the possible peaceful transition to Socialism.

The British Road to Socialism was published in full in *Pravda* with Stalin's full approval. (*Daily Worker*, September 18, 1963 - emphasis added).

Establishing these matters would be of little value now in itself if it were not for this peculiar blockage (in the aftermath of the communist movement's disintegration in Revisionist confusion) whereby "left pressure" reformist democracy is still being peddled to workers as the "path to socialism" (SLP, etc); and such ridiculous anti-theory demagogues as Scargill are protected from exposure by bogus "Marxists" such as *Lalkar* who posture in their Stalinist-museum-niche so that they can continue to shout "anti-communists" at all who challenge SLP stupidity, and preen themselves in entirely academic "revolutionary" feathers.

More useful in the course of this rehash is the clarification once again of the **essential** problem which eventually undermined the Soviet workers state and disintegrated the world communist movement, - the stifling by Stalinism of the polemical mechanism by which alone a world party of revolutionary theory can survive and flourish; and the steady adoption thereby of a perspective for world struggle which, under Stalinism from early on, started to become a travesty of Leninism, and had become a mixture of anti-revolutionary and counter-revolution rot by the end of Stalinism's influence,

(taking sides with US imperialism to denounce "terrorism", - a stinking, Moscow, class collaboration line still continued by the SLP Stalinists, e.g.).

Specific anti-Stalinist arguments such as the issues which the *EPSR* has been pursuing, might be fruitful for getting serious polemics going again, at last, within the totally constipated British labour movement (where even the notion of the role of a party of revolutionary theory gets only a blank response from the entire fake-'left' swamp), - such polemics at some stage likely to become the starting off point for the rebirth of a serious Marxist-Leninist party again in due course.

But in general all these Trot and Revisionist departures from Bolshevik proletarian dictatorship science are possibly not going to be resolved simply by insisting on certain historical facts being re-digested by everyone, important as that will ultimately become. The likelier route forward is to continue to hammer away at elaborating and explaining the Marxist-Leninist (i.e. revolutionary) perspective on **today's** world until enough indisputable facts begin coinciding with enough of the long-argued-for perspective-explanation to get more and more people to be convinced that it is possible to cut a clear path through the fog of 'left' opportunist confusion and anti-theory philistinism.

A million-and-one varieties of replacing historical analysis by shallow labelling ("state capitalist"; "social-imperialist"; "degenerated workers state"; "deformed workers state"; "bureaucratic capitalism transforming into classical capitalism"; "national socialism"; "big power chauvinism"; "revolution betrayed"; "Fabianism and Stalinism synthesised"; etc, etc, etc) are unlikely to become irrelevant just because of counter-propaganda compilations; but history's further development itself, deeper into insoluble imperialist warmongering crisis, will, on the other hand, most probably provide joint ground on which a reborn serious communist movement can start to move forward again.

The *EPSR* needs to keep on arguing for, and illustrating, its global revolutionary perspective more insistently than ever, continuing to use evidence and admissions from capitalism's own bourgeois sources that the incurable contradictions from surplus capital "overproduc-

tion" are driving global imperialist domination back towards world war again, necessitating revolutionary civil war in the name of workers (dictatorship) rule as the only way out again from such warmongering destructive tyranny over mankind, but on a far vaster and more decisive scale than even 1917 and 1945 produced.

And the closer, for example, that the wretchedly-betrayed (by Stalinist Revisionism) peoples of Russia return towards taking up arms again to restore a Soviet workers state, - the more obviously will all the old retreating-from-Leninism theoretical crap of countless anti-revolutionary or anti-proletarian-dictatorship varieties, recede back into the woodwork.

Without a very specific, clearcut perspective on what the world is being dragged towards by imperialist crisis, then no serious workers party of **any** kind can be got going.

Is the future of growing world problems to be solved by "real reforms of capitalism at last"; or "real socialism at last via parliament and extra-parliamentary activity"; or by a Stalinist "revolutionary" party???

The fake-'left' will hardly dare commit itself on any of them, but even if it did, not much of a workers party would be built anyway because the working class has been here before, in Britain and internationally.

It built from scratch very powerful Labour Parties because it became convinced that this was the way forward in history. It won't do it again.

Centrist parties galore have been built, - but all have been a disastrous disappointment, and few will get far again.

It built the most colossal world Stalinist movement that could have been imagined or wished-for, - only to be more disastrously betrayed and disillusioned than words will ever convey, and such fraudulent "revolutionary" posturing is unlikely to be trusted again.

The only major party-building workers ought to support again should be one supplying a proven, blow-by-blow account of the global civil-war revolutionary conditions into which incurable imperialist warmongering crisis is relentlessly dragging mankind, and for which workers can prepare but with one programme only, - to take the power by revolution. As well as the general perspective of the only science of history that ex-

ists, Marxism-Leninism, which explains how the capitalist-imperialist system, faced with insoluble contradictions and collapse-crisis, cannot produce anything but a total warmongering destruction "solution" to its ludicrous so-called "over-production" mess, to which revolutionary civil war to take power by the working class will be the **only** answer, - building the workers party can also only successfully take place in line with more specific perspectives too, integral to the resolution of this class-war climax to the end of the capitalist-imperialist exploitation era of civilisation's development.

The imperialist warmongers are going to **lose**.

And it is in the humiliating **defeat** of this ludicrous and primitive colonial imperialist warmongering, amidst the pointless destruction and carnage all around, that the masses begin to be **forced** to take the **conscious** revolutionary path, behind their party, of **overthrowing** the utterly discredited "democratic" charade which is the capitalist world leadership, - all parties.

If the growing stench of deceit, viciousness, and muddle around the Bush-Blair warmongering is to be climaxed with government downfalls, as is coming increasingly into the picture, - the key to it will be the emergence of total **failure** in Iraq (and in Afghanistan, Zionist-occupied Palestine, and any other fronts of Western imperialist-colonial tyranny opened up by monopoly capitalism to try to quell the anti-imperialist revolt in the Middle East).

And if not total failure this time round in Iraq, then total failure next time round in Iran, or Pakistan, or Egypt, or wherever else this stop-the-revolt ("stop terrorism") warmongering panic takes the insolubly crisis ridden Western imperialist system.

But Iraq itself is beginning to look more and more like a promising historical turning point. The bullying ability of Western warmongering affluence to push people around endlessly, or bribe local stooges to do it, may have started to show in Iraq that it has simply run out of its time historically. The age of colonial capitalist domination has in general been rapidly becoming a thing of the past for nearly a century, but Iraq may prove to be the turning point in how dramatically things have speeded up,

to possibly make this new warmongering imperialist crisis the very last of its kind.

Either way, the panic now gripping this New Labour government over the huge and growing public disquiet against this rotten, deceitful, warmongering tyranny against Middle East revolt from Palestine to Afghanistan, is certainly mostly a reflection of how **badly** this vicious blitzkrieg has turned out.

And more than just Blair & Co being made scapegoats for this outrageous Western

The sick US-UK pretence of “refashioning the world” is nearly totally bogged down having got no further than Afghanistan and Iraq. Capitalism’s own insoluble economic crisis is the real reason for this demented imperialist blitzkrieging, and the splits in the international monopoly capitalist racket, plus the underlying unease of public opinion, are demonstrating that this crisis failure will not be easily blasted away by diversionary chauvinist aggression. The Saddam regime was just a nasty joke of the West’s own making but never a serious threat to imperialist interests, - until now, in the uncontrollable mess his overthrow by Western domineering has inevitably unleashed. As imperialist economic crisis deepens, the exploited and victimised Third World will increasingly turn to revolution. Fake-‘left’ Revisionist delusions bar the way.

The new Iraqi “governing council” of mostly hand-picked American imperialist stooges will flourish or fail depending on whether Iraq’s masses are happy or not with a US-occupied world of insoluble capitalist crisis.

If, like everyone else on Earth, they are not willing to put up with the insane destructive mess that Western monopoly corporate power (and its armed forces) are making of the world, then this “council” will only become part of the problem, and a “solution” will be further away than ever.

With lethal inter-imperialist trade-war now looming between the Great Powers as their economic “overproduction” rivalry to maximise profits, increasingly choking the international bourgeois market (meaning no profits for

imperialist nonsense about “bringing order and justice to the Middle East”, etc, the entire “democracy” racket (which voted for the war), and the entire “free world” system which tolerates imperialist blitzkrieg arrogance in general, is looking sicker and sicker for running a global exploitation system which produces **nothing but** warmongering, tyranny, deceit, and grotesque injustice, endlessly revealed by capitalism’s own admissions:

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anyone) goes from bad to worse, -- the chaotic warmongering attempts to bully a way out of the crisis look more of a threat to Bush and Blair’s positions than anything.

World society is at another new crossroads, - the greatest since 1945.

It is utterly crucial that the mistakes made then in anti-imperialist understanding by the ‘left’ should be learned-from, and overcome, as quickly as possible.

As soon as the argument is won that the only possible response to this new crisis of imperialist warmongering is to rebuild an international Leninist party of revolutionary theory, then the polemicising about widespread past illusions which effectively destroyed the international communist movement, will have served its

purpose.

If agreement could be reached **only** to relaunch with a conscious, open, scientifically based (Marxism), **revolutionary** perspective, - then exactly who said what, when, to kill the world communist movement with Revisionism could subside into more of an academic question.

But what happens is that historical disputes are used as a smokescreen to **obscure** the fact that the ‘left’ is **still** in retreat from a revolutionary perspective, but hiding it.

Quoting Stalin, the bourgeois world’s great hate figure, is **only** being done so that the SLP/*Lalkar* retreat into “peace protesting” and “left-pressure” reformism should not stand quite so exposed.

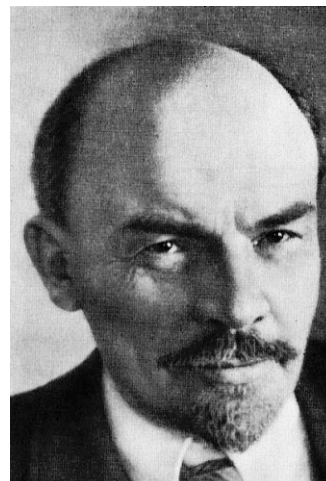
And Scargill’s class collaborating, “anti-terrorist”, Revisionist nonsense is naturally defended with **exactly** the same tricks as Revisionism itself has always used, quoting from heroes of past revolutionary triumphs in order to cover-up the current collapse into anti-Marxist, reformist, muddleheadedness.

The notable thing about Gorbachev (as the **final** Revisionist bureaucratic catastrophe at the head of the Soviet workers state) was the long quotations from Lenin that he put into his early speeches as CPSU boss.

In the anti-Revisionist struggle, the quarrel is **not** with Stalin’s unchallengeable great role in defending the dictatorship of the proletariat for so long, but with the ludicrous **theoretical** confusion he left the Third International in, both by what few words he **did** allow to be printed in his name, and even more by the vast silences when he published virtually nothing for 14 years from 1939 to 1953.

In one of the richest periods

The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must inevitably



of imperialist crisis development ever, and one of the richest periods of revolutionary anti-imperialist struggle ever, - fourteen years of it, - Stalin produced a few small speeches and his laughably incorrect *Economic Problems*, 1952, booklet.

Lenin’s last 14 years produced his 20 greatest volumes of scientific understanding of world development.

The SLP-*Lalkar*ites try similar tactics to Stalin. They just never talk or write about the one thing that the international working class wants to hear about, - the perspective for world **revolution**.

And similarly, they also never discuss their own blatant revisions of Marxism-Leninism.

All that is discernible is the ridiculously pale mumble that one gets from Stalin’s last work, - that somehow (unspecified), “left pressure”, “building socialism”, and “peace protesting” will sort out imperialism.

This is not remotely what 100 volumes of Marxist-Leninist science are all about.

Last two *EPSRs* have dealt at length with Stalin’s pathetic theoretical legacy compared with Lenin’s on this crucial question of imperialist warmongering **crisis** which totally **dominates** all world developments; but one additional factor is to contrast Lenin’s brilliant description, in advance, of where imperialist warmongering crisis stands today, in 2003, with more Third International perspectives created in Stalin’s time and under his **overwhelming** influence.

First, Lenin again, from his Oct 1921 4th Anniversary remarks and his Dec 1922 *Notes for the Hague Delegation*, explaining how it is **impossible** to “prevent war”, which must be prepared for with a **revolutionary** answer:

The question of imperialist wars, of the international policy of finance capital which now dominates the whole world, a policy that must inevitably engender new imperialist wars, that must *inevitably* cause an extreme intensification of national oppression, pillage, brigandry and the strangulation of weak, backward and small nationalities by a handful of “advanced” powers-that question has been the keystone of all policy in all the countries of the globe since 1914.

“We shall retaliate to war by a strike or a revolution” that is what all the prominent reformist leaders usually say to the working class. And very often the seeming radicalness of the measures proposed satisfies and appeases the workers co-operators and peasants.

Perhaps the most correct method



Every day, attacks by the resistance in Iraq are increasingly fierce. In the photo, cars reduced to ashes after an explosion in Mosul

would be to start with the sharpest refutation of this opinion; to declare that particularly now, after the recent war, only the most foolish or utterly dishonest people can assert that such an answer to the question of combating war is of any use; to declare that it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by a strike, just as it is impossible to "retaliate" to war by revolution in the simple and literal sense of these terms.

We must explain the real situation to the people, show them that war is hatched in the greatest secrecy, and that the ordinary workers' organisations, even if they call themselves revolutionary organisations, are utterly helpless in face of a really impending war.

We must take special pains to explain that the question of "defence of the fatherland" will inevitably arise, and that the overwhelming majority of the working people will inevitably decide it in favour of their bourgeoisie.

Boycott war -- that is a silly catch-phrase. Communists must take part in every war, even the most reactionary.

Examples from, say, pre-war German literature, and in particular, the example of the Basle Congress of 1912, should be used as especially concrete proof that the theoretical admission that war is criminal, that socialists cannot condone war, etc., turn out to be empty phrases, because there is nothing concrete in them. The masses are not given a really vivid idea of how war may and will creep up on them. On the contrary, every day the dominant press, in an infinite number of copies, obscures this question and weaves such lies around it that the feeble socialist press is absolutely impotent against it, the more so that even in time of peace it propounds fundamentally erroneous views on this point. In all probability, the communist press in most countries will also disgrace itself.

Compared to this clear perspective on the unavoidable fate of the warmongering imperialist system and the sole **revolutionary** antidote to it, Stalin's last great speech before his bizarre 14-year silence, his report to the 18th Congress in March 1939, - was already confusing the picture.

Having correctly explained how imperialism had dragged the world back into war (by the filthiest of subterfuges

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 non-aggression 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. The foreign policy of the Soviet Union is clear and explicit.

1. We stand for peace and the strengthening of business relations with all countries. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass on the interests of our country.

2. We stand for peaceful, close and friendly relations with all the neighbouring countries which have common frontiers with the U.S.S.R. That is our position; and we shall adhere to this position as long as these countries maintain like relations with the Soviet Union, and as long as they make no attempt to trespass, directly or indirectly, on the integrity and inviolability of the frontiers of the Soviet state.

3. We stand for the support of nations which are the victims of aggression and are fighting for the independence of their country.

4. We are not afraid of the threats of aggressors, and are ready to return two blows for every one delivered by warmongers who attempt to violate our Soviet frontiers.

Such is the foreign policy of the Soviet Union. (*Loud and prolonged applause.*)

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.

The dominant world communist influence clearly no longer understands **revolution** to be part of the working class answer to the warmongering imperialist world, but is still only urging peace treaties, which he admits have already failed.

This startling mental blockage, - an unsurprising by-product of class-collaborating, reformist confusion, shows up even more clearly in the uncritical summary of pre-war and post-war peace drives by Third International historian R Palme Dutt:

Hence the requirement of the situation of the nineteen-thirties was not only to build up the strongest possible united working-class front and popular front against the offensive of fascism and reaction within each country. The parallel and no less indispensable requirement was also to build up the broadest peace front, including those sections of the imperialists prepared to participate or campaign for similar objectives, for resistance to the fascist war offensive, and for the aim of a broad peace alliance of states, associating Britain and France with the Soviet Union, on the basis of collective security, through the League of Nations and also mutual assistance treaties, to bar the road to fascist aggression and thus prevent the Second World War.

Had such a peace front of states, specifically of Britain and France and Czechoslovakia with the Soviet Union, been built up in time, before Europe was surrendered to Hitler, and maintained with firmness and unity, it is universally

recognised today that such a combination, with its overwhelming superior strength, would have been fully able to bar the road to Hitler's aggression, and thereby would have prevented the Second World War.

For this aim the Communist International and all communist parties, together with all progressive sections of the working class, including wide sections of the social-democratic parties, and all progressive democrats, and even some more far-sighted conservative elements, ceaselessly worked during these critical years.

The total, hopeless, failure of this policy is not really commented on (except to blame the Social Democrats for it not working, - and the British Bourgeoisie, - both known to Leninist science only as war promoters, not its inhibitors).

Undaunted, Dutt enthusiastically chronicles exactly similar Revisionist illusions to try to prevent imperialist war at his time of writing (post 1945), - describing the 1947 decisions of the CPUs and other communist parties now in power:

The manifesto adopted by the nine-party conference analysed the new features of the world situation after the Second World War, and, in particular, the character of the reactionary offensive conducted by United States and British imperialism against democratic and socialist advance in the world and for the aims of world expansion.

United States and Britain were now allied against the Soviet Union and the countries of new democracy, and were

rebuilding Germany and Japan, as in the pre-Munich period, to serve this aim. So arose in the world situation of 1947 the confrontation of two camps. In place of the wartime division between the fascist and anti-fascist camp the division was now between the democratic anti-imperialist camp and the imperialist anti-democratic camp.

In this situation the task of the communist parties was stated to be to foster the unity of all democratic and patriotic forces, and to stand in the forefront of the fight of their peoples for national independence and sovereignty against domination by American imperialism for democracy and for peace

"There is a great task awaiting the communist parties, that of preserving freedom and peace...."

With regard to the very noisy threats of a new war, or third world war for the destruction of communism, which were being freely spread at this time with large-scale publicity by the more aggressive sections of American imperialism and its satellites, the nine-party conference threw cold water on these sanguinary expectations, and expressed confidence in the power of the peoples to maintain peace

'One should realise that between the imperialist desire to unleash a new war and the possibility of organising a war there exists a tremendous distance.

"The nations of the world do not want war. The forces who align themselves with peace are so numerous and powerful that if they defend hard and without flinching the cause of peace, if they show perseverance and grit, then the plans of the aggressors are doomed to bankruptcy."

This clear analysis of the international situation in 1947, and confident and inspiring lead to the communist parties and peoples of the world to stand firm for national independence, democracy and peace against the economic and political interventionist offensive and expansionist aims of American imperialism and its satellites was the main contribution of the nine-party conference which founded the Information Bureau.

The cool-headed prediction that the peoples would prove capable of maintaining peace against these war threats, was once again proved justified, as with so many of the basic predictions of Marxism, by the outcome shown in the events of the ensuing decade.

The formation of the Communist Information Bureau was universally treated by the Western capitalist and social-democratic politicians and press as the resurrection of the Communist International.

...of the activities of parties. But the conditions of the Communist International were vanished and belonged to a past era. In the words of *Pravda* on October 10, 1947, deriding these hallucinations of "warmongers frightened to death":

"The establishment of an information bureau by no means signifies the restoration of a global communist organisation with a centralised leadership, such as the Communist International represented at the time"

"The Communist International, which played a positive role in the cause of educating leaders of the working class, has long become a past stage in the history of the development of the international working-class movement. To return to the Communist International now would mean to go back, not forward."

In practice the Information Bureau held only two more regular meetings, although the journal continued to be published. The Bureau became involved

in the differences with Yugoslavia. The last recorded meeting of the Bureau was in 1949. Its winding up was announced in May, 1956.

By that time new conditions had arisen for the advance of the international communist movement.

THE INTERNATIONALE (1964)

Brutal wars in Korea, Vietnam, Malaysia, Palestine, Algeria, etc, etc, had all been raging as Dutt was writing complacently about how "the peoples would prove capable of maintaining peace against these war threats", prolonging the lying, Revisionist, nonsense that peace campaigning and socialist development would put a stop to imperialist warmongering.

And it is carried off by using a similar, sinister, sleight-of-hand that Stalin uses in *Economic Problems* (see previous EPSRs), - by pretending that "world war" is something totally different from "imperialist wars" when the two are obviously one-and-the-same thing (e.g. every year from the 1931 Japanese invasion of China to the 1941 invasion of the USSR, and Pearl Harbour attack, are confidently given in **hundreds** of serious and worthy history books as "the start of World War II" when "imperialist wars" supposedly "turned into something else").

The Cominform story is added-on, NOT in order to add to the tragic history of organisational fetishism which obviously hindered rather than helped the fight against Revisionism in the Third International, - but in order to confirm the total lack of seriousness about maintaining Marxist-Leninist international revolutionary **theory** which Stalinism is most plainly and disastrously guilty of, compared to all its other mistakes and crimes.

Minus theory, the "centralised leadership" of **any** kind of communist international could only be an ongoing disaster.

But Stalinist complacency could not even be bothered to continue the Cominform fake "international" such was its philistinism.

The *Lalkar*/SLP circles are Revisionism degenerated a thousand times **worse**.

Imperialist warmongering is rising towards a crescendo again, but the utterly useless "stop the war" peace protesting and "strike-boycott" posturing is now the **only** sound heard.

Not even the word "revolution" survives, - "peaceful" or otherwise.

Worse still, the most diabolical retreats from Leninism are now deliberately fostered.

Despite Lenin's famous essay on *Guerrilla Warfare* (1906) utterly deploring all so-called "Marxist" criticism of spontaneous "terrorist" violence, and despite Lenin's outstanding salute to the 1916 Easter Rising middle-class "putsch" which other "Marxists" had derided, - still this Scargillite apology for Revisionism refuses to correct the outrageous "condemnation" of Sept 11 issued by the entire class collaborating fake-'left'.

Even worse, the dramatic "Islamic terrorism" turnaround in Palestine and the Middle East is either denounced, or sneered-at, or condemned with faint praise by these deluded "reformist pressure" circles.

Lalkar, supposedly the "Marxist" conscience of this wretched fake-"left" opportunism, openly supports the genocidal betrayal of the Palestinian nation known as the "two state solution", which only confirms

historical survey of the modern Palestinian problem under Zionist imperialist tyranny, simply fails to mention Stalinism's grotesque role in **agreeing to** the Zionist armed colonisation in 1947, and actually supplied the Zionists with arms for their "self-defence" when Arab indignation exploded.

And in another Stalinist class collaboration-with-imperialism touch, the SLP-*Lalkar*ites are **still** championing the arch bourgeois compromiser Arafat as "the best leadership for Palestine".

Hamas's religious fanaticism is not the answer, true. But Hamas's **revolutionary** determination **is** the only way forward (but done better), and has transformed the situation.

But leaving aside all other issues, where **do** these Revisionists stand on the sensational world events since Sep 11, 2001????



Young Palestinian confronts an Israeli tank.

the Western imperialists' illegal landgrab in the first place; only **guarantees** permanent **domination** of the region by Zionist state-tyranny; and which can **never** possibly be any kind of a "solution", only an endless continuation of the original **colonisation** problem.

In the epoch of **terminal imperialist crisis**, then no "colonisation" solutions of any kind can possibly survive.

And that is *Lalkar*'s problem. Sunk deep into its Revisionist bureaucratic complacency, *Lalkar*'s petty bourgeois soul has lost all real belief in imperialism's terminal, revolutionary, crisis.

And such is *Lalkar*'s total philosophical domination by its museum-Stalinist daydreams that its recent, booklet-size,

Is it still just another "grab for oil"???

Western oil monopolies have been stitching up material-resource areas of the world **routinely** since the end of the 19th century, - using greater or lesser violence in the process, or covering it with more or fewer "national interest" pretences (backed by governments) depending on the circumstances.

Is routine, corporate, oil-resource, skulduggery really the reason why the Bush and Blair regimes are now facing the distant, but distinct, possibility of even being brought down by this chaotic warmongering mess?????

Is some heavy-armed pressure to force into line one particularly awkward and obnoxious oil chieftain (Saddam),

- usually a normal day's work in the Middle East by the West since the 1890s, - the true explanation why the leading monopoly imperialist powers have dramatically split apart into snarling trade-war rivalry for the first real time since the run-up towards World War II???

To think like this is exactly to prolong the daft, complacent world of Stalin's shameful bureaucracy which in 1952 effectively told the world not to worry too much about imperialism ever again because its economic expansion days were over; socialism was going to outproduce it, terminating its world domination; and the peace movement would probably be able to prevent imperialism launching "any particular war" (i.e. unstated, any **world war**).

To follow *Lalkar/SLP* is a million miles from the correct Marxist-Leninist view of the world's future as expressed above in Lenin's 4th Anniversary remarks.

To think in "just another oil-grab" terms is to continue to **totally disarm the working class** from all revolutionary understanding, in **exactly** the same way that Stalinist bureaucratic complacency did above, which ended in the self-destruction by the Soviet workers state's proletarian dictatorship after 70 years of outstanding achievement.

And having brought that about, Revisionism now wants to **keep** the working class blinkered from the revolutionary **re-education** that imperialist warmongering crisis is now providing (see Lenin's science) by dismissing this Middle East crisis as "just an oil-grab", - while at the same time insisting that "a real revolutionary party, and a real revolutionary understanding, is actually now growing **inside** the 'left' of the SLP!!!!

This is one-and-the-same mentality, - sectarian fantasy-mongering.

"We know more about revolution than **you** do. We know more about revolution than **anybody**. We are just biding our time," goes the refrain.

Just as Scargill's philistinism can be sneaked up on and topped "when the time is right",

We are, of course, opposed to the League of Nations, and I do not think that it is only our economic and political system with its specific features that accounts for our negative attitude towards the League; the interests of peace, regarded from the point of view of the concrete conditions of modern international politics in general, also fully justify that negative attitude. The League of Nations bears so many marks of its world war origin, it is so intimately bound up with the Versailles Treaty and is so marked by the absence of anything resembling the establishment of the real equality of

- so, allegedly, will the **open** revolutionary reeducation of the working class be consummately brought into operation "when the time is ripe".

Meanwhile, jokes are enough, wondering when the *EPSR's* supporters, e.g., might be declaring revolutionary war on George Bush, and using the telephone box they all meet in as a battering ram to break down the door of the White House; etc.

But it is nothing to do with declaring revolutionary war on anyone. It is a question of the long, steady, development of working class **consciousness** since Marx & Engels first took up the cudgels against **opportunist** "socialism", - the "socialism" precisely of Scargillism/*Lalkar*.

There is no such thing as any "period for keeping quiet" in Marxist-Leninist science of mankind's emancipation, - not even one second's worth.

From the 1840s until Stalinism's ascendancy, there was only **one science** of world development, and that was **revolution**, and it remained the central philosophy of socialist organisation from Marx's beginning to Lenin's death and the dribbling away of the Third International into nothingness.

The Revisionist nonsense that "Lenin put off the world revolutionary perspective in the more immediate interests of the need for peaceful coexistence with the imperialist states in order to ensure the young Soviet workers state's survival" is just a damnable **lie**.

Lenin on the inevitability of imperialist war is the issue, - and the impossibility of preventing it, and the need for the socialist **revolution** as the only way to put an end to imperialist warmongering domination of the planet, and Lenin's last clearest warnings on imperialist warmongering crisis (see last *EPSR*) easily put this trivial question of temporary diplomatic **tactics** into its correct context, and largely post-date these passing observations too.

But for the-record, here are some of the passages most frequently misused to try to establish Lenin as the author of Stalinist Revisionist capitulation to reformist peacemongering:

rights between nations, anything resembling a real chance of their peaceful coexistence, that I think our negative attitude to the League can be appreciated and does not stand in need of further comment.

Oct 1922 Interview given to *Observer* correspondent

It goes without saying that the question here is, I shall not say of war, because that term is likely to be misunderstood, but at all events one of rivalry. In the bourgeois camp there is a very strong trend, much stronger than any other, that wants to wreck the Genoa Conference. There are trends which greatly favour the Genoa Conference and want it to meet at all costs. The latter have now gained the upper hand. Lastly, in all bourgeois countries there are trends which might be called pacifist trends, among which should be included the entire Second and Two-and-a-Half Internationals. It is this section of the bourgeoisie which is advocating a number of pacifist proposals and is trying to concoct something in the nature of a pacifist policy. As Communists we have definite views about this pacifism which it would be superfluous to expound here. Needless to say, we are going to Genoa not as Communists, but as merchants. We must trade, and they must trade. We want the trade to benefit us; they want it to benefit them. The course of the issue will be determined, if only to a small degree, by the skill of our diplomats.

Insofar as we are going to Genoa as merchants it is obviously by no means a matter of indifference to us whether we shall deal with those people from the bourgeois camp who are inclined to settle the problem by war, or with those who are inclined towards pacifism, even the worst kind of pacifism, which from the communist viewpoint will not stand the slightest criticism. It would be a bad merchant, indeed, if he were unable to appreciate this distinction, and, by shaping his tactics accordingly, achieve practical aims.

[...]War is now in the air. The trade unions, for example, the reformist trade unions, are passing resolutions against war and are threatening to call strikes in opposition to war. Recently, if I am not mistaken, I read a report in the newspapers to the effect that a certain very good Communist delivered an anti-war speech in the French Chamber of Deputies in the course of which he stated that the workers would prefer to rise in revolt rather than go to war. This question cannot be formulated in the way we formulated it in 1912; when the Basle Manifesto was issued. The Russian revolution alone has shown how it is possible to emerge from war, and what effort this entails. It showed what emerging from a reactionary war by revolutionary methods means. Reactionary imperialist wars are inevitable in all parts of the world; and in solving problems of this sort mankind cannot and will not forget that tens of millions were slaughtered then, and will be slaughtered again if war breaks out. We are living in the twentieth century, and the only nation that emerged from a reactionary war by revolutionary methods not for the benefit of a particular government, but by overthrowing it, was the Russian nation, and it was the Russian revolution that extricated it.

April 1922 Eleventh Congress of The R.C.P.(B.)

We have before us a highly unstable equilibrium but one that is, nevertheless, certain, obvious, indisputable. I do not know whether this is for long, and I do not think that anyone can know. That is why, for our part, we must display the utmost caution. And the first precept of our policy, the first lesson that emerges from our governmental activities for the past year, the lesson which must be learned by all workers and peasants, is to be on the alert, to remember that we are surrounded by people, classes, governments who openly express the utmost hatred for us. We must remember that we are always a hair's breadth away from invasion.

We know, we know only too well, the incredible misfortunes that war brings to the workers and peasants. For that reason our attitude to this question must be most cautious and circumspect. We are ready to make the greatest concessions and sacrifices in order to preserve the peace for which we have paid such a high price. We are ready to make huge concessions and sacrifices, but not any kind and not for ever. Let those, fortunately not numerous, representatives of the war parties and aggressive cliques of Finland, Poland and Rumania who make great play of this - let them mark it well. (*Applause.*)

We shall not forget that we are revolutionaries. (*Applause.*) But there are facts incontrovertibly and indisputably showing that in Russia, that has defeated the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, the smallest, completely unarmed nationality, however weak it may be, may and must absolutely rest assured that we have nothing but peaceful intentions towards it, that our propaganda about the criminality of the old policy of the old governments is not weakening, and that we are as firm as ever in our desire at all costs, and at the price of enormous sacrifices and concessions, to maintain peace with all nationalities that belonged to the former Russian Empire, but who did not wish to remain with us. We have proved this. And we shall prove this no matter how great the curses rained on us from all

sides. It seems to us that we have given excellent proof of it, and we declare to the meeting of representatives of the workers and peasants of Russia, to the many millions of workers and peasants, that we shall do our utmost to preserve peace in the future, that we shall not shrink from great sacrifices and concessions in order to safeguard this peace.

There are, however, limits beyond which one cannot go. We shall not permit peace treaties to be flouted. We shall not permit attempts to interfere with our peaceful work. On no account shall we permit this, and we shall rise to a man to defend our existence. (*Applause.*)

The greatest difficulty here is that without definite relations between us and the capitalist countries we cannot have stable economic relations. Events very clearly show that neither can the capitalist countries have them. But today we are not in an altruistic mood. We are thinking more of how to continue in existence when other powers are hostile to us.

But is the existence of a socialist republic in a capitalist environment at all conceivable? It seemed inconceivable from the political and military aspects. That it is possible both politically and militarily has now been proved; it is a fact. But what about trade? What about economic relations? Contacts, assistance, the exchange of services between backward, ruined agricultural Russia and the advanced, industrially-developed group of capitalist countries-is all this possible? Did they not threaten to surround us with a barbed wire fence so as to prevent any economic relations with us whatever? "War did not scare them, so we shall reduce them by means of a blockade."

Comrades, during the past four years we have heard so many threats, and such terrible ones, that none of them can frighten us any more. As for the blockade, experience has shown that it is an open question as to who suffers from it most, the blockaded or the blockaders. Experience has shown beyond doubt that during this first year, on which I am able to report as a period of a relatively elementary respite from direct brute force, we have not been recognised, we have been rejected, and relations with us have been declared non-existent (let them be recognised as nonexistent by the bourgeois courts); but they nevertheless exist. I deem it my right to report to you that this is, without the slightest exaggeration, one of the main results achieved in 1921, the year under review.

I do not know whether the report of the People's Commissariat of Foreign Affairs to the Ninth Congress of Soviets has been, or will be, distributed to you today. In my opinion, the defect in this report is that it is too bulky and is difficult to read right through. But, perhaps, this is my own failing, and I have no doubt that the overwhelming majority of you, as well as all those who are interested in politics, will read it, even if not immediately. Even if you do not read it all, but only glance through its pages, you will see that Russia has sprouted, if one may so express it, a number of fairly regular and permanent commercial relations, missions, treaties, etc. True, we are not yet recognised de jure. This is still important, because the danger of the unstable equilibrium being upset, the danger of new attempts at invasion has, as I have said, increased; the relations, however, are a fact.

May 1921 Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets

It could not be more obvious that the young workers state thought that the "peace" interlude with imperialism's surrounding hostility would never hang on by more than a thread; that aggressive warmongering **expansion by** the Soviet Union was not an option; and that formal diplomatic and trade relations were worthwhile-enough to achieve by being **ultra** careful and cautious in the workers state's international dialogue, and prepared to make every kind of concession out of weakness, short of actually surrendering Soviet power. Such was the purely **temporary** situation the USSR found itself in. But nowhere is there

the slightest suggestion that world revolution did not remain the **essential** condition for the final triumph of the working class and socialism in history; or that imperialist warmongering can ever be stopped from its tyranny over life on Earth other than by the **revolutionary overthrow** of the bourgeois ruling-class and its capitalist system.

But such is the legacy of Stalinism that all understanding of **revolutionary** anti-imperialism has all but disappeared from 'left' circles for the moment; spontaneous revolts fed by hatred everywhere of Western domination, are dismissed as "terrorism"; the imperialist



warmongering epoch's greatest trick of feeding "democracy" and "peace protest" illusions to the working class is totally swallowed by the entire fake-'left', peddling electoral politics as a "genuine way forward"; and even when imperialism's warmongering racket starts to go wrong, and its reactionary purpose begins to show through its "liberating" pretence, such is the paralysis bequeathed by Stalin's theoretical confusion that bogus "revolutionaries" like Lalkar cannot see the difference between calling for an imperialist **defeat**, and calling for the victory of such reactionary degenerates as Milosevic and Saddam Hussein.

By all means let imperialist adventures **lose to anyone**. But for the working class to start **winning** anything, then their firepower needs turning **against** such fake and useless "anti-imperialists" as Milosevic and Saddam as soon as the imperialist no-good intervention has been sent packing.

It is the context of precisely **which era** the world is living through that matters most.

The *EPSR* stands for a continuation of the Leninist scientific perspective that imperialist

warmongering will continue inevitably to totally dominate the Earth, but once that the **revolutionary overthrow** of the capitalist ruling class has first taken place (Oct 1917) as the only way to end war, then it cannot be long, historically, before imperialist-crisis warmongering-degeneracy drives the international working class to more and more **revolutionary overthrows** of the capitalist system for its own **survival** from ever increasing and ever worsening chaos and destruction.

No party-building is worth a light where this message is not constantly being heard loud and clear.

The "keep-your-head-down" school of allowing this Marxist-Leninist science to be stifled "for tactical reasons" - as the *EPSR* was stifled inside the SLP because it had begun to have too great an influence, and refused to stop speaking out against some of the Trot defeatist gibberish (on Ireland, etc) that *Socialist News* was always running with, is just treacherous opportunism which can only poison everything it touches. Build Leninism. [*EPSR* No 1193 15-07-03]



Longstanding neo-Nazi Washington plans to seek “rogue states” for blitzkrieg aggression as a diversionary “solution” to a worldwide capitalist system crash [...] will spark anti-imperialist revolt everywhere. Until the Stalinist Revisionist wreckage of the Third International is cleared away, then Leninist revolutionary understanding’s sole answer to deliberate imperialist warmongering will find minds still closed against it.

The world needs a revolutionary answer to the generalised warmongering and economic catastrophe it is being led into by insoluble contradictions and ruling class viciousness within the globally dominating corporate-imperialist system.

The bullying colonial tyranny and grotesque injustices inflicted, for example, on Palestine, Afghanistan, and Iraq currently, are all that Western imperialist domination has in store for the whole planet as its ludicrous “overproduction” trade-war rivalry sparks off more and more worldwide revolt, which is only met with increasing blitzkrieg hysteria from the capital of the Empire in Washington.

“No to war” protests may be an obvious agitational tactic but are a **farical** pretence of an answer to imperialist warmongering.

Electoral campaigns for a “complete socialist revolution” may be an obvious agitational tactic but are equally farcically useless as the answer to imperialism’s relentless blitzkrieging plans and preparations.

It would be a catastrophic Revisionist illusion to argue, that because mass public opinion is turning against Bush and Blair now because of all the difficulties over the Iraq occupation, that therefore mobilising resistance to such preemptive-war policy has proved its worth and will prove its worth again over

[The] October Revolution marked the beginning of a new era in world history.

The lackeys of the bourgeoisie and its yes-men, - the Socialist Revolutionaries and the Mensheviks, and the allegedly “Socialist” petty-bourgeois democrats all over the world, derided our slogan “convert the imperialist war into a civil war”.

But that slogan proved to be the *truth* - it was the *only* truth, unpleasant, blunt, naked, and brutal, but nevertheless the *truth*, as against the host of most refined jingoist and pacifist lies.

And the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war, and of the approaching future war, are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is *impossible* to escape imperialist war, - and imperialist peace which inevitably engenders imperialist war, - that it is impossible to escape that inferno *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution.*

any future imperialist blitzkrieg adventures.

To think this way is the total abandonment of Marxist-Leninist science on the only ways that society can move on in the era of development through class conflict, where revolution alone is the final decisive step, and where, under capitalism, society’s breakdown (requiring revolution) has mostly taken the form of inter-imperialist war degeneracy.

It is fair enough to say that the world has changed radically since Lenin’s last words on the subject; but the people who do argue that, - in these new post-1945 conditions, it **is** possible for peace movements to stop imperialist war, - should **stop** pretending to be Marxist-Leninists while advocating this totally **different** and **reformist** perspective on life.

To pretend to be spouting Leninism while still claiming that mass anti-war resistance has nearly brought Bush and Blair down, and can stop them again if people mobilise even stronger next time, - is the very **essence** of Revisionism.

Lenin’s final verdict between 1921 and 1923 was that the dominant issue in the world’s future would be imperialist warmongering and the intensified crushing of the weaker countries by the biggest powers.

And he solemnly warned the international working class in the following terms:

On the question of combatting the danger of war...the greatest difficulty lies in overcoming the prejudice that this is a simple, clear, and comparatively easy question.

‘We shall retaliate to war by a strike or a revolution,’ - that is what all the prominent reformist leaders usually say to the working class.

And very often, the seeming radicalness of the measures proposed satisfies and appeases the workers.

Only the most foolish or utterly dishonest people can assert that such an answer to the question of combatting war is of any use.

It is *impossible* to “retaliate” to war by a strike, just as it is *impossible* to “retaliate” to war by revolution in the simple and literal sense of these terms.

We must explain the real situation to the people, show them that war is hatched in the greatest secrecy, and that the ordinary workers’ organisations, even if they call themselves revolutionary organisations, are utterly helpless in face of a really impending war.

We must take special pains to explain that the question of “defence of the fatherland” [national interest] will inevitably arise, and that the overwhelming majority of the working people will inevitably decide it in favour of their [own] bourgeoisie.

In connection with this [“defence of the national interests”], it is necessary to explain what “defeatism” means.

Boycott war, - that is a silly catchphrase. Communists must take part in every war, even the most reactionary.

The theoretical admission that war is criminal, that socialists cannot condone war, etc, turn out to be empty phrases.

The masses are not given a really vivid idea of how war may and will creep up on them. On the contrary, every day, the dominant press, in an infinite number of copies, obscures this question, and weaves such lies around it that the feeble socialist press is absolutely impotent against it, - the more so that even in time of peace, it propounds fundamentally erroneous views on this point. In all probability, the communist press in most countries will also disgrace itself.

These sophistries in justification of war... are the principal means by which the bourgeois press rallies the masses in support of war.

And the main reason why we are so impotent is ...that in the spirit of the Basle Manifesto of 1912 [Second International], we waive these sophistries aside with the cheap, boastful, and utterly empty phrase that we shall not allow war to break out, that we fully understand that war is a crime, etc.

The most important thing would be to refute the opinion that the delegates at the Conference [International Congress of Trade Unionists at The Hague, 1922] are opponents of war, that they understand how war may and will come upon them at the most unexpected moment, that they to any extent understand what methods should be adopted to combat war...

We must explain what a host of both theoretical and practical questions will arise on the morrow of the declaration of war, and that the vast majority of the men called up for military service will have no opportunity to examine these questions with anything like clear heads, or in a conscientious and unprejudiced manner.” Dec 1922 *Tasks of our delegation at the Hague*

Crucial to this scientific theory (about the revolutionary route being the only way to development in the class-war era which must end in imperialist onslaught turmoil), was the Marxist denunciation of parliamentary “democracy” for being the most reliable **guarantee** for a continued bourgeois-capitalist class dictatorship.

Explaining the democratic republic as the “best possible political shell for capitalism” because “it establishes its power so securely, so firmly, that **no** change of persons, institutions or parties in the bourgeois-democratic republic can shake it”, Lenin quotes Engels again as describing universal suffrage as solely “an instrument of bourgeois rule” which just gives the capitalist state a means of measuring the political temperature of the working class** (**see page 14 col. 3).

That same huge natural Revisionist phenomenon of revert-

ing back towards “natural” class collaboration, the very **essence** of the philosophy of trade-unionism, eventually wrecked the Third International, as well as the Second. Peace protests became the way to stop war, not revolution. And the “peaceful road to socialism” became the way to overthrow imperialism, not revolution. Marxist-Leninist science of inevitable revolutionary civil war was utterly abandoned in favour of the catastrophic delusion that reformist class collaboration could secure peace and socialism for the world.

The retreat from revolution under the Stalinist domination of the Third International was long-drawn-out and took many turnings, but by 1947, it was taking on the completed expression.

That September at the founding meeting of the Cominform (replacing the Comintern), Andrei Zhdanov, Stalin’s favourite

Stalinist, formalised the new world policy for the communist movement:

It must be borne in mind that a great gulf lies between the desire of the imperialists to unleash a new war, and the possibility of engineering such a war.

The peoples of the world do not want war.

The forces that stand for peace are so big and influential that if they are staunch and determined in defence of peace, the plans of the aggressors will come to grief.

People may want to argue that this perspective of a movement "for peace" becoming capable of stopping imperialist-war-inevitability (as opposed to revolution alone being so capable, in Leninist science) had **indeed** become possible in the new world conditions after 1945.

Fine. But stop pretending that this is Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science.

It is nothing of the sort.

It is class-collaborating reformism.

It is classic **revisionism**.

People may want to argue that this "possibility" of stopping imperialist war-inevitability via "peace campaigning" is **still true** today.

Fine. But the politics of uncritical solidarity with such "stop the War" illusions should refrain from pretending to be upholding Marxist-Leninist science.

It is totally **revising** and **destroying** Marxist-Leninist understanding.

Also in 1947, the other line of all-out retreat (into Revisionist death, eventually, for the Third International world communist movement) was gaining formal expression.

"The sphere of exploitation of the world's resources by the major capitalist countries (USA, Britain, France) will not expand, but contract.

Their opportunities for sale in the world market will deteriorate, and their industries will be operating more and more below capacity.

That 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...

They are trying to offset these difficulties with the "Marshall Plan", the war in Korea, frantic rearmament, and industrial militarisation.

But that is very much like a drowning man clutching at a straw.

Can it be affirmed that the thesis expounded by Lenin in 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.

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 this movement is not to overthrow capitalism and establish socialism, - it confines itself to the democratic aim of preserving peace.

"In this respect, the present-day peace movement differs from the movement of the time of the First World War for the conversion of the imperialist war into civil war."

A more blatant signalling of the **open abandonment** of Leninism, and **rejection** of Leninism, could not be found.

In his ponderously clumsy

Harry Pollitt, the boss of the Moscow subsidised British CP published the following declaration in his book *Looking Ahead*:

The progress of democratic and socialist forces throughout the world has opened out new possibilities of transition to socialism by other paths than those followed by the Russian Revolution...

It is possible to see how the people will move towards socialism without further revolution, without the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Once again, people may choose to believe that this had become true by 1947, and is still true today, - and that the correct way to use an election for agitational purposes is to tell the working class in the *Manifesto* that voting for the SLP "is really capable of revealing the will of the majority of the working people, and of securing its realisation for socialism", to quote what Lenin declared in *State and Revolution* (above) to be a most treacherously **false** & Revisionist notion.

But people who **do** support this "new understanding" should **stop** pretending to be Marxist-Leninists.

By 1951, the illusion that the British imperialist ruling class would allow itself to be **voted** out of power in the land and in the state machine, and to be **voted** out of ownership of the economy, was the official programme of the British CP, published in *Pravda* with full approval.

By 1952, in his last published work (the first for 14 years), Stalin gave the philosophical background approval to these two strands of Revisionist nonsense:

ing, - in order to philosophically establish the ground for the new opportunist retreats into "left-pressure" reformism.

To make way for the "peaceful road to socialism" and for "the peace movement that prevents imperialism from going to war", the scientific understanding that imperialism's all-round aggressive expansionism can **only** be stopped by turning imperialist war into civil war, and by the **overthrow** of the capitalist ruling class, -- Lenin's clear understanding and the kernel of his science, -- has to be jettisoned, - and done as "Leninists".

This is crass **revisionism**.

And the most perverse Revisionism of all, of course, is to still insist in 2003 that the total wrecking of the world revolutionary communist understanding by Stalin's part and Stalin's international is nothing to blame Stalin for, who allegedly remains "the faithful follower of Marxism-Leninism".

So why bother challenging this perverse nonsense???

Because between them, Revisionism and its even sad-



Lech Walesa the Pilsudski loving leader of the bogus *Solidarnosc* meets the CIA installed Pope

der rival, Trotskyism (whose "revolutionary anti-Stalinist" posturing eventually turned, everywhere, openly into its opportunist-individualist reality, waging counter-revolutionary war against the dictatorship of the proletariat until capitalist bourgeois "freedom" was restored, as behind *Solidarnosc* in Poland (Pilsudski fascism masquerading as "rank-and-file socialism" and "trade unionism") and in thousands more treacherous provocations since 1917, and still calling for the "overthrow" of Castro and the Cuban workers state NOW, e.g.) ----- have left the world anti-imperialist movement so totally bankrupt of serious Marxist-Leninist science, that ANY start ANYWHERE to turning back the tide of opportunist-Revisionist philistinism is worth trying for.

[EPSR No 1194 22-07-03]

EPSR trounces Lalkar*

Increasing NAZI viciousness and despair of the Western imperialist onslaught on the Middle East, - gunning down innocent bystanders without a care; brutal terror searches of any and every household at random; mass detentions without trial in concentration camps; all the daily reality of "life" in Palestine, Iraq, and Afghanistan, underlines the disaster for the global anti-imperialist struggle of fighting without a Marxist-Leninist perspective.

The world communist movement died because it had ceased to give the mass of people on Earth any believable explanation of how the ongoing

tyranny of Western monopoly capitalist domination of the planet was going to be tackled and ended.

The Revisionist gibberish

***Most of the run of articles making up this book were prepared for an afternoon public meeting which Lalkar, to its credit, agreed to in London in July 2003. This piece followed the discussion. A recording of the debate was made by Lalkar comrades and from that a transcript was made, a copy of which was promised to the comrades of the EPSR. No transcript**

has yet emerged (2016) despite a number of reminders when paths have crossed. No direct polemical reply has been made to the material. The arguments remain essentially valid despite - or actually further confirmed by the extended warmongering since in the Middle East and North Africa, and the breaking of the 2008 global economic catastrophe.

after 1945 of “peace movements will stop wars”; “peaceful roads to socialism”; and “imperialism will shrink and the socialist world economy will capture the commanding position”; etc, etc, has blatantly collapsed in ruins.

But even now, diehard Stalinists, Trots, and other Revisionists, - concealing their opportunist retreats (into “left-pressure”, anti-theory philistinism such as the Socialist Alliance, the SLP, and all the various remnants of Communist Parties with different names and 4th International posturers) behind their “big revolutionary hero” daydreaming, -- still won't face up to reality.

Specifically, this entire opportunist swamp, cringing behind its hasty “condemnation” of anything Western propaganda denotes as “terrorism” in order to curry favour with anti-theory philistines like Scargill, or to keep in with the joke “Socialist Alliance”, or just to avoid being too outspoken on now very difficult and dangerous public issues, - simply shuts its mind to the essential challenge posed by Marxist-Leninist science.

This exclusively M-L class-war understanding of **all** historical development included the following basics:

★ Universal suffrage is just a permanent instrument of bourgeois rule;

★ The imperialist countries' might will grow ever vaster, and **nothing** will stop them going to war again (and again, and again, and again, etc);

★ Only violent revolution will ever take power away from this world imperialist ruling class to stop them dominating the planet with their exploitation and their warmongering supremacy, finally always butchering all opposition and rivalry if that is what they see as necessary;

★ The essential tactic for the international working-class in the unending imperialist warmongering is for the workers in each country to call for the **defeat** of their **own** ruling class in **all** the various unending conflicts and “defence of national interests” garbage;

★ That demand for “**defeat**” in any conflict calls for **not one scrap** of “victory” for the enemy side, necessarily; in a Tsarist imperialist defeat, for example, it is Russian soil which will produce the eventual “victors”, not the invading German imperialist forces;

★ Defeat or not, the ulti-

mate aim of taking state power away from the warmongering imperialist ruling-class can **only** become possible through the strategy of “turning the imperialist war into civil war”, no other way;

★ In this way, the whole **programme** of violent revolution leading to the dictatorship of the proletariat, the absolute essence of Marxist-Leninist scientific understanding of how history **alone** can function, - is likeliest seen as fulfilling mankind's age-old dream of building socialist justice for all (economic, political, cultural, and social) in a workers state, exactly as was achieved by the Bolshevik Revolution and the building of the USSR;

★ To get there, only a dedicated **party of revolutionary theory**, developing in constant polemical conflict, internal and external will be able to build the **conscious** revolutionary leadership throughout the workers movement on every issue that will carry out the task;

★ In the likely conditions of the depths of economic crisis plus the degradation of war destruction in which the revolutionary party will begin to come into its own, all manner of violent hatred of imperialist rule will be being expressed randomly and spontaneously all round the world, - all of it being venomously condemned as “terrorism” by the imperialists, and much of it being made an example of with maximum brutality by the “civilised authorities” for ease of scapegoating **all** opponents with full force in due course.

Whatever negative effects for the revolutionary struggle are envisaged as flowing from such “terrorist outrages”, Lenin insisted that it would be suicidally stupid for the revolutionaries to see anything else in these issues than further signs of a civil-war break-up of the old order in which the revolution should be on the side of **every** defeat, setback, and humiliation for the ruling class, no matter where it came from or how, while yet keeping itself aloof from negative methods (if so they are judged) and from reactionary anti-establishment attitudes possibly behind such methods, - using the situation **only** to tell the revolutionaries themselves that they are not yet doing their agitational and enlightening jobs nearly well enough, and seeing the preponderance or popularity of such hate explosions as a condemnation of the revolutionary party for its own

weak influence.

Above all, the revolutionary party should avoid humiliating itself in irremediable class-colaborative shame by joining the ruling-class in “condemning” the “terrorist outrages”.

★ In any United Front activities with non-revolutionary forces in order to isolate or defeat a more pressing immediate enemy, it is absolutely **vital** for the revolutionary party to simultaneously exploit the “unity” as a way of demonstrating the inadequacy or mistakes of the non-revolutionary forces on their own.

It is also essential for the revolutionary party **never** to drop, hide, or muddle its own clear revolutionary perspective longterm while temporary United-Front activities are in progress.

The world communist movement by the end of the Stalin epoch had effectively abandoned, betrayed, or muddled every single aspect of these **crucial** Marxist-Leninist basics.

It adds insult to injury to the working class that political elements which built the obscene cult of Stalin in the first place, covering up his ever-increasing inadequacy in Marxist-Leninist theoretical understanding and revolutionary perspective; and then abandoned defence of the Soviet workers state in the chaotic aftermath of the posthumous disgrace of Stalin's personal domination, - should now be continuing their damage to the working-class by helping the shallow SLP to not only shrug off Stalinist Revisionism, denying it happened, but cover up for the worst Trotskyite, counter-revolutionary anti-communism inside the SLP, and worst of all to continue to peddle the same blatant retreat from Marxism-Leninism in their policies for **today**, in both *Lalkar* and the SLP.

The latest *Lalkar* collects

the usual huge amount of secondhand reportage about Iraq, shorn of any philosophical perspectives about what this tells us about where the whole world in general is now heading, - (deeper and deeper into worse and worse imperialist warmongering crisis where “stop the war” marches will, on their own, be an ever-increasingly inadequate response), and concludes with no call at all for “defeat” to be the slogan for a proper working class response to degenerate imperialist warmongering, and no perspective whatever for a political future of any kind following the “scandalous and catastrophic failure” which they predict for the US-UK imperialist adventure.

Outlining the revolutionary perspective for the working class would be the naturally logical thing for Marxist-Leninist science to raise at that point of sketching imperialist warmongering's “scandalous and catastrophic failure”.

So why don't these “Stalinist revolutionaries” do it?????

Is it because Stalinism became useless crap by the end of its life?????

Or is it because Scargill has warned them as SLP members to avoid all talk of revolution?????

Or maybe they are the same thing.

There is an even bigger problem with *Lalkar*'s even longer reportage on the Zionist warmongering crisis.

The silence from *Lalkar* on the *EPSR*'s questions over “no-defeat” demands or revolutionary perspective to meet imperialist warmongering disaster in Iraq, - are loud enough.

The silence from *Lalkar* on Stalinism's responsibility for the grossest imperialist warmongering degeneracy of all, - the genocidal Zionist armed colonisation of Palestine from 1947 onwards, and *Lalkar*'s covering-up of it, -- is positively



ear-splitting.

The article ends heroically:

"The Zionist state is bound to end up as a by-word for beastliness and as a historical abortion."

Too true, but what on Earth does *Lalkar* think it is playing at to still, nevertheless, recommend a "two state solution", - the very last word in Stalinist peaceful-coexistence class-collaborating barminess which never could be, and never ought to be, either.

This is taking living in the last years of Stalin's fantasy world, daft enough in itself, to even loonier extremes.

Zionism's ever-worsening warmongering crisis is the **living proof** that the Stalinist daydream of permanent peaceful coexistence between an imperialist half-domination of the world and a workers state half-domination of the world, was a demented and tragic joke from the start, but here are the museum-Stalinist Revisionists, still peddling this damaging nonsense right up to the last minute before the world's revolutionary reality at last reasserts itself openly once again, and poses the question of whether imperialist tyranny is going to continue to rule the world, - in which case there will be no serious Palestinian "state" worth talking about, just a continuation of a slave-like captivity within Bantustan barbed-wire reservations (or even worse) under non-stop armed Zionist surveillance, exploitation, and endless harassment; or whether revolutionary anti-imperialism is going to rule the world, in which case the monstrous attempted armed-colonisation of the land of Palestine for the genocide of its native nation, will be sent packing into the annals of history's worse nightmares.

What genuine socialist understanding or belief does *Lalkar* have at all, to conjecture a world which the international working class would supposedly be content with where the Zionist colonial outrage, - "a byword for beastliness and a historical

abortion" (to put it mildly in *Lalkar's* own words) - was still inflicting its NAZI terror on the Palestinian nation???

Moreover, why would any determined revolutionary socialist leadership for the world (*Lalkarism*, supposedly) be so weird as to offer to the Zionist NAZIS "the Road Map as the last chance for a two state solution, the time for which is running out fast. If the Zionists are stupid enough to throw away this last chance, the Palestinians might be forced to re-evaluate the two-state solution".

Could this bizarre proposal for this NAZI police-state colony to hurry up and save itself, be explained by *Lalkar's* congenital incapacity to at last think seriously about Stalinist Revisionism's monstrous, cowardly, treacherous imbecility in agreeing to Western imperialism's plan for an armed Zionist colony in the first place on the modern homeland of the Palestinian nation???????

Generosity towards a national geographic land claim so famously fixed in literature 2,000 years ago???????

So do the far-more-recently ousted 'Red Indian' native-American nations get the USA back some time?? Or the even-more-recently expropriated Aboriginal nations of Australia get all their richly-cultural-heritaged land back??? Will the Danes get Yorkshire back?? Can the Welsh reclaim the Home Counties???? Etc, etc, etc.

It is all special pleading historical religious nonsense by a most ruthlessly cynical and sinister monopoly-imperialist-network-plan from the end of



The body of a 6-year-old Palestinian girl killed in a bombing by Israeli artillery in northern Gaza

19th century climax of Western colonial rape and pillage of a foully conned and fleeced world.

Why would any "revolutionary socialist plan" of any description want anything at all to do with such a rotten, scabby, NAZI master-race deception?? Because the demented hero worship of Stalinist "theoretical" nonsense demands it.

Back in the real world, the Zionist imperialist juggernaut blitzkriegs on, unstoppable, giving the international working-class the clearest possible warning of the ruthless murderous tyranny that lies in store for the whole planet as the monopoly-capitalist warmongering crisis gets more and more into its stride.

It is Marxist-Leninist science to analyse how it is the Zionist imperialists' own arrogant ruling class despair (as their lucrative power-giving economic system plunges ever deeper into **insoluble** "overproduction" difficulties), - which will **teach** the international working class its revolutionary business, - exactly as the EPSR has consistently for 24 years explained was going to happen, making a revolutionary perspective for mankind the only philosophical sanity.

It is the only world we live in, - the world of ever-recurring imperialist crises, - that **MAKES** it also a world of **revolutionary** progress only, - as far as any **real** changes are concerned for the planet's vast proletarian masses.[...]

And to this aggressive (Zionist) arrogance, covering up their despairing fears that the imperialist system's economic crisis-collapse might lose them *everything*, - all that the *Lalkar*

Stalinist Revisionists can say to them (latest issue) is:

"It is time that Sharon, his party, and his government, were subjected by the leaders of public opinion in Europe and America to similar opprobrium, and in the same forthright and trenchant manner, to which Einstein and his fellow intellectuals subjected Begin back in December 1948."

And it'll do about as much good as that peaceful coexistence gibberish achieved then, inspired by Stalin's global class collaboration delusions, - precisely **nothing** about the Deir Yassin massacre of a Palestinian village which it was "protesting" about, an exemplary slaughter which made the young Zionist terrorist thug Menachem Begin's name as he lorded this "triumph" to the world's media and then went fundraising around New York, thus attracting Einstein's predictably liberal-useless "opprobrium".

But now as then, Stalinist opportunism cannot resist abandoning every scrap of revolutionary understanding in order to roll on its back when tickled by big-name agreement to peacefully coexist with "communism", - Einstein's useless "progressive protest" lauded then; Scargill's useless "progressive party" sucked-up to now.

Returning to the Leninist real world once again, one fascinating possibility looms ever larger, briefly discussed by the *EPSR* many times before, and one which helps the investigation and understanding of imperialist warmongering's essential nature and origins in this process of speculating about it.

The international working-class in the West is still desperately politically ill-informed and unsuspecting about just

how bad and how widespread this inter-imperialist war-mongering crisis is shaping to become.

The ultimate theoretical preparation has got to be that a World War III, as much worse again than WWII was worse than WWI, is on the cards, given the scale and extent of the economic devastation worldwide that is likely to be caused by one of the more commonly expected features of the coming crash, - namely a world currency collapse (i.e. a dollar collapse) which global capitalism has never truly experienced before.

And it is the ruthless, butcher everything, and bully-everyone mentality of NAZI aggressiveness that the American Empire (the world's mightiest ever) seems to be developing, which is constantly raising the question of "who's next?"

And it is the essential inter-capitalist-economic-rivalry character of imperialist warmongering crisis (which has plunged the NATO colonial exploitative gangsters at each others throats over (strangely) the unilateral US determination to blitzkrieg a string of Third World "rogue states" whether the other imperialists agree to it or not), - which demonstrates the possibility in these topsy-turvy times that it is US imperialism itself which might end up in conflict with its own Zionist imperialist protégés at some point, giving the region an astonishing imperialist-war opportunity to turn the tables on its monopoly capitalist Western exploiters via **revolution**.

The older imperialist powers aren't at war with each other again **yet**, but although it is still early days in the international economic collapse fall-out so far, nonetheless it is the **potential** war destruction harm **to each other**, from crisis-suppressing warmongering blitzkrieg, that is already alarming some European powers into open condemnation of their formerly close US imperialist "ally", blasting-off unilaterally on Third World bullying which they themselves would normally be not just be automatically in favour of, or turning a blind eye to, but as often as not eagerly participating in themselves.

And from the hysterical tension of highly costly or highly lucrative Third-World-warmongering triumphs or disasters putting the age-old anti-communist imperialist "allies" at loggerheads with

each other, it is no step at all to imagine how Washington could rapidly unleash fearful anger on its normally obedient Zionist imperialist sidekicks should things start to go wrong or get out of hand in the extremely-fraught war-front situation that the imperialist crisis is now slithering uncontrollably into.

The international working-class in the West equally needs to start thinking urgently about how its political perspectives will **have** to change once the inter-imperialist conflict, currently limited to tradewar threats and jeering at each others global-diplomacy strategy, does break out into real political and military threats against each other.

The **reactionary** nature of Revisionism (all varieties) in its theoretical retreat from constant workers education on such revolutionary tactical essentials as grasping the concept of "defeat for one's own ruling class" in each and every rotten imperialist venture it drags the country into, - is nowhere better exemplified in the case of the imperialism-corrupted British working class than on the issue of Ireland.

Still the Stalinists and Trots can be heard sneering at any notion that British imperialism has been **defeated** in the Occupied Zone of Ireland; and they came together inside the SLP to allow the crap to be peddled that it was a Sinn Féin/IRA "defeat", imposed by an enforced settlement from the US imperialist "superpower", which was codified in the Good Friday Agreement, - subsequently allowing the *EPSR* to be expelled from the SLP because it refused to stop exposing this counter-revolutionary nonsense in *Socialist News* articles by Trot SLP leaders[...]

But it is not just traditional anti-Irish prejudice in Britain which allows the 800 years of popular corruption from imperialist domination of Ireland to destroy peoples ability to understand the Irish question. Revisionism has played a grotesquely distorting role too.

A starting difficulty in the 1960s launch of this finally triumphant offensive (the umpteenth in history) by the Irish national liberation struggle was its surprising base in the very Catholic, bourgeois-nationalist wing of the Provisional Sinn Féin and IRA, rather than in the Official wing with its strong Communist Party connections, where both wings had been involved in previous armed



Operation Motorman: British armoured vehicles invade the nationalist town of Coalisland, County Tyrone

guerrilla-war struggle.

But it **was** the Provos who, willy-nilly, saw during the late 1960s Civil Rights explosion that the British imperialist colonial toehold on the last occupied Zone of Ireland (six of Ulster's nine counties, artificially created as "Northern Ireland" by dog-in-the-manger British imperialist retreat from **total** occupation of Ireland following the 1921 National-Liberation War) was more vulnerable than any colonisation of Ireland had ever been before because the "secure back door" needs for the British Empire homeland were no longer a serious strategic consideration in the nuclear-rocket age of overall, severe, British imperialist decline; because the battleship-building industrial value of Belfast was similarly more of an economic burden than military use now; because the now-out-of-date but still tragically viciously deluded British triumphalist population of the OZ, - the Ulster Unionist colonists, - would be bound to become an increasingly difficult problem to cope with by retreating British imperialism over time (as indeed has happened with a vengeance); and because large parts of the London imperialist establishment were already indicating that they would quite like to extricate Britain from its Irish colonial involvement **completely** if it could be done without any appearance of capitulation to Irish self-determination struggle, and if it could be got past Ulster Unionist reaction by one means or another.

The ignorant anti-revolutionary Trots and Stalinist Revisionists in and around the Irish Question scene all idiotically plumped for exclusively Civil Rights agitation thereafter. Only the Provos surprisingly grasped that - unless seriously harried, - sclerotic and demoralised British imperialist arrogance and complacency would take forever to find a way round these remaining difficulties for getting out; but that pressing Britain hard with an intensified national liberation war and a revolutionary political offensive

could lead to a dramatic sensational triumph.

And so it proved, exactly as the *EPSR*'s Marxist-Leninist grasp of the movement of international class and national forces in this epoch of imperialist crisis, confidently explained would happen from its first publication 24 years ago.

The basic revolutionary question was: Who is actually waging the independence **war** against British occupation, - and having remarkable success with it, showing colossal heroism, fortitude, and imagination, with the Provos as the obvious answer.

And inevitably, in those national oppression conditions, the Irish working-class (the mass of poorest proletarians) throughout the OZ (and further afield in the Irish Republic itself) began to be uplifted into revolutionary hostility against imperialism quite regardless of Sinn Féin's petty-bourgeois nationalist limitations, in support of the inventive revolutionary political initiatives of Sinn Féin, and in astonished admiration (universally shared) of the IRA's remarkable courage and guerrilla war prowess, both in the OZ but particularly in Britain, despite the vilest and most brutal police-state repression imaginable, including torture, hunger-strikes-to-death, repeated home destruction terror raids, and a hideous shoot-to-kill state assassination policy and programme, all backed up by open-ended detention-without-trial in the Long Kesh concentration camp.

Yet every Trot and Stalinist variety in Britain came together in failing to call for a British **defeat** in Ireland, with many of them going along openly with the imperialist bourgeois "condemnation" of "terrorism", - both then, and **still**, in many cases.

The Ireland question also illuminated the Marxist scientific understanding that "defeat" for one's own imperialist state does not necessarily at all imply any interest in wanting "victory" for the targets of the police-state tyranny by the imperialist

colonial warmongering, – even in the hugely sympathetic case of the Irish national liberation struggle to which cause anyone with the slightest scrap of progressive humanity has been irresistibly drawn for centuries.

Nor is it just an academic hair-splitting point to stress that – in spite of the huge excitement (shared by Marx and Lenin among others) at the many highlights of splendid defiance, magnificently lauded in 800 years of world renowned Irish rebel culture, – the independence struggle is still by no means the end of the story, and probably particularly rapidly in modern times, the socialist revolution is still going to have its problems with this purely nationalist (inevitably bourgeois nationalist) “solution” in Ireland.

So there is still no purpose in creating confusion by popularly calling for “victory to the IRA” (apart from, of course, after the exceptional cultural circumstances of enjoying a few pints and a few rebel songs).

“Defeat for imperialism” really is much more accurate, scientific, and sufficient, fully reflecting the colossal importance for the British and international working class’s **own** socialist emancipation (well observed by Marx in Britain’s case that with Ireland unfree, the English working-class was obviously going to be still subservient to its own imperialist ruling class) that a **defeat** for British imperialism would mean, “echoing round the world” as Lenin described the first modern era explosion of the Easter Rising 1916, which to Lenin’s disgust was dismissed by the Scargillite Revisionist opportunists of his day as “to be condemned as terrorism by middle-class religious putschists, and not TU-approved”, just like Sept 11 in fact, “condemned” by the cowardly Scargillite Stalinists, with their fellow *Lalkar* Stalinist Revisionists looking-on, keeping silent.

The full idiocy of museum Stalinism comes across in its refusal to polemicise on a universal basis, limiting itself to fixed Aunt Sallies, plus the occasional getting-trounced public-meeting clash, where the silly ancient sneers of “Trotskyists” and “imperialist USSR-bashers” come across as particularly silly given the *EPSR*’s relentless campaigning to re-establish Soviet proletarian dictatorship as the highest achievement by a long way in world civilisation’s history so far, – defending it vociferously

right up to the end in 1987-1991 against the stupidities of Gorbachevism and in conflict with such as the Cuban Communist Party and the South African Communist Party who refused to see the writing on the wall when the long slide of Stalinist Revisionist “peaceful coexistence, peaceful road” garbage culminated in Gorbachev’s total class-compromise theoretical bankruptcy.

From never having had a rigorous Leninist commitment to internal and external polemics on a universal basis, all the Stalinist remnant parties (just like all the Trotskyite remnants) merely harbour all kinds of unresolved eclectic theoretical rubbish, all the time half-heartedly conflicting and giving the working class no leadership at all, which is why the workers movement is now utterly bankrupt in terms of a serious Marxist-Leninist Communist Party.

The all-over-the-place, unresolved, stupidity means that “like minds” gather together around the Socialist Alliance, the SLP, or *Lalkar*, with as many different half-hearted views about exactly what went wrong with the world communist movement, when, and where, as there are confused, posturing, and opportunist voices present.

Predictably, they all fall apart after a time without that **constant**, never-ending, **fight** towards theoretical understanding and agreement, – the essence of Leninism.

The steady degeneration of the world communist movement, more and more noticeable from its middle decades onwards, was notoriously **totally** marked, internationally and in every separate country, by a tightlipped silence over any internal polemicising that did take place, and by a smug, po-faced, blanket refusal to entertain any serious Marxist polemics with anyone outside the movement unless it was vicars and ‘left’-leaning Labour MPs.

And so now the final farcical outcome is that the Stalinists have completely missed the great historical come-uppance of the sick Trotskyite individualist mentality, (swearing blind for decades that there was nothing to defend in the Soviet workers state, that there was no socialism there, and that all there was consisted of state capitalism, etc, etc, etc.)

The second great watershed in modern history after 1917 (and its follow-ons around the

world after 1945), – namely, the aftermath period (following the 1991 deliberate dismantling of the proletarian-dictatorship state in the USSR) when the mighty Soviet economy and fabulous state-social achievements and cultural brilliance did **truly** start to collapse for the first time, – a period of enormous mass personal tragedy all across East Europe when living standards fell in half, an unprecedented historical event from purely political causes (where not caused by war, plague, famine, etc), – has paradoxically destroyed 70 years of anti-communist and anti-Soviet petty-bourgeois propaganda of endless varieties, **all** saying that there was nothing worth defending in the workers states.

This **colossal** historical event and **colossal opportunity** for

The continuing international dimensions of Revisionist philistinism only serve to emphasise Stalin’s theoretical bankruptcy which, in spite of China’s stubborn spontaneous revolutionary determination, nevertheless successfully corrupted the entire world communist movement into ultimate anti-Leninist confusion. Stalinist anti-revolutionary muddle over united-front tactics for confronting imperialism’s reactionary coup dangers still continues to paralyse workers with “democratic” delusions, and to fail to grasp where the real warmongering fascist threats are now coming from, – straight out of the mythical “non-aggressive imperialism” stable. The British, French, and US historical record of colonial-war brutality, concentration camps, hostage shooting, torture treatment, and mass famine/plague/defoliation punishments, etc, etc, far exceeds German imperialism’s brief record, and that universal Western fascist mentality now dominates the planet disguised as a “war on terrorism”.

The relevance of the *EPSR*’s attack (on *SLP/Lalkar* Revisionist brainrot) to the current imperialist world crisis could not have been made clearer than by the reported stance of the Iraqi Communist Party in condemning “acts of sabotage targeting public services and installations”, and in insisting that the “struggle for democ-

a political propaganda fight-back by communists, has been totally missed by most varieties of museum Stalinist brain-deadness.

Just as well the *EPSR* exists as a firm, weekly publishing basis of sanity in the workers movement.

It has no intention of losing the plot, and will continue the fight to uphold the **real** workers-state record of achievement in modern history (as opposed to the Stalin-cult theoretical defectiveness it struggled on under), – as always, in Marxist tradition, using the capitalist press’s own admissions as the best propaganda evidence for eventually winning the fight for workers communist understanding in Britain.

[*EPSR* No 1195 29-07-03]

a bell.

Revisionists can “condemn terrorism” all they like, but the only possible result will be the strengthening of the appeal of the Islamic Resistance (of various brands), – and of other such anarcho/idealist theoretical confusion, – until Marxist-Leninist **revolutionary** grasp of anti-imperialist struggle can spread its revival around the globe.

This universal, thoroughly reactionary, “condemn terrorism” stance comes about from being mesmerised by the crap of “democracy”.

To the applause from an Athens conference in June from 61 international communist parties, the Iraqi CP delegate declared that “the question of democracy is the central question”.

Condemning sabotage “carried out by remnants of the ousted regime”, and effectively welcoming the US imperialist occupation (as the means of ending the Saddam tyranny) by now joining its tame “governing council of Iraqis”, reveals the Stalin-era, “peaceful road” depths of this grotesque Revisionist confusion.

Harpal Brar’s “theoretical” approval, along with Stalin, of the designation “non-aggressive imperialist states” remains a rotten, ancient business, and still has a lot to answer for.

The only reality of the wartime “alliance” of the USSR with the USA, Britain, and France against the “aggressive imperialist states” of Germany, Italy, Japan and other Axis powers, was that the warmongering fallout from the insoluble inter-imperialist global economic crisis had pitched the longer established colonial world powers against the later-developing industrial giants who could only find room for their ever-accumulating monopoly-imperialist expansion capital **at the expense** of the already-entrenched giant colonial empires, – Britain, USA, France, and the rest of West Europe.

The incidental attack on the USSR was the idea of **all** the imperialist powers, feeding the Soviet workers state to insatiable German monopoly imperialist expansionism as a way of killing two birds with one stone, – painlessly giving Germany more ‘lebensraum’, but simultaneously wiping-out the increasingly attractive influence (on a world devastated by 10 years Depression) of the Soviet socialist ‘experiment’.

The purely historical,

geographic, and idiosyncratic “differences” between “al-lie’d” imperialism and “axis” imperialism was recognised by the Soviet state itself in smartly signing a non-aggression pact with Germany in 1939 after five fruitless years of proposing mutual defence treaties with the “allies” (following Hitler’s election as Chancellor and the speeded-up German rearmament plan).

This pact registered that war was coming anyway, because of imperialist crisis, not because of German imperialist crisis, – and that the Western “allies” were **deliberately** trying to incite an invasion of the USSR, – the whole point of the 1938 Munich sell-out to Hitler by Chamberlain.

But because of the carelessness and inaccuracy of the anti-fascist bias in Soviet and world communist propaganda up until 1939, even many CPs (the more anti-theory and “democracy” bemused ones) were staggered by the Hitler-Stalin pact, and hostile to it.

Yet it was, of course, a diplomatic masterstroke, and made perfectly good sense.

Inter-**imperialist** war was inevitable anyway.

But if Germany had attacked Russia **first**, then the “allies” would have initially sat back in “non-intervention” mode, exactly as they had done when German and Italian intervention in the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) had swung things Franco’s way.

By splitting the imperialist powers, Stalin had made sure that the full united force of monopoly-capitalist crisis-war-mongering was not first solely concentrated on the Soviet socialist republic as it had recently been on the Spanish Republic



Lloyd George declares the only great Western leader is Hitler

with its weak reformist/Revisionist “socialist” daydreams.

It meant that Germany would attack the weak West European states first, before the USSR (with its vast land resources and raw materials) was repositioned into German expansionism’s sights.

And this is exactly what happened, finally **forcing** Britain, France, and the USA to become “allies” with the USSR in mutual defence against Germany’s “axis powers” offensives.

But it was this mere **appearance** of Germany, Italy, and Japan, etc, as the “aggressor” imperialist powers which began to dominate Stalin’s weak theoretical grasp of world perspectives.

Every communist international statement after 1945 was biased against the fear and prospect of “German and Japanese revanchist militarism”, hopelessly out of touch with the real perspectives which had arisen out of World War II as a result of the crushing of Germany and Japan, and the absolutely dominant enthronement of US imperialism as the world’s first, and greatest, “superpower”.

The **empire**, – with the whole world forced to dance to, or to guard against America’s tune, was born, and fully constituted via the 1944 Bretton Woods acceptance, effectively, of the dollar as the world currency; the USA’s effective dominance of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and World Bank via its overwhelming financial power; and its effective ownership of the United Nations via the same mechanism of being every small country’s effective banker-of-last-resort.

Stalinist Revisionism totally undermined the entire interna-

tional working class by persisting with the delusion that this US-British-French set-up was “non-aggressive imperialism”.

More than 400 horrific wars, reactionary coups, and brutal interventions by the West since 1945, – some of them (like in Vietnam) dropping more bombs and explosive

destruction than was dropped in the **whole** of WWII in **both** theatres of war, Europe and the Far East, have **still** failed to convince Stalinist Revisionism that it is an utterly **bankrupt** attempt at understanding the world.

And it is from this sick and cowardly Revisionist hangover, – incapable of any serious polemical self-justification, – that the Iraqi CP to this day is still suffering from the illusion that American imperialism is only in Iraq for benign (or “non-aggressive”) reasons.

And the 61 communist parties meeting in Athens in June also all passed a motion approving the Iraqi CP’s stance, whose delegate had spoken chiding the international anti-war movement for “not condemning energetically the regime of Saddam Hussein”.

In February of this year, the Iraqi CP had effectively called for an American imperialist invasion and occupation by its joint declaration with the CPs of France, Greece, Germany, and Switzerland demanding “effective reinforcement of the process of inspection of Weapons of Mass Destruction by the UN in Iraq, based on Resolution 1441 of the Security Council”, – the same interfering imperialist garbage eventually used as “justification” for the blitzkrieg when it did finally get unleashed.

Regardless of the equally-barmy SLP/Lalkar nonsense recently of urging world solidarity with Saddam Hussein’s leadership “at the forefront of anti-imperialist resistance in the Middle East”, (the theoretical weakness of Stalinism can leave its disciples all over the place) –, this Iraqi CP deludedness does follow the Revisionist trail all the way back to the original 1930s Stalinist Third International confusion.

The chaotic misunderstandings over “fascism” from Germany and Spain onwards, embracing the catastrophic mistake of categorising America’s world-rule emergence as “non-aggressive imperialism” (with Stalin even more disastrously adding to the helplessness by pronouncing it an imperialism which “**could not** expand” [page 22 - ed]), has still not been cleared up. In fact it is more damaging and muddled than ever.

So-called “fascist power” is still imperialist state power, and it is arguing pointlessly about how much extra racism, repressiveness, dictatorialness,

or warmongering chauvinism a vicious regime needs to have so as to qualify as “fascist” nastiness (rather than straight-forward “colonial-imperialist” nastiness) which has helped the international workers movement make so many theoretical and practical errors in fighting monopoly capitalist reactionary surges since Lenin’s death.

Whatever the label put on imperialist savagery, – and however long delusions last that a “non-aggressive” interlude has descended on world imperialist misrule, etc, etc, – the working class only ever has one programme for surely ending **for good** the inevitability of never-ceasing threats of war and tyranny and that is by **revolution**.

With a given programme of “revolution as the only solution”; with an armed-coup imperialist regime being a so-obviously-more-formidable-threat to the working class than a dithering, crisis ridden, “parliamentary” imperialist regime, – why did the Stalinist-led mighty German Communist Party watch the NAZIs takeover reach conclusion in 1933, – (building up from their first putsch attempts in the early 1920s), – without going into one last revolutionary battle itself before this huge militant organisation CP (which had started out many, many times larger than the NAZI party) disappeared without trace into the concentration camps?????

Why did the Stalinist-led Spanish Communist Party never offer the working class any more ambitious and hopeful a fight to prevent Franco’s civil-war-takeover than trailing behind the worse-than-useless petty bourgeois parliament, which was always doomed to

The various agreements reached at the Political Consultative Conference did not represent new-democracy, but they did help break up Chiang Kai-shek’s dictatorship and promote democracy, and they advanced the cause of peace and national reconstruction. In varying degrees, therefore, they were beneficial to the people and were welcomed by them. These agreements aroused in the hearts of hundreds of millions of the Chinese people the fervent hope for nationwide peace, democracy, unity and unification. Because the agreements embodied many of the opinions of the middle-of-the-roaders, their response was particularly enthusiastic. As a result, for quite a long time in the KMT areas the agreements served as the criterion by which people judged right and wrong: those who upheld the line of the Political Consultative Conference had the support of the people, while those who abrogated it were in clear opposition to them.

The CPC was prepared to implement these agreements. When issuing the cease-fire orders, Chairman Mao Zedong had said that a new stage of peace and democracy in China was about to begin and that the entire Party should strive to consolidate domestic peace, carry out democratic reform and build an independent, free, prosperous and powerful new China.

It was largely because Chiang could count on the support and assistance of the U.S. government that he dared tear up the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference and prepare for civil war.

In the meantime, the U.S. government increased its aid to the KMT. In March 1946 the United States successively organised army and navy

defeat at fascism’s hands?????

Pursuing “united front” tactics against the Francoist danger may well have been a useful strategy so as to be able to concentrate the communist forces, but the only **certain** proletarian class inspiration would have been if the aim of socialist revolution, **beyond** the feeble parliamentary civil-war troubles, had remained loud and clear.

Confusing revolutionary “united front” tactics with “support-for-democracy-against-fascism” class-collaborating delusions, could only have condemned and muddled the Spanish working class to certain defeat.

Lalkar’s Stalinist Revisionist deception has made a huge issue of Chinese Revolutionary solidarity with Stalinist leadership in order to prove what a great, consistent **revolutionary** Stalin had remained, all life long.

To unravel this utterly fraudulent posture, two of the possibilities which need examining are that the actual historical facts tell a completely different story, – namely, that Stalin did **not** support “revolution all the way” in China; and that the Chinese CP’s grasp of the Revisionist problem internationally, and how to deal with it, was self-evidently (from 2003’s anti-revolutionary Beijing standpoint, e.g.) always a nonsense.

First the facts. Just one will do, – the immediate postwar “peace” policy of the Stalinist International after 1945 which urged “peaceful road democracy” as the way forward for the working class, not revolution.

The CPC’s own official history reports developments as follows:

advisory teams. On June 17 the two governments signed the Sino-American Lend-Lease Agreement, which transferred U.S.\$51.7 million worth of military equipment to the KMT. Secretary of State Acheson later admitted the importance of the U.S. role. In a letter to President Truman on July 30, 1949, he noted: “Indeed during that period, thanks very largely to our aid in transporting, arming and supplying their forces, they extended their control over a large part of North China and Manchuria.” These facts shattered the myth of U.S. “mediation.”

As soon as they had completed their preparations for war, the KMT authorities revealed their true nature – their contempt for the truce agreement and for the agreements of the Political Consultative Conference – by launching a full-scale attack on the Liberated Areas. On June 26, 1946, two hundred and twenty thousand KMT troops began the assault by besieging the Central Plains Liberated Area in the border region between Hubei and Henan provinces.

At the beginning of the war, some middle-of-the-roaders were misled by the outward strength of the reactionaries and overcome by pessimism and fear. Some people even went so far as to advocate that soldiers and civilians in the Liberated Areas, faced with attack, should compromise and make concessions. Internationally, the U.S. was escalating the “cold war.”

The Soviet leaders took a pessimistic view of the situation: they believed that if civil war broke out in China, the United States and the Soviet Union might be drawn into the conflict.

For this reason, they proposed that the CPC ought to join with Chiang Kai-shek’s government and disband its own army.

Despite all this, the CPC remained calm and was determined to fight back. After the outbreak of the civil war, all of the Communist-led people’s armed forces were compelled to fight in self-defence. The Party believed that Chiang’s offensive not only must but could be defeated.

The Chinese Revolution got there by simply ignoring Stalin’s weak-minded international class-collaboration delusions with “non-aggressive imperialism” and his readiness to capitulate to rotten Western warmongering provocations (which saw the postwar Greek revolutionary government, e.g., abandoned to US-armed and

inspired counter-revolution).

But the same passage records the disastrous theoretical influence of Stalinism on Maoism which eventually saw Beijing degenerate towards a totally class-collaborative Revisionist world view, with Mao launching his notorious nonsense about the imperialists being “paper tigers”:

April 1946 Mao Zedong wrote an essay, *Some Points in Appraisal of the Present International Situation*. He declared that while there was a danger of world war, the democratic forces of the people of the world were forging ahead and that they must and could avert that danger.

In August of the same year, not long after the civil war broke out, when talking with the American correspondent Anna Louise Strong, Mao Zedong put forward his famous thesis, “All reactionaries are paper tigers.”

“In appearance,” he said, “the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view, it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.”

The joke would soon be lost on 2 million North Korean dead; 4 million Vietnamese dead; and 30 million extra in more than 400 wars and coups, etc, of imperialist aggression from 1945 onwards, not least the entire 1 million membership of the Indonesian Communist Party who were all slaughtered in their beds in 1965 while stupidly patiently still waiting for “peace and democracy” to deliver “an independent, free, prosperous, and powerful, new” future, to adapt the CPC’s original postwar quote in

Stalinist-Revisionist nonsense style, which Maoism nor the CPC’ have **ever** had the grasp of Marxist-Leninist science to correct.

And **still** the overwhelming theoretical pressure in 2003 **continues** to come from the Western imperialist “democracy” fraud, and Marxist-Leninist revolutionary understanding continues to take a back seat.

Among those parties at the Athens conference, cheering on the Iraqi CP’s class-collaborationist approach to occupation by “non-aggressive” US-





imperialism, were the Chinese and Cuban Communist Party delegations.

And how well it chimes in with a renewed bourgeois ideological offensive proclaiming that a "new Iraq" really is slowly being rebuilt, – a "positive, democratic, and creative new influence for the Middle East and for the whole world", etc, etc,

And the biggest tragedy is that there is hardly a soul throughout the entire fake-'left' around the world who is not partially taken-in by this utterly pointless gibber.

What if it is "true" (in the limited sense) that obviously, if the world Empire should concentrate massive financial, administrative, and military firepower on one small country from its vast global resources, it could achieve a certain effect???????

Well, all it would succeed in doing is raising more, and more, and more questions.

How can such a one-off "special effort", even then only achieved (if it is) with the greatest difficulty, be of any real relevance to 190 other countries in the world who are ALL suffering in one way or another from the effects of world capitalist economic **crisis** which is what put reactionary imperialist stooge Iraq at loggerheads with the US imperialist master-race in the first place)??????????????

How come that such a "capable, can-do, clever" imperialist system allowed this long-drawn-out Iraqi mess to boil over and fester in the first place, nearly 20 years ago? (or even longer)??

And allowed 190 other countries to sink towards similar upheaval, revolt, and difficulties, coming up the line soon??????????????

And what "solution" is thought to be in the offing from this utterly artificial "nation-building" demonstration/stunt by the US imperialist "super-power" which is adding \$5 billion a month to the already **catastrophic** American budget and foreign payments deficits which lie at the root of the global "over-production" crisis which is plunging the world towards its greatest crash, slump, trade-war, and inter-imperialist shooting war (for supremacy and survival) **in all history**??????????????????

What would be the meaning of a US master-race "triumph" ultimately in Iraq which had only pushed the world closer towards its first global currency collapse (the dollar) ever, with absolutely unpredictably cataclysmic consequences in economic and political devastation and upheaval?????????

And in addition, on a more detailed note, has one single Revisionist fake-'left' of any of the many hundreds of varieties (Trot and Stalinist) given any really serious thought to how similar this US imperialist blitzkrieging (Serbia, Afghanistan, Iraq, and the "evil axis" list of "rogue states" to follow) is beginning to look to the NAZI warmongering which the imperialist system **deliberately** plunged the world into in the 1930s the last time it had an insoluble capitalist crisis on its hands and was threatened by revolt all around??????????????

The capitalist press's own admissions are not quite up, yet, to likening the US imperialist onslaught via blitzkrieg destruction (by air, land, and sea); mass detentions without trial; selective assassination squads; collective punishment routines where individual resisters cannot be found; and

total economic, political, propaganda and police-military dictatorship; etc, etc, - to the exact NAZI German-imperialist concentration-camp and Gestapo equivalents.

But the parallels in cynical tyranny draw ever closer, - in their own descriptions [...]

It is interesting to note that for all its superpower blitzkrieg brutality for getting the imperialist system out of its devastating 1930s crisis, - initially "appeased" or just grumbled at by the remaining imperialist powers, - the German NAZI master-race onslaught ended up in **total failure**.

The "thousand-year Reich" survived only 12 years, and brought even greater humiliation and devastation down on imperialism's head than was coming anyway, and led to a huge expansion of revolutionary anti-imperialism all round the world.

The 1930s warmongering "solution" to the global monopoly capitalist system crisis had

effectively self-destructed.

The West's demented "war on terrorism", in spite of the scabby propaganda-backing it is getting from Stalinist Revisionist degenerates of all kinds from the SLP to the Iraqi CP in their "condemn terrorism" ignorance of Leninism and cowardice, - could be heading in the same self-destruction direction.[...]

Lalkar fake-'lefts' ...still refuse to publicly denounce the SLP's infamous and reactionary "condemnation" of anti-imperialist spontaneous terrorism, still polluting working-class understanding of the civil war struggles breaking out everywhere within the rotting capitalist system; - or [...] alternatively refuse to polemicise against Lenin's 1906 science about *Guerrilla Warfare*, explaining why that too is "no longer a correct understanding of the world" in typical Stalinist-Revisionist imbecility. Build Leninism.

[EPSR No 1196 05-08-03]

The fake-'left' sect *Lalkar* has, after repeated *EPSR* batterings, at last stirred itself towards at least a remote re-acquaintance with revolutionary theory (the essence of the Leninism these 'lefts' lay claim to but totally alien to the demagogic, conservative, Revisionist muddle-headedness of Stalin that *Lalkar* has in fact made a strange fetish of, or of Scargill that a repeat shrine has been made to at an even laughably lower level).

Almost 20 years after an *EPSR* book examining the path the world would follow towards inter-imperialist World War III and insisting that henceforth only a world party of revolutionary theory could seriously meet international working-class needs any more, *Lalkar* has come out of its Stalinist-Revisionist museum to declare that imperialism is no longer bound for peaceful coexistence with anybody but is only doomed by crisis to repeat the catastrophes of WWI and WWII, and will need to be confronted by a conscious party of world revolution.

The treacherous, imbecile delusions of Stalin's Third International, making longterm preparations everywhere for "peaceful roads to socialism" in the light of Stalin's idiotic "Marxist" revelation in 1952 (*Problems of Socialism*) that

never again could the countries of the imperialist system enjoy economic expansion because of the size and strength of the Socialist Camp, - are apparently finally laid to rest (although ungraciously without any acknowledgement by *Lalkar*).

Scargill's stooges declare:

In the light of the foregoing, imperialism is sharpening to an unprecedented extent all the major contradictions - those between the oppressed nations and imperialism, between labour and capital, and between various imperialist powers.

It is facing humanity with the choice: either revolution or war and barbarism. It is our bounden duty to spread among the proletariat "...the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and the imperialist world which inevitably engenders imperialist war, it is impossible to escape that inferno except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution" (Lenin, 14 October 1921).

So surely now, this will be urged on the SLP as the only perspective worth fighting for?????

But why does *Lalkar* shirk from this conclusion itself???

Surely a Bolshevik Revolution can only be brought about by a Bolshevik Party???

Or is Stalinist-Scargillite conservative opportunism going to produce yet another museum-fed late rally and allow the SLP to get away with continuing to grotesquely mislead the working class, internally unchallenged on its ludicrous 'left'-reformist parliamentary fantasies and trade-union daydreams and its even worse, unchallenged, leadership collective and membership-collective of every kind of theoretical nonsense from Stalinism to Trotskyism, from Maoism to English nationalist chauvinism, – all welcome as long as no one tries to clarify an agreed understanding of the world?????

Lalkar also blatantly ignores another crucial question unmissably raised by its agreement at last that inter-imperialist WWII is the world's only future, and that "it is in this context that we must view all the imperialist-led and imperialist-inspired wars and armed conflicts raging all over the globe", followed by a wide list, repeatedly returned-to, but from which the Zionist-Palestinian war, – the longest of all, and potentially the most catastrophic of all (see above), and the one with one of the clearest revolutionary lessons of all (see repeated *EPSRS*), -- is astonishingly continually excluded.

Such a titanic, never-ending, symbolic struggle for the future of the world (will imperialism's armed 'right' prevail, or will Third World anti-imperialist justice prevail?) can hardly have been forgotten about by oversight, so what is it?

It is the wretched cowardice of Stalinist Revisionism which knows full well that it has been trounced by the *EPSR* for *Lalkar's* support of the idiotic "two-state solution" nastiness (which means **permanent** Zionist domination, brutalisation and humiliation on 78% of Palestine with the Arabs restricted to 22% of that, and with no real sovereignty ever) which flows directly out of the brain dead Stalin era of "peaceful coexistence with imperialism" delusions whose essence was Moscow's insane agreement to Zionist armed colonisation of Palestine in the first place in 1947, – another matter *Lalkar* has been trounced on and cannot reply to, and would therefore prefer to be completely forgotten.



• Military bulldozers in use to bulldoze Palestinian homes

Hence the omission of the Zionist-Palestinian War from the obvious list of imperialist conflicts which all need re-examining in the light of the Western capitalist system's revealed irremediable descent relentlessly towards all-out inter-imperialist World War III as the final catastrophic reality of the postwar world of "peaceful coexistence" and "negotiated rational solutions to everything."

Another duty which any serious Bolshevik reincarnation will have to attend to but which has frequently been scorned by all the squabbling sectarian varieties of Stalinism/Revisionism, both before and after the tragic self-liquidation by the Soviet workers state in 1990, – namely defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat from petty-bourgeois attacks against it "on principle", accepting its mistakes and crimes as no more or less heinous than the fully comparable, but vastly more numerous, mistakes and crimes committed continuously **worldwide** by colonial-imperialist "democracy" in any given period, – has been remarkably drawn attention to by the most enlightened broadcaster in bourgeois television John Pilger[...]

His sensational *Breaking the silence* documentary this week on ITV has again raised the question "Whose are the real terrorist crimes in history?"

In particular, as well as exposing the entire new US warmongering programme as of very longstanding for the purposes of inter-imperialist war in the conflict for world economic domination and survival, and nothing whatever to do with any "anti-terrorist" peacekeeping, – Pilger forces a rethink on the Soviet Union's ill-fated Afghan war intervention by revealing that not only did CIA counter-revolutionary intervention against the 1978 Afghan

Revolution pre-date the USSR's armed help to the Mojahedin threatened Kabul government (exactly as the *EPSR* constantly explained at the time) but that this CIA terrorist network (which directly gave birth to the Taliban and al-Qaeda later on) was precisely organised **with the sole aim of embroiling the USSR in an unwinnable war for which the USA was already training hundreds of thousands of reactionary international - islamic - extremists** for waging war on the "communist infidels", etc, etc.

Hitherto, Moscow Revisionism has been held to question by the *EPSR* for not having fought the CIA intervention with enough confidence and conviction (due to the weak-mindedness resulting from the lack of any scrap of world revolutionary perspective in Soviet postwar political education).

Now it can be speculated whether Leninism at the head of the Soviet workers state, still keeping strong and bright a detailed and non-stop thirsting for opportunities for completing the world socialist revolution, – would have fallen into the trap of the Afghan War at all.

There is no way that the half-asleep Moscow Revisionists of 1979 were thinking of any total future revolutionary all-out conflict with imperialism for the completion of the world socialist revolution when they ventured into Afghanistan for the immediate defence of the Afghan revolution from the outrageous CIA counter-revolu-

tionary intervention.

But given that weakness, (fatally threatening the longterm survival of the 1979 Soviet Revisionist continuity still managing to maintain a largely remarkably successful workers state), – it would have been better in that case for Moscow to have completed the task of seeing off the CIA counter-revolution rather than have abandoned the task "defeated" in 1988.

From a consistent Leninist-Revolutionary imaginary position, however, it can now be usefully asked whether the USSR should have risen to the bait at all to start the fight for the completion of the world socialist revolution in such unfavourable circumstances as Afghanistan under siege from deliberately mobilised CIA Islamic fanatic armies at that time?

Stalin frequently kept the Soviet powder dry but for all the wrong reasons, and is to be endlessly totally condemned because of that.

His Revisionist protégés intervened in Afghanistan but equally bereft of the correct world-revolutionary perspectives so must be written-off too as any kind of positive contribution to the Marxist-Leninist science of overthrowing imperialism.

From a serious Leninist world-revolution completion point of view, can they now also be condemned for having lightmindedly ventured into Afghanistan at all in open armed forces formations against such a loaded conspiracy?

But his devastating onslaught on bourgeois imperialist skulduggery nevertheless helps a challenge to **all** of postwar Western prejudices since 1945 including anticommunism.[...]

All of the Revisionists, including the Stalinists, have effectively given up the fight against anti-communism.

It is a wretched mistake, born of no longer having any serious conviction about Marx's scientific understanding that only a world of proletarian dictatorship can possibly replace a world of endless imperialist



Afghan civilians by the grave of family members who were killed by indiscrimin bomb attacks carried out by U.S. forces.

economic turmoil and warmongering conflict such as is now, increasingly relentlessly,

Warmongering US hawkishness stays on course for the greatest imperialist-capitalist-system catastrophe of all time. Despite ever-increasing viciousness, Western colonial aggression remains besieged in Iraq, Palestine, Afghanistan, etc, because the hour has arrived for the revolt of the Third World proletarian billions against the tyranny of monopoly-corporate world rule, mired deeper in economic crisis than ever before. The inadequacy of fake-'left' nonsense to understand or deal with this situation is causing a faster collapse of posturing opportunism than ever, clearing the way for the revival of real Marxist revolutionary science.

The current American fascist-imperialist regime is sick enough, — and demented enough — by unsolvable threats of an imminent markets crash,— that its “pre-emptive” plans to blitzkrieg the whole world rather than give-up global domination in the event of an economic collapse, have gone incandescent despite the disasters looming in the middle East (or perhaps because of them).

Yet every wretched sect of the fake-'left', — from the 'left'-Labour Socialist Party Trots, to the r-r-r-revolutionary exhibitionist Spart Trots, to the sadly misled and confused *Spark-Lalkar* SLP youth, — continues relentlessly trying to hide this World War III reality from the working class, or play it down via various anti-communist, moralising, or museum-Stalinist diversions, — in order to deliberately muddle the question about why a serious revolutionary party is not being built.

The proposition could not be simpler. The monopoly capitalist world of “overproduction” anarchy, leading towards the worst slump tragedy in history and total global warmongering upheaval, is clearly a situation poised for the most cataclysmic international war devastation that civilisation has ever been menaced by.

It implies the terminal **revolutionary** crisis for the capitalist imperialist system which has ruled the Earth for the last 800 years, continuing the pattern of proletarian revolutions and workers states which started

making a mockery of humanity. Build Leninism.
[EPSR No 1201 23-09-03]

refashioning world history in two spurts after 1917 and 1945 following the two previous greatest inter-imperialist warmongering upheavals, World Wars I and II.

Formally speaking (regardless of their dubious Revisionist quality on both occasions), openly **revolutionary** international workers movements dominated the organisation of anti-imperialist politics in those circumstances of impending blitzkrieg mayhem.

But now???? Nothing. The post-1945 combination of the “free world democracy” crap plus the Stalin-Revisionist “peaceful coexistence” and “peaceful roads to socialism” imbecility has made brain-dead all 57 varieties of fake-'left' sectarianism. (see below).[...]

The fake-'left' is **still** insisting that America's war footing is “all about oil” (see below) deliberately to avoid having to face up to the monstrous implications of a conscious imperialist drive towards all-out global war about everything.

It is never quite “wrong” when Nellist, *Lalkar*, and others still persist in pretending that “Iraq's oil resources” lies at the heart of the USA's total-war preparations, — a nonsense continued with in order to conceal these fake-'left' earlier misreadings of this Armageddon-like global situation. It is just that it only covers about 2 per cent of the total geopolitical significance of what is happening, leaving the 98 per cent still unanalysed, the crucial bit about how wide warmongering

is being spread, and why.

The big bourgeois press is less inhibited than these petty bourgeois fake-'lefts' with their class collaborating mentality of electoral opportunism. It still has to invent a lot of nonsense about “weapons of mass destruction” in order to cover up the naked NAZI “master-race” aggressiveness of America's fascist-imperialist plans to make sure that **all opposition** or resistance of any kind to the USA's global diktat is either wiped out or totally discouraged **in advance** of the coming world-slump mayhem, trade-war tyranny, and inevitable revolutionary political upheavals. But its own words hardly leave any doubts that anti-imperialist stands everywhere are to be ruthlessly blitzkrieged, weapons or no weapons [...]

[...]The ex-Labour MP Nellist of the *Militant Socialist Party* told a public meeting in Leicester last week that US imperialism was conducting a “war for oil”.

The national demonstrations against Bush's visit on Nov 19 should “avoid anti-Americanism” however.

And “troops out” was a good enough call for the Iraq situation, not “defeat for imperialism”.

The worldwide hatred of US domination, prepared to burn or blow up anything American, in its spontaneous frustration???

Hardly analysed. “Individual acts of revenge” is all that has been noticed.

Unsurprisingly enough, this Labour-opportunist fake-'left' identified no need for “talk of

The “fresh alliance” manoeuvres on every question around the 'left' in Britain can only bury the important truths of the imperialist crisis unless Marxist revolutionary theory catches on. Single issue campaigns like anti-racism and Stop The War are in danger of covering-up rather than exposing the role of parliamentary reformism, the keystone of Western imperialist world tyranny. Accusations of “anti-semitism” cannot conceal the colonial rottenness of a typical reactionary-warmongering racket by Western “democracy”. Anti-imperialist revolution everywhere alone makes sense

The steady destruction of the West's “war on terrorism” credibility explains all the fake-'left'

revolution”, believing that “wars like these cannot be stopped”.

A picture emerges of the world's masses rising up to smash everything American in sight in their spontaneous hatred, but Nellist & Co objecting with “We can't have this anti-Americanism”.

The SLP Youth depict little of this world revolutionary scene in the August *Spark*, and repeat twice that this is a “war for control of Iraq's natural resources” and “a colonial occupation to get hands on Iraqis oil”, — leaving out the other 98% of the meaning of this global warmongering agenda for WWII and all the revolutionary-party implications of that, in order to keep sucking up to the reactionary trade-union-boss rule of Scargill & Co.

As an added diversion to the “oil war” shallowness, the SLP Youth tack on two pages of utterly hypocritical platitudes by or about Stalin as a “revolutionary anti-imperialist”, the Revisionist degenerate bureaucrat who agreed to the armed-fascist foundation of the imperialist colony of “Israel” in 1948, along with scores more ludicrous mistakes and anti-revolutionary retreats in a long philistine personal diktat which set up the eventual workers-state self-liquidation in the hands of the Revisionist bureaucracy, all brought up in the “important historical contribution to socialist theory by Stalin” according to this equally anti-revolutionary SLP-*Lalkar* garbage.

[EPSR No 1204 14-10-03]

excitement about “a new party of socialism” but simultaneously proves why it will be use-

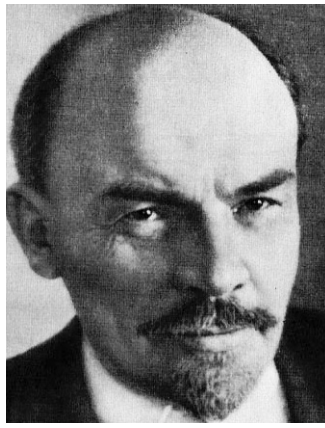
lessly stillborn.

A firm grasp of Marx's revolutionary catastrophism is what is needed; but the dreary TU, Trot, and Revisionist refuse-niks, who would never back the dictatorship of the proletariat when it mattered, are all now so incurably corrupted with the petty bourgeois opportunism of the "free world's" unprecedented post-1945 "endless" economic boom, that the full and real revolutionary consequences of the imperialist system's ever-mounting and uncontrollable **crisis** no longer properly register with them.

Only **revolutionary** understanding is now of the slightest use to all mankind, both for the direct Third World victims of the West's "anti-terror" blitzkrieging insanity, but also for the indirect victims in the Western working classes who are doomed to face relentlessly worsening economic catastrophes (as the ludicrous warmongering crisis unstoppable deepens); and rapidly deteriorating civil rights tyranny (as imperialism's warmongering "solution" only sinks ever deeper into the mire).

But far from now openly calling for the building of **revolutionary** parties as the **only** possible solution to imperialist warmongering crisis (V.I.Lenin), **every single** fake-'left' sect, without exception, either continues to conceal its counter-revolutionary past of anti-communist anti-Sovietism; or else to carry on opportunistically manoeuvring with centrist demagoguery and populism for electoral advantage, – a not only pointless activity in the long run but an always **fatal** mistake, according to the only scientific understanding of successful anti-imperialism that has ever existed, namely Marxist Leninist revolutionary experience.

Nowhere is there any admission that **only** upholding the proletarian dictatorship revolutionary way forward for civilisation, – and against **every** slander and "free world" jeering about mistakes, crimes, and tyranny, etc, etc, has **always** been the **sole** meaning of Marxist Leninist science, specifically mandating the **public** denunciation of the centrist and 'left'-reformist demagogues of all kinds who particularly through the British labour movement, eaten up with every delusion of "anti-imperialism" and "anti-warmongering" from pacifist disarmament to "anti-monopoly democracy", etc, etc.



Leading the way among the posturing is *Lalkar* "secret revolutionary wing" of the SLP party of the "secret revolutionary" Scargill.

The imperialist warmongering is "in the quicksands" screams the latest headline.

Very good. In which case, at long last, openly **revolutionary** conclusions must surely now finally be drawn from this monumental historical crisis.

And encouragingly, Lenin is quoted from his blistering revolutionary tract for really serious international struggle against imperialist warmongering, – *Conditions for Affiliation to the Comintern* (July 1920). Sadly, only one point is referred to, a section from paragraph 8 explaining workers' duty above all to expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of their "own" country.

Quite right too.

But HOW is this to be done???

Lenin's conditions consist of 19 paragraphs. What do they recommend???

Overwhelmingly, they hammer home with **total clarity** that unless the **revolutionary** overthrow of imperialist warmongering is the sole understanding, then every other scrap of "anti-imperialist" posturing is just a treacherous disgusting **joke** on the international working class.

Very specifically, Lenin demands the denunciation publicly of "not only avowed social-patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism" (measure this against Scargill's "defend the pound"; "condemn terrorism"; and "ban all weapons" mentality).

Even more specifically, Lenin spells it out that "without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no talk about a reduction of armaments will save mankind from new imperialist wars".

For good measure, knowing all about the dozens of Scargills

of his day, Lenin mandates "a complete and absolute break with reformism and "Centrist" policy, and to conduct propaganda among the party membership for that break."

Are you listening, you "revo-

lutionaries", within the SLP???

For added flavour, here are the first nine paragraphs of Lenin's 19 conditions, — all the rest being just as blisteringly **completely revolutionary** in their understanding:

1. Day-by-day propaganda and agitation must be genuinely communist in character. All press organs belonging to the parties must be edited by reliable Communists who have given proof of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed merely as a stock phrase to be learned by rote; it should be popularised in such a way that the practical facts systematically dealt with in our press day by day will drive home to every rank-and-file working man and working woman, every soldier and peasant, that it is indispensable to them. Third International supporters should use all media to which they have access — the press, public meetings, trade unions, and co-operative societies — to expose systematically and relentlessly, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices — the reformists of every shade.
2. Any organisation that wishes to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically *dismiss* reformists and "Centrists" from positions of any responsibility in the working-class movement (party organisations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operative societies, municipal councils, etc.), replacing them by reliable Communists. The fact that in some cases rank-and-file workers may at first have to replace "experienced" leaders should be no deterrent.
3. In countries where a state of siege or emergency legislation makes it impossible for Communists to conduct their activities legally, it is absolutely essential that legal and illegal work should be combined. In almost all the countries of Europe and America, the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. In these conditions, Communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They must everywhere build up a parallel illegal organisation, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfil its duty to the revolution.
4. Persistent and systematic propaganda and agitation must be conducted in the armed forces, and Communist cells formed in every military unit. In the main Communists will have to do this work illegally; failure to engage in it would be tantamount to a betrayal of their revolutionary duty and incompatible with membership in the Third International.
5. Regular and systematic agitation is indispensable in the countryside. The working class cannot consolidate its victory without support from at least a section of the farm labourers and poor peasants, and without neutralising, through its policy, part of the rest of the rural population. In the present period communist activity in the countryside is of primary importance. It should be conducted, in the main, through revolutionary worker-Communists who have contacts with the rural areas. To forgo this work or entrust it to unreliable semi-reformist elements is tantamount to renouncing the proletarian-revolution.
6. It is the duty of any party wishing to belong to the Third International to expose, not only avowed social-patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism. It must systematically demonstrate to the workers that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no talk about a reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.
7. It is the duty of parties wishing to belong to the Communist International to recognise the need for a complete and absolute break with reformism and "Centrist" policy, and to conduct propaganda among the party membership for that break. Without this, a consistent communist policy is impossible. The Communist International demands imperatively and uncompromisingly that this break be effected at the earliest possible date. It cannot tolerate a situation in which avowed reformists, such as Turati, Modigliani and others, are entitled to consider themselves members of the Third International. Such a state of affairs would lead to the Third International strongly resembling the defunct Second International.
8. Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clear-cut policy in respect of colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of its "own" country, must support in deed, - not merely

in word — every colonial liberation movement, demand the expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflagging communist work in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass workers' organisations. Communist cells should be formed in the trade unions, and, by their sustained and unflagging work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-by-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the "Centrists". The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

Terms of admission into Communist International

It is argued that *Lalkar* "daren't yet overdo it" on the "revolutionary" front.

But what follows the Lenin quote is unmitigated Revisionist **crap**, — and all of *Lalkar's* own making.

It is an example of *Lalkar's* museum-Stalinist time warp paraded almost to a clinical-medical exemplifying:

Failure on our part to perform this internationalist duty objectively turns us into annexationists and accomplices of imperialism. Let the British proletariat rise to the challenge and, spurning with contempt such accomplices of social democracy as the counter-revolutionary Trots and the revisionist renegades, follow the trail blazed by people of the mould and stature of Harry Pollitt who so heroically and successfully frustrated the counter-revolutionary war of intervention against the young Soviet Republic. Following Harry Pollitt, let the British proletariat successfully oppose the occupation of Iraq by Anglo-American imperialism. Let it refuse to co-operate with imperialism's war effort. In the words of Harry Pollitt, "only by such action can the British labour movement wipe out the stain that now tarnishes our ideals".

Death to the Anglo-American imperialist aggressors!

Victory to the Iraqi people's national liberation.

But Pollitt represents **every-thing** that *Lalkar* & Co pretend to "**hate**" about "Revisionism".

New *Lalkar* own-goals on SLP inconsistency over Ireland and on the catastrophe of the Stalinist farcical "peaceful road to socialism". Polemic at last?

A recent attack on *Lalkar* (EPSR 1211 [previous piece - ed]) because it failed to hit Scargill SLP reformists with its revolutionary conclusions about imperialist warmongering facing defeat in Iraq, would seem to have drawn some response from the Brarites.

If a polemic is developing at last, it will be very welcome, and hugely beneficial to general revolutionary understanding, whoever marshalls the most convincing arguments.

But so bizarre is *Lalkar's* comeback that mind-readers are already needed.

EPSR 1211 had praised *Lalkar*

It was always Pollitt himself, and Pollitt's protégés, who invariably relentlessly dragged the old CPGB deeper and deeper into the idiotic "peaceful road to socialism" mire of ultimately total **reformism** and pacifism.

By the end, Pollitt's party was not even "Centrist" (i.e. still spouting the word "revolution" but in practice devoting **all** energies and education **solely** to reformist manoeuvres).

This museum-Stalinism ever increasingly resembles some trance-like mental condition, sincerely emotionally loyal to the totally all-the-way Bolshevik Revolutionary USSR that everyone always wanted to believe in, — but by now so addled with confusion about what had really defended, in history, the Bolshevik Dictatorship of the Proletariat, — and **even more** disastrously confused about how the seeds were sown for the USSR's eventual Revisionist-bureaucratic self-liquidation, — that one of the most notorious Revisionists of all, Harry Pollitt, is now being lauded to the skies by *Lalkar*.

Surely some mistake???

[EPSR No 1211 02-12-03]

for finally reaching a shared conclusion about the war's potentially revolutionary crisis, and for quoting Lenin on the need for workers of every imperialist country to fight for the defeat of "their own" ruling class first.

But 1211 went on to ask why *Lalkar* did not expose the SLP's refusal to countenance revolutionary conclusions about the West's war-onslaught on the Middle East, or quote the rest of Lenin's article demanding the **denunciation** in public of all social-patriotism and social-pacifism (i.e. Scargillism) in the workers movement.

It finally challenged *Lalkar's* praise of Harry Pollitt as a "great, historic British communist example of revolutionary anti-war struggle", recalling the universally known fact that Pollitt was the **architect** of the CPGB's degeneration into social-pacifist reformism, personally pioneering the postwar Revisionist nonsense of the "peaceful parliamentary road to socialism", the lethally catastrophic Stalinist delusion which effectively eventually destroyed the CPGB.

Lalkar's "reply" of nearly 5,000 words eulogising Pollitt's political record

(a) weirdly as usual makes no mention of the *EPSR's* attack;

(b) gives no other explanation of why, suddenly, this huge article praising Pollitt is appearing; and

(c) most bizarrely of all completely omits any reference at all to Pollitt's post-1945 record, — the crucial question at issue when any serious struggle against the forces of imperialist warmongering was finally abandoned utterly in order to boost Stalin's ridiculous "theory" that the fictional notion of "anti-fascist imperialism" (i.e. US world domination) within the imperialist system could prevent inter-imperialist World War III from inevitably threatening civilisation in due course (in the way that inter-imperialist World Wars I and II had inevitably arrived to threaten it) because —

(a) the growth of the Socialist Camp would make it impossible for Western imperialism to hugely expand economically ever again (an utterly imbecile "theory" when first enunciated, and since then demonstrated to be completely infantile and deranged); and

(b) because these non-existent "anti-fascist" imperialists (who were just as rapaciously warmongering colonisers as Germany, Italy, and Japan, and only became reluctant Soviet "allies" against Germany in order to "win" the war at far less cost than would otherwise have been the case) — could be persuaded into sincere "peaceful coexistence" with the anti-imperialist Socialist Camp, (an even more lunatic "theory" which persisted in spite of the immediate next 15 years seeing US, British, and French imperialism, — both individually and collectively, — inflicting just as much barbarous blitzkrieg tyranny on Algeria, Malaya, Korea, Vietnam, etc, etc, as the fictionally "different" colonial



• REMEMBER THIS: British Army butchery in Malaya

tyranny of "fascist" Germany, Japan and Italy could ever have even dreamed of (e.g. mass dioxin defoliant poisoning of the whole of Indo-China; the saturation B52 bombing (more explosives than dropped in WWII by **all** the combatants put together); the burning alive of whole communities by napalm; the "scorched earth" systematic wiping out of villages in Malaya; the routine mass "collective punishment" massacres in Algeria; etc, etc, etc)).

Needless to say, the *Lalkar* "reply" also refuses all comment on the SLP's ignorant and reactionary wretchedness on all these questions, despite that being the whole point of the *EPSR's* attack.

But this hypocritical deceitfulness of *Lalkar* has struck even fouler new lows in a piece on Ireland.

Correctly, *Lalkar* echoes the longstanding *EPSR* line that the Good Friday Agreement was a great anti-imperialist revolutionary triumph, and that the latest Assembly elections have seen further significant justification for Sinn Féin's triumphant "peace process" line.

But where was *Lalkar* five years ago when the *EPSR* was being expelled from the SLP, personally by Scargill, precisely for insisting on arguing that articles in the SLP press (depicting the GFA as a defeat and a sell-out) were monstrously incorrect and a scandal??????

The *EPSR* was expelled from the SLP specifically for issue 979 which immediately followed a verbal threat from Scargill that political polemics inside the SLP on such matters as Ireland should cease:

"I am writing to inform you that it is my intention to pursue a complaint against you before the Complaints Committee of the NEC.

The basis of the complaint is that you have refused or failed to comply with a National Executive Committee instruction, 12 December, 1998: "that the publishers and contributors of the *EPSR* (*Economic and Philosophic Science*

Review) cease publication of that journal, or alternatively give an undertaking that it will not comment on affairs of the SLP.

Issue 979 of the *EPSR*, December, 15, 1998, was in complete conflict.

Yours,
Arthur Scargill
General Secretary"

This was "internecine warfare" Scargill decreed, hypocritically. It turned out later that he fully backed the Trot defeatist line on Ireland that the *EPSR* was complaining about, but was letting his Trot lieutenants (Heron & Sikorski) make the running on it in the absence of an SLP agreed position on the subject.

The *EPSR* commented on this expulsion/censorship threat in the following manner in 979 as far as the Ireland polemics were concerned (many other aspects of a huge anti-communist witch-hunt against the *EPSR* by the Trots were dealt with too):

'A party that wants to earn the trust of all working people as the future party of leadership, to be followed all the way to the very bold confident step of abolishing capitalism and building a workers state in Britain, the only way a socialist society can be constructed — must be able to demonstrate that it can handle **every** question of life and the community and philosophy **better than** all the spokesmen and women of a thousand brands of bourgeois ideology (including fake-'left' petty bourgeois ideology like Trotskyism) all combined.

A workers party will never prove that by just running away from discussing difficult questions just because Trot counter-revolutionaries and other single-issue 'reformist' fanatics are out stirring up censorship lynch-mobs.

It will never prove it by allowing endless reactionary disruption by anti-communist factionalists who want to totally mislead the **whole-class** struggle (to jointly overthrow capitalism) into the sterile and racist divisiveness of separate schools for black children and separate sections in the party for black workers, etc, etc.

Debate is necessary, but once a debate has been comprehensively won by a majority of the party, then the party has to decide what is the **correct** line, and then move on.

It will never prove itself the total answer to all bourgeois ideology unless it constantly encourages the continuous developments required in the party's original (and inevitably time-dated) tactics & programmatic starting points.

The immediate political composition of capitalist society and the broadest workers movement are changing all the time. Workers need constantly to be able to analyse everything that is going on around them, including in the labour movement around fake-'left' or anarchist trends.

It will never convincingly demonstrate its seriousness until it is pre-



Bloody Sunday killings by British in the occupied north of Ireland

pared to accept its own mistakes, or mistakes committed in its name (over Ireland, e.g., or the extent of the economic crisis, etc), and correct then publicly.

Trotskyite articles on Ireland, e.g. have appeared in *Socialist News* which simply ignore, slightlying, one of the most colossal triumphs of anti-imperialist national liberation struggle of all time.

Negative references to the joke imperialist 'New World Order' supposedly imposing a settlement on Ireland in favour of the Union-Jack waving colonial fascists and one which IRA/Sinn Féin did not want but were powerless to prevent (*SN* 12) are just hopelessly **wrong** and have the effect of the supposedly anti-imperialist SLP actually **harming** the anti imperialist struggle thereby spreading this to demoralise the heroic fight by Sinn Féin/IRA and demoralise its supporters in Britain.

And even though one strongly pro-Sinn Féin article was printed, nothing has been done in a tiny party like the SLP to keep this debate alive and ongoing so that the party is up-to-date on this issue and cementing better relations with Sinn Féin all the time, one of the most outstanding anti-imperialist parties on earth at the present time, and one with some of the greatest potential for becoming a ruling party (in all-Ireland) with more socialist content and intentions than any current ruling party in the West.

Now all of this may still be some distance away, but the May/June 1998 *SN* stance was entirely in the wrong direction. It lazily adopted the widespread Trot-defeatist cynicism which has insisted (*Weekly Worker* and elsewhere) that the imperialist order was imposing a settlement on IRA/Sinn Féin which the Republicans hated but-were capitulating to, — abandoning the armed struggle and allowing Adams & Co to pursue opportunist bourgeois political careers.

For the gist of this defeatist nonsense to have appeared in *Socialist News* is a tragedy, especially if it remains uncorrected. And if it is to lead the working class in Britain, the SLP must become a party which can reach conclusions and take a stand in the further interests of the international defeat of the imperialist system, of which Blair's is the stooge representative government in Britain.

The Trots are wrong. Only the *EPS Review* has come remotely near the truth, and has printed it loudly and clearly throughout. The national-liberation struggle has not remotely been abandoned, and the IRA is nowhere near capitulating.

It has offered a peace ceasefire so that a completely new Ireland can be put in place, — the Good Friday agreement for crossborder bodies to begin adopting most of the government of all-Ireland.

When that *de facto* obliteration of the old colonial 'Northern Ireland' tyranny is complete, including a completely new police force, etc, not run by anti-Irish colonial fascists, — the national liberation movement will begin to stand down its armed struggle, simultaneously with all non-Irish arms being taken out of the struggle, meaning the British Army, the sectarian RUC, and the criminal gangs of 'loyalist' fascist gunmen.

But the IRA has made it clear this week that there will be no de-commissioning until the British imperialist Unionists who wish to remain Ireland-dwellers (Trimble & Co) have started to actually implement and accept the new all-Ireland structure for that much-wronged land.

It is British imperialism which has been defeated, — (by an undefeatable armed national-liberation struggle), — **not** the IRA/ Sinn Féin.

So far, the *EPS Review* has been astonishingly accurate in its Marxist analysis going back 20 years, even being far more farsighted (and at book length) in 1982 and 1985 in seeing imperialism's defeat (long-term political defeat) in the outcome of the hunger strikes and the Anglo-Irish Treaty, when Sinn Féin itself initially could only see both events as a setback for the national liberation struggle (only much, later changing its mind, to some extent).

Now, to repeat once again (and it will be repeated a million times in the future), none of this is related in order to prove who were the clever dicks and who were the duffers around the British labour movement or the SLP.

The point is to argue that without a deliberate struggle for Marxist theory, any workers party will be immeasurably poorer.

The same happened over the world capitalist economic crisis — which the December 1997 Congress was told, "may not come to Britain"

solely because Trotspeak wished to undermine "cranky Marxism" and is also philosophically confused by imperialism's collapse because it puts Trot treachery to the Soviet workers state in such a bad light. (If the entire consumer glitz and high wage-earning 'democracy' of the 'free world' collapses in fascist-slump degradation, what then becomes of all the Revisionist and Trot imbecilities about the workers states being "on the wrong path"? Basically, they were on the correct planned development path of slow-but-steady growth and product-innovation (hampered by the need to meet colossal armed defence bills) and bureaucratic-but-equitable distribution and justice. By comparison with the ex-Soviet region's present plight, worsening all the time, it was almost a socialist paradise, as renewed communist revolutionary struggle will demonstrate, shortly forthcoming.)

Defeated Trot anti-communists around the SLP have staged a monstrous campaign of personal vilification and slander, including strike threats and other blackmail attempts, to try to rescue their factional positions within the party. This factionalising had long been on the skids anyway inside the SLP because of its disruptiveness and its hopelessly wrong politics (see main article), — but it decided to lash out with this farcical witchhunt hysteria after losing out at the November Congress elections.

Their real hatred is the *EPSR's* uncompromising fight for full-blooded Marxist-Leninist communist philosophy for the past 20 years which has completely trounced Revisionist and Trotskyite nonsense on every major issue in the world (see main article and previous 978 issues).

At their London SLP Region strike meeting, Heron blurted it all out, going incandescent about 'cranky Marxism' and adding "this trend was swept away by the collapse of the Berlin Wall and all those countries" in the most vicious McCarthyite manner, wanting the same thing to happen to the *EPS Review*.

The Trots hate the *EPSR's* crisis analysis (denounced by Heron as 'cranky Marxism', and 'pointlessly wanting to recreate a super-Bolshevik party' — last week's *EPSR*) because it has been relentlessly stalking their anti-communist and anti-workers-state treachery.

But far from weakening the *EPSR*, this hysterical campaign of personal vilification and attempted censorship (trying to get the *EPSR* closed down is closer to fascist bookburning than to the Marxist tradition of written polemics against philosophical positions thought to be incorrect or disagreeable) will quickly discover that the *Review's* 20-year fight for Marxist-Leninist science has produced a theoretically-competent communist cadre-strength which will continue to slaughter Trotskyite nonsense both inside and outside the SLP.

They tried physical violence outside the Manchester Congress hall, and aggressive threats at the Lon-



Irish people in return for the proverbial mess of pottage.

The social-chauvinists of the SWP meanwhile, although they talk a great deal about the need for Ireland to be free in theory, never cease to denounce the real leadership of the real Irish struggle for their lack of socialist credentials.

don Region meeting, and now they have had a shameful mini-success in joining the SLP's name to anti-Marxist censorship temporarily.

But as this *Review* issue explains, the attempt to stop discussion of every aspect of capitalist society and bourgeois ideology facing the working class is both sterile and futile.

The galloping fascist hysteria which now feels free to express political pique at losing office by hurling slanderous vilification at opponents — (anti-Semite; gas-chamber-Nazi; gaybasher; misogynist; racist; and even paedophile, has been just the milder abuse from Heron supporters) may have been got away with temporarily, in the ideological confusion not yet clarified by stronger and more widespread Marxist-Leninist revolutionary understanding.

But the new spirit of communism within the working class will eventually know how to deal with this crap and it will not be by swallowing it."

Lalkar at last standing up for at least some of the truth might be construed as partly reflecting

that process.

But while finally risking this small defiance of Scargill in order to admit some of the truth about the GFA and Sinn Féin, these *Lalkar*ites go on to wallow in some of the most spectacular opportunist hypocrisy one could ever imagine.

Bristling with self-righteous posturing, *Lalkar* interestingly launches a huge broadside against fake-'lefts' (who helped British imperialist reaction by writing off the GFA as a "sell-out"), saying:

Far from being a spent-force failure, Sinn Féin's 2003 Assembly Election triumph had frightened the life out of the unionist and British establishments alike, for in spite of the relentless propaganda against it, the party has continued to grow as an electoral force.

This is a real achievement when one considers the refusal of the British government to implement any of the reforms promised under the GFA; reforms that were the basis of republican support for the Agreement and whose lack of delivery is adding fuel to the fire of anti-Agreement forces who always held that Good Friday sold out the interests of the

Any student of Lenin will tell you, however, that in the era of imperialism it is our bounden duty to give support to any and every movement that objectively fights against imperialism, whether the fighters themselves be guided by socialist, bourgeois or even feudal ideology.

The main contradiction in the world today is that between the oppressor and the oppressed nations, between imperialism and those it plunders, and every struggle must be evaluated in this context, i.e. whether it tends to strengthen or weaken imperialism.

Only such inveterate idiots and counter-revolutionaries as the Trotskyists could support the restoration of capitalism in the former Soviet bloc countries in the name of socialism, whilst denouncing every anti-imperialist leadership from the DPRK, Nepal and Colombia to Palestine, Iraq and Ireland for being the wrong kind of socialist or not socialist at all."

But it is precisely the blustering anti-theory philistine Scargill who just loved to smirk privately that he "would never have signed the Good Friday Agreement" and that he "would have settled for nothing less than complete Ireland reunification there and then", etc,

etc, boastfully implying what a great socialist revolutionary he was compared to everyone else, etc, etc.

As the *EPSR* never tires of pointing out, Sinn Féin and the IRA fought the national liberation war to a successful conclusion with never more than 1,000 active Volunteers at any one time, backed by maybe half the Irish working class in the north (the SDLP capitulators controlling the other half).

But the NUM at one time backed Scargill's leadership with a hugely organised and disciplined frontline force of nearly 200,000 miners, and backed by virtually the **entire** working class of Britain, not just one half of one half of it in one tiny part of partitioned Ulster.

With these tiny forces Sinn Féin built an astonishing, triumphant anti-imperialist **revolution**.

But Scargill's struggle against domestic British imperialist reaction has produced what, ultimately???

As the *EPSR* has always explained, the fake-'left' in Britain sneers dismissively at Sinn Féin's achievements out of envy because of being too stupid or too backward or too lacking in any true anti-imperialist **revolutionary** spirit to achieve anything like as much themselves.

But where is *Lalkar's* mention of past SLP "counter-revolutionary idiocy" for jeering the GFA as "not being socialist enough"???

Build Leninism. Ditch museum-Stalinist nonsense once and for all.

[*EPSR* No 1216 20-01-04]

Real politics only begins and ends with an all-out class war for state power

It is coming.

First, internationally, — in the continuation of the Third World's "terrorist" revolution against arbitrary and rampant Western imperialist military domination and its viciously profiteering associated "market exploitation".

Secondly, in every country as the ability of Western countries to endlessly buy-off their working classes with the proceeds of neo-colonial super-profits uncontrollably shrivels or is put to rout by revolt.

This is the only pattern of world development, and the **only possible** pattern of world development.

Later on, it will be shown from the continuing split

turmoil, wrecking Scargill's SLP remnants, just how catastrophic it is for **all** the fake-"left" factions to try to win political in-fighting while failing to inspire supporters with any clear of complete perspective on world development at all, *Lalkar* being as hopeless as any.

Of much more immediate concern for everyone is to rapidly update a world perspective **right now**.

Utterly **chaotic** developments are piling up at an enormous rate, and the whole of world politics is marked and scarred **precisely** by profound ignorance of what is going to happen next, or what **could** happen next.

Speculating the specific out-



IRA Volunteers like these, pictured on the streets of Derry in the 1970s protected nationalist communities

comes of specific Third World/inter-imperialist conflict points is **not** the issue.

It is always impossible to know for sure how, exactly, particular contradictions are going to be resolved, — or cartwheel, — next.

Like any science, the aim is to maximise understanding of what is going on by, drawing up the brightest, possible **theoretical grasp in advance**.

In Marxist terms, what are the short and longterm possibilities, and therefore what is most likely to happen next, or what could possibly happen next?

Despite all the blowharding against Scargill, (useful), —



these *Lalkar* joke “Marxists” still don’t commit themselves on specifics, still waiting to play the “let’s tuck in behind Arthur” racket, if their appeals to NUM bossism’s “proletarian principles” are successful.

Just contrasting a “revolutionary perspective” to Scargill’s monstrously opportunist reformism, pacifism, and class-collaborationism, is a starting off point but mere posturing for as long as it remains unelaborated.

To begin with, a complete critique of the possibilities, — and also the potentially catastrophic limitations as far as the international working class is concerned of the still unresolved Stalinist Revisionism in Beijing, Pyongyang, Havana, and many old Third International Communist Parties, etc, etc, is vital, — — — and remains ludicrously and unhealthily avoided.

Museum Stalinism is a weird mental sickness, and the breaking up of this bizarre “Marxist” corner around Scargill’s backwardness has still obviously not yet gone far enough.

What sort of “revolution” is what the world wants to know.

All of Stalinist Revisionism

(and its aftermaths) has still not moved on from Castro-type defiance of US imperialism warning that “the world will make you treat us fairly one day”, etc, etc, — exactly the same “peaceful coexistence” shite which eventually led the Soviet Stalinist bureaucracy into self-liquidation.

Lalkar’s “two-state solution” nonsense pleas in face of Zionist imperialism’s colonial genocide of the Palestinian nation is in the same ludicrous reformist perspective, — as was their belated attempted conversion to Saddamism as a way of “successful anti-imperialism in Iraq”, etc. Saddam was a disastrous, hopeless, treacherous

anarchism and religious/nationalist extremism.

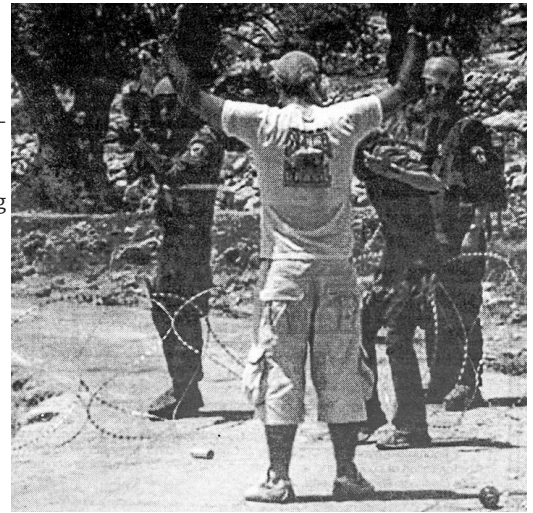
Lalkar’s fake-“Marxism” has still not got beyond limping along lamely behind Scargill’s criminally treacherous “condemnation” of terrorism, — even the heroic Palestinian suicide bombers, — exhibiting all the most cowardly, self-righteous, puffed moralising of which only the deep-down degenerated products of the petty bourgeois British Imperialist trade-union class collaboration system are most easily capable.

But then what?

The real possibility still needs considering that first, US imperialism’s anti-crisis warmongering re-colonisation “disciplining” of the world might sink towards complete paralysis and confusion before the next blitzkrieging lurch drags the planet back towards destructive disaster again.

Warmongering imperialist crisis will remain history’s dominating driving force.

The revolutionary overthrow of the imperialist system will remain the only possible solution to this systemic degeneracy from where the sole advance for history and civilisation will be the creation of evermore successful workers states, building on the sensational achievements since 1917 of the Soviet and other workers states like



Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and China.

But how might it go next, in the immediate future?

And what preparations should workers everywhere be making?

It is impossible to see beyond the desperate need for a world party of revolutionary theory which must dwarf even the achievements of Lenin’s world party, such is the complexity of the modern class-war and national-war scene, and such is the debilitating uncleared-up confusion left behind by Stalinism (and its equally shallow and opportunist reflection, Trotskyism).

Which is what makes the refusal of “lefts” to start engaging in serious polemics totally frustrating. The great socialist cause of the working class cannot move on one millimetre until fake-“lefts” are prepared to defend their positions and win the argument, or accept that they have got some things wrong and move on.

[EPSR No 1237 15-06-04]



• Explosions after an Israeli air strike in Gaza Strip in January 2009

Lalkarites concoct the most delinquent degeneration yet in the whole rotten history of hypocritical Stalinist apostasy. Swallowing Scargill's abuse for 8 years, and covering up for his endless demagogic conceit and political ignorance, is pronounced healthy and useful. The duped working class will hardly see it as that as a result of being lied to for 8 years, as is now admitted, over what was the real political value and personal quality of the supposedly "great leader" in the SLP. The illusory worth of "personality" in politics is still the only rut that most of the fake-"left" know, — the Brarites dropping straight back in it. But ignoring polemics will not conceal the return to Stalinist theoretical idiocy.

A bunch of "left" opportunists, honourably booted out of Scargill's SLP guru-worship club for no longer showing enough deference, have dishonourably claimed the formation of a "new" "revolutionary party" allegedly "different from all the other claimants to building communist parties in Britain".

It is not "different" at all. It is stuck in exactly the same rut of Revisionist opportunism where all the rival "communist party" Stalinist remnants have festered since the 1960s.

Worse than that, it is the wretched Stalin phenomenon all over again, ludicrously repeated by this group in staying loyally silent at Scargill's rear for 8 years of the SLP while all kinds of reactionary political and personal shite came bucketing out of the "great man".

Now there is a ludicrous "review" of this Brar group's modern history which is only notable for the huge and laughable silences over the long stretches of years, and major world issues, for which Brar has no answer.

The "new" pattern is immediately clear. It is the same old "guru" worship as before, — first era covering up all the questions Stalin could not answer; second period covering up all Scargill's howlers and ignorance; last phase, protecting Harpal Brar himself from his grotesque history of contradictions and evasions.

It is the same old sectarian hope in "personality politics" that has held sway on the "left" in Britain since Stalinist theo-

retical idiocy and personality cult first began to guarantee in the 1930s the ultimate future decay and collapse of Lenin's Third International.

A sectarian "brand loyalty" and a blind inability or unwillingness to re-examine difficult history is all that ever marked the various CPs which split off from the original CPGB, and it is the essence of this "new" CPGB-ML.

First, all the huge silences on major historical questions, still relevant to today and still not answered.

Life in the CPGB-ML begins with one giant cover-up.

To begin with, Stalin has disappeared from view.

It may be only a temporary tactic, and he may put in a reappearance at some future birthday or anniversary or other.

But for the moment, this party of museum Stalinism has dumped its guru out of sight.

Which makes grasping things utterly impossible when the subject at issue is the post-war history of the Communist Movement and the way in which all the various factions and splits got into total confusion either with total pro-Stalinism or with ignorantly opportunist anti-Stalinism, — in the midst of which perch the barely half-explained "reasons" for the Brarites taking yet another "new" Stalinist-detrimental path.

It gets worse. The CPB and the NCP breakaways from the old CPGB are lambasted for ditching the self-liquidating 'Eurocommunists' but for no

better reason than continuing the same infamous *British Road to Socialism* reformist imbecility, and continuing the same subservient tailending of Labour Governments and "left" Labour MPs.

But these were prime CPGB policies precisely in the immediate postwar period when Stalinist Moscow was busy bodily approving or disapproving **everything** that all the 70 or so Communist Party members of the old Third International were doing or saying.

It has been authoritatively reported, and never denied, that Stalin personally gave the *British Road* reformist imbecility his full approval.

So what hypocritical gibberish will the CPGB-ML eventually come up with to skirt round this problem??

Doubtless, it will just do its usual trick of keeping silent, as Brarism has done on a hundred or more major historical/political challenges thrown up to it over the last 25 years by the *EPSR*.

It will keep as silent as it has done in this "new" launching over the **really** outstanding political garbage in the NCP's record, — its often declared willingness to sacrifice "**everything**" just so as not to allow Western imperialism to provoke a nuclear war against the Soviet Union.

It was **this** policy above all others in the 'Eurocommunist' locker which finally led to the obvious logic of self-liquidation.

But it was **this** policy, above all others, which was the **stalinist** policy par excellence. It was **this** policy which finally took Gorbachev's Kremlin on a direct route from Stalin's "peaceful coexistence" capitulatory idiocy eventually to the total self-liquidation of all remaining revolutionary-war ambitions for the world communist movement, and therefore to the self-liquidation of Revolutionary Russia itself, i.e. the abandonment of the dictatorship of the proletariat and of the Socialist Camp.

And why no denunciation or even mention of this major plank of NCP nuttiness???

Because it leads directly back to Stalinism itself, and to Brarism's own rotten political history of grotesque mistake after grotesque mistake, — all of which are only to be covered over and never acknowledged and debated.

The cover-up by keeping silent can fairly be said to be the defining characteristic of

this degenerate "new" Stalinist opportunism, because the most astonishing silence of all is maintained by the Brarites over what their effective message to the working-class public was in their 8 years loyal servitude, keeping quiet about Scargill's real political rottenness while showing to the public only "total loyalty to the greatest modern working class leader in Britain".

Was it really only after being expelled at the end of 8 years of silent servitude behind Scargill that these Brarites finally became aware of the need to denounce the opportunist majority of the SLP, led by Arthur Scargill, saturated through and through with the politics of trade unionism (i.e. bourgeois politics), — who have been busy trying to rid the SLP of all serious theoretical thought and turn it into yet another outfit completely characterised by eclecticism and lack of principle"????

And if it isn't really possible that such a long view of Scargill's total political rottenness could only become clear to the Brarites at the moment of their expulsion at the end of 8 years loyal back-scratching for Scargill in public, then where is the CPGB-ML's explanation for the **political silence** of their total membership and leadership throughout that period on a matter of such crucial importance for the entire British working class????????

If Scargill is such a completely shallow opportunist rogue, than what has this CPGB-ML membership been up to deliberately hiding this fact from the British working class for the past 8 years???????

What manner of political animal are these Brarites that only after their sudden summary expulsion from the SLP's ranks (with an appeal for reinstatement turned down!) was the discovery made about

"Scargill's total ignorance of scientific socialism, his utter contempt for theory in the worst traditions of British trade unionism, his proclivity for Christian petty-bourgeois pacifism, his complete devotion to the bourgeois politics of trade unionism, his inability to get rid of the baggage of shallow lib-lab politics which he acquired through his membership of the imperialist Labour Party over a period of four decades, combined with his insufferable vanity."

(all quotes from issue No 1 of the "new" Stalinist gobshite newspaper)?????

Another new charge now against Scargill by the CPGB-ML rings some even nastier bells about Brarite traditions of

treacherous hypocrisy and rotten opportunism.

"Scargill did not confront our position by an open and honest debate,"

their "reborn Marxist openness" declares.

"Instead, he resorted to procedural manoeuvres, unconstitutional practices, abuse of authority, bluster, manipulation, threats, and attempts at intimidation, the only weapons known to him, in a desperate attempt to stifle all discussion of these most important issues, in the process making himself look more and more ridiculous and impotent."

At the end of 1998, the Heron-Sikorski Trots persuaded Scargill to effectively expel the EPSR from the SLP if it refused to stop attacking the Trotskyite anti-communist defeatism and opportunist imbecilities which were the most prominent shaming features of *Socialist News* and SLP activities at that time.

Issue 979 of the EPSR on Dec 15 1998 duly replied to this monstrous censorship/expulsion order by denouncing such anti-communist anti-debate backwardness more vehemently than ever, — the following giving a tiny flavour:

[...]{One paragraphs only is included of this quote which is can be found in full in the section from 1216 on p34 - DH}

"Defeated Trot anti-communists around the SLP have staged a monstrous campaign of personal vilification and slander, including strike threats and other blackmail attempts, to try to rescue their factional positions within the party."

Scargill started expulsion proceedings immediately because

"issue 979 was in complete conflict with NEC Dec 12 instruction that contributors of the EPSR cease publication of that journal or alternatively give an undertaking that it will not comment on affairs of the SLP", etc, etc.

Not only did the Brarites sit out this effective expulsion of the EPSR from the SLP; — one of Lalkar's most prominent supporters, Amanda Rose, actually formed 33% of the NEC's expulsion committee, and actually chaired it!

Yet now the CPGB-MLers complain that they were booted out "in a farce that would make the worst bourgeois kangaroo court look like a

bastion of even-handed justice".

But the extent to which the whole SLP in 1998-1999, including its Lalkarites, were hypocritically complicit in the Alice-in-Wonderland "legal" stitch-up of the EPSR is obvious from the final Leninist denunciation of Scargill which the *Review* transmitted over the laughable bureaucratic muddle which terminated the EPSR's "disciplinary" farce:

Your attempts to justify your manipulativeness are as dishonest as your original manoeuvres to expel me.

You were asked why you failed to inform me first that the March 20 NEC had not confirmed my expulsion (on some technicality or other which you have still not explained) before proceeding to expel me on April 2 for "non-payment of dues" (to a party I assumed I was no longer a member of).

Your 'explanation' for that failure to communicate that March 20 NEC decision is that "as you were no longer a member, there was no reason for me to write to you."

It will be obvious to even a tree stump that to say you did not communicate the NEC decision to me on March 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, or April 1 "as you were no longer a member" (which was not true until April 2), — is just senseless gibberish.

In response to my challenge, you boast at the end of your letter: "I certainly will 'explain' my conduct to the next Party Congress, and also inform that Congress that the Vice-President elected in November 1998 did not have a sufficient sense of discipline to pay his Party subscriptions thereafter," and you add no less than three further paragraphs to hammer home your pretence that "strict adherence to rules" is the real issue here.

Your 'Rules and Constitution' proudly boast "a Complaints Procedure, drafted by John Hendy, QC, for the SLP" and adopted by the NEC in 1997. Rule 19 clearly instructs the General Secretary to "inform the respondent within seven days" what the NEC has decided to do about the Complaints Committee recommendation (for immediate expulsion with effect from March 20).

Only now, in your letter of May 11, have I at last been "informed" that "As the result of another case, unconnected with yours, the NEC meeting held on 20 March could

not consider the report on your case by the Complaints Committee, and consequently could take no decision".

Clearly I should have been informed of this "within seven days" of March 20. But your letter of May 11 is the first communication I have received from the SLP on this not unimportant matter.

So who is it who really lacks "a sufficient sense of discipline"???

Even on the dues-paying question itself you are a complete fraud. "You know perfectly well that you automatically ceased to be a member of SLP on April 2"(under Clause V(4) 13-week rule) you pompously declare.

But you know, and everyone in the party knows, that long after April 2, SLP meetings were being held where not only many of those selecting the candidates for elections were way past the 13-week rule for 1999 contributions, but a large number of the candidates themselves which you scraped together were out-of-benefit too.

Maybe no-one will have the nerve to stand up and tell you at your forthcoming Congress what a bare-faced hypocrite you are with you small-minded 'constitutional' rackets, but you are and will remain a trade-union bureaucracy political crook of the nastiest kind.

And what about Rule 18 of the Complaints Procedure? This orders that "a written report of the Complaints Committee decision, summarising briefly the reasons for it" must be supplied to the Respondent (via the General Secretary)"within 14 days of the hearing". This was on Feb 12. To this day, as you well know, I have never received in writing so much as the verdict of the Complaints Committee, let alone their reasons for reaching it, which were never supplied verbally either. In even the most wretched legal procedures on earth, it would be out-of-order to not supply the accused after the trial with the verdict and the sentence in writing, — as your own rules instruct you to do. Did you "lack a sufficient sense of discipline" to carry out these important instructions as General Secretary?

And since you pretend to be so 'rule conscious', can you explain what happened to your 'constitutional discipline' in never having yet replied, — neither at the Complaints Committee, or in letters to me, or anywhere else, — to the single constitutional point I put back to you in reply to the avalanche of 'constitutional transgressions' you raised against me, — namely, the quite vital legal point spelt out in rule 4 of the Complaints Procedure, and wisely thought important enough by your legal adviser to be stressed again in the short preamble to the full 5-page 37-paragraph document to avoid the SLP falling foul of the law and being sued for discrimination or persecution.

This obvious sensible safeguard declares that the Complaints Procedure "is only applicable to conduct by a member of the SLP in that capacity" or relating to the conduct by

"an SLP member in that capacity".

As you repeat in your latest (May 11) letter, you brought your complaint against me over what the EPSR does because I was "deeply involved in the publication of the EPSR".

But I don't edit the EPSR "in my capacity as an SLP member". My SLP membership has got nothing whatever to do with my being editor of the EPSR, which job I have done every week for 20 years in accordance with the instructions (of the Editorial Committee) for a Marxist commentary on the activities of the whole labour and trade-union movement in the light of the changing requirements of the international class war against imperialism. Nothing the EPSR has ever done has been referred to the SLP or ever will be, or referred to the wishes of anyone acting "in their capacity as an SLP member". EPSR editing functions and SLP membership functions are completely separate activities.

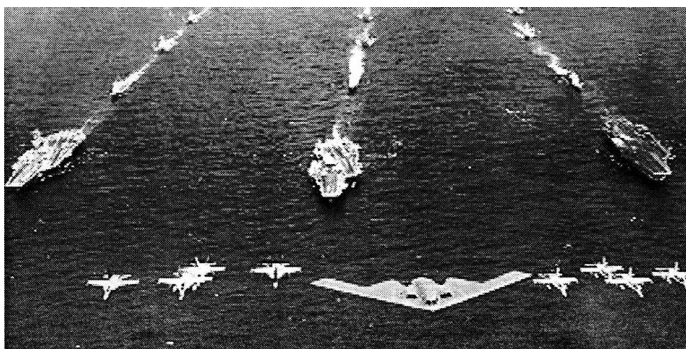
Things I did "in my capacity as an SLP member" were to act as secretary for the Stockport Area CSLPs; act as agent in two SLP election campaigns; regularly sell huge numbers of *Socialist News*; write many articles for *Socialist News*; move motions at SLP Congress; get elected to regional and national SLP committee; etc, etc. For none of these activities "in my capacity as an SLP member" have I been charged, which are the only activities your own Constitution and Rules say that I can be taken to the Complaints Committee over.

For someone with such a self-proclaimed sense of 'constitutional discipline', why do you refuse to address this matter which is crucial to my case, crucial to your behaviour as General Secretary (especially with the emphasis you always put on how 'constitutionally' you always supposedly conduct yourself), and crucial to natural justice????

Your one attempt to justify your illegal treacherous victimisation to expel me, which was unleashed at the NEC meeting on Dec 12, was to try to pretend to the Complaints Committee that the contents of the Dec 15 EPSR on which you based your complaint, referred to "internal SLP matters you could only have known about in your capacity as an SLP member".

Just not true. A complete lie, in fact.

As I patiently explained to the Complaints Committee (without getting one word of response from them on this matter, or on any other matter that I disputed in a 2-hour hearing), — the reference in EPSR 979 was to a London Region SLP meeting at which your Trotskyite close collaborators in the founding of the SLP, Heron & Co, had declared a strike on all future cooperation with the SLP in response to my election as vice president. But I learned about that meeting not because of "my capacity as an SLP member" but as a reader of the published press where a full report of that London regional SLP had been carried weeks earlier by the *Weekly Worker*.



The U.S. has 24,000 combat aircraft, 800 ships and 50 AWACS (Airborne Warning and Control System)

Since your treacherous back-stabbing was unleashed on Dec 12, it is possible that I have referred to matters which I have only learned about because of my membership of the SLP, but this entire disciplinary racket you have cooked up tied itself to the Dec 15 issue of the *EPSR*. It is just gross deception on workers to circumvent your own constitution to pretend that my editing of that newspaper could be related to me "in my capacity as an SLP member". You are lying, and your whole complaint is a complete fraud.

And why have you never replied to this point, either in writing or in your lengthy submissions to the Complaints Committee, — a point which I spelt out fully in my own submission, and also put in writing in my final written submission to the Complaints Committee?

And why did the Complaints Committee not reply??

I will tell you why, further on in this letter.

It is for the same reason that you simply totally refused to consider my cooperative offer to resign my office as vice president in order to allow a serious discussion leading to a hoped-for understanding of

each other's positions within such a small party. I openly acknowledged the potential influence that weekly publication of the *EPSR* could give to the Leninists in the SLP's ranks, and was prepared to creatively debate all manner of possibilities for turning such writing and publishing capacities to the advantage of party information and education, to be mutually agreed by the party leadership collectively.

You refused any such discussion from the start. You simply issued an increasingly bilious stream of letters containing various peremptory instructions, — (all of which I attempted to adapt to in a spirit of co-operation pending further serious party-leadership discussions (which in the end never once took place with the slightest scrap of sincerity on your part)), — concluding with your Dec 12 motion out of the blue (at the first NEC I ever attended, and the only one) to effectively have me expelled from the SLP for being the editor of the *EPS Review*, a job I had done for 20 years.

What all this registers is your utter syndicalist outlook on politics. You really do believe that the trade-union rule book is going to win

socialism in Britain, and you have a profound philistine contempt for serious scientific theory about political class struggle (Marxism-Leninism).

The total vacuum on your part for collective leadership via constructive debate shows up in most areas of how the SLP is run. The newspaper is entirely devoid of polemics and does not even have a letters column. It panders to 'famous names' no matter what rubbish they write.

You loudly declare a near-pathological dread of "internecine warfare", banning all debate and expelling me for explaining mistaken Trotskyite contributions to the SLP (on Ireland; in going on strike because they did not like an election result; in resigning because they could not get their way on Black Sections; etc. etc, etc, etc, etc;) — and yet you then almost tie the party up in internal constitutional legal wrangles going on endlessly which basically need solving by political confrontation followed by a quick split from anti-party factionalising.

Your philistinism is such that in my case, you simply refused to show to the NEC the 5,000-word letter I wrote to the NEC offering

my resignation in return for debating a constructive way forward for *EPSR* supporters to continue actively backing the development of the SLP.

And coming from the tradition of 100 years of TUC-Labour Party class-collaborating 'reformism' and pro-imperialist chauvinism, — the rule-book you hope to lead Britain to 'socialism' by is, of course, completely bent.

You swamp people in constitutional flannel but you don't believe one word of it yourself and have not the slightest intention of being bound by it in reality. You are a demagogic bureaucrat through and through.

You send this reply without an ounce of sincerity because that is what bureaucrats do. You and your Complaints Committee stonewall on the question of the complete 'disciplinary' illegality (of charging me over conduct "in my capacity as an SLP member" for my regular political-journalism activities which have roughly followed the same pattern for all of 20 years now, and which have not the slightest relationship to my behaviour "in my capacity as an SLP member"), — — for the same bureaucratic reasons.

EPSR

Leaving the world to be run by the greed of the capitalist monopolies can never stop resulting in periodic crises where trade-war destruction must rule, and to which the only antidote is Revolution and a strong workers state, --- as these essentials of Marxist-Leninist science explain.

Only the crisis events of collapsing imperialist rule interpreted in this Marxist-Leninist light will educate a mass workers party of leadership to do the necessary tasks.

The Revisionist retreat from the Soviet workers state because of crawling to shallow Western glitz and shame at their own past bureaucratic mistakes has only proved the soundness of Lenin's *State & Revolution* science about a very long period of proletarian dictatorship being the only way for the world to see-off monopoly imperialist warmongering, now back with a vengeance.

It is often said and written that the main point in Marx's teachings is the class struggle; but this is not true. And from this untruth very often springs the opportunist distortion of Marxism, its falsification in such a way as to make it acceptable to the bourgeoisie. For the doctrine of the class struggle was created not by Marx, but by the bourgeoisie before Marx, and generally speaking it is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Those who recognise only the class struggle are not yet Marxists; they may be found to be still within the boundaries of bourgeois thinking and bourgeois politics. To confine Marxism to the doctrine of the class struggle means curtailing Marxism, distorting it, reducing it to something which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is what constitutes the most profound difference between the Marxist and the ordinary petty (as well as big) bourgeois. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested. And it is not surprising that when the history of Europe brought the working class face to face with this question as a practical issue, not only all the opportunists and reformists, but all the "Kautskyites" (people who vacillate between reformism and Marxism) proved to be miserable philistines and petty-bourgeois democrats who repudiate the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"The last cause of all real crises always remains the poverty and restricted consumption of the masses as compared to the tendency of capitalist production to develop the productive forces as if only the absolute power of consumption of the entire society would be their limit." (Capital. Vol

III. P568.)

"For many a decade past", wrote Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* of 1848, "the history of industry and commerce is but the history of the revolt of modern productive forces against modern conditions of production, against the property relations that are the conditions for the existence of the bourgeoisie and of its rule. It is enough to mention the commercial crises that by their periodical return put the existence of the entire bourgeois society on its trial, each time more threateningly. In these crises a great part, not only of the existing products, but also of the previously created productive forces, are periodically destroyed. In these crises there breaks out an epidemic that, in all earlier epochs, would have seemed an absurdity - the epidemic of overproduction. Society suddenly finds itself put back into a state of momentary barbarism; it appears as if a famine, a universal war of devastation had cut off the supply of every means of subsistence; industry and commerce seem to be destroyed. And why? Because there is too much civilisation, too much means of subsistence, too much industry, too much commerce. The productive forces at the disposal of society no longer tend to further the development of the conditions of bourgeois property; on the contrary...they have become too powerful for these conditions, by which they are fettered, and so soon as they overcome these fetters, they bring disorder into the whole of bourgeois society, endanger the existence of bourgeois property. The conditions of bourgeois society are too narrow to comprise the wealth created by them."

The conditions of bourgeois democracy very often compel us to take a certain stand on a multitude of small and petty reforms, but we must be able, or learn, to take such a position on these reforms. (in such a manner) that - to oversimplify the matter for the sake of clarity - five minutes of every half-hour speech are devoted to reforms and twenty-five minutes to the coming revolution. (Lenin Dec 1916: Principles involved in the war issue.)

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You even bother going to all the bureaucratic trouble of denying that you initiated the expulsion procedure against me, — purely in order to be the complete bureaucrat. “I did not seek your expulsion from the SLP,” you write, “and whatever decision the Complaints Committee reached was a matter for them, not for me.”

Who do you think you are kidding with this stuff? And why do you bother?

The truth is that bureaucratic posturing is all you’ve got, — your syndicalist demagoguery. You don’t have any politics other than to be a weathervane for ‘left Labourism’, the biggest fraud ever perpetrated on the working class in this country; and your ‘break’ from the Labour Party was in name only, — a significant historical development in itself but the understanding of which was something way beyond the interest of its main protagonist, (and which will be analysed elsewhere in the *EPSR* now that this development has apparently exhausted its immediate potential.)

It’s just a bit late to be complaining now about Scargill’s “unconstitutional practices, manipulation, and abuse of authority”, as the newly victimised CPGB-ML are doing, — six years too late.

In view of what the Brarites **now** at last tell us about the constant abuse they suffered inside the SLP, for 8 years or more, — putting up with “Scargill and his cronies” and “with his insufferable vanity” as

“it became clear to all of us who worked closely with him that all he wanted was a fan club, just ‘old’ Labour remade in his image”,

— one major puzzle is the statement by the CPGB-ML:

“It is worth noting that not one of us feels our time in the SLP was wasted”.

40 This is either a confession of very unhealthy masochism, or else of extremely slow learning,

— or else of utterly unprincipled opportunism by out-and-out careerists in the Labour Movement who calculated on eating Scargill’s shit for 8 years in order to rise up on the “great man’s” coat-tails and eventually make a name for themselves like a Beria or a Kaganovitch.

On any explanation, the prospect of working class leadership from such gutless tripehounds seems not just unappetising but distinctly ludicrous.

An even more substantial problem is the age-old *Lalkar* flaw of always posturing hard with “Marxist” self-importance, but never actually saying very much, or committing to anything substantial.

For 25 years the *EPSR* has been challenging *Lalkar* and others to state what their real perspective is on imperialist crisis.

Lalkar has in practice worked Scargill’s “left-reformist” coat-tails for the last 8 years, just throwing in the odd “revolutionary” word in their own *Lalkar* propaganda, but never saying when, where, how, or why this “revolution” would come.

There are no perspectives for a World War III inter-imperialist breakdown; or a world “free market” economic collapse break down; or for an extended Third World national liberation revolutionary breakdown leading towards a return back to communist revolutionary inspirations.

The Brarites have a brand new communist party now, but we are still none the wiser.

After endless months of *EPSR* polemical battering, these intellectually-cowardly opportunists

have moved on from Scargill’s “condemn terrorism” at last (though never openly challenging Scargill’s reactionary class-collaborationism while inside the SLP), and have accepted (though with no acknowledgement of past leaden-footedness) that the historical

evaluation of Western imperialist warmongering escalation from Serbia onwards maybe deeper than “just about oil”.

But despite a huge new summary of “facts” about Iraq, there is still a conscious avoidance of any discussion about how deep is the American imperialist warmongering crisis in historical terms, about how significant might the Middle East resistance be in world socialist revolutionary terms, and about what role the insoluble economic crisis might play in driving the warmongering imperialist rivals against each other as this turn to belligerent “solutions” gets more and more into its stride, — all of which possibilities are frequently eagerly discussed around the *EPSR*’s struggle for Marxist-Leninist scientific perspectives.

In another huge litany of “facts” about the insoluble Palestinian end of the incurable imperialist warmongering crisis, the Brarites once again fail to disown the lunatic, treacherous, disorienting, and impossible “two-state solution” which they have previously clung to, both around the SLP and independently.

And since they won’t disown it, and since they keep total silence as usual about the long detailed and frequent attacks on them (and others) by the *EPSR* over this issue, it must be assumed that the CPGB-ML is still part of the filthy Stalinist-Revisionist counter-revolution-

ary plot to “peacefully coexistingly” join with the West in conning the Palestinian people to accept the utterly disastrous, utterly treacherous, and utterly impossible nonsense too, that they must accept the post-1945 colonisation of their country by Western imperialist Zionist Jews, and delude their nation for all time that “one day, a state of Palestine will be yours”.

It is utter garbage. It will never happen. There is no possible room for any other truly “independent” state on the old Palestine territory now so dominated by the Zionist imperialist-state monstrosity (the world’s fourth most powerful military might and the gigantic American Empire’s No 1 stooge and ally); and that Zionist fascist-military tyranny will never allow anything but joke “independence” anyway, and on nothing but a patchwork of pocket-handkerchief-sized Bantustan reservations, something closer to a permanent refugee camp or exile prison than a state.

It is never going to work and it has never been going to work from the start, ever since capitulatory Stalinist-Revisionism surrendered to this genocidal imposition.

By not denouncing this disgusting historical fraud now, these CPGB-ML Brarites declare their total class-collaborating willingness to compromise forever with the Western imperialist “new world order”.

And it is virtually guaranteed that the Brarites will preserve total silence on this polemical issue, just as they have always sought to defuse *EPSR* criticism over the past two decades by just ignoring it.

But the world will not go away, even if critics can be blanked out.

And it is developments themselves which will finally show up the utter bankruptcy of the intellectually-cowardly non-perspectives of the CPGB-ML, — just as they ultimately made clear Stalinism’s theoretical bankruptcy at the heart of the Revisionist catastrophe, and eventually brought out the essential rottenness and pointless self-damage of the Brarites’ 8-year cover-up for all of Scargill’s unpleasant imbecilities.

Build Leninism.

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