

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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Trotskyite trumpeting on “communism” is a counter-revolutionary hoax. It is not, and never was, an answer to revisionist (Stalinist) theoretical retreat and errors. Neither comes close to Leninist revolutionary science. Part 1

Like a zombie refusing to die, Trotskyist confusion and petty bourgeois subjectivism endlessly revives its bilious rubbishing of Soviet and other workers states’ giant achievements, to subvert and undermine the struggle to end capitalism. Battle against this vile obstacle to workers class understanding and revolutionary theory is central to the fight for a planned socialist future and rational communist society as EPSR has shown over 40 years. DH 12/24

Imperialism’s worldwide plunge into economic disaster and trade-war; anti-“democracy” coups and counter-revolutionary provocations from South Korea and Pakistan to France, Britain and the US; whipped up fascist chauvinism and scapegoating violence everywhere; horrific Western instigated war in Ukraine and Zionist genocide depravity in the Middle East, are all stirring minds across the world against collapsing monopoly capitalism.

They are looking for clear scientific understanding built and fought for by an open polemical Marxist-Leninist party to lead the necessary classwar struggles which alone can change things, by overturning bourgeois rule and ending the outmoded profiteering system and its increasingly intolerable oppression, inequality and inhuman exploitation, to establish rational socialism under firm working class control.

But while the true nature of the tyrannical imperialist order in degenerate decline is more starkly revealed by the day, the revolutionary and only possible solution to this fascist bourgeois order and its plunge into inevitable Catastrophe and horrifying world war, continues to be blocked off from workers and intellectuals by fake-“left” posturing and **mis**-leadership, from reformist (and increasingly counter-revolutionary) opportunism to revisionist retreat and class collaboration.

Not least among them are the 101 varieties of Trotskyism.

Behind a pretence of militancy and anti-capitalist demands – lately even loudly proclaiming the need for “communism” – this petty bourgeois fraudulence smuggles poisonous anti-communism into the workers movement with its denunciations of the great workers state struggles of

the twentieth century, starting with the Soviet Union and those survivals of its inspiration like Vietnam, North Korea, Cuba and colossal China, (all sneeringly and wrongly written off as either “returned to capitalism” or irretrievably “deformed”).

As spelt out in *EPSR Book Vol 5 on Lenin against Trotsky’s “permanent” counter-revolution* and in *EPSR* articles since it started (now reproduced here and in a further volumes to come) Trotsky’s sniping and counter-revolution began virtually the moment that Bolshevik leader Vladimir Lenin died in early 1924, defeatistly declaring that all was doomed for the new Soviet Union from virtually its first days and continuing ever since.

Allegedly just “criticising the mistakes and crimes of Stalinism” from then on Trotsky and his followers have bolstered and supported the bourgeoisie’s hatred of the great revolutionary advances made in the twentieth century, giving capitalist reaction a “left” cover and aiding its fascist subversion and bloody suppression of all mass struggle against it.

Gross mistakes and theoretical retreats aplenty **were** made by the leadership of this first titanic, 73-year-long effort to throw off bourgeois rule completely and establish a completely new way of reorganising society on a cooperative basis around the common ownership of production, and the *EPSR* has not stinted from saying so (eg *EPSR Books 6,7, 13, 18 and 21 on Unanswered polemics against Stalinism etc*).

But such criticism has always been on a basis of **unconditional** support for the USSR and the other workers states whose revolutions it inspired and aided, and first of all recognising not just the titanic achievements of

the Soviet camp but the need to spell these out to the world proletarian masses, duped by lying brainwashing notions that “communism didn’t work”.

Trotskyism to the contrary has always used criticism of revisionist leadership flaws and bureaucratic complacency to denounce and dismiss the very existence of the workers states, declaring that they were nothing but a disaster, and that all their advances and achievements were not only poisoned through and through but irredeemably so.

Trotskyite criticism, founded in petty bourgeois fear of proletarian dictatorship, was one of declaring that “all is rotten” as Lenin pinpointed in his many polemics against him, in the first years of the new Soviet state.

The inevitable errors and problems of building a completely new type of society, and the rough and uneven advances were just adduced as evidence that **all** was failing and had to be scrapped (exactly as the bourgeois ruling class wanted) throwing the socialist baby out with the dirty bathwater because reality did not match some “perfect” template.

To back up this subjective idealist notion an entire theory was devised, declaring it impossible to “build socialism in one country”.

This defeatist mantra had nothing to do with Lenin who said the exact opposite, and particularly once the Bolsheviks had taken power, declaring that under firm workers state control, the steady development of cooperatives and state industries was all that was needed to push on to socialism (as others have subsequently such as Castro’s Cuba).

And in fact the Soviet Union took giant steps forwards in every way, social, industrial, military, technological, scientific, and culturally, improving the lives of its masses even while forced to defend itself from non-stop sabotage, subversion and invasion, and most of all the existential threat of the 1941 onslaught by Hitler’s Nazism (long built up by Western collusion), becoming the world’s second greatest power

in the post-war decades until its idiot liquidation under Gorbachev (*Books Vol 13, 21 etc*).

Of course over the long perspective, the imperialist crisis means the world has to press forwards to the revolutionary ending of capitalism everywhere, and gross retreats (starting fairly early on) from that constantly vital broader understanding led to the philosophical decay of Soviet leadership culminating in Gorbachevism (which **did** tip into counter-revolution).

But Trotsky declared such mistakes to be **deliberate** counter-revolution from the beginning by the Soviet leadership, itself quickly declared to have become essentially a new capitalist ruling class – which Trotsky was obliged, sneakily, to call a “caste” since the USSR had patently not reverted to capitalism and was making huge strides forwards.

From that followed the even more absurd notion of the “political revolution” somehow differentiated from a “social revolution” which was a hair splitting nonsense and nothing but a call for counter-revolution in practice.

And this was proven beyond all doubt with the 1980s upheavals of the Polish rank-and-file “socialist” movement Solidarnosc, quickly proving to be a CIA and Vatican organised and funded counter-revolutionary movement bogusly presented as a “trade union”, whose Pope-kissing leader Lech Walesa went on to become the first outright fascist president of a non-stop warmongering Warsaw regime.

The Trots of all shades now say nothing at all about this gross subversion that their theories helped push through, and the Soviet and East European liquidations that it helped precipitate.

Nor do they ever talk about, let alone explain, the total discrediting of the “political revolution”.

Nor explain how these 1989-91 upheavals – a real counter-revolution – make a mockery of their assorted claims about never quite pinned down (i.e non-existent) “Stalinist counter-revolution”.

Build neither. Build Leninism.

Pointless Slaughter*

[ILWP Bulletin (EPSR) No384 11-03-87]

(* refers to Cliff Slaughter, former member of the Workers Revolutionary Party)

Having just tried to explain away 30 years wormlike capitulation (to Healy's shallow politics and crude thuggery) in terms of feminist victims of male sexual chauvinism, the WRP remnants around the Yorkshire academic are now lashing out at Mike Banda's attempts to expose Trotskyite cretinism.

Slaughter calls Banda 'obscene' for pointing out that every one of endless Trot predictions (from 1923 onwards) of Soviet failure & collapse, defeat by imperialism or capitulation to it (restoring capitalism) has proved hopelessly wrong and shown Trotsky's "everything is rotten" subjectivism to be a useless historical & theoretical weapon, spawning only anti-communism.

And how does the now lone British guru of Fourth Internationalism try to make his rude name-calling stick? By putting his head back in the sand of old threadbare Trot clichés and pretending that it is the Soviet Union which has collapsed at last, – not Trotskyism.

While Mike Banda's efforts may indeed still be woolly, academic, and dialectically incapable so far of combining unconditional support for the Soviet workers state (the essence of Lenin's understanding of proletarian dictatorship) with relentless criticism of every revisionist retreat & defeatism past & present by the leadership, the Slaughterites' ↗

problems are far worse.

The scholarly point-scoring fails to lay a finger on Banda's still-continuing real weaknesses, and instead merely limps back immediately into one of Trotsky's earliest and biggest ruts of pseudo-Marxist nonsense: – the fiction of treating the working class and the workers state that it built as two completely separate things, – with the entire state & social structure quickly falling under the control of a new ruling class, – notoriously called 'ruling caste' by Trotsky in the shallowest & silliest sleight-of-hand in history (because he knew he could never explain by Marxist science where the new ruling class had come from since there were no property relations on which it could possibly take root).

Slaughter wisely steers clear of this inevitable graveyard of pretended Trotskyite 'science' (made easier for him by the Bandanistas' interminable slowness in grasping this fundamental Trot revision of Marxism themselves) – by sticking to the simple swear-word 'bureaucracy'.

Now of course, there **is** a bureaucracy in the workers state.

One participant in the Russian Revolution, – hostile to Stalin but greatly admired by Trotsky*, [this obviously **is** Trotsky – ed: see *Revolution Betrayed* Chapter 3]:

and pretending to be a follower of Lenin, – summed up the bureaucratic inevitability (admitted by Lenin) thus:

"It was in this sense that Marx wrote in 1875:

'Bourgeois law...is inevitable in the first phase of the communist society, in that form in which it issues after long labour pains from capitalist society. Law can never be higher than the economic structure and the cultural development of society conditioned by that structure.'

"In explaining these remarkable lines, Lenin adds:

'Bourgeois law in relation to the distribution of the objects of consumption assumes, of course, inevitably a bourgeois state, - for law is nothing without an apparatus capable of compelling observance of its norms. It follows that under Communism not only will bourgeois law survive for a certain time, but also even a bourgeois state without the bourgeoisie.'

This highly significant conclusion, completely ignored by the present official theoreticians, has a decisive significance for the understanding of the nature of the Soviet state - or more accurately, for a first approach to such understanding. Insofar as the state which assumes the task of socialist transformation is compelled to defend inequality - that is the material privileges of a minority - by methods of compulsion, insofar does it also remain a 'bourgeois' state, even though without a bourgeoisie. These words contain neither praise nor blame; they merely name things with their real names.

"The bourgeois norms of distribution, by hastening the growth of material power, ought to serve socialist aims - but only in the last analysis. The state assumes directly and from the very beginning a dual character: socialistic, insofar as it defends social property in the means of production; bourgeois, insofar as the distribution of life's goods is carried out with a capitalistic measure of value and all the consequences ensuing therefrom. Such a contradictory characterization may horrify the dogmatists and scholastics; we can only offer them our condolences.

"The final physiognomy of the workers state ought to be determined by the changing relations between its bourgeois and socialist tendencies. The triumph of the latter ought ipso facto to signify the final liquidation of the gendarme -that is, the dissolving of the state in a self-governing society. From this alone it is sufficiently clear how immeasurably significant is the problem of Soviet bureaucratism, both in itself and as a symptom.

"It is because Lenin, in accord with his whole intellectual temper, gave an extremely sharpened expression to the conception of Marx, that he revealed the source of the future difficulties, his own among them, although he did not himself succeed in carrying his analysis through to the end. 'A bourgeois state without a bourgeoisie' proved inconsistent with genuine Soviet democracy.

The dual function of the state could not but affect its structure. Experience revealed what theory was unable clearly to foresee. If for the defence of socialised property against bour-

geois counter-revolution a 'state of armed workers' was fully adequate, it was a very different matter to regulate inequalities in the sphere of consumption. Those deprived of property are not inclined to create and defend it. The majority cannot concern itself with the privileges of the minority. For the defence of 'bourgeois law' the workers state was compelled to create a 'bourgeois' type of instrument - that is, the same old gendarme, although in a new uniform.

"We have thus taken the first step toward understanding the fundamental contradiction between Bolshevik programme and Soviet reality. If the state does not die away, but grows more and more despotic, if the plenipotentiaries of the working class become bureaucratized, and the bureaucracy rises above the new society, this is not for some secondary reasons like the psychological relics of the past, etc, but is a result of the iron necessity to give birth to and support a privileged minority so long as it is impossible to guarantee genuine equality.

"The tendencies of bureaucratism, which strangles the workers movement in capitalist countries, would everywhere show themselves even after a proletarian revolution. But it is perfectly obvious that the poorer the society which issues from a revolution, the sterner and more naked would be the expression of this 'law', the more crude would be the forms assumed by bureaucratism, and the more dangerous would it become for socialist development. The Soviet state is prevented not only from dying away, but even from freeing itself of the bureaucratic parasite, not by the 'relics' of former ruling classes, as declares the naked police doctrine of Stalin, for these relics are powerless in themselves. It is prevented by immeasurably mightier factors, such as material want, cultural backwardness and the resulting dominance of 'bourgeois law' in what most immediately and sharply touches every human being, the business of insuring his personal existence.

"Two years before the *Communist Manifesto*, young Marx wrote:

'A development of the productive forces is the absolutely necessary practical premise (of communism), because without it want is generalized, and with want the struggle for necessities begins again, and that means that all the old crap must revive.'

This thought Marx never directly developed, and for no accidental reason: he never foresaw a proletarian revolution in a backward country. Lenin also never dwelt upon it, and this too was not accidental. He did not foresee so prolonged an isolation of the Soviet state. Nevertheless, the citation, merely an abstract construction with Marx, an inference from the opposite, provides an indispensable theoretical key to the wholly concrete difficulties and sicknesses of the Soviet regime. On the historic basis of destitution, aggravated by the destructions of the imperialist and civil wars, the 'struggle for individual existence' not only did not disappear the day after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, and not only did not abate in the succeeding years, but, on the contrary, assumed at times an unheard-of ferocity. Need we recall that certain regions of the country have twice gone to the point of cannibalism?[]

"... The real programme of the coming Soviet five-year-plan, however, is to 'catch up with Europe and America'. The construction of a network of autoroads and asphalt highways in the measureless spaces of the Soviet Union will require much more time and material than to transplant automobile factories from America, or even to acquire their technique. How many years are needed in order to make it possible for every Soviet citizen to use an automobile in any direction he chooses, refilling his gas tank without difficulty en route? In barbarian society the rider and the pedestrian constituted two classes. The automobile differentiates society no less than the saddle horse. So long as even a modest Ford remains the privilege of a minority, there survive all the relations and customs proper to a bourgeois society. And together with them there remains the guardian of inequality, the state.

"Basing himself wholly upon the Marxian theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat, Lenin did not succeed, as we have said either in his chief work dedicated to the question (*State and Revolution*), or in the programme of the party, in drawing all the necessary conclusions as to the character of the state from the economic backwardness and isolatedness of the country. Explaining the revival of bureaucratism by the unfamiliarity of the masses with administration and by the special difficulties resulting from the war, the programme prescribes merely political measures for the overcoming of 'bureaucratic distortions': election and recall at any time of all plenipotentiaries, abolition of material privileges, active control by the masses, etc. It was assumed that along this road the bureaucrat, from being a boss, would turn into a simple and moreover temporary technical agent, and the state would gradually and imperceptibly disappear from the scene.

"This obvious underestimation of impending difficulties is explained by the fact that the programme was based wholly upon an international perspective.

"The October revolution in Russia has realised the dictatorship of the proletariat...The era of world proletarian communist revolution has begun."

These were the introductory lines of the programme. Their authors not only did not set themselves the aim of constructing 'socialism in a single country' - this idea had not entered anybody's head then, and least of all Stalin's - but they also did not touch the question as to what character the Soviet state would assume, if compelled for as long as two decades to solve in isolation those economic and cultural problems which advanced capitalism had solved so long ago.

"The post-war revolutionary crisis did not lead to the victory of socialism in Europe. The social democrats rescued the bourgeoisie. That period, which to Lenin and his colleagues looked like a short 'breathing spell', has stretched out to a whole historical epoch. The contradictory social structure of the Soviet Union, and the ultra-bureaucratic character of its state, are the direct consequences of this unique and 'unforeseen' historical pause, which has at the same time led in the capitalist countries to fascism or the pre-fascist reaction.

"While the first attempt to create a state cleansed of bureaucratism fell foul, in the first place, of the unfamiliarity of the masses with self-government, the lack of qualified workers devoted to socialism, etc, it very soon after these immediate difficulties encountered others more profound. That reduction of the state to functions of 'accounting and control', with a continual narrowing of the functions of compulsion, demanded by the party programme, assumed at least a relative condition of general contentment. Just this necessary condition was lacking. No help came from the West. The power of the democratic Soviets proved cramping, even unendurable, when the task of the day was to accommodate those privileged groups whose existence was necessary for defence, for industry, for technique and science, in this decidedly not 'socialist' operation, taking from ten and giving to one....

etc etc, etc.

The workers state and its bureaucracy is obviously bigger & stronger than ever today. Regardless of the appalling added burdens of revisionism which have slowed down the growth of the world socialist revolution,

however, it is a realm of daft make-believe to pretend that the phenomenal inflationary **expansion** of imperialist militarism and monopoly production under the postwar domination of US finance capital, (– which is preparing the shape of the final

warmongering, national-liberation/revolutionary overthrow of the 'free market' system,—) could have left the Soviet Union, — in spite of the massive expansion (at last) of the socialist camp, — anywhere but still trailing in the wake of Western 'automobile' society as far as the continuing problems of unequal distribution are concerned.

Thus all Slaughter's 'damning' condemnations of continuing bureaucracy, echoing Trotsky, are as premature & unbalanced now as they were when first cynically used to cover Trotsky's defeatist retreat from the struggle for Leninism into 'oppositionism', and "everything-is-rotten" undermining of the Soviet state & party leadership.

In fact the attempted sabotage has deteriorated farcically since the original opportunity for Trotsky to keep alive the banner of Leninism in the face of the Stalin group's revisionist weaknesses was betrayed by Trotsky's own pathetic inability to control his own demoralised subjectivism which had led him into a bitter lifelong struggle against Lenin's superior science up to August 1917, and then led him into the hopeless miasma of his "everything-is-rotten" collapse in the trade union debate, and other insecure & unreliable lapses. (See *ILWP Books* vol 5).

Lenin had to warn Trotsky not to spoil 'the barrelful of honey with his spoonful of tar', and it led on eventually to Lenin banning all further factional rights in the Bolshevik Party after the 10th congress, and to the matters at the core of Lenin's testament advising that above all else, a split between Stalin & Trotsky in leading party & state positions should be avoided, a problem the party could only ultimately solve by depriving the rampantly-subjective Trotsky of his positions. (See *ILWP Books* vol 5). (and also in the following item p25. - ed)

Where Trotsky at least still kept half a toe on the ground throughout his life in order to retain some credibility with the international working class by begrudgingly admitting that the world's first workers state could still play occasionally at least some small progressive role against the forces of world imperialism, Slaughterism is merely full of bilious pessimism & hatred towards the USSR, — admitting no positive gains at all. Trotsky's 1921 "everything is rotten" subjective bile has long since drowned any last chance of seeing a revival of pro-Soviet & pro-dictatorship-of-the-proletariat Leninism from that particular idealist petty-bourgeois tradition of political opportunism.

Where Trotsky admitted that:

in the final, analysis, through the interests of the bureaucracy, in a very distorted form, the interests of the workers' state are reflected[....]

... it is necessary to establish that under certain conditions—up to a certain degree and in a certain form —the support of this or that imperialism would be inevitable even for a completely healthy workers' state—in virtue of the impossibility of breaking away from the chains of world imperialist relations. The Brest-Litovsk peace without the least doubt temporarily reinforced German imperialism against France and England. /An isolated workers' state cannot fail to manoeuvre between the hostile imperialist-camps. Manoeuvring means temporarily supporting one of them against the other. To know exactly which one of the two camps it is more advantageous or less dangerous to support at a certain moment is not a question of principle but of practical calculation and foresight. The inevitable disadvantage which is engendered as a consequence of this constrained support for one bourgeois state against another is more than covered by the fact that the isolated workers' state is thus given the possibility of continuing its existence[...]

The Kremlin participates in a new division of Poland, the Kremlin lays hands upon the Baltic states, the Kremlin orients toward the Balkans, Persia and Afghanistan; in other words, the Kremlin continues the policy of Czarist imperialism. Do we not have the right in this case to label the policy of the Kremlin itself imperialist? This historical-geographical argument is no more convincing than any of the others. The proletarian revolution, which occurred on the territory of the Czarist empire, attempted from the very beginning to conquer and for a time conquered the Baltic countries: attempted to penetrate Rumania and Persia and at one time led its armies up to Warsaw (1920). The lines of revolutionary expansion were the same as those of Czarism, since revolution does not change geographical conditions. That is precisely why the Mensheviks at that time already spoke of Bolshevik imperialism as borrowed from the traditions of Czarist diplomacy. The petty-bourgeois democracy willingly resorts to this argument even now. We have no reason, I repeat, for imitating them in this[....]

The Kremlin is not preparing to demonstrate its usefulness to France, England and the United States. As its actions have proved, it has firmly decided to sovietise Finland—at once or in two stages. The programme of the Kuusinen government, even if approached from a 'formal' point of view does not differ from the programme of the Bolsheviks in November 1917[...]

It is more likely, however, that in the territories scheduled to become a part of the USSR, the Moscow government will carry through the expropriation of the large land-owners and statification of the means of production. This variant is most probable[....]

The appeal of the 'People's Government' calls for workers' control. What can this mean! exclaims Shachtman. There is no workers' control in the USSR; whence will it come in Finland? Sad to say, Shachtman reveals complete lack of understanding of the situation. In the USSR workers' control is a stage long ago completed. From control over the bourgeoisie there they passed to management of nationalized production.

.....Furthermore one should not think that the Kremlin is so stupid as to attempt ruling eastern Poland or Finland by means of imported commissars... Moscow had other plans and aims. Dispatches then reported the creation of a Finnish 'Red Army'. Naturally, it was only a question of small formations set up from above. The programme of Kuusinen was issued. Next the dispatches appeared of the division of large estates among poor peasants. In their totality, these dispatches signified an attempt on the part of Moscow to organise a civil war. Naturally, this is a civil war of a special type. It does not arise spontaneously from the depths of the popular

masses. It is not conducted under the leadership of the Finnish revolutionary party based on mass support. It is introduced on bayonets from without. It is controlled by the Moscow bureaucracy. All this we know, and we dealt with all this in discussing Poland. Nevertheless, it is precisely a question of civil war, of an appeal to the lowly, to the poor, a call to them to expropriate the rich, drive them out, arrest them, etc. I know of no other name for these actions except civil war[....]

This impulse in the direction of socialist revolution was possible only because the bureaucracy of the USSR straddles and has its roots in the economy of a workers' state. The revolutionary utilisation of this 'impulse' by the Ukrainian Byelo Russians was possible only through the class struggle in the occupied territories and through the power of the example of the October Revolution[...]

In the meantime, the commanding staff of the Soviet army called upon the peasants and workers to seize the land and the factories. This call, supported by armed force, played an enormous role in the life of the occupied country. Moscow papers were filled to overflowing with reports of the boundless 'enthusiasm' of workers and poor peasants. We should and must approach these reports with justifiable distrust: there is no lack of lies. But it is nevertheless impermissible to close one's eyes to facts. The call to settle accounts with the landlords and to drive out the capitalists could not have failed to rouse the spirit of the hounded and crushed Ukrainian and Byelo-Russian peasants and workers who saw in the Polish landlord a double enemy[...]

...do not tear yourself away from the masses, despite all their illusions, just as the Russian revolutionists did not tear themselves away from the masses who had not yet freed themselves from their hopes in the Czar (Bloody Sunday, January 22, 1905); educate the masses in the course of the struggle, warn them against naïve hopes in Moscow, but do not tear yourself away from them, fight in their camp, try to extend and deepen their struggle, and to give it the greatest possible independence[...]

Seeking to get around reality, namely that nothing else but the social foundations of the USSR forced a social revolutionary programme upon the Kremlin, Shachtman refers to Lithuania, Estonia and Latvia where everything has remained as of old. An incredible argument! No one has said that the Soviet bureaucracy always and everywhere either wishes or is able to accomplish the expropriation of the bourgeoisie. We only say that no other government could have accomplished that social overturn which the Kremlin bureaucracy notwithstanding its alliance with Hitler found itself compelled to sanction in eastern Poland. Failing this, it could not include the territory in the Federation of the USSR.

Shachtman is aware of the overturn itself. He cannot deny it. He is incapable of explaining it. But he nevertheless attempts to save face. He writes: 'In the Polish Ukraine and White Russia, where class exploitation was intensified by national oppression ...the peasants began to take over the land themselves, to drive off the landlords who were already half-in-flight,' etc. (Loc. cit., p. 16.) The Red Army it turns out had no connection whatever with all this. It came into Poland only as a 'counter-revolutionary force' in order to suppress the movement. But why didn't the workers and peasants in western Poland seized by Hitler arrange a revolution? Why was it chiefly revolutionists, 'democrats', and Jews who fled from there, while in eastern Poland—it was chiefly the landlords and capitalists who fled? Shachtman lacks the time to think this out—he is in a hurry to explain to me that the conception of 'bureaucratic revolution' is absurd, for the emancipation of the workers can be carried out only by the workers themselves. Am I not justified in repeating that Shachtman obviously feels he is standing in a nursery?

In the Parisian organ of the Mensheviks—who, if that is possible, are even more 'irreconcilable' in their attitude toward the Kremlin's foreign policy than Shachtman—it is reported that 'in the villages—very frequently at the very approach of the Soviet troops (i.e., even prior to their entering a given district—L.T.)—peasant committees sprang up everywhere, the elementary organs of revolutionary peasant self-rule...

'The military authorities hastened of course to subordinate these committees to the bureaucratic organs established by them in the urban centres. Nevertheless they were compelled to rest upon the peasant committees since without them it was impossible to carry out the agrarian revolution.

The leader of the Mensheviks, Dan, wrote on October 19: 'According to the unanimous testimony of all observers the appearance of the Soviet army and the Soviet bureaucracy provides not only in the territory occupied by them but beyond its confines—an impulse (!!!) to social turmoil and social transformations.' The 'impulse', it will be observed, was invented not by me but by 'the unanimous testimony of all observers' who possessed eyes and ears. Dan goes even further and expresses the supposition that 'the waves engendered by this impulse will not only hit Germany powerfully in a comparatively short period of time but also to one degree or another roll on to other states'.

Another Menshevik author writes: 'However they may have attempted in the Kremlin to avoid anything which might smack of the great revolution, the very fact of the entry of Soviet troops into the territories of eastern Poland with its long outlived semi-feudal agrarian relations, had to provoke a stormy agrarian movement. With the approach of Soviet troops the peasants began to seize landlords' estates and to form peasant committees.' You will observe: with the approach of Soviet troops and not at all with their withdrawal as should follow in accordance with Shachtman's words. I cite the testimony of the Mensheviks because they are very well informed, their sources of information coming through Polish and Jewish émigrés friendly to them who have gathered in France, and also because having capitulated to the French bourgeoisie, these gentlemen cannot possibly be suspected of capitulation to Stalinism.

The testimony of the Mensheviks furthermore is confirmed by the reports of the bourgeois press:

'The agrarian revolution in Soviet Poland has had the force of a spontaneous movement. As soon as the report spread that the Red Army had crossed the river Zbrucz the peasants began to share out amongst themselves the landlords' acres. Land was given first to small holders and in this way about thirty per cent of agricultural land was expropriated.' (New York Times, January 17, 1940.)....

/The press of the Mensheviks who are very well informed thanks to their friendship with Bund and with PPS émigrés says openly that a revolutionary wave surrounded the advance of the Red Army. And not only in Poland but also in Rumania.

The Kremlin created the Kuusinen government with the evident purpose of supplementing the war by civil war. There was information about the beginning of the creation of a Finnish Red Army, about 'enthusiasm' of poor Finnish farmers in the occupied regions where the large land properties were confiscated, and so on. What is this if not the beginning of civil war?

The further development of the civil war depended completely upon the advance of the Red Army. The 'enthusiasm' of the people was evidently not hot enough to produce independent insurrections of peasants and workers under the sword of the hangman Mannerheim. The retreat of the Red Army necessarily halted the elements of the civil war at the very beginning. (1940) In Defence of Marxism

Not the fate of the five-year plan, but the fate of the regime was at stake.

The regime survived.

But that is the merit of the regime itself, which had put down deep roots in the popular soil[...].

The objective superiority of the new social regime reveals itself, too, of course, in the methods of the leaders. But these methods reflect equally the economic and cultural backwardness of the country, and the petty bourgeois provincial conditions in which the ruling cadres were formed.

It would be the crudest mistake to infer from this that the policy of the Soviet leaders is of third-rate importance[...]

The centralized character of the national economy converts the state power into a factor of enormous significance. But for that very reason the policy of the government must be judged, not by summarized results, not by naked statistical data, but by the specific role which conscious foresight and planned leadership have played in achieving these results[...]

The zigzags of the governmental course have reflected not only the objective contradictions of the situation, but also the inadequate ability of the leaders to understand these contradictions in season and react prophylactically against them. It is not easy to express the mistakes of the leadership in bookkeeper's magnitudes, but our schematic exposition of the history of these zigzags permits the conclusion that they have imposed upon the Soviet economy an immense burden of overhead expenses.

It remains of course incomprehensible—at least with a rational approach to history—how and why a faction the least rich of all in ideas, and the most burdened with mistakes, should have gained the upper hand over all other groups[...]

However, before taking up the dual role of the “socialist” bureaucracy, we must answer the question: What is the net result of the preceding successes? Is socialism really achieved in the Soviet Union? Or, more cautiously: Do the present economic and cultural achievements constitute a guarantee against the danger of capitalist restoration[...]

The proletariat has not yet said its last word. The bureaucracy has not yet created social supports for its dominion in the form of special types of property. It is compelled to defend state property as the source of its power and its income. In this aspect of its activity it still remains a weapon of proletarian dictatorship[...]

The predominance of socialist over petty bourgeois tendencies is guaranteed, not by the automatism of the economy—we are still far from that—but by political measures taken by the dictatorship. The character of the economy as a whole thus depends upon the character of the state power[...]

The fall of the present bureaucratic dictatorship, if it were not replaced by a new socialist power, would thus mean a return to capitalist relations with a catastrophic decline of industry and culture.

But if a socialist government is still absolutely necessary for the preservation and development of the planned economy, the question is all the more important, upon whom the present Soviet government relies, and in what measure the socialist character of its policy is guaranteed. At the 11th Party Congress in March 1922, Lenin, in practically bidding farewell to the party, addressed these words to the commanding group:

“History knows transformations of all sorts. To rely upon conviction, devotion and other excellent spiritual qualities—that is not to be taken seriously in politics.”

Being determines consciousness.

The Revolution Betrayed

The Soviet government represents an instrument for the preservation of conquests of an already accomplished overturn. The Communist parties of the West have no inherited capital. Their strength (in reality, their weakness) lies within themselves and only within themselves. Nine-tenths of the strength of the Stalinist apparatus lies not in itself but in the social changes wrought by the victorious revolution. Still, this consideration alone does not decide the question: but it does bear a great methodological significance. It shows us how and why the Stalinist apparatus could completely squander its meaning as the international revolutionary factor, and yet preserve a part of its progressive meaning as the gate-keeper of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution. This dual position — we may add — represents in itself one of the manifestations of the unevenness of historical development[...]

A class is defined not by its participation in the distribution of the national income alone, but by its independent role in the general structure of economy and by its independent roots in the economic foundation of society. Each class (the feudal nobility, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the capitalist bourgeoisie, and the proletariat) works out its own special forms of property. The bureaucracy lacks all these social traits. It has no independent position in the process of production and distribution. It has no independent property roots. Its functions relate basically to the political technique of class rule. The existence of a bureaucracy, in all its variety of forms and differences in specific weight, characterizes every class regime. Its power is of a reflected character. The bureaucracy is indissolubly bound up with a ruling economic class, feeding itself upon the social roots of the latter, maintaining itself and falling together with it[...]

The anatomy of society is determined by its economic relations. So long as the forms of property that have been created by the October revolution are not overthrown, the proletariat remains the ruling class[...]

the proletariat with clenched teeth bears (‘tolerates’) the bureaucracy, and in this sense recognizes it as the bearer of the proletarian dictatorship. In a heart to heart conversation, no Soviet worker would be sparing of strong words addressed to the Stalinist bureaucracy. But not a single one of them would allow that the counter-revolution has already taken place. The proletariat is the spine of the Soviet state[...]

the Bonapartism of soviet bureaucracy has under it the soil of a soviet regime. Terminological innovations or historical analogies can serve as conveniences in one manner or another for analysis but they cannot change the social nature of the soviet state[...]

we may speak about the dictatorship of the bureaucracy and even about the personal dictatorship of Stalin. But this usurpation was made possible and can maintain itself only because the social content of the dictatorship of the bureaucracy is determined by those productive relations which were created by the proletarian revolution. In this sense we may say with complete justification that the dictatorship of the proletariat found its distorted but indubitable expression in the dictatorship of the bureaucracy[...]

Thus, if one were to use Lenin's terminology conscientiously and with some comprehension of the matter, one would have to say that the Soviet economic development passed by completely the stage of ‘state capitalism’, and unfolded along the channel of the enterprises of the

‘consistently socialist type’[...]

the Soviet bureaucracy is interested at the same time by its very function, in the economic and cultural growth of the country; the higher the national income, the more copious its funds of privileges. Concurrently, upon the social foundations of the Soviet state, the economic and cultural uplift of the labouring masses must tend to undermine the very bases of bureaucratic domination. Clearly in light of this fortunate historical variant, the bureaucracy turns out to be only the instrument — a bad and an expensive instrument — of the socialist state[...]

At the same time, we established the fact that despite monstrous bureaucratic degeneration, the Soviet state still remains the historical instrument of the working class in so far as it assures the development of economy and culture on the basis of nationalized means of production, and by virtue of this prepares the conditions for a genuine emancipation of the toilers through the liquidation of the bureaucracy and of social inequality.

Whoever has not seriously pondered and accepted these two fundamental propositions; whoever in general has not studied the literature of the Bolshevik-Leninists on the question of the USSR from 1923 on, runs the risk of losing the leading thread with every new event, and of forsaking Marxist analysis for abject lamentations[...]

We call the Stalinist apparatus centrist precisely because it fulfills a dual role; today, when there is no longer a Marxist leadership, and none forthcoming as yet, it defends the proletarian dictatorship with its own methods; but these methods are such as facilitate the victory of the enemy tomorrow. Whoever fails to understand this dual role of Stalinism in the USSR, has understood nothing.

(1933) The class nature of the Soviet state

(1935) The workers' state, Thermidor and Bonapartism

– Slaughter only snarls, – ignore even of Trotskyism (let alone Leninism) in denying any ‘dual role’ at all for the workers state, – sneering at it as only counter-revolutionary (while himself poncing off the capitalist state and thirty years of Healy thugery):

“On all these fundamental issues, the lie of a ‘dual nature’ of the Stalinist bureaucracy works to cover up for the counter-revolutionary nature of Stalinism ‘through and through’[...]

The Stalinist bureaucracy is a parasite on the workers' state of the USSR. Its destruction of the Bolshevik Party and its liquidation of the Third International were necessary to preserve its parasitism, not to develop the economy of the workers' state or defend it against imperialism.

Trotsky and his comrades founded the Fourth International in 1938 because Stalinism had ‘passed definitively’ to the side of the class enemy, the side of counter-revolution[...]

These Stalinist bureaucrats are interested in the growth of the Soviet economy only in so far as it is the source of their own position and privileges. When they defend the workers' state they defend their own existence and privileges first and foremost.

They are interested in the struggles of the masses throughout the rest of the world only in so far as – since they cannot be stopped – they can be used as bargaining counters in the ‘peaceful coexistence’ strategy of preserving the bureaucracy's relations with imperialism.

There is a struggle, a struggle to the death, between the working class, an international class by its very nature, and the national-parasitic bureaucracy[...]

In the degenerated workers' state of the USSR and the deformed workers' states of Eastern Europe, China, and Vietnam, the working class cannot defeat the parasitic bureaucracy which has usurped its power over the nationalised property without a political revolution[...]

The first social shock, external or internal, may throw the atomized Soviet society into civil war. The workers, having lost control over the state and economy, may resort to mass strikes, as weapons of self-defence. The discipline of the dictatorship would be broken. Under the onslaught of the workers and because of the pressure of economic difficulties the trusts would be forced to disrupt the planned beginnings and enter into competition with one another. The dissolution of the regime would naturally find its violent and chaotic echo in the village, and would inevitably be thrown over into the army. The socialist state would collapse giving place to the capitalist regime, or, more correctly, to capitalist chaos[...]

The class nature of the Soviet state

Can we, however, expect that the Soviet Union will come out of the coming great war without defeat? To this frankly posed question, we will answer as frankly: If the war should remain only a war, the defeat of the Soviet Union would be inevitable. In a technical, economic and military sense, imperialism is incomparably more strong. If it is not paralyzed by revolution in the West, imperialism will sweep away the regime which issued from the October revolution.

It may be answered that “imperialism” is an abstraction, for it too is torn by contradictions. That is quite true, and were it not for those contradictions the Soviet Union would long ago have disappeared from the scene. The diplomatic and military agreements of the Soviet Union

This transformation of ‘the revolution’ into some independent mystical force — a disembodied historical necessity with a life of its own — is nothing more than a cover for the counter-revolutionary role of the Stalinist bureaucracy[...]

They have told us that Trotsky was wrong to denounce Stalinism as the ‘syphilis of the workers movement’.”

All modern Trotskyism knows is the most syphilitic irresponsibility of their original subjective guru's most despairing vicious destructiveness, – condemning the entire revolutionary socialist struggle to blind-alley doom just because of his own conceited frustrated inability to have been anything but a very temporary bit-player in the enormous drama of history (of first the 1903-17 building of the Bolshevik Party theory & practice: then the Leninist tactics after February; then the Bolshevik vanguard's capture of power; the consolidation of the Bolshevik proletarian dictatorship; the economic transformation; the defeat of fascism; and finally the relentless pushing back of imperialism's frontiers); – all forever associated with Lenin, the Bolshevik Party, the USSR, and the postwar Soviet socialist camp, – now steadily reaching out to the furthest corners of the earth despite the continuing revisionist weaknesses in Moscow & elsewhere (see *ILWP Books* vols 3 to 7 and recent *Bulletin* polemics against Gorbachev's retreats & idealist delusions [see *Book Vol 13 Gorbachevism*]).

Trotsky's fatal subjective bile bequeathed only despair:

are based in part upon them. However, it would be a fatal mistake not to see the limits beyond which those contradictions must subside. Just as the struggle of the bourgeois and petty bourgeois parties, from the most reactionary to the Social Democratic, subsides before the immediate threat of a proletarian revolution, so imperialist antagonisms will always find a compromise in order to block the military victory of the Soviet Union[...]

Availing themselves of the difficulties of the Soviet Union, which will be placed between two fires, the capitalist "friends of peace" will, of course, take all measures to drive a breach into the monopoly of foreign trade and the Soviet laws on property. The growing "defensist" movement among the Russian white émigrés in France and Czechoslovakia feeds wholly upon such calculations. And if you assume that the world struggle will be played out only on a military level, the Allies have a good chance of achieving their goal. Without the interference of revolution, the social bases of the Soviet Union must be crushed, not only in the case of defeat, but also in the case of victory.

More than two years ago a program announcement, *The Fourth International and War*, outlined this, perspective in the following words: "Under the influence of the critical need of the state for articles of prime necessity, the individualistic tendencies of the peasant economy will receive a considerable reinforcement, and the centrifugal forces within the collective farms will increase with every month....In the heated atmosphere of war we may expect...the attracting of foreign allied capital, a breach in the monopoly of foreign trade, a weakening of state control of the trusts, a sharpening of competition between the trusts, conflicts between the trusts and the workers, etc.... In other words, in the case of a long war, if the world proletariat is passive, the inner social contradictions of the Soviet Union not only might, but must, lead to a bourgeois Bonapartist counter-revolution." The events of the last two years have redoubled the force of this prognosis[....]

the Soviet bureaucracy takes on bourgeois customs without having beside it a national bourgeoisie. In this sense we cannot deny that it is something more than a bureaucracy. It is in the full sense of the word the sole privileged and commanding stratum in the Soviet society.

Another difference is no less important. The Soviet bureaucracy has expropriated the proletariat politically in order by methods of its own to defend the social conquests. But the very fact of its appropriation of political power in a country where the principal means of production are in the hands of the state, creates a new and hitherto unknown relation between the bureaucracy and the riches of the nation. The means of production belong to the state. But the state, so to speak, "belongs" to the bureaucracy. If these as yet wholly new relations should solidify, become the norm and be legalized, whether with or without resistance from the workers, they would, in the long run, lead to a complete liquidation of the social conquests of the proletarian revolution[....]

During the last fifteen years, the government has changed its social composition even more deeply than its ideas. Since of all the strata of Soviet society the bureaucracy has best solved its own social problem, and is fully content with the existing situation, it has ceased to offer any subjective guarantee whatever of the socialist direction of its policy. It continues to preserve state property only to the extent that it fears the proletariat. This saving fear is nourished and supported by the illegal party of Bolshevik-Leninists, which is the most conscious expression of the socialist tendencies opposing that bourgeois reaction with which the Thermidorian bureaucracy is completely saturated. As a conscious political force the bureaucracy has betrayed the revolution[....]

Let us assume—to take a third variant—that neither a revolutionary nor a counter-revolutionary party seizes power. The bureaucracy continues at the head of the state. Even under these conditions social relations will not jell. We cannot count upon the bureaucracy's peacefully and voluntarily renouncing itself in behalf of socialist equality. If at the present time, notwithstanding the too obvious inconveniences of such an operation, it has considered it possible to introduce ranks and decorations, it must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations. One may argue that the big bureaucrat cares little what are the prevailing forms of property, provided only they guarantee him the necessary income. This argument ignores not only the instability of the bureaucrat's own rights, but also the question of his descendants. The new cult of the family has not fallen out of the clouds. Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class.

The Revolution Betrayed

The modern-day collapsed remnants of Trotskyism know only this anti-communist hatred & biliousness, more stupidly revisionist than ever Stalinism managed to be in its worst retreats.

Only the ILWP has organised a struggle to improve upon Trotsky's partially-correct attempts to rescue Leninism, to destroy Trotskyism's counter-revolutionary subjectivism, to step up the fight against Moscow revisionism, and to sweep aside the dismal reformist-revisionist remnants around the class-collaborating CPGB Euros and their equally pathetic split-offs.

It is the strengthening of proletarian dictatorship, worldwide – against imperialist counter-revolution which is the path to socialism, not its weakening as Trotskyism endlessly has called for, in practice echoed by revisionist Moscow from time to time. (See *ILWP Books* vols 6 & 7). In his provocative-hypocritical

sneers against Moscow demanding 'relaxation' of socialist state leadership, Trotsky was the idealist-defeatist mirror-image of the Stalin group's pessimistic philistine retreats in pretending that the Soviet developments could be considered in isolation from the requirements of the world revolutionary struggle.

Only by the spread & expansion of mass revolutionary consciousness, – as Trotsky agreed with this elementary Marxist understanding in his more lucid & honest moments, – could more firm adherents to the dictatorship of the proletariat eventually turn the USSR into a self-regulating socialist society of the whole people where the state formal structure itself would begin to wither away.

They are still a long way from this development yet in the Soviet Union, – inevitably so because of the continuing hostile encirclement of still-powerful imperialism. The notions of



centralised Bolshevik discipline still need vastly strengthening in the USSR, – not weakening as the philistines like Trotsky, Sakharov, and Gorbachev all bleat, echoing the deepest-held prayer of international imperialist counter-revolutionary anti-communist propaganda.

Slaughter accuses Banda of seeing the revolution as something separate from the actual movement and struggle of the working class.

But it is precisely Trotskyism which made the real mistake in this confusion with its lifelong nonsense that the Soviet workers state could be separated from the revolutionary proletariat becoming the new ruling class and inevitably setting up its own state (including its bureaucracy to run it).

It was particular leadership ideas which went wrong in the USSR, – not the unavoidable (& in fact desirable) fact that the proletariat had the revolutionary consciousness & perseverance to build a disciplined state structure.

By then titling the Soviet Union as a 'degenerated workers state', the anti-dialectical subjectivism of Trotsky made it inevitable that his anti-communist followers would rapidly abandon all the spirit of Trotsky's own at-least-verbal insistence on "unconditional defence of the USSR".

In practice, the modern Trots have always been the most treacherous counter-revolutionary agents of every dirtiest bit of CIA skulduggery & conspiracy against the socialist camp, – picketing Soviet ships, e.g. to try to get a trade boycott imposed on the USSR in support of the Vatican's warmongering intrigue of financing the counter-revolutionary Solidarnosc stunt (see *ILWP Books* vol 3).

By fixing upon the 'degenerated workers state' category as a bolstering prop to his own faltering inability to continuously hold fast the opposites of criticism of Moscow revisionism plus unconditional support for the Soviet workers state (including its

bureaucracy/leaders when faced with pure anti-communist prejudice in the international workers movement), Trotsky confirmed his own longstanding subjective inability to master Leninist dialectical science, (–necessary for grasping that the pursuit of the world socialist revolution, – not its abandonment, – was the only perspective really coinciding with the need to defend the existing Soviet gains at all costs.)

Many of the above quotes, from Trotskyite sources & others (see also *ILWP Perspectives* Pp 5 to 8, for example), demonstrate that 'bureaucratic' was normal as far as the unprecedented & difficult task of building the world's first workers state in unheard-of hostile circumstances was concerned, (and was normal for all new ruling-class state consolidations in history in general). As merely a swear-word for 'bureaucratic', Trotsky's 'degenerated' merely draws attention to the obvious but rather tedious & irrelevant fact than an 'undegenerated' workers state bureaucracy would be completely utopian.

Specious argument that categorising the Stalinist leadership as 'degenerated' was itself a scientifically dialectical measurement of bureaucratic revisionism quantitatively deepening beyond all hope of reform, won't wash.

It was always necessary to replace incorrect revisionist under standing & leadership measures by correct Leninist science, – from the day Lenin was no longer in charge right up to the present day. It is no less vital to offer alternative revolutionary leadership & understanding to the international working class today – polemicising with every wrong decision by Moscow (and the other socialist states) – as it was when Trotsky attempted to do this in the 1920s & 1930s.

And it was always inevitable that the challenge to incorrect policies & theory would have to be pushed all the way, (–consistent with any overriding security limitations such as the above mentioned 10th Congress ban on factional struggle.)

It was also obvious that any serious allowable argument about the future direction of the USSR might not be able to avoid a challenge for a change of leadership of the party & state.

Resistance by the Bolshevik majority group (to the erratic newcomer Trotsky trying to take over the revolution), – both arbitrary and justified (mostly), – was also always inevitable, – and hardly ‘degenerated’.

The criminal hysteria of the ‘fascist conspiracy’ provocations plumbed the depths of defeatist paranoia and philistine stupidity but still, despite the appalling injustice and tragic self-inflicted wounds, did not prevent Moscow from being better defenders in practice of the Bolshevik Revolutionary overthrow of capitalism than Trotsky’s damaging & treacherous promises that the Soviet Union was doomed to crushing defeat at the hands of fascist imperialism (See *Hitler-Stalin Twin Star*; *Stalin, Hitler’s Quartermaster*; etc; Trotsky writings 1940; or see *ILWP Books* vols 3 & 5, – and also above quotes).

And the main apparent justifi-

cation for the swear-word, – the ‘definitive passing over to the side of the counter-revolution by Stalinism’, – is simply historical nonsense, – the daftest piece of static anti-Marxist categorising of all. Subsequent Trotskyite attempts to cover up this barminess with spurious elaborations that the revolutionary communist defeats of imperialism in China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, were ‘counter-revolutionary’ overthrows of capitalism only add to the stupidity, and prove the dishonest degeneracy of Trotskyism into the bargain. (Slaughter adds his two-penn’orth of bilious nonsense with the sneer of ‘parasitic bureaucracy’ at the heroic communist guerrilla war defeat of US imperialism in Vietnam even before there existed a workers state power structure to be parasitic on. What an infamous pus of petty-bourgeois hatred from pampered academic ivory tower opportunism which has for 30 years only propped up Healy’s degeneracy while posturing as a ‘scientific’ leadership for the working class. If anyone has “reduced Marxism to a mechani-

cal dogma fit only for dictators & thugs” in Slaughter’s words jeering at unconditional defence of the Soviet workers state, – it is the collapsing garbage called Trotskyism.)

The notion ‘degenerated’ workers state adds nothing scientific to a detailed understanding of the Soviet Union & its history which still has to be studied with minute precision to grasp the full picture. Trotsky’s redundant swearword made it certain that his followers would do the exact opposite, and end up totally ignorant about anything to do with the Soviet Union & its international role. Once uselessly labelled ‘degenerate’ (which tells nothing new about the hopeless blind alley of Stalin’s revisionist illusions of overcoming imperialism by peaceful coexistence), all dialectical understanding of development of the USSR & its role was killed off as far as Trotskyism was concerned.

But clearly the Soviet Union has continued developing, – as the pathetic incorrectness of Trotsky’s above forlorn predictions makes clear, – and its

international role has continued developing, too.

That many of the developments have been negative was all too predictable, and is all too obvious. (See *ILWP Books* vols 3 to 7). But the confusing combination of developing anti-imperialist struggle associated with the Soviet socialist camp, plus the continuing revisionist retreat from Leninist revolutionary internationalism in communist party theoretical perspectives, – precisely makes it vital to continue a serious, objective, scientific appraisal of both Moscow’s faulty ideology and the somewhat different material developments of the Soviet socialist camp; – absolutely essential.

The Trotskyist movement has been a total barren desert of useful ideas ever since Trotsky’s death, poisoned irrevocably by Trotsky’s own incurable subjective biliousness with its lifelong petty-bourgeois defeatist pattern of running away from Leninism & proletarian dictatorship in “everything is rotten” despair.

Build Leninism.

Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Royston Bull

Counter-revolution’s advance on Soviet revisionism’s corpse shows the treacherous folly of Trotsky’s fake-“left” approach

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No revolutionary movement and leadership is ever going to be ‘perfect’ in terms of satisfying the sectarian ‘requirements’ of academic purists among petty-bourgeois ‘revolutionaries’ in the Western tradition of subjective-idealist ‘leftism’.

The Sandinista movement in Nicaragua was a recent notable case of revolutionaries seizing power through popular guerrilla war from the fascist-stooge interests of US imperialism but then finding less than whole-hearted support from all middle-class ‘left’ groups in the West.

Regardless of the Leninist polemical criticisms which should have been conducted with the ideological weaknesses in the Sandinista leadership, the Nicaraguan revolution should nevertheless have been given the unconditional and enthusiastic backing of every rational anti-imperialist in the West as the CIA mounted increasingly damaging material and propaganda attacks against Managua’s tremendous achievements towards socialist reorganisation.

Instead, the ivory-tower Trotskyite mentality of Western petty-bourgeois dilettantism not only continued to sneer at the Nicaraguan revolution’s alleged ‘backsliding’ from a ‘perfect’ revolutionary socialist programme but even promoted dispragme of the Sandinista regime (through

strikes for ‘socialist demands’ and the like) while it was fighting for its life against the counter-revolutionary imperialist Contras financed and organised from Washington.

The colossal political, educational, cultural, and economic reforms of the Sandinista anti-imperialist revolution are now no more, and Nicaragua is once again well on its way to becoming a safe fascist-stooge client of US imperialism once more.

But resting on their purely academic ‘revolutionary achievements’, the Trotskyite petty-bourgeois sectarian ‘lefts’ in the West are still insisting that **if** **their** demands against the Sandinistas had prevailed, **then** the revolution would have become that much more advanced, and **then** there would have been no defeat by Washington’s counter-revolutionary onslaught of UNO electoralism backed by Contra fascist destruction.

This is the world of make-believe. In the real world, the most serious, – and only, – challenges yet to the domination of the planet by the fading century of inter-imperialist warmongering crisis, have come from such ‘imperfect’ overthrows of control by international monopoly-capitalism and its local fascist stooges as took place in the Soviet Union, in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Mozam-

bique, Zimbabwe, Nicaragua, Grenada, and the like, and as are now further threatened in South Africa, the Philippines, etc.

This real 20th century revolutionary movement has inflicted colossal epoch-shattering defeats on Western imperialist/colonialist powers such as Portugal, Britain, France, Germany, the USA, etc, at various times and in various ways.

The final conclusive defeat of all Western imperialist domination of the planet has clearly not happened yet, and superficially could be claimed to be not yet even in sight.

But in the real world, those earlier defeats for Western monopoly-capitalist domination in Vietnam, Cuba, the Soviet Union, China, southern Africa, etc, and the subsequent ability to make all kinds of remarkable, progress, – have stamped their mark on history for all time.

For all their imperfections, these were the first great challenges to the epoch of bourgeois-imperialist control over the pattern of human society, – achieved through titanic class-war struggles the like of which had never before even remotely been thought about.

The defeatist theoretical retreats, which later overtook and to some extent blunted this revolutionary new order opposing imperialism, have always obviously demanded constructive polemical criticism by revolutionaries elsewhere (constantly resisting ever anew the perpetual tendencies towards revisionist backsliding everywhere).

But to maintain these polemics **at the expense** of 100% determined **unconditional** defence of all class-revolutionary material advances made against the **actual physical control** of the planet by the monopoly imperialist bourgeoisie and its ‘free market’ key weapon, – is petty-bourgeois self-indulgent imbecility by purely academic ‘revolutionaries’.

The Sandinista **real** revolutionaries made their revolution against every kind of vile and treacherous challenge to their **leadership** of the mass movement against imperialist domination.

All the Sandinista weaknesses in revolutionary understanding, and failures of policy, merited non-stop constructive polemical criticism. But to allow such observations effectively to be used to help build up the climate of counter-revolutionary challenge to the Sandinista revolution continuing to be the **leadership** of Nicaragua, – was total treachery to the real world interests of the proletariat in Nicaragua and internationally, – and an appalling crime of academic petty-bourgeois ‘revolutionism’ at its worst.

Trotskyism has played exactly the same role against the Soviet revolution from the very beginning (see *ILWP Books* vol 5 [see page 25 for quotes - ed] Lenin’s early struggles, – in Soviet years and previously, – against Trotsky’s academic-bureaucratic ‘revolutionism’).

From the very start, Stalinist revisionism merited non-stop Marxist-Leninist polemical criti-



US-backed Contras train in Honduras to topple Nicaragua's government.

cism (see *ILWP Books* vols 1 to 17). But material advances made by the Soviet workers state and the socialist camp and the pro-Soviet national-liberation struggle against the physical domination of the planet by monopoly-bourgeois colonial interests, equally deserved the whole-hearted unconditional backing by workers everywhere against all the endless filth of anti-Soviet provocations and anti-communist propaganda.

But for long periods from large sectors of the capitalist world workers movement polluted by Trotskyite petty-bourgeois ultra-left opportunism, there has been nothing but the cynicism born of academic subjective-idealist philosophy.

With totally irresponsible casualness reeking of middle-class attitudes, the Trotskyite sects have glibly 'justified' their endless participation in every counter-revolutionary stunt by bourgeois anti-communist propaganda with the nonsense that such anti-Sovietism would lead to a Fourth International 'political revolution' by 'rank-and-file' workers in the Soviet Union and throughout East Europe.

Disgracefully, as recent *Bulletins* have recorded in detail, these disgusting petty-bourgeois Trot dilettantes in the West have

briefly tried pretending that "real rank-and-file socialist political revolution was defeating Stalinist counter-revolution in East Europe and would soon take power in the interests of the perfect world communist new order".

In reality of course, this pathetic egocentric subjective-idealism has never had the remotest connection with the actual world nor ever could have.

Such self-indulgent daydreams only have existence in the wishful thinking of jaundiced 'left' petty-bourgeois whose 'revolutionary' posturing is deeply mired in the long tradition of Western philistine cynicism which neurotically infects the workers movement hut which understands absolutely nothing of the science of Marxism-Leninism nor wants to.

There has been no fairytale "revolutionary upsurge by rank-and-file workers as soon as the tyranny of Stalinist repression was lifted from their shoulders", etc. Nor was there remotely ever any such prospect. There has only ever been the **reality of the actual** workers-state power structures as variously set up in the USSR and subsequently throughout the socialist camp under the dictatorship of the proletariat; – and **its only possible alternative**, – the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, returned to power on the back of

imperialist disruption and endless anti-communist subversion.

Trotskyism's sole contribution has been to spread anti-communist propaganda as insidiously as possible and to create as much possible demoralisation in the ranks of the socialist camp and in the ranks of Western workers who understood the need to give unconditional support to the socialist camp in all the provocations and propaganda confrontations with Western bourgeois ideology.

The pretence that Trotskyism in its early years 'responsibly' adopted a stance of 'constructive polemical criticism' of the obvious beginnings of revisionist degeneracy in the theory and practice of the Third International and the Soviet Union from the 1920s onwards is an outrageous historical deception, even more monstrous than the wretched bureaucratic cover-up and muddle

of the 'Stalin school of falsification' (see *ILWP Books* vol 5 [sections in item page 25 -ed]).

In Lenin's words, the middle-class opportunist Trotsky was on course right from the very start of the Bolshevik Revolution to declare "everything is rotten" and to be always biliously willing to throw the baby of nascent Soviet workers-state power out with the dirty bathwater of its inevitable weaknesses and mistakes.

The aggrieved petty-bourgeois individualist Trotsky could not wait to make his egocentric pronouncement in the early 1930s that Soviet state policy and the Third International had been transformed into becoming "the main agency of world counter-revolution" (1970 New Park introduction to 'Germany 1931, 1932') by Stalin having been steadily manipulated into becoming a dictatorial tool of "the Thermidorian bureaucracy", an alien class force which had set out to destroy the Bolshevik Revolution from the start.

Bureaucratism was indeed an appalling sickness of cultural backwardness constantly afflicting the development of the young Soviet workers state (see Lenin's still relevant heated warnings against this quoted in the *ILWP Perspectives* pp A-D).

But **an** aspect of cultural backwardness and theoretical revisionist philistinism was all that "the bureaucracy" ever represented, – a symptom of weak development, and a constant reminder of how much more still remained to be achieved in Soviet socialist-state progress under inspirational Marxist-Leninist **party leadership**, (to be fought for by **po-lemicising against** conservative thinking and arbitrary decisions wherever possible).

It was the most appalling nonsense, however, to turn those bureaucratic defects into the imaginary birth of a completely new form of ruling-class monster, – so unallowed for in Marxist science indeed, (which saw classes as representing clearly-defined **property** interests within profiteering relations of **production**), that this new ruling-class which had imposed itself out of the blue, historically speaking, had to be given a pseudo-scientific designation of 'ruling caste' by the fever-brained middle-class Trot inventors of this destructive fiction:

"The leaders of the bureaucracy promoted the proletarian defeats; the defeats promoted the rise of the bureaucracy. The heavier the blows dealt to the world working class, the more self-confident became the Soviet bureaucracy. The crushing of the Bulgarian insurrection and the inglorious retreat of the German workers party in 1923, the collapse of the Estonian attempt at insurrection in 1924, the treacherous liquidation of the General Strike in England in 1926... (etc, etc)...these are the historic catastrophes which...permitted the bureaucracy to rise higher and higher as the sole light of salvation[...]

"The Opposition was isolated. The bureaucracy struck while the iron was hot, exploiting the bewilderment and passivity of the workers, setting their more backward strata against the advanced, and relying more and more boldly upon the kulak the bureaucracy thus shattered the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat.

"It would be naïve to imagine that Stalin, previously unknown to the masses, suddenly is-

sued from the wings full armed with a complete strategic plan. No indeed. Before he felt out his own course, the bureaucracy felt out Stalin himself. It was the friendly welcome of the new ruling group, trying to free itself from the old principles and from the control of the masses, and having need of a reliable arbiter in its inner affairs. A secondary figure before the masses and in the events of the revolution, Stalin revealed himself as the indubitable leader of the Thermidorian bureaucracy, as first in its midst."

1936, Trotsky, The Revolution Betrayed.

There were indeed many disastrous failures of revisionist policy in the leadership of the Soviet Union and the Third International.

And bureaucracy was indeed always one of the most damaging and frustrating defects which the new Soviet socialist-state system was endlessly struggling to overcome.

But it is just total nonsense by aggrieved, egocentric, petty-bourgeois, individualist mentality to then fantasise about an alien class force which swooped literally from nowhere, with no known organisational base, no communications, no leadership, no programme, no finances, no troops, – and seized hold of the Soviet workers state without anyone noticing (even as the USSR was just completing the routing of the imperialist-backed War of Intervention and counter-revolutionary Civil War, and worrying about its security in face of prolonged economic boycott and subversion, and non-recognition as well as renewed direct imperialist military intervention, – all of which were eventually successfully resisted by Moscow despite the many damaging policy failures caused by revisionism).

Not only did this alien class force seize Soviet power without anyone in the world being aware of it except Leon Trotsky, and without leaving even so much as a fingerprint behind so that this greatest burglary in history could be tied down to a precise moment in time and place where the takeover was completed, – but these new rulers also transformed the USSR into "the main agency of world counter-revolution" by the end of the 1920s, – again without the next 60 years of Western Cold-War anti-communist crusading (including the Japanese invasion of 1939, the German invasion of 1941, the US-imperialist nuclear encirclement of the USSR, etc) even noticing it.

What idiocies this new counter-revolutionary Soviet ruling-class was up to in helping arm and protect the Cuban socialist revolution, the Vietnamese socialist revolution, the Nicaraguan socialist revolution, the Angolan socialist revolution, the Korean socialist revolution, the Chinese socialist revolution, etc, etc, only deranged petty-bourgeois Trotskyite 'revolutionary' dilettantes can explain.

But there is now new ground for the fake-'left' to cover arising from the historically unprecedented demise of this new ruling-class in the USSR by suicide, – the

first time ever (and against every tenet of Marxist science of how history works) that such self-destruction by a ruling establishment (if it can be believed) has occurred.

The simple explanation, of course, is that there never was any new "ruling caste" with its own new property-stake in exploitative production relations, – all always "viciously defended", allegedly, using "the most ruthless and savage state tyranny ever invented", etc, and handed on by nepotism from one caste generation to the next, – as poisonous Trotskyite fiction has been spewing out since the 1920s.

There has been a workers state bureaucracy and 20-million-strong party apparatus riddled with revisionist weaknesses, essentially defeatist complacency, subjective arbitrariness, and other wretched class-collaborating confusion of all kinds.

To the bitter end, the need has always been to **defend** that vast socialist state structure and party leadership apparatus **at the head of the dictatorship of the proletariat** whilst continually subjecting all revisionist backsliding and bureaucratic paralysis to **practical realistic criticism** (and definitely not of the "everything is rotten" kind which Trotsky had subjectively already sunk to by 1922 – see *ILWP Books* vol 5, [page 25 – ed] and for which Lenin had already ruthlessly condemned Trotsky).

But from the very beginning, Trotskyism has never departed from its insane petty-bourgeois academic sectarianism denouncing every Soviet action and achievement as a "reactionary blow against the international working class from the syphilitic main agency of worldwide counter-revolution", etc.

Even in the pathetic liquidationist twilight of this first Soviet workers state as class-collaborating revisionist stupidity finally follows its own defeatist logic and deliberately self-destructs, it is still possible to analyse Soviet turmoil and oppose whichever course of action most favours imperialism's interests and is usually most obviously supported by the imperialists. Recently the need has been for the defeat of the Gorbachev-Yeltsin factions.

But the academic posture-striking by the Trotskyite middle-class 'revolutionaries' in the West has failed even this simple test (see previous *Bulletins*). The anti-communist hysteria of these petty-bourgeois, haunted by nightmares about the dictator-

ship of the proletariat, still splutters irrationally and completely out of touch with the real world and in an ivory tower of their own making:

"Workers take to the streets to rout Stalinist counter-revolution"

they screamed in support of Yeltsin, the new hope of Western imperialism in Russia.

In Yugoslavia, Trotskyism keeps its eyes closed to imperialism's real counter-revolutionary hopes there in the Croatian fascist-nationalist movement, and continues to insist that the Serbian-backed federal socialist state still represents "the real counter-revolution" and the only threat to socialism. Thus the American SWP publishers of *'US Militant'* keep on encouraging fascist reaction with the conclusion that

"the key question in Yugoslavia remains riding the country of its privileged ruling class. It is not the workers who are supporting nationalist separatism there. It is only the communist bureaucrats".

But while the revisionism of the leadership party in Yugoslavia has done all kinds of damage to the building of workers-state socialism, it is now obvious to any but screaming anti-communist hysterics that the revival of separatist nationalism under the overwhelming influence of Western 'free market' bourgeois values is the key question, – not further fascist disruption against a nonexistent 'privileged ruling class'.

This ludicrous Goebbels-fiction is, of course, the main slogan of the openly fascist Croatian separatists despite their own nationalist fanatic Stipe Mesic being the current federal president of Yugoslavia. What aspect of the insane notion of a 'privileged ruling class' (against which the Croatian nationalists are so hysterically railing) does his Croatian nationalist occupation of the federal presidency represent?

The contortions of Trotskyism's anti-Soviet coverage are just as lunatic. Against all the evidence, it is pretended that the bureaucratic Soviet workers state has not collapsed at all but that the revisionist 'ruling caste' has simply perpetrated its final treacherous counter-revolutionary deliberate deed against the proletariat by at last openly donning its exploitative-capitalist-bourgeois clothing openly, and brazenly admitting their own 'ownership' of Soviet state wealth "as has always been the case in reality", etc.

This gibberish is, of course, too self-awfully embarrassed at its own stupidity to then try explaining, for instance, why virtually the entire old politburo and central committee of the 'ruling caste' party has not only lost out in the scramble for privately-appropriated 'company'

loot, but has mostly now ended up either behind bars or stripped of all political rights; or why the hereditary state and party bureaucracy should so publicly fall out at all after having kept up such a perfect conspiracy for nearly 70 years of conning the Soviet working class while robbing it blind, and fooling world opinion too; or why the 'ruling caste' needed to change its hats at all, and abandon their old allegedly total-monopoly 'ownership' of all Soviet wealth and economic, military, secret-police, state, political, social, and propaganda power, – in favour of the much more hazardous 'democratic free-market' pretence, with all power kept in the same hands (as the Trots sometimes still try pretending) etc; etc; etc.

Certainly Gorbachev did represent personally as boss of the party apparatus the very summit of revisionist treachery.

But in order to finally openly flaunt it as the 'real-life' mafia-capitalist boss of bosses?

This is utter nonsense. Gorbachev pursued his revisionist class-collaborating 'one world' delusions to the bitter end, – still pursuing what he regards as 'planned socialist reforms'.

And this 'last heir of Stalin', – supreme 'tyrant' over a far more secure and well-armed Red Army and KGB might than any previous party boss ever, – completed his stint in charge of the 'ruling caste' conspiracy by ending up almost powerless. Some new 'ruling class'! Some 'conspiracy'!

In the final idiot writhings of the bureaucracy's fatuous revisionist delusions, Gorbachev may personally get out with a pension or a golden handshake as the would-be bourgeois-capitalist vultures backed by rival imperialist gangsters move in for the kill, – if he is lucky and events muddle on as at present seems likely. But even this will be exceptional for the proletarian dictatorship's party and state bureaucracy in general, and only due to the colossal acts of hypocritical treachery which Gorbachev **as an individual** was able to perform at the last because of his unique position.

His luck, if it holds, will precisely be the exception which proves the rule, – that the Soviet power structure had always remained basically a workers state whose leadership party had sunk ever deeper into revisionist theoretical degeneration under the constant pressure of international bourgeois-imperialist hostility and subversion, resulting in ever-worsening bureaucratic stagnation and ultimate self-liquidation, – rendered finally futile and useless by its own class-collaborating delusions.

This was never remotely an

'alien class force' seizing power in the interests of a 'Thermidorian ruling-caste bureaucracy' in order to transform the USSR in the late 1920s into 'the main agency of world counter-revolution', which would by its 'hostility to socialism and to the revolutionary aspirations of the international proletariat' carry out one of the greatest conspiracies and confidence tricks in all history, but which would then be so out of touch with workers and opposed to their interests that a truly proletarian communist political revolution would in the end sweep the 'exploiting tyranny' from power so that 'real socialism' could at last burst through the 'counter-revolutionary treachery' allegedly alone holding 'real socialism' back, etc..

All the time, this revisionist degeneration **should have been fought** all the way throughout the Third International. But turning on the Third International as the 'main agency of imperialist counter-revolution' from the 1920s onwards was always far more damaging to the real interests of the international working class than any of Stalin's own grotesque revisionist falsifications of history.

The treachery to workers of this individualist-opportunist petty-bourgeois class propaganda to try to completely wreck the Soviet Union and the Third International in the 1920s can still be seen to this day in the wretched distortions and lies of the middle-class Trotskyite press.

Behind a front page picture which still pretends that the three religious fanatics who died in Moscow mistakenly attacking one of Boris Yeltsin's own tanks (see *Bulletin* 615 for the capitalist press reports admitting this) had really been "killed by the coup leaders", the Slaughterite *Workers Press*' is tying itself in knots to cover up its own opportunist monkeying with Trotsky's idealist-subjective muddle-headedness.

A lifelong WRP hack writes in, reminding the Trots of their earlier support for ousted guru Healy's outrageous hypocritical fraud of trying to get round Trotsky's counter-revolutionary 'political revolution' treachery by pretending that Gorbachevism itself (the ultimate in Stalinist-revisionist class-collaborating idiocy) was the long-awaited 'political revolution'. (Healy hoped that in all the drama of Gorbachev's abusive attacks on the proletarian-dictatorship state and the planned economy, no one would notice that a capitalist 'free market' and bourgeois 'parliamentary' democracy were emerging instead of the promised 'real socialism', – and thus save from further embarrassment

not Trotsky's reputation, but the reputation of the Healy gang for supporting Trotsky's 'political revolution' counter-revolutionary fraud for so long.)

Now fading WRPer who eventually split from Healy on 'moral' grounds, try pushing their subjective-idealist 'new thinking' one stage further (by pretending that dropping the 'political revolution' idea would do no harm to themselves or Trotsky because their devotion to 'world revolution' and to fighting 'Stalinism' was still as great and glorious as ever), but in the course of the anti-theory barminess doing an effective shin-kicking job on the *Workers Press*:

LIKE 'sympathiser' (*Workers Press*, 7 September), I was struck by the disappearance of 'political revolution' in relation to recent developments in the former USSR, substituting a call for 'socialist revolution'.

After all, quite recently you were still telling your readers that the political revolution had begun in 1989.

However, it is not the change itself, but the surreptitious manner of its introduction which worries me.

You seem to be tip-toeing away from Trotsky's analysis of the Soviet state and the way he thought it would develop. Did you hope no one would notice?

Are you trying to remove some of the bricks in the edifice of Trotskyism, without causing the whole thing to fall down?

I don't think that is the right way to go about things. Maybe I am oversensitive to such changes, but I think they indicate something important about the way Marxists are reacting to the upheavals of recent times.

In the *Transitional Programme* (1938) he declared that the state apparatus in its Stalinist degeneration 'was transformed from a weapon of the working class into a weapon of bureaucratic violence against the working class'.

But to his dying day he insisted that the overthrow of the bureaucracy by working class action would be a political, not a social revolution. This was not just a statement about the situation in Stalin's regime, but an essential part of his conception of the world significance of the October revolution.

It was in this context that he described the goal of the Soviet workers as the regeneration of the Soviet state, denied that the changes, it implied were essentially more than political changes and maintained that the world proletariat had to defend the conquests of the October revolution.

In 1991, it seems to me, these goals no longer have any meaning. In quietly **dropping** the phrase 'political revolution' you are only reflecting the new situation. But in **quietly** dropping it, you are being a tiny bit economical with the truth.

But it is of course nonsense to pretend that Trotsky's legacy is just as good with or without the 'political revolution' theory. This was crucial to this petty-bourgeois centrist's entire anti-Leninist and anti-Soviet history of counter-revolutionary intrigue (see Lenin's writings *Against Trotskyism* – Progress Publishers 1972, and *ILWP Books* vols 3,4, & 5).

Minus the mythical 'political revolution', all Trotskyism's endless anti-communist propaganda and anti-Soviet provocations could **only** be seen for the counter-revolutionary stunts they were in reality. There was **never**

the slightest chance anywhere that this subjective movement of middle-class sectarianism would actually lead a new advance of the world revolutionary process, eclipsing Stalinism by overtaking it. There was only ever the chance that Trotskyism's endless hatred and vilification of the Soviet workers state and the socialist camp would merely add to the general mountain of prejudiced bourgeois ignorance with which imperialist ideology has so dominated the capitalist world for so long via anti-communist hysteria and distortions.

But even after the counter-revolutionary debacle in the USSR to which worldwide anti-communist defeatism and sectarianism has finally helped to lead, these WRP Trots still blindly peddle their tatty wares, – now shorn of the glory of the 'political revolution', – but still prattling on editorially about "only through the taking back of the state power (soviets) into its hands can the working class rid Soviet society of the bureaucratic cancer", and still repeating its own counter-revolutionary disorientation, urging "the Soviet working class to take its part in the main task confronting the international working class: the struggle to defeat Stalinism in the workers movement" when even the simplest worker on earth understands that the main task facing the proletariat is to defeat imperialism.

And still the Trots certifiably feign belief that there is "no contradiction" between Trotsky's opportunist gestures towards the Soviet workers state admitting (1936) it was still a proletarian dictatorship defending state property, – and his real purpose then which was to arouse hatred of the USSR because

"the Soviet state had become an instrument of violence against the working class".

Unless this Trotsky gem is passed off as meaning nothing but a tautological statement of the obvious, – that all state machines, including socialist ones, are a system of organised violence in which some workers (genuinely counter-revolutionary or victims of arbitrary injustice) were inevitably targets, it can only mean that the **object** of the USSR by the 1930s had become solely to inflict violence on the working class **as a whole**, – which is completely contradictory to Trotsky feigning belief still in the Soviet Union as "defending state property" and thereby "still remaining a weapon of proletarian dictatorship" (*The Revolution Betrayed*). This "Soviet state of anti-working-class violence" is on the same wavelength as "the USSR has become the main agency of worldwide counter-revolution", and represents the clear **counter-revolutionary** essence

and subversive treachery against the Soviet workers state of this anti-Marxist middle-class idealist mentality.

Another sordid aspect of this WRP muddle over the 'political revolution' nonsense of Trotskyism was the sly way the *Workers Press* first attempted to 'explain' why it simply substituted "socialist revolution" for "political revolution" (in order to take attention away from Trotsky's giant confidence trick, and also digest the painful counter-revolutionary essence of all anti-Sovietism, – but all without having to admit a single thing about the WRP's own rotten record in decades of Trotskyite anti-communist slanders).

But even their own WRP sectarians found this sleight-of-hand a bit too devious:

IN or by? Small words, but quite different in meaning. 'In 1936' implies during, 'by 1936' implies before.

Why did the editorial in last week's *Workers Press* (14 September), after the 'in 1936 he changed his mind' of Cyril Smith's letter in the same issue, to 'by 1936 Trotsky had come to the conclusion...?'

In chronological terms the meaning is quite different. Is this just another mistake?

The alteration certainly helps the argument put in the editorial and facilitates the quote from *'The Revolution Betrayed'* (1936).

Like *Sympathiser* (*Letters*, 7 September), I was struck by the use of 'socialist revolution' where I expected to see 'political revolution'. At the time I thought this was probably a slip of the pen under the pressure of producing the paper.

I was pleased to see *Sympathiser's* letter and very puzzled that it received no answer, as to acknowledge a mistake is essential for journalistic integrity – as Peter Fryer pointed out once again, quite correctly, in his column last week.

I am even more puzzled to learn in this week's editorial that *Sympathiser's* letter was 'agreed', i.e. invited, by the editorial board; but still not replied to and the mistake not corrected. Why? 'To initiate discussion' is not sufficient answer.

If 'socialist revolution' began as an error, to leave it uncorrected was to mislead your readers. This seems an odd way to promote discussion.

The more I consider this week's editorial, the more the uncorrected error looks like 'a shrimp to catch a mackerel'.

And what a big fish it caught! No less than Cyril Smith, whose ill-judged and ill-advised suggestion of 'dubious doings' is triumphantly demolished in a double column editorial entirely devoted to attacking his letter.

The undisguised relish of the writer of the editorial is most striking.

Is this how the paper and our party seek to promote 'the widest possible discussion'? It hardly seems the best way to do so.

The most interesting and significant sentence in Cyril Smith's letter, 'In 1991, it seems to me, these goals no longer have any meaning', is entirely ignored.

While disagreeing with his letter, I am most interested to hear why he thinks this. After all, he has been a student of Marxism and a Trotskyist for 35 years; and for most of that time played an important leading role in our party.

The Sparts petty-bourgeois try to keep their fraudulent 'revolutionary' cover going by attempting still to breathe life into the same impossible contradictions over which the WRP Trots have stumbled. On one and the same

page, the Sparts acknowledge the success of the advanced nationalities policy of the USSR compared to the vicious chauvinism now breaking out all over the Soviet Union under bourgeois 'free market' influences, – but then cannot resist trying to justify their own lifelong counter-revolutionary subversion against the USSR by repeating some totally contradictory crap about Stalin's supposedly 'evil' role in that successful USSR nationalities policy, – spiced up with some completely lying distortions about Lenin's attitude to Stalin in 1923:

[...]the planned economy instituted by the October Revolution laid the basis for a massive advancement by the minority nationalities formerly oppressed under the tsarist empire. Speaking of continuing advances in national policy, Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937):

"This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists."

The nomadic peoples of Siberia, the Muslim clans of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were brought forward centuries in a matter of decades.

If the Central Asian republics continue to remain under the control of old-line Stalinists—who, to be sure, now espouse Turkic nationalism—and statues of Lenin continue to stand in Tashkent, it is because these peoples more than any other Soviet nationality benefited from the strides forward Soviet power brought them. Even now, up to half of the budgets of the Central Asian republics rely on subsidies from the center. And it is they who will suffer most from a capitalist free-for-all.

At the same time, Yeltsin & Co. have incited resentment among Russians that the great wealth of Siberia's natural resources goes in part to develop the more backward Turkic-speaking regions.

The Bolshevik Revolution transformed what Lenin called the tsarist "prison house of peoples" into a multinational federation. It was only the Bolsheviks' internationalist program, which asserted full and equal national rights for all peoples in order to secure the fullest unity of the workers of all nationalities, which made this possible.

As the administrative apparatus of the Soviet state and Bolshevik Party cohered into a bureaucratic caste, and as this caste usurped political power in 1923-24, these internationalist policies were subverted and finally reversed. Confined to bed by illness in 1923, Lenin urged a full-scale assault on the ascendant bureaucracy headed by Stalin.

But having correctly dismissed the Yeltsin mobs as 'smug yuppies and pampered children of the bureaucracy' – contrasting them with the 'predominantly working people' who are forming mile-long queues for Lenin's mausoleum as never before, – the Sparts then just bottle out of any discussion of what happened to Trotsky's 'political revolution', – the supreme justification for a lifetime of counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet poison-spreading which was supposed to deliver 'real socialism' but which has inevitably helped create only the most obscene reactionary mess imaginable.

Other aspects of fake-'left' justification for counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet agitation will

be examined in due course. But to all of them, it can be stated that every idealist daydream about how a 'perfect' revolution might have gone has been nothing but a middle-class non-materialist anti-Marxist idiocy from the start.

The actual Soviet workers state, – with its defects (i.e. reality), – as well as the socialist camp such as it was, could only ever be seriously practically criticised constructively from a crystal-clear and **unconditional** starting point of preserving workers-state power **at all costs** and for as long as possible on the understanding that the collective class weight of anti-imperialist revolutionary struggle will only finally break through the monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisies' stranglehold on the planet in cumulative conditions where the main imperialist danger has always been consistently isolated for a long enough period of time.

The diversion of transforming revisionist Soviet defeatism into the "main enemy of the working class" instead of imperialism, has been a total divisive disaster for the international working class during decades of anti-communist-hysteria supremacy. That period of degenerate bourgeois-Trotskyite anti-theory philistinism is now passing its sell-by date. The unquestionable need to unconditionally support the Soviet workers state in all its dealings with Western propaganda intrigues and military/economic provocations seems likely to become an important matter of historical retrospection rather than the much more destabilising issue of currently enflamed anti-communist passions.

As history, the Soviet workers state is likely to present far fewer problems in defending its achievements once the racist-supremacist Western chauvinist hatred of the Slavic proletarian dictatorship has been replaced as the burning class-war/nationalist issue of the day by raging inter-imperialist warmongering. At that stage, the brilliant Soviet successes in planned economic development; in forcing out nationalist hate-spreading; in defeating the world's mightiest fascist-imperialist interventionism by the heroism of the armed masses; in offering generous support to the whole world's anti-imperialist and revolutionary socialist struggles; in making some progress in the world's first genuine international economic cooperation efforts; in championing the culture of reason; and in making such sensational general political and social progress totally minus any private-profit-motivated property-owning ruling class, etc, etc, etc, – for all these reasons and many more,

the historic record of the world's first workers state will always remain an enormous bonus to arguments for a Marxist-Leninist scientific revolutionary approach to mankind's problems of a dying capitalist 'free-market' exploitative order, permanently disfigured by armsrace, warmongering, racist mayhem, as can be proved from the bourgeois press:

[Multiple cuttings follow on rise of neo-nazis, Ukrainian nuclear ambitions, Western debt squeezing Third World, Croatia ultra-right Ustashe Nazi-nationalist rise, US adolescent suicide despair, Latin America poverty, massive growth British poverty and inequality, school disorder, Japanese government share manipulation, French and German

meddling in Yugoslavia breakup].

Scarcely veiled Euro-imperialist rivalry is breaking out over more than just the possibilities of rich neo-colonial pickings from the debris of federal Yugoslavia. The Common Market manoeuvring is a cauldron of future inter-imperialist warmongering, once the entire Third World has gone the way of Haiti's latest fascist dictatorship, or Guatemala's (see below),etc.

Planned socialist order under the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only way out of the murderous poisonous mess of bourgeois degeneracy. The Soviet achievements will live for ever. Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*. Gerry Mole



Croatian soldiers give stiff-arm salutes during the national anthem

Crucial importance for revolutionary socialists to be fully armed against every revisionist and sectarian nonsense that has ever existed, armed above all in Marxist philosophy. Trotsky's Platform of 46 opposition just a start in counter-revolutionary "left" poison. Capitalist high-tech wastefulness and damage.

[*ILWP Bulletin* (EPSR) No640 17-03-92]

[...]The high-technology huge modern bourgeois monopolies are once again educating people in how, ultimately, it is catastrophically wasteful to leave scientific advance in the hands of private profiteering. At the same time, unrestrained market consumerism is beginning to convince workers that the brainwashing advertisements for luxuries in the West are not at all a sensible lifestyle when the needs of the planet and all the people on it are considered as a whole.

The old arguments that technology would stagnate without capitalism are less and less likely to make sense.

In the first place, the so-called 'gap' in Soviet technology (when the USSR workers state still existed) was not there at all on the most crucial areas of defence science in which the socialist camp was always having to catch up with the Western imperialist arms race in order to avoid being blitzkrieged and invaded for the third time this century. And over

all science and industry generally, the Soviet 'gap' was no more than the relative backwardness which exists between all nations anyway, and which was always made deliberately glaring in Russia's case by conscious relentless Western propaganda to continuously put embargoes on natural trade with the Soviet Union (especially through the COCOM international agency in Paris designed to prohibit specifically the trade in advanced scientific goods), followed by devious publicity to emphasise the USSR's supposed 'backwardness'.

In other words, even the admittedly backward Tsarist lands had no trouble at all in modernising into becoming the world's greatest superpower in just 60 years including some notable firsts in modern health provision, housing provision for all, cultural facilities for all, mass education for all, etc, in circumstances of enormous non-stop war and economic dislocation due to surrounding imperialist hostility, and all made no easier by some terrible self-inflicted internal weaknesses of Soviet development. The USSR had some of the world's best public transport facilities, book and newspaper publishing facilities, public order traditions, basic means of life provision, etc, as well as being by far the world's greatest benefactor nation to scores of impoverished countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Only idiot Western propaganda wants to pretend that the modern Soviet Union was like some country out of the Ark.

Secondly, capitalism's scientific achievements have very little to do with so-called 'free market competition' which was already forcibly being driven out of the world's major industries before the beginning of this century (the end of the 19th century and the early decades of this being marked historically by nonstop 'anti-trust' legislation which was always utterly ineffective and futile). It has much more to do with naked imperialist ambition, - whether of individuals or of nation-states.

Such inspiration may still nevertheless be admired for what it achieves in the way of scientific advancement, but it helps to understand some of the more dubious achievements of 'progress' when its motivation is called by its proper name, - colonising greed.

Thirdly, who wants 5,000 million gas-guzzling Mercedes on the world's roads anyway (one for every 'upwardly mobile' individual now alive and subjected at some time or other to capitalist consumer advertisements). The entire planet would virtually have to become one giant concrete motorway if everyone wanted to

drive at the same time, the pollution would be intolerable, and the oil would quickly run out anyway. Duplicate this argument through every 'need' of consumer demand currently causing Japan, the USA, Germany, the Common Market, etc, to rapidly be threatening to wipe out the world's rainforests in order to acquire more luxury wooden consumer items, etc products, for example, - and the picture becomes clear: The world desperately requires a new lifestyle in order quickly to curb the damage being done by capitalism's items of consumption.

Fourthly, why have such a frenzied pace of change in the first place? Where does humanity think it is going? There is a lot to be said for calming down peoples' 'modern lifestyle' frenetic behaviour with its tendency towards 100% philistinism and cheap sensationalism, and entirely negative towards the more long-lasting achievements of human civilisation and culture.

Without the triumph of revolutionary philosophy, there is no way that the catastrophes of capitalism will ever be curbed. And dialectical materialist science has an even better appeal as an end in itself, - the only real way of living with the contradictions which alone can conceivably make up the laws of development of all thought and matter in its endless motion.

All of these issues will have to be eventually debated as the warmongering imperialist system plunges society ever closer towards world war and a monopoly-capitalist 1984 nightmare.

The mechanism of the debate is likely to arise simply out of the pressing material depredations of capitalist slump, - mass unemployment, technological chaos, chronic insecurity locally in society and internationally, homelessness, educational blight, cultural degeneracy, etc, etc.

At a certain point, spontaneous mass anxiety will demand some better answers than the lies routinely peddled by the existing farcical bourgeois-parliamentary circus. At that moment of largescale debate, confusion and opportunism will inevitably initially prevail. But bit by bit, rational Marxist thinking about the economy, society, and the human condition is bound to gain support.

It is crucially important for revolutionary socialists to be fully armed against every revisionist and sectarian nonsense that has ever existed, armed above all in Marxist philosophy.

The struggles the ILWP has undertaken in 640 issues of the *Bulletin* and 17 volumes of the *ILWP Books* will play a priceless role in these future circumstances.

The feverish fake 'revolution-

ism' of the petty bourgeoisie will be a worse hazard in the approaching class-war conflicts than it has even been in the past, - as bad as that was from the notorious opening of 'The Platform of the 46 - Documents of the 1923 Opposition' onwards in modern times, and as bad as Kautskyism before that (see *Bulletin* 638).

In October 1923, a staggering 22 years before the triumph of the Soviet workers state over Western imperialism in World War II, 26 years before the triumph of the Chinese proletarian revolution establishing an alliance with the USSR, 36 years before the Cuban socialist revolution began following the Soviet example with Moscow's full assistance, and 55 years before the sensational Soviet-assisted victory of the Vietnamese revolution over Western imperialist counter-revolution, - this first Trotskyite petty-bourgeois 'left' treachery was gibbering idiotically about the Soviet revolution's successes "achieved by the economy of the country spontaneously and not thanks to, but in spite of the inadequacy of, the leadership or, rather, the absence of all leadership" in its hate-filled middle-class spluttering against the dictatorship of the proletariat, prior even to Lenin's death, and only a few weeks after Lenin's last coherent participation in the Soviet government and party leadership activities.

Bitter with class contempt at the Bolshevik majority leadership around Stalin, the Trotskyite platform splittists sneered that under the Stalin group,

"we face the possibility of an extremely acute economic breakdown, which will inevitably involve internal political complications and a complete paralysis of our external effectiveness and capacity for action".

The next 60 years in fact transformed human history, and were not quite the total workers-state paralysis predicted.

But still this petty-bourgeois 'revolutionism' persists, undoubtedly arguing in retrospect now that "the Platform's warnings were well justified in the end", etc.

In the end, we are all dead, but that hardly justifies suicide now. The same with the Soviet workers state. Revisionism did destroy it in the end, but Trotskyite academic posturing wanted to destroy it calling on workers everywhere to defeat "this absence of all leadership" there and then in October 1923, - which was exactly the aim of the ferocious Western counter-revolutionary intervention and civil-war sabotage against the Soviet workers state from 1917 onwards, - for every day until Gorbachevite petty-bourgeois liquidationism finally did the trick for the monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie.

Interestingly, Trotsky's October

8 letter to the Central Committee which set the scene for the 'Platform of the 46' factional disruption, formulated Gorbachev's revisionist view on proletarian dictatorship exactly:

"In view of the incompatibility of a fully developed workers democracy with the regime of dictatorship..." etc.

This is crass anti-dialectical gibberish. The Leninist understanding was the opposite of this straight-line idealist nonsense. Only by the strengthening of the Soviet workers **state** of proletarian dictatorship could socialism ever hope finally to triumph over an imperialist-dominated world, and thereafter allow for the eventual withering away of the state and fullscale self-regulating communism, the only possible truly democratic society for the mass of ordinary people. Until that time, the Leninist position was for the revolutionary-conscious proletarian vanguard to rule with a rod of iron, steadily winning more and more millions of workers into actively taking party in implementing that rule, - through the party, the youth movements, the trade unions, and all state and economic institutions.

Gorbachevism wiped all that out with a single Trotskyite notion, - totally anti-Marxist and counter-revolutionary, - namely that "a fully developed workers democracy is incompatible with the regime of dictatorship" of the Soviet workers state.

Now, of course, they are approaching a fully-developed form of parliamentary democracy in the former Soviet Union. And what real 'democracy' do workers now have? The right to be one of the nearly 10 million now unemployed (where there was no unemployment at all under the dictatorship of the proletariat); the right to be homeless and starving (where there was no homelessness or hunger at all under the proletarian dictatorship); the right to have the world's most rapidly growing drugs, pornography and white slave trades where they were completely illegal before; the right to have fullscale civil wars raging between the various nationalities of the former Soviet Union where such racist violence was strictly illegal before; and the right to be exploited by international monopoly capital where all such exploitation was prohibited before; etc, etc.

Of course revisionist seeds were already a problem in embryo at 1923's stage of early Soviet development.

But Trotskyism's petty-bourgeois "Everything is rotten" sectarianism which would have thrown the baby out with the bathwater and helped imperialist counter-revolution to achieve its dearest wish and stifle the Soviet

dictatorship of the proletariat virtually at birth, – was not the way to go about struggling against these revisionist seeds.

Continued Trotskyite justification of this idiocy about “the absence of all leadership” of the Soviet revolution as early as October 1923 is in effect saying still that “Everything is rotten” and that the entire historic development of the USSR would have better been avoided as far as the interests of anti-imperialist struggle are concerned.

This is just academic make-believe. Soviet history is, effectively, the main history of anti-imperialist struggle **so far** in human development, and that struggle has already come an enormous distance, in spite of what might be thought from the current chaos and demoralisation in the workers states and on the left of the labour movement everywhere.

A non-capitalist camp of states covering one third of mankind has already maintained its independence from imperialist sabotage and subversion for long enough to prove that socialist planning can be made to work. Direct assaults on the socialist camp by the most savage counter-revolutionary violence at imperialism’s disposal have already been defeated by proletarian dictatorship at four crucial peaks of world historic development, – in the Soviet Union 1918-1921, in the Soviet Union again 1941-45, in Korea 1950-1953, and in Vietnam from 1942 to 1975. And Western imperialism’s direct colonial empires have all had to be virtually eliminated under the impact of the Soviet and Chinese triumphs of 1945 and 1949.

People who want to deny all these historical achievements are just academic morons who have no real interest in the actual struggle against imperialism, or in the true advances made by the proletariat’s international mission.

Yet this petty-bourgeois ‘revolutionism’ is still posturing mightily on the fake-‘left’. Listen to the ‘revolutionaries’ of the so-called ‘*Leninist*’ (who have declared themselves to be the CPGB in the wake of that revisionist rump’s self-liquidation), tackling the revisionism of the SACP in “Everything is rotten” terms:

“The leadership of the SACP is directly betraying the interests of the South African revolution....For the SACP and its ally the ANC, the oppressed black masses are rapidly just becoming a stage army which is wheeled on when required to give a push to the imperialist backed ‘peace negotiations’, – a reactionary charade if ever there was one”.

Now the ILWP has been never reluctant to polemicise with the SACP about its revisionist weaknesses, and in particular has been outspoken in its denunciation

of the reactionary anti-Leninist retreat of Joe Slovo’s (the then SACP boss) pamphlet ‘*Has Socialism Failed*’ (see *Bulletins* 623, 602, 601, 539, etc [also *EPSR Books Vol 14 on Party building and theory*]).

But it creates total confusion to then muddle up the bourgeois democratic revolution in South Africa with the socialist revolution which must follow.

There can be no question of adopting any uncritical attitudes towards the ANC/SACP. The revisionist postures and illusions of the revolutionary movement have always demanded the bluntest of exposures.

But that the ANC/SACP is at the heart of the democratic revolution in South Africa there can be no doubt, nor that it has been a real revolution, – fought frequently with arms in hand, and always fought in **revolutionary** confrontation with the white imperialist absolutism.

Only irresponsible counter-revolutionaries can set out to try to utterly destroy all confidence in the leadership of the **necessary** democratic-nationalist revolution in South Africa while the struggle is still in full flow, – which is the effect of the ignorant muddled-up sneers of the ‘*Leninist*’ armchair socialists.

Wishful thinking might day-dream of some alternative truly-Leninist organisation being in the leadership of the bourgeois-democratic revolution in South Africa. But it is not the case.

The ANC/SACP has led that revolution, a necessary development, and in the interests of the completed proletarian-revolutionary struggle of some future period.

Certainly, in line with Leninist science, – there may not be much need to dwell overlong at the bourgeois-democratic stage of the total revolutionary defeat of imperialism in South Africa.

Similarly, Leninism welcomed the February bourgeois-democratic revolution in Tsarist Russia, but immediately agitated those who had grabbed the reins of power (after the overthrow of the autocracy) to continue with an uninterrupted revolution all the way to socialism on the grounds that the bourgeois-democratic phase in those 1917 circumstances could only continue Russia’s participation in the catastrophic and deplorable inter-imperialist war for colonial plunder and monopoly-capitalist booty.)

But even in those extremely rapidly changing circumstances and faced with such enormous dangers of chauvinist-imperialist corruption of the revolution or of counter-revolutionary intervention by rival imperialist powers, and in circumstances where the Bolshevik Party had massive

opportunities for independent action, – still Leninist science tactically spent many months in between February and October of 1917 in urging all power to the Soviet leadership of bourgeois-democratic compromise, or urging defeat for the Kerensky regime’s enemies (without confusing workers that the Kerensky government was actually worthy of any workers’ confidence or support.)

It is not impossible for the ‘*Leninist*’ ivory-tower ‘revolutionaries’ to be merely currently exposing the undoubted revisionist weaknesses of the SACP/ANC movement whilst fully prepared later on, if necessary, to give unconditional solidarity with any ‘democratic’ government which replaces the white imperialist autocracy.

But the language of “Everything is rotten” Trotskyism does not look promising. It sounds like a sectarian complete stab-in-the-back for the revolution in South Africa whilst still in mid-battle at this stage – a treacherous stance which many petty-bourgeois posturers in the ‘left’ swamp have continuously kept up for years in their anti-communist hatred against the Third International and any suggestion of expanding the regimes of workers-state proletarian dictatorship, via the SACP/ANC in this case.

It is not even strictly true, as the fake ‘*Leninists*’ elaborate, that the SACP

“is acting as a conservative restraining influence on the black masses and is channelling their revolutionary anger and energy into the dead end of reformism”.

The revolutionary struggle so far against the autocracy, going back 70 years or more, has been far from reformist. And the shaky position of the Deklerk regime of bourgeois-imperialist compromise with the national-liberation struggle could mean the ANC/SACP revolution reverting back to the arms-in-hand struggle as well as the non-stop civil revolutionary confrontations at work and in the townships.

The leadership of such a military struggle will still have all the revisionist illusions which many national-liberation conflicts of the past have suffered from in other anti-imperialist wars.

But are these petty-bourgeois anti-communists of the CPGB going to keep up this “betraying the revolution” disruptive sneer at the ANC/SACP if this happens, mimicking the rest of the ‘left’ swamp who have for years promoted anti-ANC/SACP splittists of the anti-Soviet (Kitson, etc) kind, or the black nationalist (PAC, etc) kind, driven by their Trotskyite “everything is rotten” bile.

Many phases of the long international anti-imperialist struggle have been, and are yet going to

be, led by movements which have far from Leninist clarity about the historic class war against capitalism. It is unbelievable sectarian nonsense to posture that ‘real Marxist revolutionaries’ will ‘not compromise an inch’, etc, and will ‘ruthlessly expose’ any anti-imperialists who are not ‘proper revolutionaries’, etc, etc.

This was not Lenin’s way. Such Trotskyite sectarians should study Lenin’s response to the 1916 Easter rebellion in Dublin by out-and-out bourgeois Irish nationalists, who were, moreover, accused by most of the ‘official’ Second-International ‘Marxist left’ of just staging a silly sectarian ‘putsch’.

But Lenin rejoiced in the embarrassment caused to British imperialism, and correctly, in those prevailing circumstances, urged the Fenians on to ever greater acts of terrorist courage.

Only the most obscene Trotskyite sectarianism could take any different attitude today. It is Sinn Féin/IRA which has led the anti-imperialist struggle in the remaining zone of Ireland occupied by British imperialism. Every embarrassment to the British police-military dictatorship is a blow against the international imperialist statue-quo.

Nationalism remains a potentially appallingly reactionary philosophy. And terrorism remains an appallingly unsatisfactory and double-edged weapon, potentially destructive of serious revolutionary political theory and agitation.

But Sinn Féin/IRA remains the only serious anti-imperialist struggle going.

It is unbelievably sectarian anti-Leninist nonsense to not only refuse solidarity to the national-liberation war, but to join British bourgeois-idealist philosophy in contemptuously condemning the independence movement as ‘mere reactionary bloody terrorism’, as many of the Trots have done.

The problem with these bar-room ‘revolutionaries’ of the fake-‘*Leninist*’ type is their ivory-tower isolation from real anti-imperialist sentiments through their long association with CPGB revisionism in a yuppie world of total petty-bourgeois philistinism.

Meanwhile in the real world, one difficulty of confronting bourgeois philistinism head-on is the statistical problem of never being able to say quite when the capitalist economic crisis is doomed to finally destroying everything around it in an explosive slump-collapse, then plunging on directly into all-out trade war and sabre-rattling chauvinistic recriminations opening the road to inter-imperialist WWII.

The complicating factor is the obscure matter of bourgeois market confidence. At some stage,

it will have disintegrated entirely, – demoralised by the ever-spreading incontrovertible evidence that there is no way out of monopoly-capitalist competitive contradictions for world domination than through outright imperialist-state confrontation.

Many bourgeois establishments will be terrified at this stage, – afraid of what they might lose. Some will be aggressively cocky, grimly determined about what they might win in spite of the frightening cost. All will be resigned to some very disrupted and dangerous market conditions ahead. The world economy will nosedive.

Precisely predicting how and when, or guaranteeing that there cannot possibly any last-minute ‘recovery’ false-dawns before then – remains an extremely hazardous business.

All that can be repeatedly stressed is that the contradictions of rival surplus-capital investment mountains (based on credit-creation and the bourgeois entrepreneurial faith that the entire world market is always there to be won for anyone bold enough to seize the opportunity), – are stoked up towards international chauvinist conflict as never before in history, – as the capitalist press itself now insistently reminds us:

[cuttings omitted here on US-Japan trade war pressure, Sony stand-up-to-America views; Croatia's Tudjman reactionary nazi anti-semitism; Polish privatisation reaction post-Solidarnosc; Russian capitalist economic “shock therapy” causing proletarian dismay/return to com-

munism sentiment].

Nor is it just the capitalist press speculating on these things in order to get a bit of racy copy. The capitalists themselves, and their imperialist state representatives, are becoming gloomier by the day over how the West is ever going to live up to its anti-communist propaganda boasts of yesterday of promising paradise on earth to East Europe as soon as it embraced the ‘democratic way’, etc[...]:

Pleadingly, the capitalist press editorials continue to announce the ‘*Death of Marxism*’, and can scarcely hide the telltale unseemly scramble to shovel earth onto the coffin quick before it revives.

But the fate of rational human development is never going to be decided by mere propaganda gimmicks, – no matter how much philistinism is temporarily around, or how many ‘1984’ books are written, or how many confused people are duped by the Maharishi or any other ‘Holy’ hokum.

Marxist science will triumph because it alone can explain the endless contradictions of human society and all matter. Despite repeated ‘burials’ of Marxism by bourgeois idealism since the mid-19th century, it remains a stubbornly dialectical materialist world in which bourgeois ideology is all at sea, – as evidenced by the total chaos all around over the international economic crisis and insoluble social problems everywhere under capitalism.

Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Jack Bradshaw

The battle for propaganda must be won before anti-imperialist struggle can prevail worldwide. Sick destructive influence of the petty-bourgeois fake-‘left’

[*ILWP Bulletin (EPSR) No649 19-05-92*]

As the political and economic crisis of the ‘free world’ deepens inexorably, it remains vital for the West to continue getting away with rubbishing communism or any idea of a planned-economy socialist alternative to capitalism.

As East Europe’s catastrophic collapse into profiteering exploitation, mass unemployment, poverty, philistinism, and crime after the arrival of the free market reveals, it was not the disciplined if unglamorous and unspectacular progress of the socialist camp which was the real ‘problem’ for the world but exactly the opposite, – the glitzy irresponsible shallowness of Western consumerism.

The tedious revisionist bureaucracies running the workers state obviously failed to turn their countries into environmen-

tally-sound social and educational showpieces with which to counter-attack the West’s relentless political anti-communism.

This was certainly economically difficult largely because of the enormous defence-burden and state-security-burden costs which the proletarian dictatorships were forced to bear by unremitting ‘free world’ military encirclement, nuclear threats, political subversion, and economic sabotage.

It was put politically out of reach by the hopeless revisionist subservience to imperialism, begging the West for permanent peaceful coexistence and class collaboration.

But despite these cowardly delusions, and until they reached total liquidationist betrayal under Gorbachev, the USSR was a

history-making triumph.

For all its weaknesses, the first 70 years of anti-imperialist achievement by the Soviet workers state must sooner or later begin to be seen again as an immense beacon lighting the way for the world’s proletarian masses, once more reeling under the burdens of monopoly-capitalist crisis.

Trade-war destruction, economic slump, and internationalist warmongering, currently afflicting half the planet, all point unerringly towards inter-imperialist war (WWIII as a follow-up to World Wars I and II) being unleashed anew as powerful monopoly-bourgeois forces increasingly seek to dominate the difficult world situation or blame someone else for the disasters.

The planet’s first workers state in 1917 was the inevitable scientifically-predicted answer to imperialism’s slump/war degeneracy and it was a world-shattering triumph, – the most dramatic-ever leap in human development. The capitalist class and the landed aristocracy were expropriated. Ruling class society was overthrown, – replaced by a totally planned economy and welfare-state ethos.

The entire weight of bourgeois propaganda internationally has since 1917 been strained to the utmost to maintain total silence about these colossal achievements, and to simply blacken the USSR’s reputation by any means possible, – spreading disgusting disinformation about “communist plans for world enslavement and zombiefication” etc.

Now these lies are needed more than ever as the capitalist system once again plunges mankind towards a catastrophic world-wide slump. It is essential for the West to rub it in that the FSU’s (former Soviet Union) very own bureaucrats now cannot wait to denounce socialism and ingratiate themselves with monopoly-imperialist circles around the NATO colonial-war alliance.

Because revisionist defeatism eventually undermined the leadership of the world’s first workers state, the relentless Cold War hostility by the ‘free world’ (i.e. capitalism’s territory), plus the temporary cheap glitz of postwar-boom economic success for the major imperialist powers, eventually bludgeoned the feeble bureaucrats in Moscow into opening the USSR’s doors to total class-collaboration again, crucially destroying the painfully-constructed state of proletarian dictatorship which alone could enable Soviet socialism to withstand the unremitting imperialist subversion.

But the fact that weak revisionist bureaucrats, 70 years after the epoch-making Bolshevik Revolu-

tion, have been bamboozled by bourgeois ideology into liquidating the Soviet planned economic society, – cannot possibly obscure for long the vital socialist message of the world’s first workers state.

It did work. The feudal land-owning and capitalist classes were abolished. And so successful was the USSR that formerly-backward Russia was dramatically transformed into the world’s greatest superpower – all in just 70 years despite the country’s main industrial and economic centres being twice totally devastated by deliberate imperialist invasion during that period.

And not only did the USSR’s planned economy flourish mightily in that time, and eventually stood up to every degenerate warmongering threat and encirclement which imperialism mounted, – but it was also able to lend a motherly hand to 20 or more new workers states in the aftermath of imperialism’s appalling WWII holocaust, and act as midwife to the whole national-liberation struggle which sensationally wiped out the entire colonial empires of Western monopoly-capitalism post 1945.

Because bourgeois propaganda will remain so determined to deny all relevance of communism’s achievements to the scourge of warmongering imperialist economic crises which have so dominated 20th century world history, and even continue denying that there were any achievements at all, – it is crucial for the growth of the new anti-imperialist movement internationally that the full significance of those 70 years without a feudal landowning class or a capitalist class and without any say for western monopoly-finance capital (the major stock markets, trade cartels, money-banking groupings, IMF, etc) in Soviet or socialist camp affairs, be clearly and scientifically understood.

If the West’s continuing non-stop anti-communist propaganda succeeds in still deceiving workers about how brilliantly the planned full-employment non-profiteering Soviet economy (which abolished slums and poverty as well as a moneyed leisure class), actually solved the problems bequeathed by imperialism’s unending burden of warmongering slumps (following every get-rich-quick boom), – then the anti-imperialist movement will remain confused and divided over the programme, strategy and tactics it must scientifically pursue in order to topple the international monopoly-bourgeoisie.

The most insidious obstacle to a renewal of Marxist-Leninist inspiration worldwide is the sick destructive influence of the petty-bourgeois fake-‘left’ which

for 70 years has sneered carp-ingly at every development of the workers states, pretending a wish to be 'even more' revolutionary' than the states of proletarian dictatorship and to be critical 'only of that which is preventing completion of the world revolution', etc. – but in reality filled with nothing but contemptuous hatred for the actual realities of working-class power.

This middle-class ultra-leftism is the most monstrous philosophical weapon being used by bourgeois class interests to wall off workers from a dialectical materialist understanding of precisely what historical conditions must of necessity be entailed by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It was not at all ever a question of merely the mistakes of the workers states being criticised, feigning sympathy with Soviet efforts, but something entirely the opposite, – a completely academic ivory-tower delusion that somehow the worlds first workers state was not the 'real revolution' at all but just a preliminary doomed skirmish. The 'perfect' revolution will come along later to show the world how it really should be done.

But this fake-'left' stance is nothing but the most appalling philosophical deception on workers. There is never going to be any 'perfect' revolution, and no such thing could ever exist. There would never be another revolutionary onslaught on imperialism at all anywhere if such petty-bourgeois dilettante attitudes were to prevail.

They will not prevail, of course. Fortunately, they will be swept aside by renewed spontaneous proletarian revolutionary determination born of the absolute necessity for mankind to do something about the coming imperialist slump-warmongering debacle.

This despicable parasitic ultra-left posturing has merely been a peculiar feature of the bourgeois world and its morality which survived alongside the new proletarian-discipline order in the curious interregnum of the Cold War when the capitalist and socialist eras temporarily uneasily coexisted side-by-side following the inability of the first great wave of workers-state transformations to sweep the whole of the planet all

The Soviet Union is a contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism, in which: (a) the productive forces are still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character; (b) the tendency towards primitive accumulation created by want breaks out through innumerable pores of the planned economy; (c) norms of distribution preserving a bourgeois character lie at the basis of a new differentiation of society; (d) the economic growth, while slowly bettering the situation of the toilers, promotes a swift formation of privileged strata; (e) exploiting the social antagonisms, a bureaucracy has converted itself into an uncontrolled caste alien to socialism; (f) the social revolution, betrayed by the ruling party, still exists in property relations and in the consciousness of the toiling masses; (g) a further development of the accumulating contradictions can as well lead to socialism as back to capitalism; (h) on the road to capitalism the counter-revolution would have to break the resistance of the workers; (i) on the road to socialism the workers would have to overthrow the bureaucracy. In the last analysis, the question will be decided by a struggle of living social forces, both on the national and the world arena.

at one go.

In the long run historically, the fact that the imperialist bourgeoisie was not all conquered all at the same time is hardly surprising. This 'failure' of proletarian revolutions first wave to complete the job is in one sense not a failure at all.

It is vital, of course, to learn the lessons of what really did 'go wrong' in terms of isolating CPSU revisionist-bureaucratic retreats and rationalisations which deludedly sought to prolong and justify the impossible situation of a world half-imperialist and half-socialist. (See *ILWP [EPSR] Books* vols 3,4,5,6,7,11,12,13, etc [also Vol 18,20]).

But petty-bourgeois ultra-leftism in its vitriolic abuse of 'Stalinism' and its treacherous joining in with the imperialist counter-revolution in stabbing the workers states in the back in supporting the Vatican-CIA 'Solidarnosc' reactionary-nationalist stunt, for example, which is leading straight on to fascism in Poland, – had nothing whatever to do with explaining how and why the first great wave of revolutionary proletarian dictatorship in the Soviet socialist camp had eventually run out of steam and been unable to complete the task of leading to the worldwide overthrow of imperialism.

Every aspect of middle-class fake-'left' biliousness against the Soviet workers state and the socialist camp which grew up around it was philosophically oriented towards declaring 'this is not real socialism – this is a total denial of what real socialism is supposed to be about', – completely sick in their armchair-socialist petty-bourgeois self-absorption with projecting models of the 'perfect socialist revolution to come', etc.

Every tiny detail of Trotskyism's "analysis" of the USSR starts only from the philosophical premise of: "It is all really no good; quite spoiled; everything is rotten", – and then condescendingly picks over the specific prospects with feigned 'sympathy' or pretended 'understanding' in order not to appear too hysterically anti-communist like the rest of the bourgeois spectrum (of hostility to proletarian dictatorship) sneering in from the outside.

Thus Trotsky in *'The Revolution Betrayed'*:

But this passage, frequently quoted favourably by modern Trots to show how "well-disposed" middle-class ultra-leftism "always was towards the Soviet Union", in fact reeks of monstrous detachment. It was not an academic question but a matter of life and death for millions of people on the planet affected by the outcome of the real frontline conflict between anti-imperialism and the Western monopolies.

The entire Trot philosophical posture is from the standpoint of "this is not yet the real socialist revolution; this is not yet real socialism; this is not yet a real workers state", etc.

But in fact it was the only first-ever workers state that there will ever be in history.

And for all its weaknesses and wrong turnings, the astonishing impact of the Soviet workers state on world developments throughout most of the 20th century will remain an indelible influence on human society's struggles for all time.

An appalling tone of agnostic fence-sitting factionalism in Trotsky's attitude is unmistakable, as though what was being decided in the USSR was some one-off bizarre experiment, and that real consciousness was continuing elsewhere, inseparable from the subjectivism of the analyser Trotsky.

The piece also reeks with outrageous sleight-of-hand verbal deceptions.

It starts with a savagely treacherous sneer at the Soviet Union as a "contradictory society halfway between capitalism and socialism". It was, in fact, the world's first workers state, – a watershed in all human history.

Slightly, it dismisses the expropriation of the landed aristocracy and the capitalist class which is the essence of that historical transformation, as "productive forces still far from adequate to give the state property a socialist character", which deliberately totally ignores the real point of the phenomenal interest in the USSR as the front line in the international class war, – proletarian dictatorship versus bourgeois dictatorship. The socialist character of the state property was much more government [*governed - ed*] by it being a workers state than by the level of productive forces. The state property under the postwar British Labour government's wholesale nationalisation occurred under far more advanced productive forces than 1930s USSR but it had not the remotest socialist character because of the reality of the continuing bourgeois dictatorship as the state form in Britain. The point about so-called 'primitive accumulation' (market-trading for profit) was obviously true but

no surprise and only mentioned in order to sound pompous and to make derisive propaganda play with words like 'primitive', 'want', 'pores', etc.

The so-called 'bourgeois character' of distribution was nothing more than the well-established Marxist-Leninist scientific description of that stage of socialist society development requiring 'to each according to his work' rather than 'to each according to his needs'. It is given a deliberate abusive twist here by Trotsky to smuggle in his slander about a 'new ruling caste' ('new differentiation of society') supposedly having taken over in the USSR as a not-quite new ruling class. Modern Trots, of course, refuse to say what became of this new 'ruling class' when Gorbachev-ism simply liquidated the CPSU and the dictatorship of the proletariat and gave over power to the counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois opportunists in the nationalist camps, anti-communist intelligentsia, and black-market mafia, – the first case in history, it would have been, of a 'ruling class' liquidating its own rule.

This criminal misrepresentation is then increasingly hysterically elaborated to a descriptive climax of "revolution betrayed", – though still with socialist property relations and mass socialist consciousness, he adds, (in case any of his audience had actually gone to the USSR to see the anti-imperialist workers-state development for themselves before the returning clouds of imperialist warmongering threatened, under the encouragement the West was giving to German imperialism to expand eastwards, to invade the USSR and totally obliterate all the socialist gains.)

After some further agnostic fence-sitting, saying it will either be a) or b), Trotsky delivers his final boot-in-the-groin in implying a 'world arena struggle of living social forces' as deciding the fate of the USSR as though, the Soviet workers state itself was irrelevant or incapable of playing any role in its own defence.

But the historic defeat of WWII German/Italian imperialist aggression was being nurtured in Soviet socialist development at that very moment (utterly disregarded by Trotsky in his specific speculations predicting Soviet disaster from the coming war – see *ILWP [EPSR] Books* vol 5), and an important indirect part in the defeat of Japanese imperialist aggression too, – thus helping shape the entire character of the planet after WWII.

The entire anti-colonial national-liberation struggle, which spectacularly drove Western physical empires off the world scene post 1945, was also incubating inside growing Soviet influence on inter-

national affairs.

All of this was contemptuously ignored by Trotsky (in implying that world influence would all be in the opposite direction, - from outside onto the sickly wavering USSR), - out of his incorrigible petty-bourgeois class bias which wanted to write off the Soviet proletarian dictatorship at all costs as being a horrible abortion (prejudiced not in the least by the fact that the Soviet workers state had rejected him, Trotsky, as leader after Lenin died (tragically early)).

Last week's *Bulletin* discussed at length the rottenness of the Trotskyite fraud that it was alright for 'anti-Stalinists' to stab the USSR in the back at any time on any issue 'because the "political revolution" would indeed, sooner or later, "overthrow the bureaucracy", as Trotsky put it.

This must rank as one of the filthiest 'Big Lie' techniques of all reactionary propaganda's annals.

It remains blindingly clear from Marxist science as well as unmistakable from the actual historical record, that there never has been any ultra-left 'political revolution' anywhere, there never will be, and that the only 'overthrow' of a workers state that could take place would be a counter-revolution.

And that is precisely what has happened in East Europe, but not one word will any ultra-left petty-bourgeois say anywhere about the Trotskyite treachery in freely stabbing the workers states in the back for half a century, including helping on such reactionary excrescences as Lech Walesa's neo-fascist-nationalist 'Solidarnosc', the feudal-barbarous Afghan mojaheddin, the Saudi-financed Ethiopian separatists, the nazi-loving Baltic nationalists, the 'freedom-loving' pro-imperialists from Sakharov to Havel, - regardless of the clear counter-revolutionary disasters which all this 'anti-Stalinism' helped bring about (plus not the remotest 'political revolution' anywhere in the offing).

Yet still the devious Trots pile on the 'big lie' propaganda to try to keep on confusing the working class and to protect their own reputation as 'theoreticians' of 'revolution'. In the May 1 USA ↗

Spartist '*Workers Vanguard*', the following astonishing cover-up muddle is printed:

"The ICL (Sparts) stand before the working class and tell the truth. Only workers political revolution to sweep away the counter-revolutionary regimes now in power can save the Soviet workers state".

This is more deliberate confusion-mongering. Having backed Solidarnosc for a year before removing all traces of this counter-revolutionary folly from their records, the Sparts hate to face the fact that they have already helped to drive the East European workers states to self-destruction, hence the confusion about exactly how you save a 'workers state' (from a 'counter-revolutionary regime').

And by exploiting that unexplained muddle, it then becomes possible to slip in (hopefully unnoticed) a totally new slant on the long lost 'political revolution'. Now, all of a sudden, it can apparently mean just any old workers revolution against any old kind of regime.

The gain for Trotskyism from such chaos? The first step in re-writing the records yet again so as to obliterate the whole sorry saga of advocating stabbing the Soviet workers state in the back for 50 years on the grounds that only good can come from the subsequent 'political' revolution which would preserve the socialist state and working-class power but eliminate the 'bureaucratic degeneration' which made it 'not really socialism', etc. This 'political revolution' was never anything but a rotten unscientific fiction by unscrupulous petty-bourgeois anti-communist dilettantes.

Just as there has never been a 'perfect revolution' by any Trots anywhere, so there has never been any 'political revolution' by them either.

All there has ever been is class hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat and a posturing 'left' refusal to unconditionally support workers-state power at every opportunity in every conflict with bourgeois anti-communist ideology, and counter-revolutionary stunts of the Solidarnosc kind:

Lenin dismissed these arm-chair-socialist fantasies of petty bourgeois dilettantes in his 1920 article "*Left-wing" communism - an infantile disorder*":

The dictatorship of the proletariat is a most determined & most ruthless war waged by the new class against a more powerful enemy, the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased tenfold by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the force of habit, in the strength of small production (which) engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons, the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness, and unity of will...

"The victorious dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia has clearly shown...that absolute centralisation and the strictest discipline of the proletariat constitute one of the fundamental conditions for victory over the bourgeoisie..."

"Would it not be better if greetings in honour of Soviet power and the Bolsheviks were more frequently attended by a profound analysis of the reasons why the Bolsheviks were able to build up the discipline the revolutionary proletariat needs.

With a collective Bolshevik jeer of

"What old and familiar rubbish. What 'left' childishness",

Lenin highlighted the ludicrous essence of petty-bourgeois revolutionism:

The mere presentation of the question-'dictatorship of the Party or dictatorship of the class; dictatorship party of the leaders or dictatorship party of the masses' - testifies to the most incredible and hopeless confusion of mind.... Classes are led by political parties.. directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders. All this is elementary...Why replace this by some rigmarole?.

"Repudiation of the party principle and of party discipline, - such is the opposition's net result. And this is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat in the interest of the bourgeoisie. It is tantamount to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness, instability, incapacity for sustained effort, unity & organised action which must inevitably, if indulged in, destroy every proletarian revolutionary movement.

"From the standpoint of communism, the repudiation of the party principle means trying to leap from the eve of the collapse of capitalism not to the lower, or the intermediate, but to the higher phase of communism.

"We in Russia are going through the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism, or the lower stage of communism. Classes have remained and will remain everywhere for years after the conquest of power by the proletariat.... Small commodity producers...must be re-educated and remoulded only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organisational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralisation and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the organisational role of the proletariat (and that is its principal role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat is a persistent struggle, - bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative, - against the forces and traditions of the old society. The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force....

Whoever weakens ever so little the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during the time of its dictatorship) actually aids the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Lenin's description of how petty-bourgeois revolutionism joins with bourgeois reaction to deride the

prolonged, slow, persistent struggle - bloody & bloodless, violent & peaceful, military & economic, educational & administrative - by the proletarian dictatorship against the terrible force of the habits & traditions of the old society'

is remarkably prophetic of the most decisive offensive against Leninism in modern history in support of Solidarnosc in Poland. The entire reformist, Trot, & Eurocommunist revisionist swamp joined forces with Reagan, Thatcher, the Vatican and the CIA to try to prevent the Polish workers state from reimposing centralised discipline over the

Catholic revolt for bourgeois democracy (See *ILWP [EPSR]Books* vols 3, 6, & 7).

Walesa's fascist worship of 'new order' capitalism in Japan, Sweden and Pilsudski Poland eventually caused a minority of the left swamp to jump off the Solidarnosc bandwagon. But, e.g. the '*Leninist*' still refused to give unconditional support to the Pol-



Solidarnosc pseudo-union leader Lech Walesa meets his mentor, the reactionary Polish Pope John Paul II (installed by the CIA)

ish workers state because these fair-weather fence-sitters feared further 'embarrassing difficulties' for Warsaw. The RCG, on the other hand, merely sat tight and said nothing at all – until finally condemning the Solidarnosc lobby's anti-Soviet clamour in the West in a belated down-page story as if nothing could be less important than the CIA/Vatican attempts to finance, spark off, and sustain counter-revolution in East Europe. Competing with these two academic grouplets by bearing Trotskyism's banner of feigned 'solidarity with the socialist camp' were the Sparts, who red-faced took eleven uncomfortable months to stumble from an appeal for worldwide military

action in support of Solidarnosc to an unexplained about-turn to dismiss it as a CIA company union.

The whole of Leninism, – the above quotes and every other word he wrote, – bellows forth a dialectical combination of ruthless criticism of any confusion over or retreat from a scientific Marxist analysis of class forces and action to be taken in the best interests of the world socialist revolution, plus the most militant & unconditional support for any attempt to overthrow capitalism and build socialism, such as is represented by the Polish workers state.

In 'Proletarian Revolution & Renegade Kautsky' in 1919, Lenin wrote:

Dictatorship does not necessarily mean the abolition of democracy for the class that exercises the dictatorship over other classes; but it necessarily does mean the abolition of democracy for the class over which the dictatorship is exercised...

The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is rule won and maintained by the use of violence by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, rule that is unrestricted by any laws....

Kautsky picks at all manner of trifles down to the argument that under the Soviet constitution elections are indirect; but he misses the essence of the matter. He fails to see the class nature of the state apparatus, of the machinery of state. Under bourgeois democracy, the capitalists by thousands of tricks (which are the more artful and effective the more 'pure' democracy is developed) push the masses away from the work of administration, from freedom of the press, the right of assembly, etc. The Soviet government is the first in the world to enlist the masses in the work of administration. The toiling masses are barred from participation in bourgeois parliaments (which never decide important questions under bourgeois democracy: they are decided by the stock exchange and the banks) by thousands of obstacles, and the workers know and feel, see & realise perfectly well that the bourgeois parliaments are institutions alien to them, instruments for the oppression of the proletarians by the bourgeoisie, institutions of a hostile class, of the exploiting minority.

The Soviets are the direct organisation of the toiling & exploited masses themselves, which helps them to organise and administer their own state in every possible way.

In 'Third International & its place in history', Lenin added:

The proletarian-peasant Soviet Republic has proved to be the first stable socialist republic in the world. As a new type of state, it cannot die..

For the continuance and completion of the work of building socialism, very much is still required. Soviet republics in more cultured countries where the proletariat has greater weight and influence will have every chance of surpassing Russia once they take the path of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The bankrupt Second International is now dying and rotting alive. Actually, it is playing the role of lackey of the international bourgeoisie. It is truly a yellow International. Its most prominent ideological leaders, such as Kautsky, laud bourgeois democracy and call it 'democracy' in general, or, - which is still more stupid and still more crude - 'pure democracy'.

Bourgeois democracy has outlived its day, just as the Second International has outlived its day... Even the most democratic bourgeois republic, never was and never could be anything but a machine for the suppression of the toilers by capital, an instrument of the political rule of capital, of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The democratic bourgeois republic promised and proclaimed majority rule, but it could never put this into effect as long as private ownership of the land and other means of production existed.

'Freedom' in the bourgeois-democratic republic was actually freedom for the rich. The proletarians and toiling peasants could and should have utilised it for the purpose of preparing their forces for overthrowing capital, for overthrowing bourgeois democracy...

Soviet, or proletarian democracy has for the first time in the world created democracy for the masses... Never before in the world has there been such a state power as the Soviet power, the power of the majority of the population... It suppresses the 'freedom' of the exploiters and their accomplices... 'freedom' to fight for the restoration of the rule of capital, 'freedom' to compact with the foreign bourgeoisie against the workers and peasants of their own country...

Whoever has read Marx and has not understood that in capitalist society, at every acute moment, in every serious conflict of classes, the only thing possible is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, has understood nothing either of Marx's economic or political doctrines.

All round the 'free' world, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie could

not be clearer, – or in clearer trouble, – as the capitalist press itself is forced to admit: [*Cuttings on Washington cover-up for past support for Saddam; massive Italian political embezzlement and bribery; police brutality let off over Los Angeles riots*].

Every day, new areas of proletarian defiance of bourgeois-imperialist authority emerge. Yesterday the people of Bangkok faced the bullets in order to tell their pro-imperialist racketeers to get out. The day before, the masses in Nigeria went on the rampage over unemployment and corruption. The day before that Irish workers in Coalisland openly taunted the British police-military dictatorship to get out of their country. Tomorrow, the anti-imperialist struggle could flare up in any one or scores more countries.

And what will the imperialist bourgeoisie do about it? Nothing but plunge on uncontrollably towards renewed inter-imperialist warmongering armageddon, totally confused by insoluble economic crisis and trade war, and incurably drawn towards hate-filled chauvinistic recriminations against each other, matched by

arms-race anarchy over which even those controlling it have no real control[.]

But to lead the working-class revolt against this degenerate philistine anarchy, there must be scientific understanding which puts all of these class-war crisis issues in their historical perspective, and which above all grasps the true revolutionary significance of this century's earlier titanic anti-imperialist developments of the states of proletarian dictatorship.

Continuing colossal anti-communist deceptions by the imperialist bourgeoisie's propaganda dictatorship over the planet, aided and abetted by the petty-bourgeois fake-'left' with their hatred of real proletarian rule, points the way towards renewing the struggle for revolutionary theory and parties of Leninist leadership. Without a full understanding of the Leninist theory of proletarian dictatorship, the working-class forces will remain divided everywhere, and the anti-imperialist fight will be left to hit-or-miss spontaneity. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Gerry Mole

Fake-"left" philistinism cannot provide cadre depth needed for leading revolution. Activist "left" frenzy is not best response to imperialism's economic catastrophic crisis

[*ILWP Bulletin (EPSR) No674 10-11-92*]

[...]Now the inter-imperialist cut-throat rivalry will all have to come out into the open at last, – whatever weird forms it may initially express itself in.

And it is this total transformation which will have the greatest impact on public consciousness.

It will be a completely different political world from any most alive now have ever known.

It will utterly change all political conflict.

It is impossible to over-estimate the influence which the Western world's Cold War unanimity in making 'communism' the greatest ideological bogey in all human history has had on people's thinking.

Anti-communism will remain as powerful as ever.

But inter-imperialist chauvinist hatred will rapidly replace it as the automatic assumption, initially, in most people's thinking about politics.

And as the 'free world' starts to vilify its own constituent parts more than anything else on earth, – so will the opportunity grow immensely for serious anti-imperialist understanding, – i.e. Marxist-Leninist science, – to at last begin to develop, – replacing the fake-'left' nonsense which (*see subsequent section* – next page*) has been confusing Western

workers for decades and holding them back.

It will not be long before the 'free world' system is illustrating Marx's description of its unavoidable compulsive need to destroy 'surplus' capital in the most spectacular way possible, – by a new inter-imperialist arms race using the very latest technological innovations by 'market forces' solely for one purpose only, – for destruction.

By such a time of a real need for mastery over every aspect of Marxist-Leninist philosophical theory for organising mankind for the greatest revolutionary transformation of society ever, – the philistine theoretical ignorance of the anti-communist fake-'left' will have become an outstanding problem.

The Saturday afternoon High Street frenzy of hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat and hypocritical loathing of what was achieved in the Soviet Union and East Europe will quickly be found wanting, as the subsequent article analyses.

It is cadres that are needed with an all-round ability to put the entire world's development in perspective, – not leave out more than half the crucial questions as the Trots will have to do, for example, – such as why did they

support Solidarnosc fascism to overthrow the Polish workers state?, – and why did they never give unconditional backing to socialist Cuba?, – and what should be done about the treacherous class-collaborating Labour Party in Britain, – and so on for a thousand more issues.

The philistine anti-Leninism of the opportunist fake-‘lefts’ could never develop serious theoretical cadre strengths to give a real lead to a revolutionary mass movement in Britain, and their newly-renewed High Street posturing of ‘dual power now’ is not going to change things.

A party of revolutionary theory must be built, not a party of opportunist activism, – such as was gruesomely demonstrated by the *Militant*ites in their glowing documentary report on capitalist television last night, – totally devoid of any slightest scrap of serious political analysis of the British capitalist crisis or of the complex movements of class forces which will have to be understood and resolved, – especially around the class-collaborating reformism of the Labour Party and the trades unions, – before a real revolutionary movement can be built and not a duped shallow stage army for parliamentary opportunism, – whether making half-pay gestures or not.

It is a total deception of British workers to pretend that the present British imperialist ‘parliamentary’ set-up can be ‘reformed’. It was set up solely to bamboozle the working class, and it will obviously be destroyed by the imperialist establishment itself rather than let parliament or local government get into the hands of real revolutionaries (as opposed to Hatton-ite opportunists).

The ‘imposed-rightwing-candidate’ trick is more than 100 years old, – as is the ‘bought-off-when-got-there’ trick against any few ‘leftwingers’ who do manage to get through the net, – so why keep on tying the working class to such an obvious and uncontrollable racket which will always clearly be subject to the strength of bourgeois ‘democratic’ propaganda (i.e. the bourgeois-dominated press, radio, and television) ad infinitum?

Marxist revolution is happy to expose such rackets, but is much happier teaching the working class about the crisis-nature of the capitalist system, and explaining how the opportunity will arrive for the dictatorship of the proletariat to replace the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (which no ‘reformists’, however ‘*Militant*’, will ever change) at the war-mongering depths of imperialist trade-war crisis when national chauvinism (the ‘*Militant*’ backed British imperialism’s Falklands

War and wanted Saddam’s Iraqi nationalism defeated in the Gulf) is finally turned against, with contempt, by workers.

These deeply anti-communist ‘*Militant*’ opportunists prefer not to disturb the spontaneous chauvinist ignorance of workers in order to keep thousands of them on as shallow duped supporters of these petty-bourgeois fake ‘revolutionaries’.

The farcical crisis of corrupt British-imperialist parliamentarianism is coming out now in the ridiculous muddle over the Common Market.

The real issue is which heavy-weight imperialist trade-war bloc do the nervous British imperialists feel safer with coming up towards World War III, – the Americans, the Germans, or maybe neither.

The ludicrous chaos over what the Commons votes were all about arises because bourgeois ideology is far too terrified at the moment even to spell out what the real argument is over.

Both sides in the division were for the Common Market, Tory rebels and Tory loyalists alike. Only the ‘Loyalist’ colonists from Ulster were frankly against the EEC.

Both sides in the division were against aspects of the Maastricht Treaty, Tory rebels and Tory loyalists alike.

And the ‘Opposition’ parties were even more all over the place than the Tories, – arguing one thing, but voting for something else, – or vice versa.

And having twisted arms in all directions to get the present British cabinet a vote of ‘confidence’ in the face of a ‘difficult’ European situation, the brotherly international relations for which all of the blackmailing was being comically carried out (“we’ll tell your constituency party chairman about your shirt-lifting activities around Westminster if you don’t vote for us tonight”, etc) – turned round the next day and imposed the opening shots of a trade war on everybody.

What a farce. And the *Militant*ites cannot wait to get back down there to cheer for ‘Britain’ from a ‘left’ perspective, meanwhile learning the speeches of General Douglas MacArthur (!!), one of the most notorious anti-communist reactionaries in American imperialist history, who is approvingly quoted by *Militant* ex-MP Terry Fields for saying ‘I shall return’ (in threatening Japanese imperialists that he would reconquer the Philippines for American imperialism, – which he duly did (by nuking Japan) before it was eventually handed over to Marcos fascism.) What backwardness.

British parliamentary imperialism is an integral part of worldwide imperialist tyranny

and one of its worst deceptions on workers. The sole aim of attendance there should be to spread the need for a worldwide revolutionary struggle against the ‘democratic’ capitalist ‘free-world’ system as its worldwide corruption is exposed daily even in the columns of the capitalist press[...]

***Trotskyist activism useless without theoretical depth**

The ultra-left posturing of middle-class Trot ‘revolutionaries’ will reach a crescendo with the latest dramatic developments in the inter-imperialist trade war.

The ‘organise a general strike and prepare for dual power’ chants are more raucous than ever but theoretical understanding of the international implications of the slump is zero.

After a few choruses of ‘*Major out*’, ‘*Bring down the Tories*’, and ‘*The workers united will never be defeated*’, the Trots soon run out of firm convictions and agreed perspectives.

The latest sects to batter each other into ‘traitor’ status in a fog of utter confusion on all sides are two ex-WRP factions, the North and Torrance groups, both claiming (like 57 other varieties) to be the Fourth International as opposed to being the Counter-Revolution which the rival is charged with.

The mutual incomprehension in fact leaves them both badly exposed, like protagonists in a theatrical tragedy who stab each other to death simultaneously on stage.

The immediate cause of lambasting each other is the painful disappearance of the Trotskyite ‘political revolution’ which was always supposed to be the ‘justification’ for 70 years of Trot anti-Soviet propaganda poison. These petty-bourgeois anti-communists were “not stabbing the Soviet proletarian dictatorship in the back”, allegedly, but merely “exposing the treacherous workers-state leadership so as to restore the real 1917 revolution”, etc, – which ‘political revolution’ would inevitably follow if ‘Stalinist bureaucracy’ could be undermined.

As all normal sane people everywhere now accept, save for these sectarian Trotskyite loonies, – the planned socialist society of the USSR needed permanent intense criticism against its revisionist lapses but also needed permanent unconditional support as a workers state against the **entire** bourgeois anti-communist ideological onslaught from the West.

Only Leninists grasped the priceless value for mankind of having established proletarian dictatorships, – first with the USSR, and then with China and the rest of the socialist camp, – in the face of relentless bourgeois-

imperialist hatred and sabotage.

Only Leninists saw the need, – no matter how strongly Stalinist revisionism had to be criticised for its retreats and lapses such as its Popular Front disasters all round the capitalist world, – to unconditionally support the undoubted advances made by proletarian dictatorship even in their most bureaucratic and un-Leninist forms in East Europe or North Korea, for example.

Only Leninists understood that with the colossal impact being made everywhere on the planet by ‘free world’ bourgeois ideology on the strength of the most remarkable and sustained capitalist economic boom in all history, – it was vital to boost confidence in the much greater achievements the planned economies would eventually reach under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

But it was the shallow philistinism of middle-class ideology which finally prevailed temporarily worldwide, convincing even the petty-bourgeois-leaning Gorbachev revisionist generation that market forces really had “won the battle of history”, etc.

These cowardly anti-Marxist-Leninist groups are, from the revisionists to the Trots, beginning to be appalled at the catastrophic mess they have helped to create by being so foolishly impressed with ‘capitalist productivity’ (mimicking Trotsky’s notorious *Revolution Betrayed* shallowness).

Predictions of Soviet hopelessness or collapse because of economic failure were counter-revolutionary garbage when first uttered in 1917 and the 1920s, when repeated by Trotsky throughout the 1930s, and were still ludicrously wrong even when the wretched anti-Leninist bureaucracy itself fell for this nonsense in the late 1980s, by which time the Soviet workers state had become the most powerful country on earth.

Gorbachevite revisionism, however, still wanted what that other petty-bourgeois philistinism, Trotskyism, said could not be achieved by the dictatorship of the proletariat (as existing in the USSR), – namely the ‘affluent lifestyle of sophisticated Western productivity’.

The dictatorship self-liquidated, and market forces were let loose.

Now the Trots and other anti-Leninists of every description are at each others throats from ten different directions at once over what exactly has happened in the Soviet Union, and what became of the ‘political revolution’ in all that chaos.

The Northites try to cover their humiliation over the counter-revolutionary debacle now unfolding in the USSR (as a consequence of 75 years of sustained anti-com-



munist propaganda worldwide by every petty-bourgeois opponent of proletarian dictatorship from the ultra-'lefts' to the ultra-right) by accusing Trotsky of getting it wrong to start with.

There has been no 'political revolution' after the final treachery by 'Stalinism' because there had never been anything left to have a revolution with:

"What was destroyed between 1936 and 1940 was not only the flower of Marxism but its roots.

"It doesn't detract anything from Trotsky's work to say that he simply could not have known, even when he was writing his denunciations of the Moscow Trials, the scale of the bloodbath that was taking place in the USSR".

"Furthermore we must recognize the deep-going alienation of the working class itself from the state property. Property belonged to the state but the state belonged to the bureaucracy as Trotsky noted...

"The fundamental distinction between state property and bourgeois property, - however important from a theoretical standpoint, - became less and less relevant from a practical standpoint.

"Finally and most important of all, has been the protracted decay of the international socialist movement,"

plus

"the increasing weakness of the international workers movement"

and

"the apparent collapse of any effective working class resistance in any part of the world to the bourgeois offensive".

"The postwar period was characterised by the bureaucratic manipulation and suppression of the class struggle. What imparted to this entire period its generally reactionary political character was the substitution of all-powerful bureaucratic apparatuses, whether Stalinist or Social Democratic, for the inde-

pendent revolutionary initiative of the working class".

"We should avoid using phrases that become hackneyed from over-use; but in this case it can truly be said that we have come to the end of an entire historical period that was opened in 1917.

The Northite Trotskyism has slithered from anti-Soviet defeatism, masked by a pretended belief in the mythical 'political revolution', - to absolute defeatism, writing off the entire post-1917 period as one long disaster.

Embarrassed by this mentally deranged subjectivism, the Torrancites try to rescue Trotskyism's reputation by correctly referring to some of the great setbacks suffered by imperialism since 1917.

But what a weird choice of what constitutes "revolutionary" advances against the monopoly-capitalist bourgeoisie, - and what bizarre telltale omissions from that list.

First, the *Newsline* WRP remnants feel obliged to put their heads on the block over the disappearance of the 'political revolution' and over the huge doubts now raised even among the Trots about whether their lifelong anti-communist anti-Soviet sniping had the slightest grain of 'progressive' political content.

Fingers crossed and taking a deep breath, - the Torrancites - still baldly insist that the recent anti-Communist Party developments in the USSR and the rest of the socialist camp were all, - and continue to be, - 'revolutionary'

in character.

Accusing the Northites of 'abandoning' these

"massive revolutionary developments in all the degenerated and deformed workers states",

the Torrance sect ridicules North because he

"impressionistically declares that the USSR is now a capitalist state".

Sneering at North's alleged 'idealism', the *Newsliners* jeer:

"The comic side of all this is that since the bureaucracy is the 'determining force', if the so-called 'military industrial complex' were to overthrow Yeltsin, reinstating the USSR, then no doubt North would have to declare that the USSR was once again a workers state. He would have to say 'Thank god for the Stalinist bureaucracy'.

The Torrance sect are not so crude as to actually cheer on Yeltsin's fascist reaction, or Walesa's even greater reactionariness in Poland, etc, - but they feel obliged to defend their Trotskyite faith by continuing to pretend that overall, the developments in East Europe are **all** part of the 'political revolution', - and therefore all 'revolutionary' in themselves.

They therefore had to declare the 1991 August pathetic coup attempt by the self-liquidating CPSU bureaucracy to be the "counter-revolution" - and by definition to declare the sordid gang of CIA-recruited reactionaries around Yeltsin to be the "revolutionary advance", including all the obscurantist religious fanatics, mafiosi, and pro-Western imperialist stooges who rallied

to the reactionary barricades around the Yeltsin phony 'parliamentary' headquarters and then began systematically destroying all vestiges of Lenin once they had broken the feeble coup.

It is, of course, true that the Yanaev-led Gorbachevites were particularly degenerate and hopeless in their August resistance to the final stages of the liquidationism their own revisionist backwardness had unleashed five years earlier.

But the question both these Trotskyite sects are avoiding is the same one Trotsky avoided originally with his bogus 'political revolution' excuse for constantly vilifying the Soviet workers state, - namely was it better for the USSR to survive imperialist encirclement and revisionist mistakes, - or to collapse completely and disappear without trace?.

The most 'honest' fake-'lefts' came out bluntly immediately after 1917 and declared that socialism in backward Russia was a farcical idea to start with, far too premature, and that Lenin's proletarian-dictatorship state was a total abomination to mankind.

The slightly more devious fake-'lefts' reserved judgment for a while but then declared that the Soviet Union had become state-capitalist anyway fairly early on, and was therefore no longer an issue for 'revolutionary socialists' one way or the other.

Even slimier fake-'lefts' pre-

tended to maintain unconditional support for the USSR but demanded a 'political revolution' to

"restore its original Leninist-Trotskyist principles",

etc, while in practice getting on with stabbing the Soviet workers state and its dictatorship in the back as often as the bourgeois media and 'left' petty-bourgeois anti-communist circles in the West would listen to and pay for it.

Dogmatic revisionists avoided the question by simply pretending for decades that everything was perfect in the USSR. Equally stupidly, they then got away from the problem by declaring at various subsequent turning points that suddenly everything was a disaster in the USSR.

The remnants of all these phony 'supporters' of the Bolshevik Revolution have all in a variety of ways now washed their hands of the Soviet revisionist mess they each helped to create.

The Redgrave Trots have decided to disown the whole of Soviet history – and to creep away from Healy's lunacy that Gorbachev was 'the political revolution for restoring Bolshevik world revolutionary perspectives', – by announcing that Lenin had got it all wrong to start with, – and that Rosa Luxemburg was right to denounce Lenin in 1904 as a "sterile overseer" seeking "blind subordination" to "an intellectual elite hungry for power" by means of "pitiless centralism", etc (see *Bulletin 670* [in *EPSP Book Vol 14 Party building and theory*]).

The Northites have, as shown, put the blame on Trotsky for not denouncing the USSR sufficiently absolutely to start with, misleading his supporters into backing a Soviet workers state which did not need a 'political revolution' because socialism had already disappeared completely.

The Torranceites excuse their part in helping to back-stab the Soviet workers state to death by pretending that it has not happened, and that Yeltsinism (following Gorbachevism) represents the 'political revolution' which will 'restore Bolshevism' in due course.

All of these, and many other varied Trot 'excuses' for avoiding reality, still refuse to face up to the central question, evaded by Trotsky in practice through his endless vilification of the USSR, – of whether the existence of the Soviet workers state was a good thing or a bad thing.

Despite their revisionist wretchedness, it certainly would have been a good thing if the pathetic Yanaev crowd had gone through with their coup and restored as much of the old Soviet workers-state structure as possible, – including its one-party

rule by the CPSU in spite of all its appalling revisionist backwardness.

The choice was between socialist bureaucratic degeneracy and fascist counter-revolution.

Socialist bureaucratic degeneracy needs endless relentless Leninist criticism, but has nevertheless provided some small degree of stable anti-imperialist proletarian structure internationally for 75 years, much of it still surviving in China, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, etc.

Fascist counter-revolution is not yet the official public face of Yeltsin's Russia, – but it creeps closer towards that reality every day.

Revolutionary Marxism-Leninism of course could eventually prevail against fascist dictatorship in Russia.

But what is the advantage of **choosing** that route for restoring Bolshevism? Let Marxism-Leninism be fought for at all times from Stalinism onwards, and put back in to replace bureaucratic revisionism as early as possible while as much as possible of the Soviet workers state was still surviving.

It is childish play-acting to 'welcome' the victory of reactionary Yeltsinism over the philistine revisionist bureaucracy on the grounds that it will lead to 'world socialist revolution' later on.

It is particularly criminally irresponsible to actually try pretending that the survival of Yeltsinism was a 'revolutionary' development against the 'counter-revolutionary' attempt to restore the USSR.

Why not pretend that a repeat of Yeltsinism is just what Cuba needs, or China, or Vietnam? The slimy Torranceites would not dare.

Just the opposite. These anti-communist opportunist creeps challenge North's total defeatism with the following sarcasm:

"It will come as news to the capitalist class worldwide that the postwar period saw the working class dominated by the bureaucracies, – that is the petty-bourgeois agencies of imperialism.

"The Chinese revolution, the revolution in Vietnam, the Iranian revolution, the South African revolution, the Palestinian Intifada, the huge gains made by workers in Britain after the Second World War, the Belgian general strike, the French general strike of May and June 1968, the struggles of the British workers from 1969 till today, the struggle of the German workers of this year, the Los Angeles uprising; all this is the 'domination of the bureaucracies'.

"We are being told that the vast gains made by the working class have nothing to do with the objective revolutionary movement of the working class, but were achieved by organisations that were 'reactionary'.

"The concentrated crisis of imperialism today was intensified by the huge push forward made by the working class in the postwar period."

These Trot parasites even have the nerve to add:

"The only reason that capitalism remains is

that the crisis of revolutionary leadership was not resolved during and immediately after the Second World War, and this was because of problems in the development of the Fourth International and not because the spontaneous movement of the working class was lacking in some way."

Leaving aside the peculiarities of this Trot 'revolutionary victory' list for the moment, the first huge question that arises is the one which has always exposed Trotskyism for the ludicrous self-contradiction that it is, – namely, was there 'leadership' in these imperialist-shattering victories for revolutionary struggle in the 'Chinese revolution' and 'the revolution in Vietnam', for example.?

Clearly there was, and it was Stalinist leadership without a doubt, – the 'syphilis of the labour movement' as the petty-bourgeois fake-'left' Trots used to love to say.

Now, leaving the Northites out of it, who have seen nothing but total reaction take place on the planet since 1936 (meaning that the Soviet workers state defeat of German imperialism in 1941-1945, the sweeping away of fascist-bourgeois rule from all of East Europe, the revolutionary defeats of imperialism in China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, were all totally reactionary), – the question remains whether some rekindled spark of anti-imperialist leadership might have been better triumphing in the August 1991 coup than the undoubted open door to fascism represented by the monstrous Yeltsin circles, – as degenerate and revisionist as the Yanaev gang were.

Stalinism has always been in need of relentless Leninist criticism. But even Stalinist revisionism at the head of the Soviet workers state was obliged to help what the Torrance Trots themselves admit were the great revolutionary triumphs of the Chinese and Vietnamese revolutions, for example.

The socialist camp also massively backed the ANC-led South African revolution, and the PLO which led the Intifada, – (often giving backing in ways which Leninists have properly bitterly criticised but which Trots have philistinely tail-ended, or else sectarianly stabbed in the back, depending on what 'ultra-left' opportunist advantage these Trot petty-bourgeois bogus 'revolutionaries' were seeking at the time.)

Trotskyism's hopeless contradiction was in posturing 'unconditional' support of the Soviet workers state – but pretending that any positive gains by the Third International (such as China, Vietnam, etc) were achieved without any leadership at all, and that the 'Stalinist bureaucracy' could be gunned-for

totally without reservation, – via the criminal insanity of a 'political revolution'.

But non-stop Leninist criticism was what was needed. And Trotskyism's greatest dirty secret was that these Trots could simply never provide any Leninist criticism – because Trotsky was a lifelong opponent of Leninism, – and Trotskyism has never remotely come anywhere close to a Leninist understanding of anything.

To take just one of many astonishing omissions from the grotesque hypocrisy of the Torrance revolutionary list (on the detail of which the Trots could always be found stabbing anything good in the back, such as the leadership given by the Vietnamese communist party, – and criminally encouraging everything reactionary such as 'the instinctive revolutionary genius of Khomeini' that monster of feudal reaction, or the PAC splittists in South Africa), – how on earth is it possible for serious people, supposedly supporting the international anti-imperialist struggle, to totally ignore the Cuban revolution, and the enormous impact this has had throughout Latin America and Africa?

It is possible only by prolonging the despicably sick sectarianism of Trotskyism, – the real syphilis of the labour movement, which has never achieved a single anti-imperialist victory itself anywhere, but which has existed to parasitically live off the blood of the Third International's triumphs, – poisoning it while doing so with the inevitability of a disease-carrying insect.

These WRP slimeballs have a particularly stinky record of total silence about Cuba which they could never fit satisfactorily into the twisted patterns of Trotskyite anti-communist 'theory' – (which from its fake 'ultra-left' standpoint dared concede no more to the Third International than that an irresistible mixture of "spontaneous mass revolutionary movement", plus the 'unwitting revolutionary catalyst' provided in the wake of, or in the environs of, any Red Army triumphs, – made 'some' revolutionary expansion of the Third International and the socialist camp 'unavoidable', despite the Third International having become definitively 'counter-revolutionary' in Trot eyes, from the 1950s onwards.)

In fact the revolutionary development of the socialist camp after 1945 was a spectacular planned-for triumph, undiminished by the sour Trotskyite sneers that Moscow did not want China to go communist, and that Moscow and Peking subsequently did not want Vietnam to go communist.

But these sick 'ultra-left' anti-

communist fantasies became more odious than ever when Castro, with Moscow's full banking, turned Cuba's nationalist revolt into a fullscale socialist revolution, consciously led from the front without needing to be pushed by any 'spontaneous mass revolutionary movement', and thousands of miles from any Red Army land-conquest spin-offs.

The barmy Trot 'theories' fell even sicker when Castro, – still enjoying Moscow's full support and economic backing, – directly spread Cuba's revolutionary influence internationally by intervening in Angola to help rout South African counter-revolution there, and similarly helping Mozambique and Ethiopia against counter-revolutionary Western stooges there.

When the Soviet workers state later went to the aid of revolutionary Afghanistan, the Trots came out openly in hostile opposition to this fraternal assistance, backing the utterly reactionary barbarism of the tribal-feudal Mojaheddin fascism.

Revisionism was still a terrible problem, – worse than ever overall.

But only the most reactionary sectarianism could have failed to back revolutionary Afghanistan unconditionally against the CIA-financed and armed feudal reactionaries.

Trotskyism's crass ignorance of theoretical leadership as the essence of the Leninist revolutionary party of a new type which transformed human history, – is paraded blatantly by these Torrance Trots in trying to squash the North bugs.

The Northite defeatism extends to some rigmarole about pre-1917 working class consciousness and revolutionary self-confidence which told Lenin that

"in his struggle inside the Bolshevik Party, he was resting upon an intelligent layer of the Russian working class".

With their scurvy silence about Cuba in mind, and also their lifelong back-stabbing against the Third International leadership **as such, on principle, regardless of what it did** – the Torranceites cautiously reply to North:

"For North, what makes the working class a revolutionary class is 'consciousness', not its position as the most important part of the productive forces which to survive has to overthrow capitalism....

"What made the Russian Revolution was not a 'revolutionary consciousness' that had become the common property of the international working class, but the fact that the conflict between the productive forces and the productive relations was driven on to its sharpest point of transformation, and that there was in Russia a Bolshevik Party that was dominated by the dialectical materialist approach."

Let it first be noted that it was also the Bolshevik Party which Trotsky had become the lifelong bitter opponent of (the *Bulletin*

will shortly serialise the massive volume of Lenin's writings against Trotsky), another crucial historical factor which the Trots also always keep very quiet about.

Secondly, there is something typically bureaucratically mechanistic about this 'understanding' served up by the Torranceite Trots.

It sets up an entirely false opposition between the objective material conditions (which forced the Russian masses towards revolutionary consciousness), and the absolutely vital **leadership by correct revolutionary theory** (which the world since then has called Leninism), necessary to put a party vanguard at the head of the mass movement.

Whatever nonsense North was guilty of, it is typically unfailingly devious of Trotskyism to put all of the emphasis on the mechanical breakdown of the capitalist mode of production, and then to tack on the obscure phrase:

"and there was in Russia a Bolshevik Party that was dominated by the dialectical materialist approach".

This could be just a further immature abandonment to sarcasm, but it sounds much more like a typical piece of partially-true Trotskyite 'left' posturing, – similar to the 'world revolutionary' perspectives currently being poured out by Trot opportunists on the High Street.

It is one thing to enterprisingly trot out a 'dual power' slogan at the crashing down of a trade barrier, but it is something else entirely to present a serious coherent world view to cope with the remaining problems of the international imperialist crisis if and when Major & Co are brought down in quick revolutionary order.

North's defeatism aside, it is a disastrously dubious perspective to go out on Saturday afternoons mobilising the British proletarian revolution while telling workers the 'good news' that the 'Soviet workers state is still intact, ready to resume its revolutionary development at any moment'.

If the reactionary Yeltsin interregnum ends badly in a complete fascist counter-revolution (and the similar Polish regime is already calling for NATO troops to help keep down workers unrest), then the workers on Clapham High Street are unlikely to have much confidence in the WRP's barricades.

A new revolutionary party necessary to reverse Yeltsin's counter-revolution could be built quickly, of course. But the Leninist theoretical tradition is at the moment temporarily all but dead worldwide, – swamped by the sort of Trotskyite and revisionist lunacies examined above.

Are the Clapham workers on the WRP's barricades to call for

a Cuban Yeltsin to smash up socialist Cuba, the day after the Torrance-ites 'dual power' slogan has dealt with John Major?

Are they to demand a new Yeltsinite Tiananmen Square petty-bourgeois counter-revolution against the Chinese workers state, or are they to continue backing the Chinese revolution (as newly borrowed by the *Newsline* as a great postwar blow against imperialism?)

And is Khomeini's feudal-religious obscurantism still to be hailed worldwide as 'instinctive revolutionary genius' worthy as a role-model for completing the international socialist revolution?

Nearer home, should the anti-communist poison continue to be poured out against the Serbian remnants of the Yugoslav workers state so as to help whip up a fascist-interventionist atmosphere for Western imperialist troops to go in and fight for the 'self-determination rights of the Slovenian, Croatian, and Bosnian people', – i.e. the remnants of the Nazi stooges who helped German imperialism prepare the holocaust for the Yugoslav communist resistance in 1941-45, and who are now busy knifing each other again for the same reactionary spoils-of-war ends?

The list of challenges to the Trotskyite lunacy of these treacherous petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' opportunists is endless.

The point being made is that while any amount of 'dual power next week' High Street activism is desirable, the most crucial work at the moment remains putting an end to Trotskyite and revisionist confusion in the working class, and getting a real start made at last in winning agreement for a return to Leninism.

The historical period opened up by 1917 is only just beginning, and one of the first things needed

Correct world view crucial to human progress

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Further to the polemic against the ex-WRP Torrance Trots (above), it is interesting to note some of Lenin's own comments on "what made the Russian Revolution".

The fake-'lefts' gave a mechanistic statement of the obvious:

"the conflict between the productive forces and the productive relations was driven to its sharpest point of transformation",

and a sly half-truth about

"there being in Russia a Bolshevik Party dominated by the dialectical-materialist approach"

– but nothing about the actual political leadership by Lenin and his lifelong Bolshevik colleagues.

The Trots want to avoid the reality that Trotsky had been a lifelong opponent of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party policies – advocating his own group's Mensh-

is a complete re-education of the international workers movement on the Marxist science of proletarian dictatorship, a concept utterly slyly ignored by these appalling Torranceite opportunists.

Throughout their diatribe against the wretched defeatist North, reviewing all of modern world history, not even a single mention is made of the most vital revolutionary question of all, – that of proletarian-dictatorship state power, and how to defend it against every kind of filthy anti-communist stunt, sabotage, and provocation, such as the ideological Goebbels monstrousness invented by the CIA and the Vatican called Solidarnosc, which was given life by Trot and other petty-bourgeois anti-communist hysteria in the West, and has now gone on to try to complete its fascist counter-revolution under Lech Walesa.

These degenerate Trot parasites drop all such difficult questions like a hot potato as soon as they turn nasty, – just like most of them are now trying to disown the 'political revolution' backstabbing by Trotsky to try to help wreck the Soviet workers state.

There is not the slightest chance of any sizeable working-class unity in Britain or anywhere else until all these and thousands more clearcut questions of scientific revolutionary Leninist theory are sorted out. The right time for maximum High Street barricade mobilisation will come. Meanwhile, more serious revolutionary work can probably be done on a Saturday afternoon in striving for greater clarity on the complex questions of revolutionary theory which alone will allow a serious mass revolutionary party to be built.

Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin*.

Gerry Mole

sevik/Mezhrayontsy views which Lenin polemically slaughtered (see *Lenin v Trotsky*. Pioneer 1972 492 pp, shortly to be serialised in the *Bulletin*).

By stressing the "dialectical materialist approach", the Torranceites can pretend that Trotsky was always at one with Lenin and the Bolsheviks.

This is a total historical falsification. Dozens of wretched reformist and revisionist groups including all the renegades of the Second International all continued pretending to be 'dialectical materialist' or Marxist in their approach despite having all capitulated to social chauvinism in supporting their own ruling classes in World War 1.

The only science of society is the one that works, which analy-

ses the historical movements of class forces correctly and acts accordingly to lead the socialist revolution.

Only Lenin's policies achieved this, in the teeth of hostile backstabbing opposition from these scores of so-called dialectical materialist approach groups, including Trotsky who organised total hostility to Leninist policies from 1903 to 1917.

Only 10 weeks before the October Revolution did the opportunist Trotsky totally accept in practice that Leninism had been correct all along – and Trotskyism hopelessly wrong – and creep into the Bolshevik Party, – naturally without a word of regret, apology, or humble pie for having tried to get the proletariat to oppose Leninism for the crucial 14 years between 1903 and 1917.

By avoiding the vital question of leadership in their childish glibberish about "what made the Russian Revolution", the Trots hope to avoid the essence of dialectical materialist science, – its precise analysis and programme, provably correct only in practice.

Life proved Leninism to be the science of modern Marxism, and nothing else was. It was the specifically correct Bolshevik policies which "made the Russian Revolution". Without correct theory, there can be no correct revolutionary practice. Lenin explains in these passages that being correct about the world developments was the key to Soviet revolutionary survival.

And he adds that being correct meant that the Soviet revolution gained crucial sympathy from enough of the world proletariat to make intervention versus the Soviet Union not a guaranteed success for imperialism.

It is fascinating to note that even in spite of the terrible revisionist mistakes by the Stalin leadership in the 1920s and 1930s, and despite the monstrous anti-communist hysterical propaganda that had been unleashed worldwide against the Soviet Union during this period, this popular sympathy for the USSR still remained intact when German imperialism carried out the West's wishes in 1941 in invading the Soviet workers state. The whole world thrilled as the Red Army smashed the Nazi war machine.

Even after the even worse revisionist nonsenses of the postwar period, it is still certain that basic Soviet state policy was still sufficiently correct to guarantee that even in the 1980s, world opinion would have been more sympathetic to the Soviet workers state than to any invading imperialist army, in spite of the even more massive anti-communist hysteria that had been built up by this time.

The great eventual weakness of the Soviet Union was precisely the misanalysis of world developments committed by Stalinist revisionism in defeatistly capitulating to class-collaborating gibberish.

This pretended that world imperialism would be overcome by the Soviet workers state simply convincing the West to go communist by economic example. This rot meant that the non-stop sabotage and economic embargoes against the socialist camp had become the decisive arbiter of world development, not the Marxist-Leninist science of unavoidable revolutionary crisis within the capitalist system of slump and war. It meant that the temporary philistine glitz of a monstrously unbalanced and unjust imperialist boom was set up as the symbol of what was the best future for mankind, not the objective humanitarian science of communism.

It was Stalinism's misanalysis of world developments which finally failed to inspire and lead world opinion, – not the cumulative damage done by revisionist crimes and anti-communist hysteria. It was a failure of understanding which finally persuaded the degenerate Moscow bureaucracy to go the whole revisionist defeatist class-collaborating hog and liquidate themselves, not the strength of imperialist anti-communism or of hostile world opinion.

Ultimately it was by getting things incorrect about world developments, – the very opposite of Lenin's wisdom about the Bolshevik strength lying in getting a correct analysis of world developments – which brought down the Soviet workers state leadership.

There has been no failure of the Soviet workers state, or of the dictatorship of the proletariat, or of planned socialism, or of communism. There has only been a failure of scientific understanding by the last generation of the party and state bureaucracy.

Lenin goes on to make more correct points about the Soviet workers state alone having the potential for the right attitude towards national minorities – provided that they did not side with imperialist counter-revolution against the USSR (as some in fact later did in collaborating with Nazism in its 1941 invasion of the Soviet Union).

Despite some dubious revisionist mishandling of the national question at that time and both earlier and subsequently, it is interesting that the bureaucratically degenerate Soviet state leadership was still a far better umbrella for the nearly 200 nationalities of the USSR to shelter under even as late on as the Gorbachev philistine paralysis. The

nauseating outbreak of chauvinistic strife has only broken out, – with catastrophic results to the national minorities and to every citizen of the former USSR, – since the depravity of 'market forces freedom' – meaning cut-throat competition and exploitation and greed – was thrust upon the Soviet workers state by the one-world class-collaborating idiocies of Gorbachev.

Correctly, Lenin observes that imperialism would be forced to trade and coexist with the Soviet workers state because of the West's own contradictions. So it proved, and so it would have remained, even though open trading relations with imperialist exploitation would never have been appropriate, and even though the West would always have continued being as economically difficult and as politically obnoxious as possible towards the socialist camp. There would never have been any need for Soviet liquidation on any grounds.

Its economy could have gone on developing the same steady way it has always done since 1917.

Lenin's speculative comments about the future of the state security organisation (the Cheka) are revealing. He states clearly that as long as imperialism lasts on earth, workers' power could not survive without a KGB (Cheka). And although Lenin talks about the dream of replacing Cheka authority with international trad-

ing relations and revolutionary legality, he makes it clear that such a programme would have been pedantry if constitutionalism had become the aim of Soviet state development rather than Cheka revolutionary authority at a time when the Soviet workers state was actively under imperialist attack or hostility.

But that circumstance never altered. The Soviet Union never ceased to be under the cosh of total imperialist subversive hostility and economic sabotage, not to mention ideological propaganda hysteria trying to wreck the USSR.

Lenin stresses that it will be when the Soviet workers state is closer to 'unshakable and lasting power' that these circumstances demanding a turn to legality and trade relations as the political authority rather than the might of the KGB, – will prevail. In other words, that time never arrived. But Gorbachevite revisionism virtually liquidated the KGB. And soon after virtually collapsed the whole of the Soviet Union. "As long as imperialism survives, workers power will not be able to survive with a strong state security authority" Lenin observed scientifically. A huge price has been paid for the philistine support given to revisionism in the past.

And Trotskyite ignorance on all these questions is no help either. Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin* Alf Lee

This is the first year that we have been able to enjoy a relative respite from attacks, even if for a limited period, and have been able in some measure to apply our energies to our chief and fundamental tasks, namely, the rehabilitation of our war-ravaged economy, healing the wounds inflicted on Russia by the exploiting classes that had been in power, and laying the foundations for socialist construction.

First and foremost, in dealing with the question of the international position of our Republic, I must repeat what I have already said, namely, that a certain equilibrium, though a highly unstable one, has been created in international relations. This is now evident. It is very strange for those of us who have lived through the revolution from its inception, who have experienced and observed our incredible difficulties in breaching the imperialist fronts, to see how things have now developed. At that time probably none of us expected or could have expected that things would shape out like this.

We imagined (and it is perhaps well worth remembering this now because it will help us in our practical conclusions on the main economic problems) that future development would take a more simple, a more direct form than the one it took. We told ourselves and we told the working class and all working people both of Russia and of other countries that there was no way out of the accursed, criminal imperialist slaughter except through revolution, and that by breaking off the imperialist war by revolution we were opening up the only possible way out of this criminal slaughter for all peoples. It seemed to us then, as it was bound to, that this was the obvious, direct and easiest path to take. This direct path, which, in fact, alone had enabled us to break free of imperialist ties, of imperialist crimes and of the imperialist war continuing to threaten the rest of the world, proved to be one which other nations were unable to take—at any rate not as quickly as we had thought they would. When, nevertheless, we now see what has taken place, when we see that there is only one Socialist Soviet Republic and that it is surrounded by a whole array of frenziedly hostile imperialist powers, we ask ourselves—how was it possible for this to happen?

One may reply without any exaggeration that this happened because our understanding of events was basically correct, our appraisal of the imperialist slaughter and the confusion in the relations between the imperialist powers was also basically correct. It is only due to this that such a strange situation, the unstable, inexplicable, and yet to a certain extent indisputable equilibrium that we witness, has arisen. The fact of the matter is that although completely surrounded by countries economically and militarily much more powerful than ourselves, whose open hostility to us quite often borders on frenzy, we nevertheless see that they were unable to destroy Soviet Russia directly and instantly—something on

which they had been spending so much of their resources and their strength for three years. When we ask ourselves how this could have happened, how it could be that a state, undoubtedly one of the most backward and weakest, managed to repel the attacks of the openly hostile, most powerful countries in the world, when we try to examine this question, we see clearly that it was because we proved to be correct on the most fundamental issues. Our forecasts and calculations proved to be correct. It turned-out that although we did not receive the swift and direct support of the working people of the world that we had counted on, and which we had regarded as the basis of our policy, we did receive support of another kind, which was not direct or swift—the sympathy of the workers and peasants, the farm workers, throughout the world, even in the countries most hostile to us, the sympathy that was great enough to be the final and most decisive source, the decisive reason for the complete failure of all the attacks directed against us. This sympathy consolidated the alliance of the working people of all countries which we had proclaimed and which had been implemented within the borders of our Republic, and which had its effect on all countries. No matter how precarious this support may be, as long as capitalism exists in other countries (this we must of course see clearly and frankly acknowledge), we may say that it is something we can rely on. Because of this sympathy and support, the intervention, which we endured in the course of three years, which caused us incredible destruction and suffering, is, I will not say impossible—one has to be very cautious and circumspect here—but, at any rate, has been made far more difficult for our enemies to carry out. And this, in the final analysis, explains the situation now obtaining and which at first glance appears so strange and incomprehensible.

When we calmly weigh up the sympathy felt for Bolshevism and the socialist revolution, when we survey the international situation from the point of view of the balance of forces, irrespective of whether these forces favour a just or an unjust cause, whether they favour the exploiting class or the working people—we shall ignore this aspect and attempt an appraisal of the alignment of these forces on an international scale—then we shall see that they are grouped in a manner that basically confirms our predictions and calculations: that capitalism is disintegrating and that since the war, which ended first with the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk and subsequently with the Treaty of Versailles—and I don't know which is worse—hatred and loathing for the war increase as time passes even in the countries which emerged as victors. And the farther we get from the war the clearer it becomes, not only to the working people, but to an extremely large extent also to the bourgeoisie of the victor countries, that capitalism is disintegrating, that the world economic crisis has created an intolerable situation from which there is no escape, despite all the victories. That is why, while being immeasurably weaker economically, politically and militarily than all the other powers, we are at the same time stronger, because we are...aware of and correctly assess all that emerges and must emerge from this imperialist confusion, from this bloody tangle and from those contradictions (to take only the currency contradictions, I will not mention the others) in which they have become entangled and are becoming entangled still more deeply and from which they see no way out.

Today we see how the representatives of the most moderate bourgeoisie, who are definitely and without doubt far removed from socialist ideas, to say nothing of "that awful Bolshevism", change their tune; this concerns even people like the famous writer Keynes, whose book has been translated into all languages, who took part in the Versailles negotiations, and who devoted himself heart and soul to helping the governments—even he, subsequently, has had to change his tune, to give it up, although he continues to curse socialism. I repeat, he does not mention, nor does he wish even to think about Bolshevism—but he tells the capitalist world: "What you are doing will lead you into a hopeless situation", and he even proposes something like the annulment of all debts.

That is excellent, gentlemen! You should have followed our example long ago.

Only a few days ago we read a short report in the newspapers to the effect that one of the most experienced, exceedingly skilful and astute leaders of a capitalist government, Lloyd George, is, it appears, beginning to propose a similar step; and that seemingly the U.S.A. wishes to reply by saying: "Sorry, but we want to be repaid in full." That being so, we say to ourselves that things are not going too well in these advanced and mighty states since they are discussing such a simple measure so many years after the war. This was one of the easiest things we did—it was nothing to some of the other difficulties we overcame. (*Applause.*) When we see the growing confusion on this question we say that we are not afraid of their propaganda; although we by no means forget either the dangers surrounding us or our economic and military weakness compared to any one of these states, who, jointly, quite openly and frequently express their hatred for us. Whenever we express somewhat different views as to whether the existence of landowners and capitalists is justified they do not like it, and these views are declared to be criminal propaganda.

We see, nevertheless, that a certain equilibrium has been created. This is the objective political situation, quite independent of our victories, which proves that we have fathomed the depth of the contradictions connected with the imperialist war, and that we are gauging them more correctly than ever before and more correctly than other powers, who, despite all their victories, despite all their strength, have not yet found a way out, nor see any. That is the substance of the international situation which accounts for what we now see. 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 shall do all in our power to prevent this misfortune. It is doubtful that any nation has experienced such a burden of the imperialist war as we have. Then we bore the burden of the Civil War forced on us by the ruling classes, who fought for the Russia of the émigrés, the Russia of the landowners, the Russia of the capitalists. 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.*)

Anyone who has any political sense or acumen will say that there has not been—nor can there be—a government in Russia other than the Soviet Government prepared to make such concessions and sacrifices in relation to nationalities within our state, and also to those which had joined the Russian Empire. There is not, and cannot be, another government which would recognise as clearly as we do and declare so distinctly to one and all that the attitude of old Russia (tsarist Russia, Russia of the war parties) to the nationalities populating Russia was criminal, that this attitude was impermissible, that it aroused the rightful and indignant protest and discontent of the oppressed nationalities. There is not, and cannot be, another government which would so openly admit this, which would conduct this anti-chauvinist propaganda, a propaganda that recognises the guilt of old Russia, tsarist Russia, Kerensky Russia—a government which would conduct propaganda against the forcible incorporation of other nationalities into Russia. This is not mere words—this is an obvious political fact, absolutely indisputable and plain for all to see. As long as no nationalities engage in intrigues against us which bind them to the imperialist oppression, as long as they do not help to crush us, we shall not be deterred by formalities. 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.*)

All these capitalist countries are in a position to make us pay through the nose; we pay more for the goods than they are worth; but for all that, they are helping our economy. How did that happen? Why are they acting against their own inclinations and in contradiction to what they are constantly asserting in their press? And this press is more than a match for ours in respect of circulation, and the force and venom with which it attacks us. They call us criminals, and all the same they help us. And so it turns out they are bound up with us economically. It turns out as I have already said, that our calculations, made on a grand scale, are more correct than theirs. This is not because they lack people capable of making correct calculations—they have far more than we have—but because it is impossible to calculate properly when one is heading for destruction.



But for all that, it is a beginning. And we, who have experienced direct attempts to crush us, who for years have been hearing threats that everything will be done to prevent any relations with us as long as we remain what we are, nevertheless see that something has proved more potent than these threats. We see that their forecast of economic development was wrong and ours was right. We have made a start, and we must now exert all our efforts to continue this development without interruption. We must make it our primary concern, giving it all our attention.

You know what that calamity, the famine, cost us, what incredible difficulties it is still causing on the farms, in industry and in our life generally. But although our country has been devastated by war, has suffered tremendous hardship as a result of all the wars and of the rule of tsars and capitalists, we are now on the road that offers us a prospect of improvement, in spite of the unceasing hostility towards us. That is the main factor. That is why, when we read recently about the Washington Conference,⁴¹ when we heard the news that the countries hostile to us would be obliged to convene a second conference next summer and to invite Germany and Russia to discuss the terms of a genuine peace, we said that our terms are clear and definite; we have formulated them, we have published them. How much hostility shall we encounter? We have no illusions about that; but we know that the economic position of those who blockaded us has proved to be vulnerable. There is a force more powerful than the wishes, the will and the decisions of any of the governments or classes that are hostile to us. That force is world general economic relations, which compel them to make contact with us. The farther they proceed in this direction the more extensive and rapid will be the development of what in today's report for 1921 I have been able to indicate to you only by some scanty figures.

It is only necessary to determine what the main thing was that united us most of all, that is more vital from the point of view of the most important and radical question of our entire revolution and of all future socialist revolutions (if viewed generally on a world scale).

The most basic, most vital question is that of the attitude of the working class and the peasants; this involves the alliance of the working class and the peasants; the ability of the advanced workers, who have passed through a lengthy, difficult but rewarding school of experience in a large factory, to do things in such a way that they attract to their side the mass of peasants, who were ground down by capitalism, by the landowners and by their old poverty-stricken, petty farms, to prove to them that only in alliance with the workers, no matter what the difficulties to be encountered on this path, and they are many, and we cannot close our eyes to this—only through this alliance can the peasants abolish the age-old oppression by the landowners and capitalists. Only by consolidating the alliance of the workers and peasants can mankind be saved from events such as the recent imperialist slaughter, from the barbarous contradictions to be seen in the capitalist world today, where a small number, a miserable handful of the richest powers are choking with wealth, while the huge population of the globe suffers privations, being unable to benefit from the culture and rich resources that lie before them but cannot be made use of because of insufficient commerce.

We speak of a flourishing large-scale industry, which is able to supply all the goods the peasants are in urgent need of, and this possibility exists; if we consider the problem on a world scale, we see that a flourishing large-scale industry capable of supplying the world with all kinds of goods exists, only its owners do not know how to use it for anything but the manufacture of guns, shells and other armaments, employed with such success from 1914 to 1918. Then industry was geared to war and supplied mankind with its products so abundantly that no fewer than 10 million people were killed and no fewer than 20 million maimed. This is something we have all seen, and, besides, war in the twentieth century is not like previous wars.

After this war, even among the victor countries, among those most hostile and alien to any kind of socialism, who ruthlessly oppose the slightest socialist idea, a large number of people have been heard to say quite definitely that even if there were no wicked Bolsheviks in the world, it is hardly likely that another war of this kind could be permitted. This is said by the representatives of the most wealthy countries. This is what this rich, advanced, large-scale industry was used for. It served to maim people, and it had no time to supply the peasants with its goods. All the same we have a right to say that such an industry exists on a world scale. There are countries whose large-scale industry is so advanced that it could instantly satisfy the needs of hundreds of millions of backward peasants. We make this the basis of our calculations.

At a time when the main attention and the main forces were diverted to political and military problems, we simply had to press forward with great speed along with the vanguard, knowing that it would have support. The alliance of the peasants and workers in the fight for great political changes, for our great achievements of the past three years, which put us at war with the dominant world powers, was made possible by a simple burst of political and military enthusiasm because every peasant realised, felt and sensed that he was confronted by his age-old enemy, the landowner, who in one way or another was being aided by representatives of other parties. That is why this alliance was so solid and invincible.

In the economic field the basis of this alliance has to be different. A change in the substance and form of the alliance is essential. If anyone from the Communist Party, from the trade unions, or merely anyone sympathetic to Soviet power has overlooked the need to change the form and substance of this alliance, then so much the worse for him. Such oversights in a revolution are impermissible. The change in the form of the alliance has become necessary because the political and military

alliance could not continue intact in the realm of economics, when we have as yet no large-scale industry, when what we had has been ruined by a war such as no other country has ever experienced. Even in countries infinitely more wealthy than ours, in countries that had gained, not lost from the war, the level of industry has not yet risen. A change in the form and substance of the alliance of the workers and peasants has become essential. We went much further forward in the political and military period than the purely economic aspect of the alliance of the workers and peasants permitted us to do. We had to do this in order to defeat the enemy, and we had the right to do this. We were successful because we defeated our enemies in the field that existed at that time, in the political and military field, but we suffered a series of defeats in the economic field. There is no need to be afraid to admit this; on the contrary, we shall only learn how to win when we do not fear to acknowledge our defeats and shortcomings, when we look truth, even the saddest truth, straight in the face. We have a right to be proud of our achievements in the first field, that is, in the political and military field. They have gone down in history as an epoch-making victory, whose overall influence is yet to be felt. But economically, in the year under review, we only started the New Economic Policy and we are taking a step forward in this regard. At the same time, we are only just beginning to learn and are making very many more mistakes, looking back, being carried away by our past experience—splendid, lofty, magnificent, of worldwide significance, but which could not solve the economic problems now imposed on us in a country where largescale industry has been devastated; in conditions which demand that we learn, in the first place, to establish the economic link now necessary and inevitable. That link is trade. This is a very unpleasant discovery for Communists. It is quite likely that this discovery is extremely unpleasant, in fact it is certain that it is unpleasant, but if we are swayed by ideas of pleasantness or unpleasantness we shall fall to the level of those would-be socialists of whom we saw plenty at the time of the Kerensky Provisional Government. It is hardly likely that "socialists" of this type still have any authority in our Republic. And our strength has always been our ability to take the actual balance of forces into consideration and not to be afraid of it no matter how unpleasant it might be for us.

Since large-scale industry exists on a world scale, there can be no doubt that a direct transition to socialism is possible—and nobody will deny this fact, just as nobody will deny that this large-scale industry either comes to a standstill and creates unemployment in the most flourishing and wealthy victor countries, or only manufactures shells for the extermination of people. And if, owing to the backwardness with which we came to the revolution, we have not reached the industrial development we need, are we going to give up, are we going to despair? No. We shall get on with the hard work because the path that we have taken is the right one. There is no doubt that the path of the alliance of the mass of the people is the sole path which will ensure that the workers and peasants work for themselves and not for the exploiters. In order to bring this about in our conditions we must have the only possible economic link, the link through the economy.

That is why we have retreated, that is why we have had to retreat to state capitalism, retreat to concessions, retreat to trade. Without this, proper relations with the peasants cannot be restored in the conditions of devastation in which we now find ourselves. Without this, we are threatened with the danger of the revolution's vanguard getting swiftly so far ahead that it would lose touch with the peasants. There would be no contact between the vanguard and the peasants and that would mean the collapse of the revolution. Our approach to this must be particularly careful, first and foremost, because what we call our New Economic Policy follows from it. That is why we have unanimously declared that we shall carry out this policy in earnest and for a long time, but, of course, as has already been correctly noted, not for ever; it has been made necessary by our poverty and devastation and by the tremendous weakening of our large-scale industry.

History has allotted us the task of completing the great political revolution by slow, hard and laborious economic work, covering a very long period. Great political changes in history have always demanded a long period of assimilation. All great political changes have come about through the enthusiasm of the vanguard, whom the masses followed spontaneously, not quite consciously. There could be no other development in a society that was oppressed by tsars, landowners and capitalists. And we carried out this part of the work, the political revolution, in a manner that makes its epoch-making significance indisputable. Subsequently, following the great political revolution, however, another task arises which must be understood: this revolution has to be assimilated, has to be put into effect, and we must not plead that the Soviet system is bad, and that it must be rebuilt. We have a tremendous number of enthusiasts who want to rebuild in any kind of way, and these reconstructions lead to calamities of a kind which I have never known in all my life. I am very well aware of the faults of our government machinery in mass organisational work, and for every ten faults that any of you can point out to me, I can immediately point out a hundred more. The thing, however, is not that it should be improved by rapid reorganisation, but that this political transformation has to be assimilated to arrive at a different level of economic efficiency. That is the whole point. It is not necessary to rebuild, but, on the contrary, it is necessary to help correct the many faults present in the Soviet system and in the whole system of management, so as to help tens of millions of people. We need the aid of all the peasants to assimilate our great political victory. We need to look at things soberly and realise that victory has been won, but it has not yet become part and parcel of the economy of everyday life and of the living conditions of the people. This work will take many decades and will require colossal efforts. It cannot be carried out at the same rate, speed, and under the same conditions which existed during the war.

Before concluding, I want to apply this lesson—that faults are sometimes the continuation of our merits—to one of our institutions, namely, to the Cheka. You all know, comrades, the violent hatred towards this institution displayed by Russian émigrés and those numerous members of the ruling classes of the imperialist-countries who live alongside, these Russian émigrés. And no wonder! It was our effective weapon against the numerous plots and numerous attacks on Soviet power made by people who were infinitely stronger than us. The capitalists and landowners retained all their international ties and all the international support; they were supported by states incomparably more powerful than our state. You know from the history of these conspiracies how these people acted. You know that the only way in which we could reply to them was by merciless, swift and instant repression, with the sympathy and support of the workers and peasants. That is the merit of our Cheka. We shall always emphasise this whenever we hear, directly or indirectly, as we often do from abroad, the howls of those Russians who can say the word “Cheka” in all languages, and regard it as an example of Russian barbarism.

Gentlemen, Russian and foreign capitalists! We know that you will never come to love this institution. No wonder! It was able to repulse your intrigues and plots better than anyone else, at a time when you throttled us, invaded us from all sides, when you organised internal plots and committed every possible crime in order to frustrate our peaceful work. Our only response is through an institution aware of the plotters’ every move and able to retaliate immediately instead of engaging in persuasion. As long as there are exploiters in the world, who have no desire to hand over their landowner and capitalist rights to the workers on a platter, the power of the working people cannot survive without such an institution. We are keenly aware of this, but we also know that a man’s merits may become his faults, and we know that prevailing conditions insistently demand that the work of this organisation be limited to the purely political sphere, that it concentrate its efforts on tasks in which it is aided by the situation and the circumstances.

If the attempts of the counter-revolution resemble their previous attempts—and we have no proof that the mentality of our adversaries has altered in this respect, we have no grounds for believing this—we shall be able to reply in such a way that will make it clear that we are in earnest. The Soviet government grants admission to foreign representatives, who come here under the pretext of giving aid, but these same representatives turn round and help overthrow Soviet rule; there have been cases of this. Our government will not find itself in this position, because we shall value and make use of an institution like the Cheka. This we can guarantee to one and all. But, at the same time, we say categorically that it is essential to reform the Cheka, define its functions and powers, and limit its work to political problems. The task now confronting us is to develop trade, which is required by the New Economic Policy, and this demands greater revolutionary legality. Naturally, if we had made this the all-important task when we were attacked and Soviet power was taken by the throat, we would have been pedants; we would have been playing at revolution, but would not be making the revolution. The closer we approach conditions of unshakable and lasting power and the more trade develops, the more imperative it is to put forward the firm slogan of greater revolutionary legality, and the narrower becomes the sphere of activity of the institution which matches the plotters blow for blow. This conclusion results from the experience, observation and reflection of the government for the past year.

I must say in conclusion, comrades, that we have placed on a correct footing the problem we have been handling this year and which up to now we have handled so badly—that of forming a sound economic alliance of the workers and peasants, even under conditions of extreme poverty and devastation; we have taken the correct line, and there can be no doubt about this. And this is not merely a task for Russia alone, it is a world task. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

This task which we are working on now, for the time being on our own, seems to be a purely Russian one, but in reality it is a task which all socialists will face. Capitalism is dying; in its death throes it can still condemn tens and hundreds of millions of people to unparalleled torment, but there is no power that can prevent its collapse. The new society, which will be based on the alliance of the workers and peasants, is inevitable. Sooner or later it will come—twenty years earlier or twenty years later—and when we work on the implementation of our New Economic Policy, we are helping to work out for this society the forms of alliance between the workers and peasants. We shall get this done and we shall create an alliance of the workers and peasants that is so sound that no power on earth will break it. (*Stormy, prolonged applause.*)

Ninth All-Russia Congress of Soviets *Pravda* No 292 December 25, 1921

We have never refused to take power alone. We said that as early as June 1917,⁶¹ and took power at the Congress of Soviets in October 1917. We Bolsheviks obtained a majority at that Congress of Soviets. Then Kerensky appealed to the officer cadets,⁶² rushed off to Krasnov and wanted to muster an army to march on Petrograd. We knocked them about a bit, and now they say in an offended tone, “You are insolent, you are usurpers, butchers!” And we say in reply, “You have only yourselves to blame, friends! Do not imagine that the Russian peasants and workers have forgotten what you did. In October you challenged us to the most desperate fight, and we retaliated with terror and redoubled terror; and we shall adopt terror again if necessary, if you try it again.” Not a single worker, not a single peasant doubts the need for it. No one doubts it but whimpering intellectuals.

Under conditions of unheard-of economic hardship we were compelled to wage war against an enemy whose forces were a hundred times superior to ours. It goes without saying that under these circumstances we were obliged to go to greater

lengths in our urgent communist measures than would otherwise have been the case; we were forced to do it. Our enemies thought they could finish us off; they thought they could bring us to our knees, not in words, but in deeds. They said they would not make any concessions. We replied that if they thought we dared not resort to the most extreme communist measures they were mistaken. And we did dare; we did it, and we won. Now we say we cannot hold these positions, we are retreating, because we have won enough to be able to hold essential positions. All the whiteguards, headed by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, wax jubilant and say, “Aha, you are retreating!” We say, “Rejoice, since it puts you in good humour.” We stand to gain if our enemy pats himself on the back instead of engaging in practical work. Rejoice, you are only putting us in a more favourable position by deceiving yourselves with illusions. We have captured vast positions, and had we not captured them in the period from 1917 to 1921 we would have had no room to retreat, geographically, economically or politically. We are maintaining power in alliance with the peasantry, and if you reject terms offered you before a war, you get worse terms after the war. This is definitely recorded in the diplomatic, economic and political history of the period 1917-21, so that we are not boasting at all. It is a plain statement of fact, a simple reminder. Had the capitalist gentlemen accepted the proposals we made to them in October 1917, they would have had five times as much as they have now. You fought for three years. What have you gained by it? Do you want to fight again? We know perfectly well that by no means all of you want to fight. On the other hand, we know that in view of the desperate famine and the present state of industry, we cannot hold all the positions we won in the period 1917-21. We have surrendered a number of them. But we can now say that, so far as making concessions to the capitalists is concerned, the retreat is at an end. We have weighed up our own forces and those of the capitalists. We have done some reconnoitring by way of concluding agreements with Russian and foreign capitalists, and we say—and I hope, I am sure, that the Party Congress will say the same, officially, on behalf of the ruling party of Russia—“We can now stop our economic retreat. Enough! We shall not retreat any further; we shall set about deploying and regrouping our forces properly.”

International and domestic situation 8/3/22

Yeltsin’s troubles worry the West. Trots try to rescue anti-communism.

[EPSR No680 21-12-92]

[...]But other middle-class opponents of proletarian dictatorship are in continuing difficulty too, such as the neurotic followers of Trotsky’s ultra-left extreme subjectivism.

The Spart variant of this academic ‘theory’ is more troubled than most by the embarrassment for Trotskyism of having helped undermine the Soviet workers state by 65 years sustained vilification of its centralised political power under the guise of wanting to ‘improve’ upon its planned socialist achievements.

So its wealthy American headquarters last month produced a cleaned-up version of Trotsky’s demented attacks on the dictatorship of the proletariat.

This sought to stress (against Gould, a prominent US bourgeois biology scientist who has been dabbling in Soviet history) how remarkable were the successes in building socialism in the USSR in the teeth of vicious Western sabotage and hostility, and despite the handicaps of Stalinist revisionism for leadership.

This falsification of the real damaging role played by Trotskyism in constantly vilifying the Soviet Union and its ruling party raises so many interesting points before returning to grotesque anti-Leninist abuse at the end (see below) that they are worth repeating:

Drawing on observations gleaned during a brief trip to Moscow and Leningrad last summer, he arrives at his conclusion about the “failed experiment” of Marxist economics.

Gould’s wrong headed conclusion is based on a misunderstanding of what Marxism represents, and ignores the whole historical development which led to the collapse of the Soviet Union. The 1917 October Revolution and its subsequent development was no isolated lab test in a Petri dish! Any evaluation of what happened in the former USSR that leaves out the historic context, the tremendous external pressures upon it and its impact on the rest of the world, cannot be scientific, and will certainly be wrong.

Gould does not pretend to be a political theorist *per se*, but when he addresses such questions, we can ask that he do so with the rigor that he would apply in his own field. We doubt that he would make such sweeping statements about scientific opponents without a careful study of their works. Gould’s view of the Soviet collapse reminds us a bit of a would-be biologist coming upon a mass of drowned caribou at a river crossing and, upon viewing the evidence before his eyes, pronouncing the species not viable.

Gould accepts the Stalinist caricature of Marxism as a kind of mechanistic determinism. “He was still a child of his mechanistic age,” writes Gould, and “embodied a related conviction that directions of change are progressive, predictable and well-nigh inevitable.” Marx “hoped for a predictive theory of history, with progressive stages proceeding in a punctuational manner from primitive communism to slavery to feudalism to capitalism and finally to true communism.”

This comes not from Marx but from Stalin’s primer on *Dialectical and Historical Materialism*, 1938 edition, or one of those unreadable Soviet “diamat” manuals that present a mechanical and deterministic distortion of dialectical materialism. Marx, in his 1857-58 manuscripts on pre-capitalist economic formations, the *Grundrisse*, also wrote of an “Asiatic mode of production” in ancient Mesopotamia, India, China and elsewhere. Yet these writings were suppressed by the Kremlin for decades, because they didn’t fit into Stalin’s simplistic schema, which reduced Marxism to a pseudo-materialist catechism. In contrast, Trotsky wrote, in his speech on “Radio, Science, Technology, and Society”

(March 1926):

“Liberal scholars—now they are no more—commonly used to depict the whole of the history of mankind as a continuous line of progress. This was wrong. The line of progress is curved, broken, zigzagging. Culture now advances, now declines. There was the culture of ancient Asia, there was the culture of antiquity, of Greece and Rome, then European culture began to develop, and now American culture is rising in skyscrapers.”

In fact, even in the first lines of the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels noted that class struggles ended “either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes.” This is a theme which echoes throughout their later writings. Engels’ 1891 introduction to Marx’s *The Civil War in France* warned of the dangers of a European war involving tens of millions of men at arms. This was written over two decades before the cataclysm of World War I. Marx and Engels’ dialectical outlook showed how existing and developing economic forces pave the way for social change but don’t automatically “determine” that this or that political leadership will accomplish a particular historically possible task.

The basic premise of Gould’s theory of “punctuated equilibrium” is that species are stable for long periods, on the multimillion-year scale of geological time, until some geographical isolation separates a formerly genetically “homogeneous” population, or some climatic change or catastrophic event opens up new niches into which new species rapidly evolve. This “punctuation” is then followed by a new stasis. The nature of the changes during the “punctuation” are governed by what Gould calls “contingency”—i.e., along the rocky road of evolution, genetic change is essentially random and nature’s path unpredictable, subject to the impact of powerful environmental events.

This is fine, so far as natural history is concerned. But when Gould considers a complex social question such as the USSR, his concept of “punctuation” guts Marxism of its key factor: the “contingent” factor is not nature’s random choice but rather the presence or absence of conscious leadership. Take the work Gould cites, Marx’s *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*, Marx describes in great detail how at many key points in the period 1848-51, the faction-ridden French bourgeoisie could have moved to prevent Bonaparte’s coup d’état. Marx lays bare that the fundamental question was a clash of class forces: the proletariat lacked the strength and leadership to take power in its own name, while the bourgeoisie, in fear of the ghosts of 1789 (and the proletarian masses of 1848), dawdled and surrendered political power to Bonaparte in order to preserve its economic class interests. And the bourgeoisie’s response was no accidental fluke of “contingency”—the big financiers made a conscious choice that their sacred property was better defended by the empire than by the republic.

One might ask Gould, if Marx and Engels were such mechanical determinists, convinced that communism inevitably follows from capitalism as night from day, why then did they devote so much time to organizing a revolutionary political party, from the Communist League to the First and Second Internationals?

What does it mean, as Gould claims, that “Marx’s economics has failed”? The economic system which issued out of the October Revolution proved the power of centralized planning. In describing his visit to Russia, Gould describes the Moscow subway system as “the world’s best,” and applauds “the wonderful palaeontological museum in Moscow... one of the world’s best both in content and display.” How does Gould account for these achievements? Is it “Marx’s economics” or capitalist market forces that are responsible for the fact that the museum is now closed indefinitely? Central planning performed won-

ders in transforming the Soviet Union from a backward peasant country to a modern industrial and military power that was capable of defeating the Nazi juggernaut in World War II and was the first to launch satellites into space. As American Trotskyist leader James R Cannon said in 1939:

“The Russian revolution showed in practice, by example, how the workers’ revolution is to be made...by its victory, and its reorganization of the social system, the Russian revolution has proved for all time the superiority of nationalized property and planned economy over capitalist private property, and planless competition and anarchy in production.”

The Civil War of 1918-20, in which 14 foreign armies invaded the young Soviet republic, devastated the country. A generation later the Nazi invaders killed 27 million Soviet citizens and turned much of Russia into scorched earth. Twice the economy was rebuilt on socialized property forms, despite the constant capitalist economic pressure, most recently manifested in a colossal arms race designed to bankrupt the Soviet economy.

So what did happen in the USSR? Where Gould claims that the Soviet collapse proved Marxism wrong, Trotsky long ago predicted that the continued domination of the Stalinist bureaucracy would necessarily lead to capitalist restoration. In his article, “*The Class Nature of the Soviet State*” (October 1933), he wrote:

“The further unhindered development of bureaucratism must lead inevitably to the cessation of economic and cultural growth, to a terrible social crisis and to the downward plunge of the entire society. But this would imply not only the collapse of the proletarian dictatorship but also the end of bureaucratic domination. In place of the workers’ state would come not ‘social bureaucratic’ but capitalist relations.”

Trotsky pounded away at this theme, warning in his article “*The Workers’ State, Thermidor, and Bonapartism*” (February 1935) that:

“The inevitable collapse of the Stalinist political regime will lead to the establishment of Soviet democracy only in the event that the removal of Bonapartism comes as the conscious act of the proletarian vanguard. In all other cases, in place of Stalinism there could only come the fascist-capitalist counter-revolution.”

And again in his comprehensive analysis of the Stalinist degeneration, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), he sharply posed the two alternatives:

“Will the bureaucrat devour the workers’ state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?”

The first point is that this is a very sanitised version of what was Trotsky’s actual anti-Soviet biliousness in reality, – initially denying all possibility of building any socialism at all in the Soviet Union, and thereafter endlessly ridiculing the political heart of the USSR whenever possible, – as was analysed in *ILWP Books* vol 5:

“Trotsky began his counter-revolutionary campaign with predictions of bureaucratic disaster in the ‘*New Course*’ in 1923 and ended it on the same note with his final writings in 1940 predicting bureaucratic disaster in the coming war with Hitler.

Every single thing he wrote in between had the same sole purpose, – to undermine confidence in the Soviet workers state by predicting its disaster as a result of its ‘bureaucratic state apparatus’. And,

of course, the one thing which guided the Soviet Union successfully through one of the most perilous, difficult, and heroic periods of all human history – leading eventually to the greatest achievements ever in the record of civilisation – was PRECISELY that very ‘bureaucratic state apparatus’, – (or the Party and State leadership of Bolshevik dictatorship, as Leninist reality describes it.)

“Bureaucratism has reached an excessive, truly alarming development,”

Trotsky starts off in Ch 1 of the ‘*New Course*’.

‘The fact that the party lives on two separate storeys bears within it numerous dangers...’

...The rapid development of private capital...would show that private capital is interposing itself more and more between the workers state and the peasantry, is acquiring an economic and therefore a political influence... such a rupture between Soviet industry and agriculture, between the proletariat and the peasantry, would constitute a grave danger for the proletarian revolution, a symptom of the possibility of the triumph of the counter-revolution.

“What are the political paths by which the victory of the counter-revolution might come if the economic hypothesis just set forth were to be realised?...the political process would assume in the main the character of the degeneration of the state apparatus in a bourgeois direction.... If private capital increased rapidly and succeeded in fusing with the peasantry, the active counter-revolutionary tendencies directed against the Communist Party would then probably prevail....”

“The counter-revolutionary tendencies can find a support among the kulaks, the middlemen, the retailers, the concessionaires, in a word, among elements much more capable of surrounding the state apparatus than the Party itself....”

“...the negative social phenomena we have just enumerated and which now nurture bureaucratism could place the revolution in peril should they continue to develop... bureaucratism in the state and party apparatus is the expression of the most vexatious tendencies inherent in our situation, of the defects and deviations in our work which...might sap the basis of the revolution...Quantity will at a certain stage be transformed into quality. (Ch 4).

Hand-in-glove with this age-old bourgeois anti-communist propaganda trick of constantly predicting disaster for the new system as a way of trying to undermine any enthusiastic support for it, Trotsky also used the other well-known demagogic practice of ‘reporting’ widespread demoralisation in order to achieve precisely that consequence.

Trotskyism’s claim-to-fame at the end of the 1930s (and subsequently) about having been right about ‘Stalinism’ all along, and of being ‘for’ socialism in the Soviet Union but ‘against’ its ‘degenerate betrayal’ by Stalin is, of course, the most viciously misleading nonsense, as this series demonstrates. Trotsky was against building a powerful STATE of proletarian dictatorship, the sole guarantee of socialism. He was for all kinds of subjective illusions, in which his supporters still wallow – under capitalism.

Even as early as 1936 Trotsky was already being forced to acknowledge

the ‘temporary’ truth of enormous ‘apparent’ success in the USSR. This was in order not to completely lose all credibility in a world which already knew better than to believe Trotsky’s basic sermon from the 1923 ‘*New Course*’ onwards that only ‘disaster crisis’ awaited the ‘doomed’ Party and State ‘bureaucratic’ leadership of the Soviet Union. So in ‘*Revolution Betrayed*’ of that year, the latest in his periodic updates of catastrophe predictions, Trotsky felt obliged to admit:

“Gigantic achievements in industry, enormously promising beginnings in agriculture, an extraordinary growth of the old industrial cities and a building of new ones, a rapid increase of the number of workers, a rise in cultural level and cultural demands, – such are the indubitable results of the October Revolution....”

“Socialism has demonstrated its right to victory, not on the pages of ‘*Das Kapital*’ but in an industrial arena comprising a sixth part of the earth’s surface, – not in the language of dialectics, but in the language of steel, cement, and electricity... a backward country has achieved in less than ten years successes unexampled in history.

“This also ends the quarrel with the reformists in the workers movement. Can we compare for one moment their mouselike fussing with the titanic work accomplished by this people AROUSED TO A NEW LIFE by revolution? (Ch I)

(And then in Ch 7)

...‘To be sure, the youth are very active in the sphere of economics.. In the Soviet Union there are now 1.2m Communist Youth in the collective farms. Hundreds of thousands of members of the Communist Youth have been mobilised during recent years for construction work, timber work, coal mining, gold production, for work in the Arctic, Sakhalin, or in Amur where the new town of Komsomolsk is in process of construction. The new generation is putting out shock brigades, champion workers, Stakhanovites, foremen, under-administrators. The youth are studying, and a considerable part of them are studying assiduously. They are as active, if not more so, in the sphere of athletics in its most daring or warlike forms, such as parachute jumping and marksmanship. The enterprising and audacious are going on all kinds of dangerous expeditions.

“The better part of our youth,’ said recently the well-known polar explorer, Schmidt, ‘are eager to work where difficulties await them,’ This is undoubtedly true...”

“...it would be a crude slander against the youth to portray them as controlled exclusively, or even predominantly, by personal interests. No, in the general mass they are magnanimous, responsive enterprising... In their depths are various unformulated tendencies grounded in heroism and still only awaiting application. It is upon these moods in particular that the newest kind of Soviet patriotism is nourishing itself. It is undoubtedly very deep, sincere, and dynamic...”

Naturally, Trotskyism would not be Trotskyism without these gestures towards reality being accompanied in the rest of ‘*Revolution Betrayed*’ by some of the most treacherous bureaucratic demagoguery (Lenin’s description of Trotsky, see above) and bourgeois-idealist subjectivism ever concocted against Marxism-

Leninism and the Soviet workers state.

Where he does make these begrudging concessions to the Soviet workers state, Trotsky deceitfully makes no reference at all to his 1923 'New Course' slanders that NOTHING now lay ahead but 'ossification', 'estrangement', 'morbid uneasiness', 'degeneration', and 'initiative-killing bureaucratism'. But without turning a hair, what Trotsky now admits the Soviet state has organised is "ten years successes UNEXAMPLED IN HISTORY".

From being a "smug, negative, disdainful, neglectful, cliquish, bureaucratic apparatus" capable only of "inertia" on the one hand or "antagonistic violence towards criticism" on the other, full of only "functionaries, careerists, and political hangers-on" who are so out-of-touch that they are in danger of losing majority support and dominant state influence to the counter-revolutionary tendencies among "retailers, middlemen, concessionaires, and kulaks", the Bolshevik Party and State leadership has suddenly (and unacknowledged as far as Trotsky is concerned) become capable of organising in economic, political, and social development in an illiterate, devastated, semi-feudal, historical backwater "10 years successes UNEXAMPLED IN HISTORY".

But Trotsky's belated concessions to reality and to the REAL HISTORY of the Soviet Workers State (as opposed to the West's shallow anti-communist myths) is not in order to set the record straight. His SOLE purpose in 'Revolution Betrayed' (as in numerous other rehashes of his basic reactionary sermon) is for the umpteenth time to re-launch on a 'new' basis his 'theory' of insoluble and fatal 'contradiction' and inevitable 'collapse' of the Bolshevik Party dictatorship.

Despite his 'New Course' predictions of 'unresolvable contradictions' having proved to be complete nonsense, Trotsky arrogantly, maliciously, treacherously and irresponsibly now pontificates: (Ch 11)

"The bureaucracy's autocratic rule is coming into greater and greater contradiction with the development of the productive forces of the country, just as absolute monarchy became in its time IRRECONCILABLE with the development of the bourgeois market. ...the growth of power and independence in a bureaucracy is not unlimited!..."

"...the farther you go, the more the economy runs into the problem of quality which slips out of the hands of a bureaucracy like a shadow.... Quality demands a democracy of producers and consumers, freedom of criticism and initiative, - conditions incompatible with a TOTALITARIAN REGIME of fear, lies, and flattery..."

(See Lenin's derision above for Trotsky's 1921 reactionary demagoguery about summoning a 'democratic congress of producers')

"Behind the question of quality stands a more complicated and grandiose problem which may be comprised in the concept of independent, technical, and cultural creation....No new values can be created where a free conflict of ideas is impossible...The dictatorship of the proletariat opens a wider scope to human genius the more it CEASES to be a dictatorship. The socialist culture will flourish only in proportion to the dying away of the state. In that simple and unshakable historic law is contained the DEATH SENTENCE of the present political regime in the

Soviet Union."

Compare this viciously disruptive bourgeois academic nonsense to Marxism-Leninism's understanding (see Lenin quotes above) that only THROUGH the massive STRENGTHENING of the Soviet state and proletarian dictatorship to involve ever-wider sections of the population in its administration and control would the advanced, efficient, self-regulatory, disciplined society of advanced socialism and then communism be reached. This REPRESENTS the withering away of the state. It supersedes in a non-antagonistic way the very far-advanced level of human civilisation which an efficient, invincible socialist state is. Communist culture does not develop AGAINST the dictatorship of the proletariat but BECAUSE OF it.

But in 1936, nothing could contain Trotsky's demented bourgeois subjectivism and his boundless vindictiveness and disruption against the world's first workers state because it had decided to boot him out for his incorrigible egotistical factionalism:

"Stalinism and fascism... are symmetrical phenomena. In many of their features they show a deadly similarity!..."

"The improvement of the material situation of the workers does not reconcile them with the authorities; on the contrary, by increasing their self-respect and freeing their thought for general problems of politics, it prepares the way for an OPEN CONFLICT with the bureaucracy!..."

"The Soviet population cannot rise to a higher level of culture without freeing itself from this humiliating subjection to a caste of usurpers.... They will inevitably drive out the dishonest, impudent and unreliable watchman as soon as they see another possibility!..." (Ch 11)

".. with the working class and its sincere champions among the intelligentsia...our work will actually cause doubts and evoke distrust, - not of the revolution but of its usurpers. But that is the very goal we have set ourselves." (Appendix).

This Trotskyist 'distinction' is utterly dishonest and shallow. The 'distrust' he admitted he was deliberately evoking in the international working class INEVITABLY fell on the Soviet workers state itself (as Trotsky would have wanted and specifically spelled out in other places) and not on the narrower popular understanding of what is implied by 'usurpers'. In other words the hatred and distrust is bound to be engendered for the WHOLE concept of the Soviet Union, and in no way limited to Stalin's mistakes.

Trotsky ended his lifelong hostility to Leninism and his half-a-lifetime's dedication to 'evoking distrust of the Soviet workers state' with his most outrageous attempt to spread defeatist demoralisation in 1940, almost gleefully predicting fascism's triumph over the Soviet regime:

"We always started from the facts that the international policy of the Kremlin was determined by the new aristocracy's....incapacity to conduct a war.

...the ruling caste is no longer capable of thinking about tomorrow. Its formula is that of all doomed regimes: 'after us the deluge'..."

"The war will topple many things and many individuals. Artifice, trickery, frame-ups and treasons will

prove of no avail in escaping its severe judgment. (Statement to the British capitalist press on 'Stalin - Hitler's Quartermaster')!..."

"Stalin cannot make a war with discontented workers and peasants and with a decapitated Red Army." (German-Soviet Alliance).

"The level of the USSR's productive forces forbids a major war.... The involvement of the USSR in a major war before the end of this period would signify in any case a struggle with unequal weapons.

"The subjective factor, not less important than the material, has changed in the last years sharply for the worse!..."

"Stalin cannot wage an offensive war with any hope of victory.

"Should the USSR enter the war with its innumerable victims and privations, the whole fraud of the official regime, its outrages and violence, will inevitably provoke a profound reaction on the part of the people, who have already carried out three revolutions in this century!..."

"The present war can crush the Kremlin bureaucracy long before revolution breaks out in some capitalist country..." (The Twin Star: Hitler-Stalin).

With Trotsky's declared intention of evoking international distrust of the Soviet workers state among ALL workers everywhere; - and with the Soviet Union facing the monstrous threat of fascist invasion from a German imperialism which was three times more developed and powerful than the still weak and backward USSR; and with Trotsky already, having said many times (as above) that there was nothing to choose between fascism and 'Stalinism'; then the above deliberate spread of demoralisation that the Soviet workers state was about to get slaughtered, with the clear implication from Trotsky that no fate in history could be more thoroughly deserved, must rank as the most infamous treacherous attack on the world socialist revolution in all history. (For a more detailed analysis of Trotsky's deliberate spread of demoralisation to try to weaken the Soviet Workers State, read the Workers Party pamphlet: 'For a Leninist Party and World Socialist Revolution. Against Solidarity, Trotskyism, and Bureaucratic Centrism').

And once again, it is already a profound development in human HISTORY what actually happened in the Soviet workers state's war against fascism, exposing to ridicule Trotsky's degenerate bourgeois-subjective wishful thinking. Fascism, as led by German imperialism, - the greatest counter-revolutionary strategy ever assembled by imperialism to wipe out for good from the face of the earth every last trace of the Bolshevik Revolution, - fascism was CRUSHED by the Soviet workers state, led by its Party and State leadership.!

Trotsky believed his own idiotic pseudo-Marxist propaganda about economic productivity and socialist culture being allegedly incompatible with an excess of proletarian dictatorship and an absence of abstract bourgeois 'democracy'.

The exact opposite was the truth (as the ILWP Books explained at great length in vol 5 ten years ago) and is even more obviously the case today after

the collapse of the Soviet workers state precisely because of the insane anti-Marxist revisionism of Gorbachev in deliberately dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat in favour of abstract 'pure' (bourgeois) democracy of the ludicrous *glasnost* and *perestroika* kind which merely unleashed all manner of petty-bourgeois 'parliamentary' and extra-parliamentary opportunism.

This careful Spart censorship of Trotsky's anti-USSR quotes from the 1930s would no doubt try claiming that the recent 'removal of CPSU Bonapartism' by the Gorbachevites was far closer to a 'further development of bureaucratism' that Trotsky warned about, rather than any 'conscious act of the proletarian vanguard' which is what the Trots pretend was not only necessary but really possible.

But this is just an appalling attempt to keep on falsifying the historical record in order that Trotskyite extreme subjectivism can continue trying to look good on the opportunist fringes of the labour movement.

Slyly, the Sparts avoid pointing out that Soviet economic development was barely a dozen years old when Trotsky was making his 'Class Nature' 1933 forecast of a 'cessation of economic and cultural growth', and keep totally silent about Trotsky's further detailed predictions in the 1930s that Soviet productive forces would be fatally overshadowed in any coming war because of this 'bureaucratic straightjacket'.

But the socialist proletarian dictatorship of the USSR in the end totally outclassed the cream of bourgeois-imperialist productive efficiency of Nazi Germany, - both in material objective factors and also in the subjective factor.

The Sparts simply falsify Trotskyism's history in order to avoid dealing with this point, which utterly exposes the bogus 'science' of their subjective-extremist hero.

These middle-class anti-communist reptiles also avoid pointing out that a further 60 years went by before there was the remotest evidence to examine, - under the Gorbachev-Yeltsin liquidationist debacle, - of the Soviet workers state running into the slightest 'cessation of economic and cultural growth'.

By what sort of fraud do these Sparts on the one hand boast to the big bourgeois Gould that the Soviet workers state was 'the first modern power to launch satellites into space', but then comfort their own petty-bourgeois Trotskyite souls by continuing to champion their subjective hero's 1933 gripe against the dictatorship of the proletariat that it is leading to a 'cessation of economic and cul-

tural growth' and to a 'downward plunge of the entire society', etc?

And by what even bigger fraud do the Sparts then themselves do a Gould and misidentify Gorbachevite liquidationism with the entire history of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship when he was the revisionist imbecile who dismantled it, just as they claim Gould misidentifies Stalinism with Marxism.

Undoubtedly, Stalinist degeneration did eventually lead to Gorbachevite liquidationism by the single route of further and further revisionist retreats from Leninist revolutionary internationalism into Popular Front class-collaborationism.

But constant criticism of the permanent petty-bourgeois class essence of revisionist defeatism should not be confused with the entirely separate requirement for unconditional support for every workers state in every single struggle with imperialism and with bourgeois ideology, - the bedrock of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary philosophy.

These posturing Sparts still stick with that old Trotskyite criminal fraud of excusing their treachery to solidarity with the socialist states (in the face of non-stop anti-communist hysteria from bourgeois ideology) by using the bogus 'scientific' formula of a 'degenerated workers state'.

The phrase may have some occasional harmless descriptive value. But as pseudo science, it is just a piece of ridiculous impressionism (brainless middle-class subjective idealism), and a quite deliberate deception on workers everywhere to try to justify old-fashioned anti-Sovietism with a false 'Marxist' label.

The workers state is the dictatorship of the proletariat, and however great the revisionist decline in its leadership, the class interests of any workers state in any confrontation with imperialist counter-revolution or bourgeois ideology, are all that counts as far as Marxism-Leninism is concerned.

Trotskyism was disgraced for all time by its foul solidarity with a series of counter-revolutionary putsches in East Europe organised by the CIA and the Vatican ↗

"The victory of socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries.

It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This is bound to create not only friction but a direct attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the socialist state's victorious proletariat...."

Via hundreds more incisive analyses of how socialism was in fact developing, and likely to continue developing in the REAL world, Lenin reached the

"We have approached the very core of the everyday problems, and that is a tremendous achievement. Socialism is no longer a matter of the distant future,

millions in the post-1945 period, - ending up with the openly fascist Solidarnosc in Poland, and the openly pro-capitalist liquidationist Civic Forum and Velvet Revolution degeneracy in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, etc.

Only the Sparts still try to deny this Trotskyite capitulation to capitalist counter-revolution, and once again they try to do so by means of another outrageous piece of historical falsification, - the deliberate suppression of one year in the Sparts' life from August 1980 to the next summer when they finally abandoned their own support for Solidarnosc when they realised at last that Lech Walesa's fascism was becoming too obvious for even the neurotic Trot subjective maniacs to overlook for much longer, no matter how much they wished the fake 'rank-and-file Polish trade union' well in its bitter anti-communism, organised from Washington, and financed by the Vatican. Not one word have the Sparts ever uttered about this telltale support of theirs for Walesa's fascist anti-communism. And not one word are they likely to utter, either.

The second point about this attempted clean-up of Trotsky's basic anti-Sovietism is that the Sparts are still only intervening in these detailed discussions of USSR historical developments as a mere opportunist ruse.

Their real belief remains that socialism should never even have been attempted in the USSR, and that it never really got going anyway.

Dropping their historically sanitised guard for a moment, the modern Sparts go on to blurt:

The idea that "socialism" could be built in a single country (and a backward one at that), surrounded by imperialist enemies, is a nationalist perversion of Marxism.

Stalin's dogma of "socialism in one country" was the ideological afterbirth of a political counter-revolution which defeated Leninist internationalism and brought to power a nationalist bureaucratic caste.

Lenin himself dealt more than adequately with this deranged petty-bourgeois defeatism, which really sums up the counter-revolutionary class essence of Trotskyism for all time:

'In 1916 in his *Military programme of proletarian revolution*', Lenin wrote:

final public speech of his epoch-making contribution to human history, a speech to the Moscow Soviet which ended with the words:

or an abstract picture, or an icon. Our opinion of icons is the same, - a very bad one. *We have brought socialism into everyday life* and must here see how matters stand. That is the task of our day, the task of our epoch. Permit me to conclude by expressing confidence that difficult as this task may be, new as it may be compared with our previous task, and numerous as the difficulties may be that it entails, we shall all, - not in a day, but in a few years, - all of us together fulfil it whatever the cost, so that *NEP Russia will become socialist Russia.*" (November 21, 1922).

And just a few weeks later in writing about the first steps towards cooperative farming and other cooperative enterprises in the Soviet economy, Lenin wrote even more specifically:

"The power of the state over all large-scale means of production, political power in the hands of the proletariat, the alliance of this proletariat with the many millions of small and very small peasants, the assured proletarian leadership of the peasantry, etc., - is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society out of cooperatives, out of cooperatives alone.....it is all that is necessary and sufficient for it."

But in the same year, 1922, when Trotsky was already preparing his factional attempt to overthrow the Bolshevik Party and Soviet state leadership (first launched with his 'New Course' pamphlet at the end of 1923) Trotsky reiterated his demoralised middle class defeatism about the possibility of building socialism in the USSR, (later rationalised into ceaseless counter-revolutionary denunciation and vilification of the USSR.)

In a new postscript of a new edition of his 'Peace Program' pamphlet, Trotsky wrote:

"The assertion reiterated several times in the 'Peace Program' that a proletarian revolution cannot culminate victoriously within national bounds may perhaps seem to some readers to have been refuted by the nearly five years' experience of our Soviet republic. But such a conclusion would be unwarranted. The fact that the workers state has held out against the whole world in one country, and a backward country at that, only testifies to the colossal might of the proletariat, which in other more advanced more civilised countries will be truly capable of performing miracles.

But while we have held our ground as a state politically and militarily, we have not arrived, or even begun to arrive, at the building of a socialist society. As long as the bourgeoisie remains in power in the other European countries we will be compelled, in our struggle against economic isolation, to strive for agreement with the capitalist world; - at the same time it may be said with certainty that these agreements may at best help us to mitigate some of our economic ills, to take one or another step forward; **but real progress of a socialist economy in Russia will become possible only after the victory of the proletariat in the major European countries.**"

It is the hallmark of petty-bourgeois subjectivism to turn an inability and unwillingness to see the world as it really is into a defeatist despair to see everything destroyed, as a demented and belated 'justification' of original hopelessly out-of-touch anticipations. In this way have the Trotskyists become the most rabid haters and vilifiers of the socialist states, utterly bankrupt themselves to build a successful revolutionary movement anywhere, but all the more determined therefore to help the comfortable capitalist 'free' world to slander and undermine the socialist camp.'

Everything about Trotskyism is phony, and their subjective posturing can be heard and seen in everything they do, if it is listened to carefully enough.

What sort of wishful-thinking daydreamers could be bothered writing in November 1992 the following drivel:

Had the German proletariat made its October, subsequent history would have been very different. The isolation of the Soviet Union would have been broken and the way opened for socialist revolutions throughout Europe, cutting off the consolidation of the Stalinist bureaucracy. And a certain Austrian-born corporal would have spent the rest of his days hanging out in Munich beer halls.

But that's not the way it worked out, and mankind has suffered greatly with the outcome.

It is certainly true that the line of historical progress of society is not a smooth unbroken one, but goes up and down in zigzags. But what is this notion of everyone having a good cry over the last 70 years of human history?

They have seen the most exhilarating triumphs in the whole record of civilisation, - the establishment of the world's first workers state as the world's most powerful state, - the spread of revolution to the world's most populous state and most ancient culture - China, - and the development of communist and other successful anti-imperialist struggle to every other part of the world, - all of this putting in view at last, for the first time in human history, the perspective of a rational world society of scientific humanism and an end to the class-divided, warmongering, race-hatred, supernatural-spirit-ridden pre-history of mankind.

And just as academic in its way, as that bleak view that 20th century history has caused 'mankind to suffer greatly', is their Trot ultra-left posturing over the most recent debacles in the former Soviet workers state:

In his own way, Gould sees something that we have insisted on since Yeltsin counter-revolution gained the ascendancy in August 1991: that this ushered in an unstable interregnum. From our statement then that Moscow workers should have torn down Yeltsin's barricades, to our call for workers committees to seize control over food supplies last winter, we have called for workers political revolution to sweep away the capitalist-restorationist regimes and place the proletariat in power.

Still this parrot cry for the stale old 'political revolution' just to prove how 'Marxist' these Sparts

are, – another totally bogus ‘scientific’ fiction from the Trots.

Workers committees will hopefully seize power sooner or later, but just sloganising for it brings precisely zero progress to that development.

Having postured earlier about ‘leadership’ being, truly, the essential historical ingredient for the advance of socialist revolution, the Sparts then fail to explain the nature of world-perspective revolutionary theory as the essence of that leadership; and, more to the point, what that perspective should be now, and should have been throughout the period under discussion.

And Trotsky’s non-stop clownish subjective errors do not remotely come close to the leadership wisdom that was needed throughout this period. Leninism is the theory which alone can provide the necessary leadership for the socialist revolution (see Lenin’s writings against Trotsky, 450 pp, Progress, 1972).

Under Lenin, mistakes were dealt with promptly and frankly in the first years of the Soviet workers state, and all manner of highly complex domestic and international difficulties were found solutions to.

What was needed then was a rational continuation of struggling as best possible, openly and honestly, with all the further complications of completing the world socialist revolution.

What happened was a retreat from the most advanced revolutionary theory into bureaucratic defeatism. But who could really have done better apart from Lenin himself, had he lived and not died of stroke complications from a feminist fake-‘left’ assassin’s bullet.?

But far worse was the worldwide petty-bourgeois anti-communist reaction which these Soviet revisionist difficulties helped to create. Stalinism led to many sad but ultimately solvable problems. Anti-communist poison worldwide has, through the influence of Trotskyites and others, polluted generations of workers everywhere. That is the real ‘suffering’ of the 20th century.

It is in anti-communist hysteria and sabotage that 99.99% of all the worst historical falsifications and arbitrary crimes of the 20th century have originated, – as was touched upon by *ILWP Books* vol 5 in 1982:

‘Compared to the criminal cover-ups and institutionalised lack of accountability of the ‘free’ world capitalist states for their endless crimes against humanity such as the Vietnam war, the build-up of Hitler fascism, two world wars, endless counter-revolutionary overthrows of progressive regimes, etc, etc, – the 65 years of Soviet history have been a revolutionary open book of minute examination, criticism, and removal of leaders –

and not only in the majority of that time (either side of Stalin’s 20-year-period of unrivalled ascendancy) but also during Stalin’s period itself.

The need for unconditional solidarity with the ‘Kremlin regime’, – while in no way reducing the requirement to expose, analyse, and learn from every mistake, – asserts the rootedness in Soviet historical conditions of Stalinism.

There is a world of difference between stressing this and the completely false assertion that ‘Stalinism was inevitable’, an anti-Marxist philosophical approach.

It was precisely the need better to understand the real material political and economic circumstances (of the Bolshevik Revolution and the world socialist revolution) that alone could have continued Lenin’s masterly leadership through the indescribable hardships and difficulties of Soviet Russia’s survival, after Lenin’s premature death, thereby possibly helping to soften the bitterness and sharpness of the internal struggles of the Soviet workers state and avoid some of the more tragic injustices and errors.

The Soviet socialist revolution that had to be fought for in reality, however, was the multi-million struggling mass, – with all its faults and weaknesses, – that was left AFTER Lenin’s death, – struggling with an already-hard-to-control bureaucratic-conservative framework and surrounded by the unexpected durability of the imperialist system and the unexpected strength of counter-revolutionary revisionist ideology.

This emphasises how in the Russia of the time there was no comparison between the prodigious genius of Lenin and the abilities of the rest of the Bolshevik leadership, not that Stalinism was inevitable.

But it also emphasises that such a high level of mastery and understanding did NOT emerge after Lenin’s death, – or anything like it, – from any quarter. Individual points of correct criticism – in retrospect sounding very ‘far-sighted’ or ‘wise’ sometimes – can be found among all the factions and pretenders to the Soviet leadership. But the historical record shows, – led by Lenin’s demolition of Trotsky’s inability to grasp how socialism had to be built and the proletariat’s Party dictatorship and alliance with the peasantry implemented (in the trade union debate), – that the overwhelming majority of the Party and the working class CORRECTLY united around the Stalinist majority leadership in the DECISIVE all-out struggle after Lenin’s death. Stalin as an individual would no doubt have been inclined towards authoritarian arbitrariness anyway, (although no more than Trotsky, Bukharin, Kamenev, and Zinoviev, as individual egotists, had shown signs of being.)

But what conspired to give Stalin’s particular limitations such a prominent historical role later on was largely the hopelessly subjective and sectarian factionalising and INCORRECT policies of the other groups in the post-Lenin period. (See past *Bulletin* analyses of the hopelessly wrong policies of the most ‘talented’ anti-Leninist pretender – Trotsky).

Notions that Stalin’s personality cult and authoritarianism were ‘necessary’ because of the peculiar cultural backwardness of the semi-feudal vastnesses and poverty of the Tsarist empire run into the same philosophical objections as the ‘Stalinism was inevitable’ argument smacking of anti-Marxist fatalism and ruling out that better understanding based on a higher level of Leninist struggle could have provided the needed

leadership without the damaging weaknesses of the Stalinist leadership.’

What is needed now against the wretched remnants of Gorbachev-Yeltsin liquidationism extending Stalin’s initial retreats from Leninism, is not subjective ultra-left rehash of all Trotsky’s old mistakes, demanding instant idealistic revolutionary fireworks in all directions all at once in that hopeless totally academic way which marked down Trotskyism as a lifetime of complete failure until August 1917, the day he pretended to accept the correctness of the Bolshevik Party with his tail between his legs. What is needed is a serious correct review of Soviet history in struggle with the international balance of class forces hitherto favouring imperialism but soon destined at last to give majority support worldwide to further development of communist revolution.

The Sparts’ faint Trotskyite praise of Soviet revolutionary achievements is just cynical humbug, providing them with an opportunity for continuing their own empty ultra-left posturing.

When international solidarity was needed in practice to try to reduce the anti-communist hysteria created to back Polish counter-revolution in 1980, for example, or Hungarian counter-revolution in 1956, etc, all the Trots lined up with bourgeois-idealist anti-communism.

To this day, the Sparts cannot get the shit off their boots from flourishing so long knee-deep in anti-Soviet slanders and provocations of the ‘Stalinism is the syphilis of the labour movement’ kind, branding Moscow as imperialism’s ‘main counter-revolutionary agency’ among workers for decades, leading the Trots to criminally betray from day one the heroic Cuban socialist revolution.

But while these middle-class Trot ‘revolutionary’ posturers go on feigning ‘support’ for the better achievements of Soviet history but continue ignoring Cuba’s real-life titanic anti-imperialist struggle, this remaining bastion of the socialist camp keeps

‘New world order’ a farce everywhere. West suffocates from propaganda humbug & despair. Philosophical triumph of Soviet reality versus Trotskyists.

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[...]what sort of system is capitalism which still, in the USA for example after more than 300 years of unrivalled supremacy as the ruling ideology and economic mechanism, turns a blind eye to what it cannot prevent such as continuing (or even worsening) slum ghettos for millions of its inhabitants, and continuing gulfs between the most advantaged

and wealthiest and the most disadvantaged and poorest which endlessly pose the possibility of renewed Los Angeles riots at almost any time, and will surely provoke outright revolutionary confrontation before much longer, including in the USA itself, and certainly all round the Third World before this present world slump is much older.

up its defiance of the America monopoly-bourgeoisie’s armed tyranny [...]

Far from ‘fighting’ the degeneration of the Bolshevik Revolution as the Trot academic circles always claim, this petty-bourgeois ultra-left idealism merely struck a ridiculous posturing pose of ‘Now let’s have a revolutionary overthrow of the revolution and start to build real socialism’, etc.

Such a ludicrous provocation at a time of worldwide Cold War difficulties for rallying pro-revolutionary forces (the post-1917 rise of imperialist fascist aggression followed by the post-1945 US imperialist domination) was guaranteed to do nothing but split the anti-imperialist struggle and further play into the hands of Stalinism’s paranoid class-collaborating caution, while criminally ignoring or betraying such further real proletarian-dictatorship advances against the West as the socialist revolutions in China, Vietnam, Cuba, Angola, etc.

Trotsky predicted nothing. All he did was basically declare ‘Everything is rotten’ from 1923 (*The New Course*) onwards, and has been proved ‘correct’ only in the ludicrous sense of Soviet revisionist socialist ideology having paralysed itself 65 years later with class-collaborating confusion when the only viable response to renewed worldwide imperialist economic crisis is a further leap in Marxism-Leninism’s revolutionary perspectives.

It is imperialism which is in a crisis of breakdown degeneracy, not planned socialism, and Gorbachevism went completely off the rails because class-collaboration with imperialism (the creeping trend of the revisionists throughout the long post-1945 inflationary imperialist boom) was exactly the wrong philosophy to try strengthening at such a moment.

The only successfully strengthening philosophies from now on will be anti-imperialist philosophies, and only Marxist-Leninist science can eventually go all the way to complete success. Alf Lee

The abiding interest everywhere in what 75 years of planned socialism in the Soviet Union represented (see last Bulletin, for example, on Trot attempts to cover up their anti-Sovietism) increasingly underlines how much it is a philosophical problem which is posed by Soviet developments rather than just a continuing matter for detailed historical fact grinding, as vital as that struggle remains.

For while it is important to continue arguing the toss against anti-communists about exactly when the 'counter-revolution' was supposed to have taken place in the 1920s etc, or exactly how 'incurable Soviet bureaucratic economic inefficiency' managed to defeat the most advanced imperialist know-how (modern Germany) when even the fake pro-Soviet Trotskyism said the USSR was bound to be massacred because of its 'incurably lower productivity', etc,* - it is even more important to put the whole matter in its philosophical context and ask the question: What was human society doing taking such a huge 'wrong turning' for such a vast expanse of time and territory and with such colossal abiding consequences for the whole of 20th century history and beyond?

There has clearly never remotely been anything comparable in all the annals of civilisation to the profound impact on every aspect of human activity that was achieved by the Marxist-Leninist Bolshevik Revolution, - still very much alive and influential to this day in China, Cuba, Vietnam, and elsewhere, and very far from dead in its effects on forthcoming developments in the ex-USSR itself and in the whole of East Europe, - not to speculate about the still likeliest arena of communist revival throughout the length and breadth of the long-suffering Third World.

Philosophically, the phenomenal rise of the world's first workers state in just three generations to the position of the world's greatest Superpower in spite of incalculable odds against it because of the relentless hostility, subversion, and armed destruction inflicted by the remainder of the imperialist-dominated world, - undoubtedly has posed the question consciously as never before in history of exactly how should society be organised and what are the real and lasting motivations for human struggle and achievement. If it had done no more than that, communist revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat would have to go

down as the greatest catalyst for pushing society towards objective development and consciousness there has ever been.

But the real impact of Soviet history, of course, did far more than that. It actually gave mankind a prolonged period of development with no real ruling class at all other than the dictatorship of the proletariat itself and its millions strong party bureaucracy living an average existence in every walk of life, and certainly no powerful propertied inheritance elite anywhere in sight such as the monopoly bourgeoisie (whose dictatorship runs the capitalist system), or any feudal landowning aristocracy or religious obscurantism (which deliberately kept the masses back with ignorance in the medieval system.)

The greatest complaint against communism (soon to emerge as its greatest credit) was that there was allegedly 'nothing to do but more education and learning things', etc, i.e. no consumer glitz.

And certainly, the USSR had become the most educated and cultured society on earth, boasting more film studios, symphony orchestras, live theatre groups, ballet, opera and dance ensembles, and circuses, etc, and more books, journals, and newspapers published and read than any

other country.

And whatever faults, real or imagined, are going to be long argued about in the future over actual Soviet historical developments, the fact that a genuinely egalitarian-seeking altruistically based scientifically oriented property-classless society of attempted rational planned transformation was triumphantly first established on earth from 1917 to 1987 under the dictatorship of the proletariat will never cease to be for evermore the most profound inspiration on society's future of any of civilisation's achievements.

At the heart of the fight for a growing appreciation of this crucial workers-state development in the 20th century lies the conscious battle to build a party of revolutionary theory, proving itself by first giving a lead in assessing what is actually happening in the world political crisis, and secondly in identifying realistically what would be best to happen next in every situation, and struggling for it.

And central to that battle for such a party is self-education, taking the responsibility of trying to give a correct lead to people in every circumstance, and learning how to gain from every lesson or mistake. Spread the *Bulletin*. Adam Carr

Lenin's criticism of the opportunist views of the Trotskyites:

Second Congress of the RSDLP, 1 July 17 (30)-August 10 (23), 1903* Extracts from speeches on the discussion of the party rules - August 2(15)*

* The double dates are necessary because the Julian calendar was used in Russia at the time. The switch to the new calendar (figures in parentheses) was made in February 1918. Ed.

1

Lenin delivers a brief speech in support of his formulation, emphasising in particular its stimulating effect: "Organise!" It must not be imagined that Party organisations must consist solely of professional revolutionaries. We need the most diverse organisations of all types, ranks and shades, beginning with extremely limited and secret and ending with very broad, free loose Organisations. Its endorsement by the Central Committee is an essential condition for a Party organisation.

2

I should like first of all to make two remarks on minor points. First, on the subject of Axelrod's kind proposal (I am not speaking ironically) to "strike a bargain". I would willingly respond to this appeal, for I by no means consider our difference so vital as to be a matter of life or death to the Party. We shall certainly not perish because of an unfortunate clause in the Rules! But since it has come to the point of choosing between two formulations, I simply cannot abandon my firm conviction that Martov's formulation is worse than the original draft and may, in certain circumstances, cause no little harm to the Party. The second remark concerns Comrade Brucker. It is only natural for Comrade Brucker, who wishes to apply the elective principle everywhere, to have accepted my formulation, the only one that defines at all exactly the concept of a Party member. I therefore fail to understand Comrade Martov's delight at Comrade Brucker's agreement with me. Is it possible that in actual fact Comrade Martov makes a point of guiding himself by the opposite of what Brucker says, without examining his motives and arguments?

To come to the main subject, I must say that Comrade Trotsky has completely misunderstood Comrade Plekhanov's fundamental idea, and his arguments have therefore evaded the gist of the matter. He has spoken of intellectuals and workers, of the class point of view and of the mass movement, but he has failed to notice a basic question, does my formulation narrow or expand the concept of a Party member? If he had asked himself that question, he would easily have seen that my formulation narrows this concept, while Martov's expands it, for (to use Martov's own correct expression) what distinguishes his concept is its "elasticity".

And in the period of Party life that we are now passing through it is just this "elasticity" that undoubtedly opens the door to all elements of confusion, vacillation, and opportunism. To refute this simple and obvious conclusion it has to be proved

that there are no such elements; but it has not even occurred to Comrade Trotsky to do that. Nor can that be proved, for everyone knows that such elements exist in plenty, and that they are to be found in the working class too. The need to safeguard the firmness of the Party's line and the purity of its principles has now become particularly urgent, for, with the restoration of its unity, the Party will recruit into its ranks a great many unstable elements, whose number will increase with the growth of the Party. Comrade Trotsky completely misinterpreted the main idea of my book, *What Is to Be Done?*, when he spoke about the Party not being a conspiratorial organisation (many others too raised this objection). He forgot that in my book I propose a number of various types of organisations, from the most secret and most exclusive to comparatively broad and "loose" organisations.*

(* V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 5, p. 459. Ed.)

He forgot that the Party must be only the vanguard, the leader of the vast masses of the working class, the whole (or nearly the whole) of which works "under the control and direction" of the Party organisations, but the whole of which does not and should not belong to a "party". Now let us see what conclusions Comrade Trotsky arrives at in consequence of his fundamental mistake. He has told us here that if rank after rank of workers were arrested, and all the workers were to declare that they did not belong to the Party, our Party would be a strange one indeed! Is it not the other way round? Is it not Comrade Trotsky's argument that is strange? He regards as something sad that which a revolutionary with any experience at all would only rejoice at. If hundreds and thousands of workers who were arrested for taking part in strikes and demonstrations did not prove to be members of Party organisations, it would only show that we have good organisations, and that we are fulfilling, our task of keeping a more or less limited circle of leaders secret and of drawing the broadest possible masses into the movement.

The root of the mistake made by those who stand for Martov's formulation is that they not only ignore one of the main evils of our Party life, but even sanctify it. The evil is that, at a time when political discontent is almost universal, when conditions require our work to be carried on in complete secrecy, and when most of our activities have to be confined to limited, secret circles and even to private meetings, it is extremely difficult, almost impossible in fact, for us to distinguish those who only talk from those who do the work. There is hardly another country in the world where the jumbling of these two categories is as common and as productive of such boundless confusion and harm as in Russia. We are suffering sorely from this evil not only among the intelligentsia, but also among the working class, and Comrade Martov's formulation sanctions it. This formulation necessarily tends to make Party members of all and sundry; Comrade Martov himself was forced to admit this, although with a reservation: "Yes, if you like," he said. But that is precisely what we do not like! And that is precisely why we are so adamant in our opposition to Martov's formulation. It would be better if ten who do work should not call themselves Party members (real workers don't hunt after titles!) than that

one who only talks should have the right and opportunity to be a Party member. That is a principle which seems to me irrefutable, and which compels me to fight against Martov.

V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 6, pp. 500-03

From *The letter to Y. D. Stasova, F. V. Lengnik, and others**. 14/X. (1904)

* Written by Krupskaya on Lenin's instructions.-Ed.

A new pamphlet by Trotsky came out recently, under the editorship of *Iskra*, as was announced. This makes it the "Credo" as it were of the new *Iskra*³. The pamphlet is a pack of brazen lies, a distortion of the facts. And this is done under the editorship of the CO. The work of the *Iskra* group is vilified in every way, the Economists,⁴ it is alleged, did far more, the *Iskra* group displayed no initiative, they gave no thought to the proletariat, were more concerned with the bourgeois intelligentsia, introduced a deadly bureaucracy everywhere - their work was reduced to carrying out the programme of the famous "Credo". The Second Congress was, in his words, a reactionary attempt to consolidate sectarian methods of organisation, etc. The pamphlet is a slap in the face both for the present Editorial Board of the CO and for all Party workers. Reading a pamphlet of this kind you can see clearly that the "Minority" has indulged in so much lying and falsehood that it will be incapable of producing anything viable, and one wants to fight, here there is something worth fighting for.

Kol's wife is well, she is in Yekaterinoslav. Warm greetings to all of you. - Starik & Co.

V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 48, p. 129

From *Social-democracy and the provisional revolutionary government* 6 March 1905*

(* The date shows the time of writing or the first publication.-Ed.)

[...]Parvus managed at last to go forward, instead of moving backward like a crab. He refused to perform the Sisyphean labours of endlessly correcting Martynov's and Martov's follies. He openly advocated (unfortunately, together with Trotsky) the idea of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship,**

*** In the manuscript: "He openly advocated (unfortunately with the windbag Trotsky in a foreword to the latter's bombastic pamphlet *Before the Ninth of January*) the idea of the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship...-Ed]

the idea that it was the duty of Social-Democrats to take part in the provisional revolutionary government after the overthrow of the autocracy. Parvus is profoundly right in saying that the Social-Democrats must not fear to take bold strides forward, to deal joint "blows" at the enemy, shoulder to shoulder with the revolutionary bourgeois democrats, on the definite understanding, however (very appropriately brought to mind), that the organisations are not to be merged, that we march separately but strike together, that we do not conceal the diversity of interests, that we watch our ally as we would our enemy, etc.

But for all our warm sympathy for these slogans of a revolutionary Social-Democrat who has turned away from the tail-enders,***

*** A note in the manuscript says: "*Iskra* is modestly silent over the matter of Trotsky's pamphlet with Parvus's preface, published in the Party printshop. Of course, it is not in its interests to disentangle the muddle: Martynov pulls one way and Parvus pulls the other way, but we'll say nothing until Plekhanov pulls Martov out by his ears! And we call this 'Ideological leadership of the Party'! Incidentally, I'll mention a 'formalistic' curiosity. Our sages in the Council have decreed the Party signature is only permissible on pamphlets published...on instructions from Party organisations. It would be interesting to learn from these sages what organisation requested the publication of the pamphlet of Nadezhdin, Trotsky and others? Or were the people right who called the above-mentioned 'decree' a scurvy sectarian trick against Lenin's publishing house?"-Ed.]

we could not help feeling jarred by certain false notes that Parvus struck. We mention these slight errors, not out of captiousness, but because from him to whom much is given, much is demanded. It would be most dangerous at present for Parvus to compromise his correct position by his own imprudence. Among the imprudent, to say the least, is the following sentence in his preface to Trotsky's pamphlet: "If we wish to keep the revolutionary proletariat apart from the other political currents, we must learn to stand ideologically at the head of the revolutionary movement" (this is correct), "to be more revolutionary than anyone else". This is incorrect. That is to say, it is incorrect, if the statement is taken in the general sense in which it is expressed by Parvus; it is incorrect from the point of view of the reader to whom this preface is something standing by itself, apart from Martynov and the new-Iskristes, whom Parvus does not mention. If we examine this statement dialectically, i.e., relatively, concretely, in all its aspects, and not after the manner of those literary jockeys, who, even many years after, snatch separate sentences from some single word and distort their meaning, it will become clear that Parvus directs the assertion expressly against tailism, to which extent he is right (compare particularly his subsequent words: "If we lag behind revolutionary development", etc.). But the reader cannot have in mind-only tailenders since there are others besides tailenders among the dangerous friends of the revolution in the camp of the revolutionaries - there are the "Socialists-Revolutionaries", - there are people like the Nadezhdins, who are swept along by the tide of events and are helpless in the face of revolutionary phrases; or those who are guided by instinct rather than by a revolutionary outlook (like Gapon). These Parvus forgot; he forgot them because his presentation, the development of his thoughts, was not free, but was hampered by the pleasant memory of the very Martynovism against which he seeks to warn the reader. Parvus's exposition is not sufficiently concrete because he does not consider the totality of the various revolutionary currents

in Russia, which are inevitable in the epoch of democratic revolution and which naturally reflect the still unstratified classes of society in such an epoch. At such a time, revolutionary-democratic programmes are quite naturally veiled in vague, even reactionary, socialist ideas concealed behind revolutionary phrases (to wit, the Socialists-Revolutionaries and Nadezhdin, who, it seems, changed only his label when he went over from the "revolutionary socialists" to the new *Iskra*). Under such circumstances we, the Social-Democrats, never can and never will advance the slogan "Be more revolutionary than anyone else". We shall not even try to keep up with the revolutionariness of a democrat who is detached from his class basis, who has a weakness for fine phrases and flaunts catchwords and cheap slogans (especially in agrarian matters). On the contrary, we will always be critical of such revolutionariness; we will expose the real meaning of words, the real content of idealised great events, and we will teach the need for a sober evaluation of the classes and shadings within the classes, even in the hottest situations of the revolution.

Equally incorrect, for the same reason, are Parvus's statements that "the revolutionary provisional government in Russia will be a government of working-class democracy", that "if the Social-Democrats are at the head of the revolutionary movement of the Russian proletariat, this government will be a Social-Democratic government", that the Social-Democratic provisional government "will be an integral government with a Social-Democratic majority". This is impossible, unless we speak of fortuitous, transient episodes, and not of a revolutionary dictatorship that will be at all durable and capable of leaving its mark in history. This is impossible, because only a revolutionary dictatorship supported by the vast majority of the people can be at all durable (not absolutely, of course, but relatively). The Russian proletariat, however, is at present a minority of the population in Russia. It can become the great, overwhelming majority only if it combines with the mass of semi-proletarians, semi-proprietors, i.e., with the mass of the petty-bourgeois urban and rural poor. Such a composition of the social basis of the possible and desirable revolutionary-democratic dictatorship will, of course, affect the composition of the revolutionary government and inevitably lead to the participation, or even predominance, within it of the most heterogeneous representatives of revolutionary democracy. It would be extremely harmful to entertain any illusions on this score. If that windbag Trotsky now writes (unfortunately, side by side with Parvus) that "a Father Gapon could appear only once", that "there is no room for a second Gapon", he does so simply because he is a windbag. If there were no room in Russia for a second Gapon, there would be no room for a truly "great", consummated democratic revolution. To become great, to evoke 1789-93, not 1848-50, and to surpass those years, it must rouse the vast masses to active life, to heroic efforts, to "fundamental historic creativeness"; it must raise them out of frightful ignorance, unparalleled oppression, incredible backwardness, and abysmal dullness. The revolution is already raising them and will raise them completely; the government itself is facilitating the process by its desperate resistance. But, of course, there can be no question of a mature political consciousness, of a Social-Democratic consciousness of these masses or their numerous "native" popular leaders or even "muzhik" leaders. They cannot become Social-Democrats at once without first passing a number of revolutionary tests, not only because of their ignorance (revolution, we repeat, enlightens with marvellous speed), but because their class position is not proletarian, because the objective logic of historical development confronts them at the present time with the tasks, not of a socialist, but of a democratic revolution.

In this revolution, the revolutionary proletariat will participate with the utmost energy, sweeping aside the miserable tailism of some and the revolutionary phrases of others. It will bring class definiteness and consciousness into the dizzying whirlwind of events, and march on intrepidly and unswervingly, not fearing, but fervently desiring, the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship, fighting for the republic: and for complete republican liberties, fighting for substantial economic reforms, in order to create for itself a truly large arena, an arena worthy of the twentieth century, in which to carry on the struggle for socialism.

V. I. Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 8, pp. 289-92

Fifth Congress of the RSDLP April 30-May 19 (May 13-June 1), 1907
From *Speech on the report on the activities of the Duma group* May 8(21).

A few words about Trotsky. He spoke on behalf of the "Centre", and expressed the views of the Bund.¹⁰ He fulminated against us for introducing our "unacceptable" resolution. He threatened an outright split, the withdrawal of the Duma group, which is supposedly offended by our resolution. I emphasise these words. I urge you to reread our resolution attentively.

Is it not monstrous to see something offensive in a calm acknowledgement of mistakes, unaccompanied by any sharply expressed censure, to speak of a split in connection with it? Does this not show the sickness in our Party, a fear of admitting mistakes, a fear of criticising the Duma group?

The very possibility that the question can be presented in this way shows that there is something non-partisan in our Party. This non-partisan something is the Duma group's relations with the Party. The Duma group must be more of a Party group, must have closer connections with the Party, must be more subordinate to all proletarian work. Then wailings about insults and threats of a split will disappear.

When Trotsky stated: "Your unacceptable resolution prevents your right ideas being put into effect," I called out to him: "Give us *your* resolution." Trotsky replied: "No, first withdraw yours."

A fine position indeed for the "Centre" to take, isn't it? Because of our (in Trotsky's opinion) mistake ("tactlessness"), he punishes the whole Party, depriving it of his "tactful" exposition of the very same principles. Why did you not get your resolution passed, we shall be asked in the localities. Because the Centre took umbrage at it, and in a huff refused to set forth its own principles! (*Applause from the Bolsheviks and part of the Centre*) That is a position based not on principle, but on the Centre's lack of principle.

We came to the Congress with two tactical lines which have long been known to the Party. It would be stupid and unworthy of a workers' party to cover up differences of opinion and conceal them. We must compare the two points of view more clearly. We must express them in their application to all questions of our policy. We must sum up our Party experience clearly. Only in this way shall we be doing our duty and put an end to vacillation in the policy of the proletariat. (*Applause from the Bolsheviks and part of the Centre.*)

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 12, pp. 451-52

From *The aim of the proletarian struggle in our revolution* March (April) 1909
III

As for Trotsky, whom Comrade Martov has involved in the controversy of third parties which he has organised - a controversy involving everybody except the dissident - we positively cannot go into a full examination of his views here. A separate article of considerable length would be needed for this. By just touching on Trotsky's mistaken views, and quoting scraps of them, Comrade Martov only sows confusion in the mind of the reader, for scraps of quotations do not explain but confuse matters. Trotsky's major mistake is that he ignores the bourgeois character of the revolution and has no clear conception of the transition from this revolution to the socialist revolution. This major mistake leads to those mistakes on side issues which Comrade Martov repeats when he quotes a couple of them with sympathy and approval. Not to leave matters in the confused state to which Comrade Martov has reduced them by his exposition, we shall at least expose the fallacy of those arguments of Trotsky which have won the approval of Comrade Martov. A coalition of the proletariat and the peasantry "presupposes either that the peasantry will come under the sway of one of the existing bourgeois parties, or that it will form a powerful independent party". This is obviously untrue both from the standpoint of general theory and from that of the experience of the Russian revolution. A "coalition" of classes does not at all presuppose either the existence of any particular powerful party, or parties in general. This is only confusing classes with parties. A "coalition" of the specified classes does not in the least imply either that one of the existing bourgeois parties will establish its sway over the peasantry or that the peasants should form a powerful independent party! Theoretically this is clear because, first; the peasants do not lend themselves very well to party organisation; and because, secondly, the formation of peasant parties is an extremely difficult and lengthy process in a bourgeois revolution, so that a "powerful independent" party may emerge only towards the end of the revolution: The experience of the Russian revolution shows that "coalitions" of the proletariat and the peasantry were formed scores and hundreds of times, in the most diverse forms, without any "powerful independent party" of the peasantry. Such a coalition was formed when there was "joint action" between, say, a Soviet of Workers' Deputies and a Soviet of Soldiers' Deputies, or a Railwaymen's Strike Committee or Peasants' Deputies, etc. All these organisations were mainly non-party; nevertheless, every joint action between them undoubtedly represented a "coalition" of classes. In the course of this a peasant party took shape as an idea, in germ, coming into being in the form of the Peasant Union of 1905, or the Trudovik group of 1906 and as such a party grew, developed and constituted itself, the coalition of classes assumed different forms, from the vague and unofficial to definite and official political agreements. After the dissolution of the First Duma, for example, the following three calls for insurrection were issued: (1) "To the Army and Navy", (2) "To all the Russian Peasants", (3) "To the Whole People". The first was signed by the Social-Democratic group in the Duma and the Committee of the Trudovik group. Was this "joint action" evidence of a coalition of two classes? Of course it was. To deny it means to engage in pettifoggery, or to narrow the broad scientific concept of a "coalition of classes" to a strictly juridical concept, almost that I would say of a notary. Further, can it be denied that this joint call for insurrection, signed by the Duma deputies of the working class and peasantry, was accompanied by joint actions of representatives of both classes in the form of partial local insurrections? Can it be denied that a joint call for a general insurrection and joint participation in local and partial insurrections necessarily implies the joint formation of a provisional revolutionary-government? To deny it would mean to engage in pettifoggery, to reduce the concept of "government" to something completely and formally constituted, to forget that the complete and formally constituted develop from the incomplete and unconstituted.

To proceed. The second call for insurrection was signed by the Central Committee (Menshevik!) of the RSDLP and also the Central-Committee of the Socialist-Revolutionary Party, the All-Russia Peasant Union, the All-Russia Railwaymen's¹² and the All-Russia Teachers' Unions,¹³ as well as by the Committee of the Trudovik group and the Social-Democratic group in the Duma. The third call for insurrection bears the signatures of the Polish Socialist Party and the Bund, plus all the foregoing signatures except the three unions.

That was a fully constituted political coalition of parties and non-party organisations! That was "the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry" proclaimed in the form of a threat to tsarism, in the form of a call to the whole people, but not yet realised! And today one will hardly find many Social-Democrats who



would agree with the Menshevik *Sotsial-Democratic* of 1906, No. 6, which wrote of these appeals: "In this case our Party concluded with other revolutionary parties and groups not a political bloc, but a fighting agreement, which we have always considered expedient and necessary" (cf. *Proletary* No. 1 August 21, 1906 and No. 8, November 23 1906*). A fighting agreement cannot be contraposed to a political [*See V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 1.11, pp. 150-66, 307-19.]

bloc, for the latter concept embraces the former. A political bloc at various historical moments takes the form either of a "fighting agreement" in connection with insurrection, or of a parliamentary agreement for "joint action against the Black Hundreds and Cadets", and so on. The idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry has found its practical expression throughout our revolution in a thousand forms, - from the signing of the manifesto calling upon the people to pay no taxes and to withdraw their deposits from the savings-banks (December 1906), or the signing of calls to insurrection (July 1906), to voting in the Second and Third Dumas in 1907 and 1908.

Trotsky's second statement quoted by Comrade Martov is wrong too. It is not true that "the whole question is, who will determine the government's policy, who will constitute a homogeneous majority in it", and so forth. And it is particularly untrue when Comrade Martov uses it as an argument against the dictatorship of the proletariat and the peasantry. Trotsky himself, in the course of his argument, concedes that "representatives of the democratic population will take part" in the "workers' government", i.e., concedes that there will be a government consisting of representatives of the proletariat and the peasantry. On what terms the proletariat will take part in the government of the revolution is another question, and it is quite likely that on this question the Bolsheviks will disagree not only with Trotsky, but also with the Polish Social-Democrats. The question of the dictatorship of the revolutionary classes, however, cannot be reduced to a question of the "majority" in any particular revolutionary government, or of the terms on which the participation of the Social-Democrats in such a government is admissible.

Lastly, the most fallacious of Trotsky's opinions that Comrade Martov quotes and considers to be "just" is the third, viz, "even if they [the peasantry]* do this ["support the regime of working-class democracy"] with no more political understanding than they usually support a bourgeois regime." The proletariat cannot count on the ignorance and prejudices of the peasantry as the powers that be under a bourgeois regime count and depend on them, nor can it assume that in time of revolution the peasantry will remain in their usual state of political ignorance and passivity. The history of the Russian revolution shows that the very first wave of the upsurge at the end of 1905 at once stimulated the peasantry to form a political organisation (the All-Russia Peasant Union), which was undoubtedly the embryo of a distinct peasant party. Both in the First and Second Dumas - in spite of the fact that the counter-revolution had wiped out the first contingents of advanced peasants - the peasantry, now for the first time acting on a nation-wide scale in the all-Russia

general elections, immediately laid the foundations of the Trudovik group, which was undoubtedly the embryo of a distinct peasant party. In these embryos and rudiments there was much that was unstable, vague and vacillating: that is beyond doubt. But if political groups like this could spring up at the beginning of the revolution, there cannot be the slightest doubt that a revolution carried to such a "conclusion", or rather, to such a high stage of development as a revolutionary dictatorship, will produce a, more definitely constituted and stronger revolutionary peasant party. To think otherwise would be like supposing that some vital organs of an adult can retain the size, shape and development of infancy.

*Interpolations in square brackets (within passages, quoted by Lenin) have been introduced by Lenin, unless otherwise indicated. -Ed

In any case, Comrade Martov's conclusion that the conference agreed with Trotsky, of all people, on the question of the relations between the proletariat and the peasantry in the struggle for power is an amazing contradiction of the facts, is an attempt to read into a word a meaning that was never discussed, not mentioned and not even thought of at the conference.

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 15, pp. 370-74

TO G. Y. Zinoviev [August 24, 1909]

Dear Gr.,

I have received No. 7-8 of *Sotsial Demokrat*.¹⁵ I object to Trotsky's signature; signatures must be omitted. (I have not yet read the articles.)

As regards *Proletary*, I think we should insert in it (1) an article on the elections in St. Petersburg (in connection with the claptrap of *Rech* and *Vodovozov*, if *Rech*

Fighting the imperialist mess not helped by daft 'left' reformism and bogus middle-class 'revolutionaries'. Fascist-racism won't stop until capitalist market forces stop. To get there, the real origins of revisionism-liquidationism must be traced and analysed first. Mindless idealism to just put the blame on Khrushchev. Stalinists, Trots, and all anti-Leninists crippled by the same inability to grasp that history can never cease advancing through contradictions.

[EPSR No710 27-07-93]

"Wake Up World" yelled Vanessa Redgrave & Co in their fatuous international advertisement against racism everywhere, and backing the Bosnian muslims in the Yugoslav civil war.

Bankrolled and signed by some pretty wealthy capitalists such as Fred Zimmerman, Sir Peter Hall, Emma Thompson, Daniel Day-Lewis, Redgrave herself, etc, this naive philistine gibberish favourably evoked Western imperialism's Cold War aggression (mentioning only the Berlin airlift to keep undermining the East German workers state, but conveniently ignoring the identical politics of the US blitzkrieg which devastated Indo-China, massacring more than 2 million defenceless people, and 200 other acts of counter-revolutionary police-military 'anti-communist' terror since 1945 such as Pinochet's fascist coup in Chile, the Suharto barbarism in Indonesia, the Contra destruction of socialist Nicaragua, the Western-financed annihilation of revolutionary developments in Mozambique, Angola, Afghanistan, etc, etc, etc).

It declared:

The UN member states (i.e. the US imperialist stooge organisation) have the means, the

money, and the weapons to lift the siege of Sarajevo.

A call, in other words, for US imperialism, - fresh from its fascist blitzkriegs on defenceless Baghdad and Mogadishu (not to mention Panama City; Tripoli, and Benghazi; Grenada; etc, etc), - to now try to bomb Serbia back to the stone age as was once secretly and 'illegally' done to Cambodia, e.g. (it was specifically forbidden by the United Nations and even by the US Congress). And this savagery is urged in the name of the fight against fascism and racism!

Why doesn't this well-heeled gang of ignorant dilettantes just read their own bourgeois media which 12 months ago was running a similar hysteria campaign to get the Serbs slaughtered, by US imperialism in the name of the 'poor defenceless Croats' until forced to admit that the Croats were guilty of just as many 'atrocities' in their equally-determined civil-war offensives and had initiated just as many attacks and 'ethnic cleansing' drives as the Serbs.

Now the capitalist press has been having to admit recently that the Bosnian muslims are aggressing just as ferociously as the

has not misreported him); (2) on the Swedish strike - a summing-up article is essential; (3) ditto on the Spanish events¹⁶; (4) on the Mensheviks, in connection with their (very vile) polemic with the Geneva (Georgien¹⁷) anti-liquidator; (5) in the supplement as a special sheet, an answer to the "Open Letter" of Maximov and Co.¹⁸ A proper answer must be given to them so that these scoundrels do not mislead people by their lies.

After three weeks' holiday, I am beginning to come round. I think I could take No. 4 and 5 upon myself, if need be No. 1 as well, but I am still afraid to promise. Write me your opinion and the exact deadlines. What else is there for *Proletary*?

No. 2 and 3 can be made up from *Vorwärts*¹⁹; I shall send it to you, if you will undertake to write.

As regards *Pravda*,²⁰ have you read Trotsky's letter to Inok? If you have, I hope it has convinced you that Trotsky behaves like a despicable careerist and factionalist of the Ryazanov-and-Co type. Either equality on the editorial board, *subordination* to the CC and no one's transfer to Paris except Trotsky's (the scoundrel, he wants to "fix up" the whole rascally crew of *Pravda* at our expense!) - or a break with this swindler and an exposure of him in the CO. He pays lip-service to the Party and behaves worse than any other of the factionalists.

All the best.

N. Lenin

P.S. I'm afraid we'll have to give Kamenev up as a bad job. An article on *The Social Movement* has been promised six weeks (or six months) ago!²¹

My address is: Mr. Wl. Oulianoff (Chez Madame Lecreux), *Bombon* (Seine-et-Marne).

V. I. Lenin, *Collected Works*, Vol. 34, pp. 399-400

other two sides in what is quite obviously a straightforward civil war fought with equal primitive nationalist fervour by all the participants:

AS A BRITISH SOLDIER WHO HAS SERVED widely in Bosnia for seven months now, I feel I must take issue with the nature of the reporting from this region. In the case of the Muslim town of Srebrenica, your articles have been scathing in denouncing the Bosnian Serbs and their shelling of the town. However, you have failed to address the question of where the Serbian population of Srebrenica was. The Serbs made up 30% of its pre-war population. Early on in the conflict, they were forced out of their homes with whatever belongings they could carry and ordered to leave. As the Bosnian Serbs fled, Muslims fired wildly on men, women and children on the road. This story was told to British soldiers in Srebrenica by Muslims themselves and later by Bosnian Serbs. Earlier this year, Bosnian Muslims launched their offensive in eastern Bosnia, bombing Bosnian Serb villages, raping women and destroying livestock.

The media are creating a "Let's do something; let's bomb the Serbs; let's arm the Muslims" rhetoric that is very dangerous. We in Europe understand the Balkan chicanery and Balkan cunning far better than Americans do. We do not want to see ourselves further embroiled in a morass when there is no one side that is uniquely culpable. A British soldier sees the bodies of three Croat children who have had their throats cut by Muslim soldiers. Does he want to see those Muslims with bigger and better weapons? Please try to be more objective.

I. R. Thornton, Interpreter Sergeant, British Army Vitez, Bosnia

So disoriented has bourgeois propaganda become by its own hypocritical distortions and stupidity that even *Time* magazine, a symbol of US-imperialist reaction, has been forced to scratch its head in public:

[Cutting opposite - ed]

Why doesn't Redgrave's circus consider just for one second

what is the class nature of this 'UN force' which it is so keen to unleash on impoverished Serbia just because it has far greater organised proletarian strength left from the remnants of the Yugoslav workers state than its traditionally more petty-bourgeois and Western-imperialist-oriented rivals in Bosnia and Croatia, and has far more realistic nationalist aspirations in the region.

And if these 'left' poseurs are too busy being important to work it out for themselves, then let them just read the admissions between the lines of their own trusted 'free-world' newspapers: [Cutting on hated UN arrogant intervention in Somalia]

But the real problem of this Redgraveite turn to straight forward bourgeois liberalism of the most posturing reactionary kind is not even in its simple failure to identify imperialist intervention to deliberately break up the Yugoslav socialist federation as the original cause of the civil-war strife there.

Much worse is the appalling naïveté of this "stand against racism and fascism" which is at one

OTHER VOICES	
Radovan Karadzic's belligerent leadership of Bosnia's Serbs has seemed almost pathological to outsiders, particularly in light of his earlier career as a psychiatrist. But writing in Britain's <i>Financial Times</i> last week, Karadzic sounded unusually reasonable.	
ROOT CAUSES	WE NEVER LIVED IN A STATE CALLED BOSNIA. WE LIVED IN YUGOSLAV BOSNIA. TO TAKE AWAY YUGOSLAVIA WAS TO TAKE AWAY ALL THE COMPROMISES WHICH HELD BOSNIA TOGETHER.
PRESENT PAIN	NO SERB CAN DENY THAT THE MUSLIMS NEED A SECURE HOME IN BOSNIA; NO THOUGHTFUL SERB IMAGINES THAT THERE CAN BE PEACE WITHOUT THEM... MUSLIMS ARE OUR SLAV BROTHERS... THEY NOW REQUIRE NOT ONLY PEACE, BUT ALSO INSTITUTIONAL SAFEGUARDS AND GUARANTEES.
WHAT'S NEXT	WE HAVE SURVIVED AND HAVE NOT BEEN BEATEN. BUT THERE HAVE BEEN NO PRIZES. TODAY WE NEED A SETTLEMENT AS MUCH AS THE

with all the fake-‘left’ in underestimating the scale and nature of the imperialist crisis, and resurrects some of the most damagingly misleading ‘understanding’ of reaction that workers have ever suffered from in all history.

“We can and we must remove all the growing economic and cultural barriers that feed fascism, we will allow no more walls,”

they declare like Moses parting the Red Sea.

For this to mean anything, of course, these famous people must be promising to get rid of the capitalist system because even children understand the clear historical relationship between fascist chauvinism of the 20th century and the international trade-war crises between the monopoly-imperialist giant powers which have produced an insoluble cycle of war, boom and slump to which the only ‘free enterprise’ answer is renewed nationalist arms-race aggression to right alleged wrongs, of which the Nazi movement within German imperialism in the 1930s is the classic expression.

Back in slump again now, inevitably so because of the incurable piling up of relatively ‘surplus’ capital investment by the anarchic ‘free market’ system, – imperialist ideology can only edge back towards warmongering chauvinist aggression again in a bid to wipe out rival bourgeois-monopoly forces.

Fascist governments will soon be proliferating once more as they did in the 1930s, and Redgrave’s fake-‘left’ liberal appeals will be nothing but a sick memory of the damage done to workers’ understanding by the philistine conceited ignorance of the petty-bourgeoisie.

“We artists can assist our fellow citizens in organising a 24-hour civilian watch in all areas where the persecuted peoples’ lives, homes, businesses, offices and sacred places are in danger,” adds this moralising religious bleat.

This belt-and-braces approach somewhat undermines the promise to wipe out all causes of fascism in the economic and social system which, if effective, would no longer require any 24-hour watches by anybody.

But nevertheless, this ‘watch’ on its own is such a huge undertaking as to invite nothing but public ridicule. Who on earth is going to pay for, staff, and organise such a massive operation as virtual permanent civil war against backwardness and prejudice in every community in Britain? It really would be far easier with such a giant mobilisation of public spiritedness to just get rid of the capitalist system of greed, envy, and want there and then, and be done with fascist bourgeois-idealism (looking for the ‘perfect’ society within capitalism).

Redgrave’s version of bourgeois

idealism does not completely ignore reality, of course, and declares that:

“Practical solutions for the economic questions exist. We know that the military budgets of our countries could be substantially cut to provide the finance for new jobs, for debt cancellation, for old age pensioners,”

etc. etc.

What brain-numbing stupidity. The monopoly-bourgeois circles build up their financial might in cut-throat domestic competition and international trade war to produce the glitzy consumer world (which the Redgrave-ites so adore), and then, of course, arm themselves to the teeth to make sure that in the shooting wars which always follow trade wars as night follows day, their own imperialist states do not lose on the diplomatic, political and military battlefields what has been so ruthlessly and strenuously earned on the international market places.

But on the command of V Redgrave, the imperialists are all about to renounce all these nasty practices, supposedly. What astonishing conceit. It makes the crazy hypocrisy of the Christian religion seem almost sane by comparison.

The next stage of this ex-Trot ‘revolutionary’ degeneracy is likely to be an expensive attempt to at least re-enter the class-war political arena (or in this case the toilets on the outer perimeter) by trying to breathe new life into the Labour Party which has just about asphyxiated itself with its efforts to shout aggressively against some Tory and US imperialist misdemeanours but without uttering a peep against the capitalist system as such.

The ‘left’ Labour stars like Scargill, Benn, and Skinner, have been at it again in the past week insisting that the ‘democracy’ system do something about its own inherently undemocratic nature:

A KEY member of Arthur Scargill’s inner circle who later made false allegations of corruption against the miners’ leader was an undercover agent working for Stella Rimington, now MI5’s director general, it was claimed yesterday in parliament.

Roger Windsor, chief executive of the National Union of Mineworkers during and after the miners’ strike of 1984/5, was “sent in to the NUM to destabilise and sabotage the union at its most critical juncture”, according to a motion signed by two Labour MPs, George Galloway and Tam Dalyell.

The MPs, supported by four other Labour MPs, say that allegations by Mr Windsor against Mr Scargill, published by the *Daily Mirror* which paid Mr Windsor £80,000, were made under the “guidance” of Mrs Rimington, who last week became the first head of the Security Service to appear in public. At the time of the miners’ strike, Mrs Rimington was head of MI5’s F2 branch, responsible for monitoring

“subversion” in trade unions.

The *Mirror* stories led to an inquiry by Gavin Lightman, QC, and a series of legal actions which cost the union nearly £700,000. Mr Windsor’s main allegation – that Mr Scargill had used £25,000 of Libyan strike aid to pay off his mortgage – was found by Mr Lightman to be “entirely untrue”.

Last night’s motion – also signed by Bob Litherland and three mining MPs, Mick Clapham, Dennis Skinner and Jimmy Hood – is based on two independent tip-offs from senior Whitehall sources.

It says that Mr Windsor’s actions “led to serious and expensive internal disputes, notably a £100,000 libel damages settlement as a result of a letter Windsor forged in the name of David Prendergast of the UDM”. The letter was circulated in the Nottinghamshire coalfield in the wake of the 1984/5 strike. In 1990, the NUM settled out of court a libel action brought by Mr Prendergast.

The MPs accuse Mrs Rimington of running other agents provocateurs inside the NUM and say that “notwithstanding recent cosmetic changes to its image, the Security Service, including Mrs Rimington, has been responsible for the subversion of democratic liberties in Britain and should be brought to account”.

But which is the more monstrous deception, – that the British imperialist dictatorship-of-the-bourgeoisie should use its secret police control system to prevent ‘legal’ strikes from being too successful by running a relentless black-propaganda campaign against the strike leaders; – or that the members of the ‘parliamentary democracy’ fraud should pretend that the ‘rule of law’ is worth a pile of cold manure.

Asking capitalism’s legislative system to stop rigging things in favour of capitalism is even worse than asking pigs to fly, – like asking pigs to just stop being pigs.

And how did the suspected MI5 agent get into the NUM hierarchy in the first place?

Mr Windsor, 48, was hired as finance officer of the NUM in December 1982 by Mr Scargill. A member of the Labour Party, he had occupied a similar post at Public Services International, a London-based trade union international. His referees were Tony Benn MP and Rodney Bickerstaffe, leader of the National Union of Public Employees.

He was later promoted to executive officer, acting as Mr Scargill’s right-hand man.

And what would any half-awake ‘socialist’ suspect that something as weird as the reformist ‘Public Services International’ might be a niche for?

No wonder the renegade Windsor now has the cheek to try prolonging NUM stupidity with as provocative ‘reply’ to the accusations about this treachery:

[Cutting on Windsor “denial” and unrealisable “call for MI5 inquiry”]

“What ‘socialist’! What a fink! But the ‘left’ Labourites are just daft enough to go along with such

a smokescreen.

This is one of the clearest examples yet of Benn and Scargill’s anti-Leninism being shown up as, in effect, turkeys voting for Christmas.

“The parliamentary democracy way is the only way” – to permanent defeat for socialism, by hook or by crook.

Redgrave is now into ‘democracy’ in a big way, touting this week for another imperialist stooge Eduard Shevardnadze who helped the Redgrave Trots’ previous hero Gorbachev to dismantle the Soviet workers state and reintroduce mafia capitalism and open house for a huge CIA network (and every other imperialist counter-revolutionary agency) to blanket the former USSR to make sure there is never a successful socialist revolution there again, – a ‘restructuring’ programme initially hailed by the WRP Trots as the long-awaited ‘political revolution’ which was supposed to bring back ‘pure socialism’ and justify 60 years of Trotskyite treacherous back-stabbing of the Soviet workers state.

Shevardnadze now wheedles for Western aid to help him ‘defend democracy’, – otherwise doomed to extinction by fascist dictatorship as the inevitable result of bringing back capitalism and its incurable warmongering-slump chauvinist degeneracy.

But the biggest fascist dictators in view, of course, are the likes of Yeltsin, Gorbachev, and Shevardnadze, – as anyone but a naïve fool can easily see, – longtime ‘peaceful coexistence’ class-collaborators with US imperialist world rule, and now stripped of any responsibility for running a planned socialist economy.

Once again, listen to what the Western capitalist ‘free’ press itself is prepared to admit about the Gorbachev generation’s introduction of ‘democratic market forces’:

[Cutting - rampant privatisation corruption in Yeltsin’s former Soviet Union]

There was, of course, plenty of corruption under the socialist revisionist bureaucracy, and certainly an endless programme of renovation and reform was always needed, was always going to be needed, and always will be needed permanently under any workers state. That is the whole nature of working out how to run a completely new form of society.

But now the corruption is systemic again, incurable from capitalism, and knocking history back generations from the easily debatable and solvable failures of philosophical inspiration (springing from the revisionist backwardness and bureaucratic complacency and arbitrariness) which gradually overtook the So-

viet workers state due to one-off specific historical conditions plus an insufficient grasp of the real essence of Leninism and building a party of revolutionary theory.

It will eventually emerge as one of the greatest failures ever in human understanding that petty-bourgeois anti-communist hysteria has been allowed to misrepresent Soviet defects in an all-or-nothing black-and-white idealist way, driving mass socialist political progress right back to having to repeat the 1917 Revolution again, (only to discover from bitter experience that such destruction of new cooperative and workers-state achievements was not what was needed at all).

Every fake-‘left’ faction on earth has contributed to this criminal middle-class ‘democratic’ delusion of throwing out the proletarian-dictatorship baby with the dirty Stalinist bathwater.

Most anti-Leninist sectarianism has been obviously destructive, like that of the WRP Trots. Some has been more subtle, – like that of the ‘Leninist’, the pro-Stalin and anti-Kruschev groupings, the RCG fence-sitters, and the Spart provocative posturers. But all have fundamentally fallen at the same petty-bourgeois philosophical hurdle in failing to hold fast together the obvious opposites in any objective analysis of the Soviet workers-state record. Instead of living with the contradiction of what was the Soviet proletarian dictatorship, these middle-class idealist poseurs have all always wanted to pursue the ‘perfect’ revolution in its place, something which could only ever exist in the heads of armchair socialists of every description, (from the most frenetic activists tailending every scrap of spontaneous response from workers, to the most abstract of ivory-tower gurus who can relate nothing of their bogus ‘theory’ to practical guidance on the current frontline anti-imperialist struggles.)

EPSR 708 has just examined the unsubtle connections between the ‘pro-Stalin’ revisionism of groups like the CPof India(M) with its pretence of still being ‘true to Bolshevism’, – and the routine spontaneous ‘modern’ mass perception that imperialism really has found new tricks (with which to frustrate the ‘old-fashioned’ Marxist-Leninist notion of inevitable world war and inter-imperialist conflict) by developing ‘new cooperative ways’ to avoid ‘old-fashioned’ slumps, etc.

The all-out onslaughts on Kruschev as the real ‘villain’ of the piece now being published are no more subtle, crudely depicting Kruschev’s rise up the CPSU hierarchy, just with words, as something ‘sinister’ without one

note of attempted explanation as to why the supposed ‘genius’ Stalin obviously so encouraged Kruschev for nearly three decades.

There was nothing sinister about Kruschev’s rise at all. He simply pursued Stalin’s revisionist political line more enthusiastically than many others, – the disastrous Popular Front; the delusion that the wartime alliance with ‘good’ imperialism could last postwar; the wishful thinking that the capitalist world market would stagnate permanently and then peacefully capitulate to superior socialist-camp economic productivity; that the peaceful road to socialism was now open, and that anti-monopoly democracy was now the only tactic needed; etc, etc, etc.

It was Stalin’s own Third International clientele who so enthusiastically embraced ‘permanent peaceful coexistence’ as a complete political programme, directly spawning Eurocommunism, all-out class-collaboration, and eventual total liquidationism, – a ludicrous caricature of Lenin’s temporary diplomatic revolutionary tactic of peaceful coexistence to gain the young Soviet republic some breathing space before the next imperialist military onslaught. Kruschev had nothing whatever to do with the placement of such anti-Leninist stooges in the Third International party leaderships. All were Stalin’s men.

There was a contradiction, – waiting for so many years promoting peaceful coexistence to avoid giving warmongering imperialism the slightest opportunity to repeat the anti-communist holocaust German imperialism was set up to carry out by monopoly-capitalism’s 1930s fascist-political slump, but all the time encouraging the spread of world revolution wherever possible.

Several times, Stalinist revisionism got the tactics and strategy hopelessly wrong, – most notoriously in the Popular Front decision to tailend petty-bourgeois democracy as the best way to fight imperialism’s warmongering fascist aggression. It was a catastrophic failure which not only undermined the anti-fascist struggle at the time but eventually led on inexorably to the complete loss of confidence by workers in the Communist Parties as serious revolutionary organisations any more, and to the CP’s own internal disintegration into purely reformist ‘left’ fronts for Labourite class-collaboration everywhere.

This philistine petty-bourgeois mentality failed to hold fast the contradictions in the original Leninist USSR position, and eventually capitulated completely to total bourgeois-parliamentary

class-collaborationism, and then in easy stages to outright anti-communist liquidationism.

This degeneration into undialectical idealism continued relentlessly in spite of the further disastrous example of the utterly disarming and confusion-creating defeatism of Popular Frontism provided by the fate of the Allende regime in Chile, slaughtered by its own naïve faith in bourgeois ‘parliamentary’ democracy and in the bogus ‘independence’ of state power (not to mention the naïve faith that US imperialism would accept the ‘legality’ of the 1970 election result).

And despite the infamous legacy of its humiliating eventual collapse, Third International revisionism is still gravely corrupting workers’ understanding everywhere, such as in the current Sandinista insanity of helping the US imperialist stooge Chamorro to militarily put down spontaneous revolts against the capitalist counter-revolution in Nicaragua in the pretended naïve belief that Washington might cheerfully let the Sandinista revolution win power again at the next parliamentary elections.

If America’s Contra-subversion ruthlessness is anything to go by, and if it can get away with it yet again, US imperialism would more closely emulate Hitler Nazi tactics to prevent a new socialist regime in Nicaragua than it even showed in its naked invasion aggression against Grenada and then Panama in recent years (and against Guatemala, the Dominican Republic, and attempted, against Cuba in earlier years, and in even more instances prior to that going back to the start of the century).

The Spart Trots are another variation of anti-Leninism trying to pass themselves off as ‘true Bolsheviks’ despite a lifetime of cynical derision at every single achievement of the Soviet workers state.

Now the Sparts boast of their own achievements in allegedly being part of the recent Ukrainian workers strikes against IMF-dictated sevenfold price increases in the cost of some essential foods, etc, – strikes which might not necessarily get very far because of the still as yet uncleared-up confusion over what exactly was lost with the liquidation of the Soviet dictatorship of the proletariat, – a confusion not at all clarified by the Sparts’ own tailending opportunism and refusal to examine their own catastrophic record in all previous policies towards the former Soviet Union.)

But when did the Sparts even once sincerely and effectively commend to Western workers the achievements of Soviet workers state stable or subsidised prices

for basic essentials of life when it was a workers government’s own policy, unique on the planet?

The answer is never. No Trot grouping has ever had anything but a sneer on its face for every single achievement of the Soviet workers state.

Lenin famously characterised Trotsky’s defeatism about collective Bolshevik government as the “everything is rotten” attitude, just months before Trotsky declared his outright hostility to the Soviet communist dictatorship in 1922 in ‘The New Course’ and began working henceforth to try to undermine Soviet workers’ confidence in their socialist state, freely predicting its early collapse.

No Trot since has ever had anything but utter contempt for what the USSR did brilliantly manage to achieve up to 1986.

Never once could any Trot, – Sparts no exception, – sincerely and seriously support **unconditional** solidarity with the Soviet workers state.

That means backing the USSR and the socialist camp first and foremost **whenever** imperialism’s anti-communist hysteria campaigns reached a crescendo, such as over the fascist Arrow-Cross/Catholic Church/CIA ‘revolution’ against the Hungarian workers state in 1956 (and correctly put down by Kruschev, incidentally); or over the 1968 petty-bourgeois liquidationist ‘Prague Spring’, or over the 1980 beginnings of the Solidarnosc fascist/Vatican/CIA counter-revolution in Poland.

But on these and countless more examples, the petty-bourgeois Spart perfectionists could not resist an anti-communist swipe or two of their own, thus utterly destroying their own credibility for all time with any self-respecting communist workers throughout the world.

Spart and other Trot ‘principled support’ for the Soviet workers state was always nothing but the most treacherous and devious political fraud, – covered up by the bogus ‘Marxism’ of the call for ‘political’ revolution but not ‘social’ revolution.

This counter-revolutionary hostility to the one and only **actual** Soviet workers state, warts and all, finally helped bourgeois reaction to bring about the inevitable result in the absence of any strong worldwide Leninist movement any more, – the complete collapse of the entire Soviet workers state, the only alternative outcome to seriously supporting the sole **real** Soviet workers state.

The USSR did not **have** to collapse. A renewed world Leninist movement could have helped the revival of its original international socialist perspectives and eventually defeat the Stalinist

revisionist degeneracy.

But purist idealism's pursuit of the 'perfect' revolution in the form of subverting the USSR with demands for an anti-CPSU 'political' revolution could only ever possibly encourage outright petty-bourgeois counter-revolution.

And so it inevitably proved.

But now without a single eyeblink of shame, embarrassment, or explanation, the Sparts have simply silently abandoned a 60-year diatribe for the 'political' revolution without another word on the subject. Now they casually demand another socialist revolution in Russia, just like that. How simple to be a middle-class 'revolutionary' Trot dilettante, – and how infinitely treacherous for genuine communist workers are such creatures.

The 'Leninist' opportunists, now parading as the re-born CPGB, still show no sign of coming to terms with their own Trotlike failure to hold fast the opposites in analysing and unconditionally supporting the socialist camp as was. Their tailing of 'left' trade-union and Labour militancy carries on right where the old CPGB petty-bourgeois class-colaborating sect left off, unlamented by any serious communist workers but graspingly backed by the 'Leninist' opportunists to the Stalinists' dying day, having been unable to unhook themselves from their "stay with the official world communist movement" speciousness, (a totally different question from unconditionally supporting actual workers states).

Because of its then belated and infrequent publication, the 'Leninist' posturing avoided the Sparts' initial clanger of first rushing in to back the Solidarnosc fascism, calling on the world to bitterly denounce any Soviet intervention, and falling for Walesa's 'workerist' pose. Only 12 months late did the Sparts brassily begin trumpeting their "Solidarnosc-CIA Company Union" loudmouthing, – and of course without another word about their real class posture of immediately identifying with Walesa's petty-bourgeois anti-communism, now expunged from the Spart record.

But the 'Leninist' opportunists could not prevent themselves from going one worse than the Sparts, actually admitting that they would like to sincerely support the Polish workers state unconditionally against Walesa's CIA/Vatican 'trade union' (fascist counter-revolution, in fact) but were not doing so because they could not confidently rely on Warsaw making no more embarrassing mistakes – such as had already disfigured its socialist state record since 1945!!

This could go down as a world-

record example of missing the point entirely.

The very essence of unconditional solidarity is to take the socialist camp case in every single instance against counter-revolutionary bourgeois propaganda, whatever mistakes the workers states might have committed. Where it concerns imperialist hostility and subversion, the workers states are always right and the West is always wrong on principle, unconditionally.

Only when bourgeois counter-revolutionary trouble-making has been seen off can communist polemics play their necessary and correct role of forthrightly criticising any revisionist lapses from Leninism by the workers states or Third International parties. The treacherous 'Leninist' opportunists could never grasp this simple class-solidarity point so obvious to all genuine communist workers.

The RCG opportunists (who fence-sat for a record 6 months before saying anything at all about Solidarnosc while the rest of the planet was in uproar over this astonishing development) most recently betrayed their idealist petty-bourgeois inability to live with contradiction on the Yugoslav civil war:

Greater Serbia and Greater Croatia have come into existence and have effectively destroyed Bosnia. Even under the pernicious Vance-Owen Plan, Serbia and Croatia were given chunks of Bosnia and the Muslims (who were over 40% of the population) and multi-ethnic regions were tiny and unviable blots. But both the Serbs and Croats have gone further. Serbia now controls 70% of Bosnia and 30% of Croatia. Croatia has also seized parts of Bosnia and wants more. In Croatia, UN forces patrol and legitimise Serb conquests. The dreadful fate now being discussed for Muslims or for those of mixed origin in Bosnia is to be protected by the UN.

None of this was unexpected. Politicians may threaten military intervention against the Serbs or lament Serb or Croat barbarities but the plain fact, well known to them at the time, is that in 1991 Milosevic, the Serb leader, and Tudjman, the Croat leader, met and decided to carve up Bosnia. All sides were aware of this and knew it would be as bloody as it has proved to be.

This is a criminal capitulation to Western middle-class hysteria whipped up by counter-revolutionary imperialist propaganda. No nationalism in Yugoslavia should be seen as anything but a plaything of utterly degenerate Western imperialist manipulation, first and foremost.

Ironically, the RCG can provide their own evidence for this understanding but are seemingly incapable of grasping it:

EC aid was denied unless the government effectively agreed to allow secession by Croatia and Slovenia.

Croatia and Slovenia, the richest Republics, saw their future lying in the EC and German umbrella. The self-seeking actions of the imperialists prodded the giant of Serbian nationalism to its feet. As each side took a step further, the other was gripped more deeply by nationalism. The role of the imperialist powers was crucial in this process but their

secret deals and diplomacy are little known. Croatia was encouraged to secede, from Yugoslavia by Germany. John Pilger quotes former US ambassador to Yugoslavia, William Zimmerman about the 1991 period:

'We discovered that [German foreign minister] Genscher, had been in daily contact with the Croatian foreign minister. He was encouraging the Croats to leave the federation and declare independence, while we and our allies, including the Germans, were trying to fashion a joint approach.

Pilger states that the EC granted recognition to Croatia and Slovenia as part of a secret and scandalous deal with Germany: the EC would recognise Croatia if Germany would agree to submerge the Deutschmark into a common European currency. So that is how the fate of nations is decided by the 'peacemakers'.

To recognise Croatian independence, without guarantees to the already frightened Serb minority, was to set a match to the bonfire built by the imperialists. The virus of nationalism was strengthened. Although used for pernicious ends by Milosevic and co, Serb fears were not groundless given the history of Croatia and the fact that President Tudjman was busy sacking Serbs from their jobs, flaunting Croatian nationalist symbols and remarking publicly that he was 'glad he wasn't married to a Serb or Jew'.

But of course, any idealist posturers who start out with 'Fight Racism' as the main programme instead of the comprehensive overthrow of 'free market forces' by the dictatorship of the proletariat (as existed in East Europe), – which is the only basis for eventually ever achieving the defeat of racist prejudice in human society, – are bound to fall for the bourgeois-imperialist propaganda stunt temporarily favouring Bosnia's muslims (for the West's own devious purposes).

All of the nationalist outrages in Yugoslavia are an abomination, no serious minded worker needs that explaining. But the prejudiced victimisation is mutual, and it only covers up and compounds the capitalist system's sole responsibility for this wretched nationalist mayhem if supposed 'anti-imperialist' groups like Redgrave and the RCG start to take sides from their 'anti-racist' ivory towers in the West.

Croatia's Ustashe history runs back to the Second World War barbarities of the Jasenovac concentration camp where tens of thousands were butchered. Here the possessions of the victims are "sorted" out.



able period of real historical advance which will not all be lost or forgotten, what did every Trot on the planet like the Redgraveites and the RCGers do but pour as much shit and scorn on the East European workers states as they could every day of their miserable middle-class 'perfectionist' lives.

For all their imperfections, crimes, weaknesses, and mistakes, the East European workers states had an acknowledged anti-imperialist and anti-fascist stance backed by the power of proletarian dictatorship state laws which had some considerable international influence, for the good from time to time, such as in helping Cuban and Vietnamese independence from colonialist onslaught, to name but two of thousands of worthwhile interventions against the imperialist world order.

Not any more they don't. And middle-class Trot posturing is

now happier traipsing around East Europe protesting futilely against the revival of open fascism because now they are 'at least able to say what we like here'. Sadly, the ludicrous conceit of this useless petty-bourgeois subjectivism will not end there. Every Trot mentality is inevitably now on the march rightwards, as Redgrave shows with her farcical 'democratic liberal' drivel.

And as their degenerate world of 'democracy' blows up in their face in WWII inter-imperialist warmongering, watch these Trots be the first to undermine Leninist proletarian-dictatorship internationalist understanding once again in favour of all manner of devious social chauvinism, social pacifism, and anti-theory compromising, – just like Plekhanov, Martov, and Trotsky before them. Down with idealism. Study and build Leninism.

Alf Lee

Deepening capitalist crisis everywhere means Yeltsin Russian White House coup was no new 'October' as Trots pretend but one step towards a new spontaneous February revolt. Only by the lingering confusion sown by anti-communist 'leftism' now heading fast right, holds things back.

[EPSR No720 05-10-93]

[...]The 'free'-world hero Yeltsin has for a fortnight laid siege to the Parliament, cutting off electricity, heating, water, and telecommunications, etc, just to resolve a 'constitutional' impasse over how and when to impose cuts in living standards in Russia, and how and when to hold new elections to resolve that impasse.

Instead of compromising with the Parliament's different proposed schedule for balloting and with the Constitutional Court's verdict that neither the Presidency nor the Parliament had absolute authority on the issues in contention, Yeltsin deliberately put in the violence boot, – with full support and encouragement from the West, – physically threatening the parliamentary building and its inhabitants, and making the legal parliament's work impossible.

So much for 'democracy'.

The further gross provocations were the censorship of the pro-parliament press, and the transformation of the national television and radio networks into total Yeltsin propaganda vehicles.

And when the parliamentarians were finally provoked into striking out against the 1984-style propaganda monopoly and the local governmental bullying, Yeltsin seized his chance to kill his enemies and wreck their

assembly building.

For this, he received yet another Western accolade on the grounds that "Yeltsin was democratically elected" and that the Parliament of nearly 1,000 MPs did "contain communist hardliners", etc.

So much for 'democracy'.

And one of the worst temporary results of the defeat of the parliamentary opportunists is that there has been no chance on this occasion to demonstrate once again that 1984 type thought control is still powerless frequently when events are being forced in a direction which the natural progress of class-struggle history is refusing to take.

Far too few anti-imperialist forces were roused to fight bourgeois dictatorship in this showdown. But it is also much more noticeable that the Yeltsinite reaction could rally no public support at all, despite the total misleading and provocative press and television manipulation, – (including the evil role played by the 'free'-world news media which have been dictating the 'result' they wanted to see long in advance, regardless of whether it proved accurate or not, on the CIA calculation, usual in such cases, that if the world's agencies are humming with the idea that 'Yeltsin is winning', it will flood back into Russia and change

confidence to help that come true, – but that if it proves wrong, no one is going to remember that much later).

The ultimately futile role of this CIA worldwide 1984-type thought control escaped exposure this time; but all that such reckless deception will achieve is to divorce the moribund US imperialist bourgeoisie more and more from reality.

The planet is not going back to becoming a safe place for imperialist capital to exploit and dominate in every corner of the globe.

By believing that its CIA black propaganda and dirty tricks in support of reactionary regimes (like Yeltsin's) all round the world will secure supremacy for American capitalism for all time, the US ruling class is simply plunging itself ever deeper into grotesque illusions which can only end in an almighty crash when the markets-collapse finally catches up with the unsustainable post-war dollar-inflationary boom.

Once again, short-term advantages will encourage the stock exchanges and the money markets briefly, and will demoralise the anti-imperialist struggle still further.

But the longer-term view is the only one that counts.

Human society has had a long period of workers states now which were minus any capitalist, free-enterprise bourgeoisie, and minus imperialist domination.

And they worked, – remarkably well, considering the unfavourable circumstances of imperialist hostile encirclement and sabotage, the backwardness of the countries involved to begin with, and the wretchedness of the revisionist philistinism which eventually recaptured the leadership role there, ousting Marxist-Leninist philosophy of conscious uninterrupted world socialist revolution as the only perspective for all of mankind.

Those colossal cultural, economic, and political/military achievements, and heroic anti-imperialist sacrifices are so clearly the only future for the whole world society that the present period of reactionary doubt must rank as the most deceptive passage of history on record.

But periods of black reaction are precisely what have occurred previously before the next great leaps forward in civilisation's attempts to overcome once and for all the painful and destructive contradictions inherent in the capitalist system of periodic inter-imperialist arms-race warmongering to settle global cut-throat trade-war competition which cannot be settled in any other way. The 1907-1917 fearful reaction, particularly in Russia, only prepared the ground for

all-the-more-earthshattering a breakthrough in October 1917 to replace for the first time in history the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in the only way possible, – by the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The terrifying reaction of 1931-1941 only presaged an even mightier advance by revolutionary forces post 1945 when the whole world knew that it had the imperialist system to thank for setting up German, Japanese, and Italian fascist aggression to begin with, and the Socialist Soviet Union to thank for being able to provide the only worthwhile obstacle to this holocaust of inter-imperialist warmongering.

The period of worldwide ideological reaction now, – opening the door again for degenerate pro-imperialist violence of all kinds from Somalia to Moscow, the real fascism, – is also only the precursor of renewed revolutionary advance shortly on a far vaster and more decisive scale than ever before.

One cause of confusion still holding workers back from thinking in terms of a communist class-war challenge against the insane and criminal impositions on them from the slump, trade-war, and arms-race warmongering effects of the capitalist crisis, – is the scandalous, treacherous role of the fake-'left', – the Trotskyites and others who have flourished as 'pure communists' in the postwar epoch of profound ideological reaction against the USSR and the socialist camp because in reality they are the most demented anti-communists of all, – extreme individualist petty-bourgeois who are bitterly hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat, – the deepest wisdom of Marxist-Leninist science.

Redgrave is one such prominent Trot reactionary, symbolic of all the rest, who is currently declaring her solidarity with Clinton and Yeltsin fascism in a follow-up to the barmy Trot campaigns in support of Muslim fundamentalist reaction in Bosnia:

President Clinton has rightly supported President Yeltsin against the various groupings of nationalists and fascist parties which support Khasbulatov and Rutskoi.

Such is the ravaged confusion that the poison of anti-communism can inflict on middle-class minds.

Listen to what even the *Daily Mail* is prepared to admit about the really fascist authoritarianism in Moscow, even while supporting it and its usefulness for the cause of imperialist reaction worldwide (which the Trots ludicrously accept as being synonymous with 'democracy'):

JUST before midnight on Tuesday Alexander Rutskoi was sworn in as

President of Russia by a rebel parliament only hours after it had been abolished by President Yeltsin.

By breakfast time there can't have been a single newspaper reader in the Western world who didn't know this. Plenty didn't in Russia, though.

Rutskoi's appointment wasn't reported here until the early evening news gave it a derisory mention nearly 24 hours after the event.

And while foreign correspondents spent the night shivering outside the White House with a bunch of hostile hardliners waiting for the troops, relaying words and pictures of barricade-building and armed parliamentary defenders to the world, Russian stations didn't run an inch of film on the resistance speeches by Rutskoi or Parliamentary speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov.

They vaguely flashed a couple of video-clips across the screen instead.

As for newspaper readers, unless they happen to subscribe to the parliamentary mouthpiece, *Rossiskaya Gazetta*, they probably don't even know that they now have an alternative minister for defence, the interior or КГБ — nor that parliament is currently in session in defiance of Yeltsin's decree.

The staggering bias of Russia's media in favour of Yeltsin has left foreigners in Moscow gasping as local journalists faithfully report the President's every word with near adulation whilst dismissing his opponents, when they are mentioned at all, with a snide condescension which would be unthinkable on British television.

[.]Yevgeny Kiselyov, former presenter of Russia's most popular and authoritative weekly news programme, *Itogi*, and well known as a staunch Yeltsinite, says he and his colleagues cannot afford to remain impartial in today's Russia.

He insists that because the country is in crisis he cannot approach stories the way that reporters in the West do. 'We are not only journalists, we are representatives of political parties,' he says.

Trotskyism's deranged fake-'left' stance is just as badly exposed for its real anti-communist essence by its bizarre support for the phony 'independence and justice' claims by reactionary Muslim fundamentalism in the Bosnian region of the former Yugoslav workers state, broken up by imperialism (with Trot support) so as to destroy Serbian efforts to keep some workers-state institutions together in order to resist imperialist pressure and prevent the West's plans for complete Balkanisation of the region (to make super-exploitation all the easier).

Against the Abkhazians' far better claim to self-determination (now that the Georgian region of petty 'great nationalism' has left the protective umbrella of the former Soviet Union), Redgrave backs the darlings of Western imperialist reaction, — Yeltsin, Grachev, and Shevardnadze.

But for the wholly ludicrous nonsense of Muslim fundamentalist tyranny wanting to

carve out a territory for itself in Serbo-Croat speaking and ethnically South Slav Bosnia, these Trots cannot pull enough anti-communist propaganda stunts with stage-managed rallies, round-robin bourgeois letters to the press, convoys from the hopelessly reformist Timex trade-union debacle to the near-feudal reactionary Izetbegovic, whose failed backward nonsense even the imperialist media are growing cynical about:

All of this notwithstanding, it does now appear that the ruling elite is bent on erecting a Muslim state. This week's rejection in Sarajevo of the Geneva peace plan is not a rejection of partition. Mr Izetbegovic's party now seems to support the carve-up. It just wants a bigger slice of the cake. *[Cutting continues on Muslim coup faction fighting]*

The paradox of all this is that the whole East European problem for Trotskyism since 1917, — hatred of which has been the sole explanation for the remarkable success of these Trot 'communists' in the West since then, — has become even worse for their twisted ideology now that the revisionist regimes in the workers states have collapsed, at last fulfilling Trotskyism's lifelong ambition to 'overthrow Stalinism'.

This was always just a cover for petty-bourgeois individualist hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat, however, — (extending Trotsky's lifelong middle-class hatred of having to accept better and wiser leadership than he himself could provide).

Fishing in the muddy waters of every anti-Soviet and anti-communist stunt of the relentless Cold War on the USSR ever since 1917, the Trotskyite fake-'left' mentality had to dream up the sick 'Marxist' invention of the 'political revolution'.

This would allegedly be able to take advantage of all communism's imagined 'difficulties' (as chronicled or invented by the capitalist press and as fanatically recycled by the bourgeois Trots), in order to 'overthrow Stalinism' but without jeopardising the survival of the 'degenerated' workers state (or the 'deformed' workers state in the case of East Europe and China, Vietnam, Cuba, etc, according to the near-religious and totally demented Trotskyite litany).

But this 'political revolution' cant was always a complete fraud, revelling as the Trots did in every scrap of anti-communist propaganda in the West which could only ever lead to counter-revolution gaining strength again throughout the world, helping further to demoralise Moscow revisionism towards total liquidation, and ensuring the triumph of reaction on the final debris of the workers states.

This is exactly as the ILWP alone explained would happen when challenging the entire Trotskyite fake-'left' (from the 'Leninist' to the RCG and the Sparts) for refusing to support Polish workers-state proletarian dictatorship against Solidarnosc fascist-nationalism in 1980, — and it is exactly as it has turned out.

The Trots' problem is that they now cannot escape the plain historical evidence of their actions, — that what in fact they have been backing is "Better no workers state at all rather than a degenerated or deformed workers state".

In other words, either any workers, in revolt anywhere, come up with a perfect socialist state straightaway, or else the Trots will help Western anti-communist propaganda to destroy it.

It requires no brains at all to realise that such 'support for revolution' can only operate inside the 'permanent' closed minds of petty-bourgeois intellectuals (and their handfuls of deranged supporters) whose 'perfect' armchair-socialist strategies never go far beyond the ivory-tower comfort of their pampered Western middle-class existence.

For the forces of real proletarian struggle trying against phenomenal odds and against all kinds of weaknesses and disabilities to grind out some kind of socialist-state victory over imperialist reaction anywhere round the world from Angola to Vietnam, from China to Cuba, from East Europe to Ethiopia, etc, — Trotskyism will only offer a further Western spit in the eye.

But now these petty-bourgeois anti-communist 'revolutionaries' are embarrassed by all of the enormous turmoil caused by the collapse of the revisionist regimes in what were supposed to be only joke workers states, where there was no 'real socialism', and where in fact workers were not only 'just as badly exploited as in the West' but on top of that were forced to live under 'utterly-inhuman tyranny', etc.

So why this quite serious revolt in Moscow representing the feelings of millions of ordinary people who would prefer the USSR to be restored as it was even, to the current chaotic mess?

Why are such hopeless parliamentary opportunists as Khasbulatov and Rutskoi bothering to fight at all when they could be just like revisionist/reformist cretins everywhere and just take the money or post on offer to give up their struggle?

Why did Western imperialism, which according to the Trots always pulled the strings anyway behind Moscow's counter-revolutionary role in the international workers movement, decide to change what would obviously have been a very neat winning

formula (had it been the reality) to undermine anti-imperialist struggle everywhere, — Moscow subverting from the 'friendly' side, and Moscow's phony 'enemy' Washington bashing such struggle directly on the head?

And especially why change things when backing Yeltsin against the more Gorbachev-like revisionist remnants could spark off real revolution again?

If exploitation was already just as terrible for workers, or even worse, in the USSR as in the West, so as to set no unfavourable comparison problems for unhappy Western workers, but at the same time if Soviet economic production was no great competition for the free-market powers, then why suggest such huge Western credits to allow Yeltsin & Co to totally transform things, — especially at a time of such sharpening trade-war blows against each other among the imperialist nations?

Redgrave at least has followed the logic of the entire history of Trotskyite nonsense. She now feels obliged to conclude that with Stalinism at last 'thankfully overthrown', then anything that Yeltsin does must surely be better for the workers there, so she will support it.

But a better explanation for this reactionary gibberish, of course, is that the Trots have only really wanted to support anti-communism from the start, — out of their incurable middle-class mentality. And as the most vicious and cynical anti-communist around, Yeltsin is obviously the man to go for.

The rest of the fake-'left' just shuts up these days about their part in the historical anti-Soviet anti-communist record which has inevitably ended up in the Yeltsinite counter-revolution, and the make-believe 'political revolution' never anywhere in sight, and never to be heard of again, now that the treachery is complete, and the dictatorship of the proletariat has been successfully overthrown to suit everyone's bourgeois ideological prejudices.

And so dishonestly shamefaced are these sick Trot sectarians that they no longer parrot their 'political revolution' anti-communist fraud against Castro's Cuban workers state, for example, for fear of being branded as the obvious counter-revolutionary provocateurs that they are.

Trot centrists like the SWP will try to avoid their 'neither Washington nor Moscow' responsibility for aiding the historical path to Yeltsinism by pretending that 'rank-and-file socialism' briefly had a chance for a look-in somewhere in between the 'chaos caused by Stalin, Yeltsin, and the White House opportunists', etc. But this is just as dishonest in its own way as the fake-'theory'

litaney of the more orthodox Trots with their 'perfect political revolution' daydreaming. Even allow for some supposedly 'purely rank-and-file socialism' to be bogusly presented somewhere – and the SWP & Co would stay supporting it in their ivory tower for just so long as no 'mistakes' were made. But at the very first mistake, they would immediately be looking elsewhere for some new 'totally spotless' banner to support. No wonder there have been very few SWP-type workers states yet to trouble the historical record books.

The only Marxist-Leninist position on Soviet historical turmoil has been to always call for the maximum strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat at all times, and simultaneously to call for the strengthening of Moscow's international revolutionary perspectives, and oppose their liquidation which took place under Stalin and subsequently (see *ILWP Books* vols 3 to 21).

Yeltsin's victory is disheartening, and the inadequacy of support for the spontaneous revolt is disappointing. But there is no more cause for tears on Rutskoï and Khasbulatov's behalf than there was for the Yanayev failed August plot 1991 or for the demise of Gorbachev's perestroika itself, – all hopelessly-deluded perspectives of petty-bourgeois idealism of one kind or another.

It is rubbish to describe these

events as a 'new' but 'failed' October Revolution. Feeble parliamentary attempts to halt the worst forces of fascist-imperialist reaction have nothing in common whatever with the Bolsheviks' October 1917 revolution to rout the bourgeoisie permanently with the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Rutskoï & Co carried guns not because they were Bolsheviks but because the historical conditions of class struggle are so far advanced on the former Soviet territory that even the Russian equivalents of John Smith and John Edmonds have to go armed there, so sharply poised is the momentous confrontation between the forces of reaction and the forces just dimly represented by Rutskoï & Co of holding onto something of the Soviet workers-state status quo (although the parliamentarians themselves are incapable of articulating precisely what).

As soon as the proletarian-dictatorship reality of the 1917-1987 Soviet success story begins to be identified again, plus their international anti-imperialist essence, then even February 1917-type spontaneous forces of revolution will be in with a chance of quickly neutralising the army. But to complete a fully successful resumption of socialist construction, a new completely Marxist-Leninist leadership will be needed. A.L.

Trotskyite degeneracy cheers on Yeltsin reaction and sucks up to US imperialism.

[EPSR (*SWBulletin*) in No720 05-10-93]

Trotskyism's public backing, via its luminary Vanessa Redgrave, for Yeltsin's ludicrous fascist coup, and her praise for US President Clinton for similarly backing Yeltsin, and her demand that the equally demagogic Shevardnadze should receive UN support – perhaps a 'bomb-the-Abkhaz' campaign would satisfy her – is the clearest sign yet that the fake-'left' anti-communist swamp's historical role is to end up as the cheerleaders for fascism.

At the very least they are rapidly being exposed as the most nauseating bunch of middle class anti-communist self-seeking frauds that have ever walked the planet, whether running Labour councils, lining their pockets and sacking workers like *Militant* in Liverpool did, or driving 'workers convoys to Bosnia' to join in imperialism's 'hate-the-Serbs' 'bomb-the-Serbs' propaganda campaign.

Millions of workers are clear that what is now happening in the former Soviet Union and much of Eastern Europe is the return of capitalist exploitation, and that the Cold War 'boring

communism' versus 'exciting', glitzy consumerist capitalism was a very sick fraud, and the true nature of capitalism as a system of fascist exploitation is all that is on offer.

Millions of workers are expressing a strong preference for the days of 'boring communism' with its social justice, steady growth and stability.

Only the poisoned minds of a few thousand Western fake-'lefts' can fail to see that Soviet society prior to its Gorbachevite liquidation was infinitely preferable for the overwhelming majority of Soviet people to the Yeltsin mafia mob rule which benefits only the gangsters and their imperialist paymasters.

The feeble and uninspiring opposition to the Yeltsin dictatorship among the parliamentary opportunists offers no real leadership to the working class; it is completely compromised by chaos, cowardice and self-interest, and is no more than an extension of the same anti-Leninist 'democracy' drivel of Gorbachevism which liquidated the Soviet Union in the first place.

In imperialism's attempt to impose its fascist slump conditions on the former Soviet Union, and reduce it to 'Third World' levels of exploitation, all vestiges of Soviet workers state planned socialist economic stability have to be destroyed. To the extent that the 'opposition' is standing in the way of the 'reforms' dictated by the imperialists then they will be shut down.

Whilst the parliamentary 'opposition' present no real threat to Yeltsin, the massive proletariat of the former Soviet Union do, and the battle is far from over. In fact, it has only just begun.

As economic chaos in the metropolitan West begins to demand similar 'anti-democratic' dictatorial 'coups' like Yeltsin's, i.e. shut down the opposition in the 'national interest', axe all social benefits 'in the national interest', and dragoon workers into dying for capitalism's profits in a war 'in the national interest', then it will become ever more clear how much the anti-communist war has not been won.

The 'left' swamp of middle class anti-communists from the SWP downwards though will do their best to confuse every issue which is clarifying class consciousness amongst the proletariat.

Right on cue jumps the Trotskyist 'super star' to turn reality on its head and provide a round of applause for two of the biggest anti-working class reactionaries on earth:

In an interview that day Shevardnadze explained "Russia is divided along democratic and reactionary lines. The reactionary forces are concentrated within the legislature (Supreme Soviet and Parliament). We suffer from this. Not a single treaty we have signed with Russia has worked."

President Clinton has rightly supported President Yeltsin against the various groupings of nationalists and fascist parties which support Khasbulatov and Rutskoï.

All member states of the UN must immediately support Shevardnadze, or nationalism and fascism will take over the Georgian state, and, subsequently, win the day in Russia.

Vanessa Redgrave. London W4.

Since when has the President of the biggest and most savage imperialist power in all history ever supported the working class side of the struggle?

Some of the fake-'left' academics might argue that Redgrave is 'out of line' or has simply gone off her head completely and try and claim a different brand of Trotskyism which has a subtler 'anti-imperialist' position. It won't wash though. This Trotskyist support for imperialist-backed fascist reaction is entirely consistent with every position taken by the fake-'left' swamp for the past forty years at least.

One of the clearest examples

of this must be the support given to the CIA funded Solidarnosc counter-revolutionary movement in Poland by the entire 'left' swamp, including the revisionist European CPs. Now that the fascist Pilsudski-loving hero of the swamp, Walesa, is running Poland on behalf of imperialist reaction, what do the SWP, or Labour, or *Workers Press*, or the RCP, or any of the other opportunist sects have to say about how this furthers the socialist revolution?

Nothing – of course, because like every other inconvenient or embarrassing piece of history, it is swept under the carpet so another day of unblemished posturing for the 'perfect' revolution can begin.

And where has the latest 'revolutionary' posturing been focusing itself? In defence of the 'Bosnian' Muslims, who, according to Trotskyist mythology are not really Muslims at all:

"To be a Muslim in Bosnia is not a religious designation [...] The Muslims [are] a nation, separate from both Serbs and Croats" (*Workers Press* 370).

If this is the case then perhaps the 'bomb-the-Serbs' apologists would like to explain why Itzebegovitch's idea of a workers state turns out to be an Islamic theocracy, as reports in the capitalist press are making clear despite being hedged around with confusion about how 'Bosnian Muslims aren't really Muslims' etc: [*Cuttings*]

The whole purpose of the Trotskyists' insane support for the 'Bosnian' exercise, pretending that Trot solidarity with Itzebegovitch is workers' internationalism from a 'revolutionary' perspective, is in reality simply another example of the swamp jumping onto a Western imperialist propaganda bandwagon and giving it a 'left' cover.

Perhaps Itzebegovitch is another "intuitive revolutionary genius" like the Ayatollah Khomeini, as claimed by the WRP forerunners of this insane sect.

The comeuppance of these ridiculous middle class poseurs can't be soon enough. There is every indication that it's coming very quickly, because the political perch upon which they have rested has been blown to pieces by reality, and recent events simply add strength to this analysis printed in *EPSR* 715, four weeks ago:

"These 'revolutionary' Philistines utterly despise any serious study of Marxist-Leninist theory, and have survived in the petty-bourgeois swamp on one opportunist gimmick only, by falsely claiming to be 'communist' opponents of Stalinist revisionist degeneracy, when what all 57 varieties have really been all the time is simply anti-Soviet.

At the present stage of world ideological turmoil when it is still far from clear what a genuine (and largely worthy)

alternative to imperialist world domination the USSR and then the socialist camp provided, - these anti-communist cretins are still escaping exposure.

But the real crash of the capitalist system is going to change all that.

The real nastiness of this slimy deception by this fake-'left' middle-class anti-communism has been the fact that in reality, its political perch has rested entirely only on the actual relative success of the capitalist system, compared to how the struggle was going in the socialist camp and the Soviet Union.

These anti-Soviet 'revolutionaries' tried getting away with a briefly-muttered 'I told you so' when Gorbachevism took revisionist defeatism to its ultimate self-liquidation retreat, suddenly revealing how different 70 years of Soviet socialism had been from Western imperialist domination on the rest of the world (when the fake-'lefts' had all declared that it was not different at all).

And they have kept quiet since then as international understanding has begun to dawn of what enormous advantages in

the planned Soviet system were thrown away by the grotesque opportunist folly of the Gorbachev bureaucracy in inviting capitalist market forces back into the USSR territory, now a nightmare of mafia-capitalist corruption, fascist slump, and national-chauvinist warmongering where all had been basic economic stability, strict law and order, and genuine cultural advancement before.

The dictatorship of the proletariat as the only realistic and civilised immediate world aim was what the philistine Gorbachev bureaucracy could not remotely grasp, abandoning it for the same bourgeois 'democratic' anarchy that the rest of the world is suffering. And the dictatorship of the proletariat is what the petty-bourgeois anticommunist 'left' swamp in the West could not tolerate the thought of either, - paradoxically leaving both strains of anti-Soviet anti-Leninist cretins in the same sinking boat together at the end.

For while superficially it may seem that it is the USSR and 70 years of planned socialist development which has sunk

without trace, - as all the anti-communist 'lefts' are happy to let people think, - in reality the coming crash will show that it is anti-Sovietism which is in the deepest trouble historically speaking.

The course of imperialist corruption, crisis, and warmongering, - now hammering the former territories of the USSR, - is beginning to look as if it will force direct historical comparisons back onto the agenda ("Why did we give up planned security and progress for this slump-ridden mess") as well as eventually forcing workers in the former Soviet Union to relearn long forgotten class-war struggle against a capitalist ruling class.

The dramatic markets collapse in the West, with all the hysterical ideological turmoil that will unleash, - is likely to give another enormous boost to that process of having a historical rethink about abandoning planned socialism for free-market anarchy and capitalist/mafia exploitation.'

And what will be the role of the anti-communist swamp (cur-

rently re-inventing itself in various anti-Marxist forums up and down the country) in this historical rethink?

On past form, it will continue its anti-communist confusion-mongering with a vengeance. Unless the whole issue of the 'left's role in furthering imperialism's anti-communist aims in the working class is clearly addressed, and decisively exposed and rejected, and a serious struggle for Marxist-Leninist theory engaged in, then it can do nothing else.

Equally clearly addressed and decisively rejected must be the popular front 'peaceful road to socialism' anti-Leninism of the Stalinist tradition which ended up with Gorbachev liquidating the world's first workers state.

Fight for Leninism. Build the ILWP. D.Watts

The collapse of anti-communism has been crucial, not the final liquidation of revisionism's anti-imperialist posturing. With the West's reformist gimmicks out of the way, a fullscale degeneration into trade war, inter-imperialist war, and civil war has been unleashed. Anti-communist lies about the USSR and its Russian aftermath by the fake-'left' swamp are bourgeois ideology's last defence. [EPSR No724 02-11-93]

[.]The reformist essence of anti-communism needed to collapse as soon as it was possible to collapse, and the final liquidation of revisionism in its long journey from Leninism to class-collaborationism with imperialism has inevitably coincided with US imperialism's emerging trade-war crisis, clearing the decks for renewed international revolutionary convulsions.

These will take history on new leaps forward where the spent force (in terms of its direct impact) of the Bolshevik Revolution was no longer able to because of revisionist decay.

The imperialist camp remains viciously anti-communist, but its worst counter-revolutionary ferours had long since ceased to be really necessary against Moscow's (and the Third International's) revisionist complacency.

And while Washington's savage vindictiveness continues against Cuba, Vietnam, etc, for example (most significantly), - the life-or-death pressures on imperialism to keep ahead of world developments with its own social 'reforms' or else face being swept away by a continuing revolutionary tidal wave - have temporarily subsided due to the capitulation to market forces by Moscow's revisionist socialist camp.

But these developments can

eventually only be evaluated first and foremost as a crisis-disaster for capitalism.

Where no active 'reforming' is going on, anti-communist ideology under capitalism will quickly become totally counter-productive.

An example comparable to this effect can be seen more simply already in East Europe where the feelings are now so widespread since the arrival of market forces that 'things were better before under communism' that the successor parties to the old ruling coalition of the Polish workers state have just won office in Poland's bourgeois parliamentary elections, (which won't bring back any planned socialism (under proletarian dictatorship, its only workable form) of course, but it does show which way the historical wind is blowing really).

What this will feel like in West Europe is a matter for speculation since no remotely comparable experiences have ever been lived through of the temporary ending of a long period of workers statehood accompanied by an unprecedented anti-communist propaganda blitzkrieg lasting more than 70 years where that propaganda turns out to have been much the biggest problem facing mankind rather than the many inevitable flaws and

teething troubles with the world's first sustained period of workers statehood.

In its irresponsible brainwashing, the despairing bourgeoisie has, with its anti-communism, made a rod for its own back such as has never before been seen in all history.

This may start to be felt or become apparent the moment that the bogus 'reforming' pretence of capitalism is fully seen to be being brutally abandoned in favour of the most vicious 'value-for-money' and 'no work, no pay' anti-welfare onslaught, such as is now brewing in ruling-class circles.

The folly of more than 4 million permanently out of work in Britain, tens of millions out of work across the Common Market, and hundreds of millions more unemployed around the world while thousands of millions still want for many of life's basic necessities - is already reasonably clear to most people.

The stupidity of the standard Western government response to this market-anarchy mayhem, - of each country being urged to 'become even more competitive', thereby throwing even more people out of work in rival firms in other lands, - has yet to be so fully challenged.

But with the collapse of the immediate necessity for continued anti-communist hysteria within Western imperialism, and, therefore, with the collapse of 'reformism's' respectability (anti-communism's main content), it will be increasingly impossible to hide capitalism's devil-take-the-hindmost essence.

That destructive character of 'free'-market forces is what is now inexorably heading for the greatest philosophical examination yet in history. The 'every man for himself' rat-race basis of capitalism will be trounced by the appeal of the far-more-highly civ-

ilised and humanitarian planned socialist system under the class rule of workers (the dictatorship of the proletariat).

Thus the immeasurable historical influence of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution will still be working powerfully even long after that dramatic transformation has lost all its direct force of living example because of the revisionist degeneration of the leadership of that specific workers-state development which started things off, beginning in Russia and spreading to East Europe and then far further afield. Clearly, it is anti-communism which is in terminal crisis, not communism.

A crucial part of Western bourgeois ideology's abiding ignorant confusion spread about the real significance of 1917 and its world-shattering aftermath of Soviet workers-state development, is the role played by the middle-class 'revolutionaries' of the fake-'left'.

The recent Polish elections, as noted above, are of course bourgeois parliamentary gibberish which cannot possibly restore the proletarian-dictatorship power of a workers state to recommence the building of socialism which is clearly what the people of Poland want to happen.

But what do avowed anti-communist 'lefts' make of this so-early dramatic turn-round in the condition of Polish public opinion which only just previously was presented by the 'free'-world's lying media as being so wholeheartedly anti-communist, anti-planned socialism, and pro-Solidarnosc-opportunism and reaction?

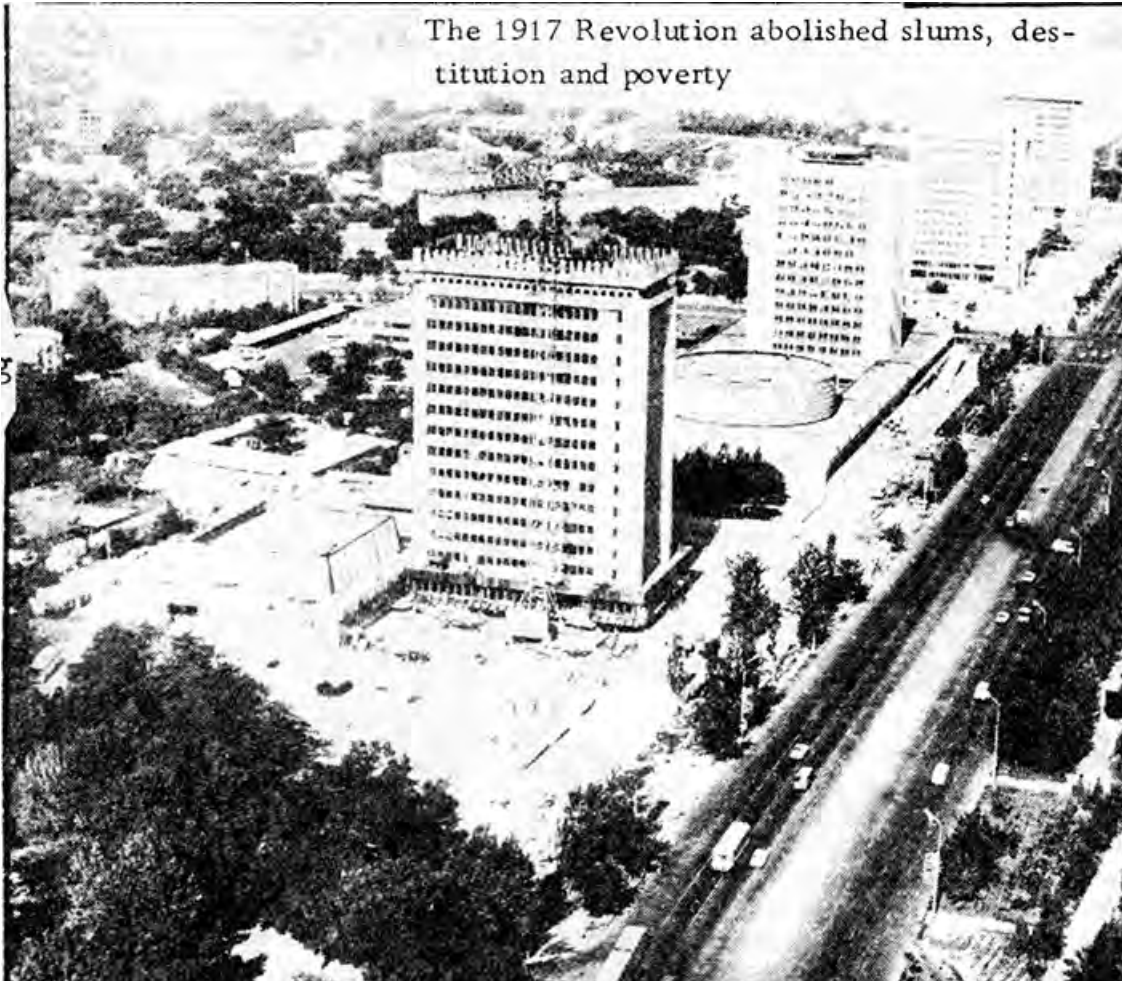
The SWP has been typical of the whole swamp with its monstrous piece of deception:

"Poles gave a massive thumbs down to privatisation and free market capitalism in last week's elections,"

it declared.

"But people who say Poles have voted for a return to the old 'Communist' regime are

The 1917 Revolution abolished slums, destitution and poverty



wrong.
"People were voting against spiralling poverty and job losses", etc.

Well of course they were. But the obviously significant point to answer, blatantly deliberately ignored by the centrists, is why a majority of Poles, with a vast array of parties to choose from, including several different sections of its supposedly beloved Solidarnosc, actually voted for the old Communist Party in order to vote for something better than the capitalist shite they are currently being served up with?

Obviously, because 'things were better under communism', as more and more millions are saying across Eastern Europe.

Will the SWP admit this? It will not. It just repeats in a new way its first-off grotesque evasion:

"Many of the politicians elected are from the old regime," a Polish socialist told *'Socialist Worker'*. "People know that. But the fact that people voted for them is a measure of how disgusted they are with the last four years of privatisation."

But of course. But why vote for the former Communist Party?, etc, etc, *ad an infinitum* of SWP evasions.

What these fake 'revolutionaries' don't want to admit, of course, is that their entire existence of contemptuous hatred for the workers states of East Europe as 'Stalinist tyrannies worse than fascism' has just been one long criminal distortion of the truth. These SWP centrist petty bourgeois have just one essence, - bitter anti-communism from

a wholly middle-class political vantage point.

Such reactionary treachery, planted in the heart of the workers movement posturing as anti-imperialism but in reality the most hysterical anti-communism imaginable, is always bound to be marked by the most degenerate hypocrisy and lies.

Note the SWP total silence now in commenting on the wretched opportunism and reactionariness of the whole Solidarnosc phenomenon, financed and organised by the Vatican and the CIA to wreck the planned socialism of the Polish workers state:

THE BIGGEST losers in the election were the parties most associated with privatisation.

These include the various fragments of Solidarity, the union that led the revolt against the Stalinist regime in the early 1980s.

In Poland's first free elections in 1989 Solidarity won 260 of the 261 contested seats.

But since then its leaders have embraced all the Thatcherite rubbish coming from the West.

In return for huge loans and promises of massive investment they pursued one of the harshest programmes of spending cuts seen in the old Eastern bloc. They encouraged spectacular profiteering and have overseen grotesque levels of corruption.

But the economic crisis is also splitting Solidarity.

Some of its leaders have turned to anti-semitism and extreme Polish nationalism. Others, like the Labour Union, still stress workers' rights and argue for more state spending.

These clear signs of the most treacherous parliamentary social-democracy imaginable just get innocently reported by the SWP without a word of praise or blame, despite having filled their

pages 12 years ago with nothing but ecstatic coverage of Solidarnosc's promising anti-communist achievements.

More specifically, not one word of comment do the SWP anti-communists utter about their own role in boosting Western bourgeois-ideology excitement about a 'democratic workers' reply to 'communist tyranny' always presented as being a 'constructive rank-and-file socialist response', etc, etc.

What criminal deception by these SWP middle-class degenerates, guided only by their individualist subjective conceit and an inexhaustible hatred and fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the heart-and-soul of Marxism which these opportunist posturers profess to believe in.

And while covering up their own contemptible anti-communist record of past treachery to workers, their main interest still lies in anti-communist deception, still wishing to blacken the whole history of the Polish workers state (and the socialist camp at large), pretending that the last thing Polish voters want is to go back to the old planned-socialism regime by voting for the old planned-socialism parties, - when that is all that the Polish voters clearly do want.

Even sicker is the SWP's coverage of events in Russia. First the sheer lying dishonesty and hypocrisy of the coverage. In different sections of one and the same page, military opponents

of Yeltsin are first sneered at for opposing national independence for non-Russian republics and regions; then they are sneered at for the exact opposite reason, for wanting to 'break up' the Federation:

The core of Yeltsin's opponents was a "red-brown" alliance of admirers of Stalin, admirers of the Tsar and open fascists.

Jonathan Steele of the *Guardian*, who is very critical of Yeltsin, writes that the armed groups of anti-Yeltsin demonstrators were made up of "retired officers of the Soviet army", connected with "the union of officers".

They object to the non-Russian republics of the old USSR being allowed to gain national independence.

The anti-Yeltsin protesters did not in any sense constitute a movement fighting for democracy or workers' rights.

Their demonstration was only a few thousand strong, yet Moscow is a city the size of London.

Only those who preach greater independence for the particular regions or autonomous republics that made up the Russian Federation get much of a hearing.

The local authorities in Siberia, for example, declared it to be a separate republic last week.

Such moves appeal to local bosses and military chiefs who think they can improve their own position regardless of what happens elsewhere.

And local independence often seems to offer the only possible way out of a hopeless situation for large numbers of workers.

The result, however, can only be to fragment the Russian Federation still further.

But on deeper philosophical questions, the deceptions by the SWP then become really sordid and murky.

There was never any socialism in the USSR, the SWP has always pretended. It was never anything but a totalitarian capitalist tyranny worse than fascism according to these anti-communist degenerates.

They now have a problem, however; how to explain why there have been such astonishing upheavals and such staggering economic decline since free market forces were let loose, but without giving any credit at all to what went on before, and above all with out admitting that there might have been some planned socialism in the USSR after all.

To get round this difficulty, the SWP simply presents to workers a disgracefully shallow joke 'analysis' composed of nothing but idiot contradictions and prejudices which is truly reminiscent of fascism in its style and method:

Economic collapse is driving the trend towards civil war.

Russia has the means to create enormous wealth. Under the old system these were used to build up more and more heavy industry and to turn out enormous amounts of arms.

This process led to the crisis which finally brought Gorbachev down.

In its place the ordinary Russians needed genuine democratic planning to reorganise production in their own interests.

This was not possible without a complete break with the old system, the abolition of the privileges of the managerial class and the establishment of workers' control over the economy.

Instead Yeltsin, Khasbulatov and Rutskoy all agreed to leave control of industry in the same hands as before.

The market allowed bosses to reduce the

output of industry, while protecting their profits with astronomic price rises.

Meanwhile the total output of the economy fell by 40 or 50 percent and living standards, plummeted to the lowest levels since the Second World War.

The only people to gain were those who had been highly privileged under the old system - the state bosses and the black marketeers.

First, there is no explanation of why the original 'privileged' exploiting capitalist managerial 'class' of the 'state-capitalist' Soviet Union, who had world power to boost their rotten egos with as well, would give up that system in order to use more market mechanisms in order to plunge their country into total economic crisis and poverty, and halve their own state economic power.

All it says of this astonishing lemming-like suicide is that state-capitalism without market mechanisms had

"led to the crisis which finally brought Gorbachev down".

What crisis?

As even the most ill-informed imbecile could inform the SWP, there was no crisis other than the political nonsense Gorbachevism itself created by taking the Soviet revisionist bureaucracy's class-collaborationist attitude towards Western imperialism to its ultimate 'logical' contradiction of trying to import and imitate what its shallow philistinism had conceived as the 'greater success story of the free-market system'.

This meant Gorbachevism trying to graft onto the basic proletarian dictatorship of the Soviet workers state's socialist planning system, all the illusory subjective anarchy of parliamentary opportunism and true economic exploitation (by private capital) which simply did not exist in the USSR.

This has created, as the whole world has seen, nothing but the most impossible contradictions.

And the only remotely plausible explanation for this insane self-inflicted damage remains the degenerate revisionist political illusions of the Gorbachev bureaucracy in believing that they could become even more important, successful, and well-loved figures, and internationally admired too, if they pulled off the trick of 'world peace' and a 'common European home' by 'merging the best of capitalism with the best of socialism', - all in Gorbachev's own words.

But see where their philistine bureaucratic ignorance of Marxism-Leninism has got them, - hopelessly misunderstanding how the world was in fact heading towards the greatest free-market-forces economic crisis in all history just at the time when Gorbachev was opening the doors to what he thought were the 'great historical benefits of

market forces', etc.

His ignorance is matched only by that of the SWP and all other anti-Leninists like him who want to conceal this revealing analysis to suit their own anti-communist purposes.

Without this fictional 'economic crisis' to explain Gorbachevism's mess, the SWP would be forced to conclude that planned socialism gave the USSR vastly more than market capitalism has done since, or will ever be able to do now, once this destructive phase of the international imperialist economic crisis really gets under way.

It is just outright lies that there has been no 'break with the old system'. It is solely because the old planned certainty and progress has been completely abandoned that the entire USSR has gone up in civil war flames, with some of the bitterest conflicts within the old Russian-dominated bureaucracy itself which the SWP pretends had been 'left in control of industry the same as before'. So why did they not have non-stop civil wars all over the USSR for the previous 75 years as well?

Economically it makes no sense for this 'managerial class' to cut Soviet output by 50%. Of course monopoly capitalism has to retrench during a slump in order to increase profitability. But the aim always remains to conserve as big an international market share of the trade or industry as possible. How does this 'managerial class' of the former USSR achieve that by wiping out half of its economic production?

And to pretend that it is just the 'same old system' which is 'gaining' in Yeltsin's Russia just defies description for its crass blind stupidity.

And even on the SWP's unchallengeable idiot myths about 'workers control' in the never-never land of zero leadership and suddenly perfect knowledge and instantly blemishless true mass democracy (etc, etc), these anti-communists cannot even stop lying.

The SWP just criminally ignores the very real temporary setbacks to some of the progress that had been made towards real proletarian emancipation by the colossal equitable economic progress made by the Soviet workers state over 70 years producing admirable justice in health care, education, popular culture, public housing, social amenities, cheap transport, virtually free public utilities, etc, etc.

And even producing genuine mass political emancipation too while doing it, in spite of the bureaucratic deformities and the tragic dictates of having to be an armed camp against relentless imperialist hostility, subver-

sion, sabotage, and blitzkrieg invasions, making that heavy industry concentration and high arms spending so cruelly necessary, - as even the capitalist press is prepared to let slip:

In spite of the pressures, the FITU claims that union membership in Russia remains strong. Most unions have been re-registering their members since the end of the communist system. "There are about 57 million members, which is between 85 and 90 per cent of the old number," Mr Segal said.

But the SWP always insisted that the huge Soviet-trade union movement (which in reality administered, directly by workers, the massive holiday and welfare funds set aside and subsidised by the centrally-planned socialist economy) was nothing but a tyrannical bureaucratic charade, hated by workers. What does the SWP say now? More embarrassed thick-skinned silence.

And political democracy? Again, the capitalist press has some self-incriminating amazing admissions, reading between the lines:

But with Yeltsin's Moscow victory and his sacking of Mukha, the resistance of Novosibirsk's regional soviet crumbled last week at a session in one of the sprawling city's newest buildings with a hammer and sickle over the door.

The death throes made an undignified spectacle - not a hint of noble tragedy. Citizens were barely aware of the momentous happening. Twelve elderly picketers - shuttling between the soviet building, the town hall and the agricultural machinery factory with placards saying 'The power of the workers' soviets is the highest form of democracy' - attracted little interest.

To save their faces they voted not to withdraw their condemnation of Yeltsin's unconstitutional decree, but agreed to elections and the reorganisation of local power. 'What can they do?' said Yeltsin's local representative, Anatoly Manokhin, exuding quiet confidence. 'There is nothing left to argue about. They haven't changed their ideals, but there's nothing they can do at the moment.'

There was a whiff of tragedy about the swift dissolution of one of the city's 10 mini-district soviets. Tamara Ivanovna, chairwoman of a district still named Dzerzhinskaya, after Lenin's first police chief, was considering what to tell her 100 deputies at their last meeting.

'I will thank them all for their voluntary work. I will tell them that, even if the work of the soviets has been stopped, no one has relieved the deputies of their duties. I will say "Try in your own way to help the electorate".'

She sees her task as being to explain to people what has happened. 'It wasn't a fight between Yeltsin and Khasbulatov. It is the dissolution of democracy,' said the lawyer, who has been a deputy for 13 years and chairwoman for three and who still has a portrait of Lenin hanging over her desk.

[...]Valery Alexeevich, one of Ivanovna's deputies, belongs in the city's dusty museum - along with a reconstructed mammoth, fuzzy photos of the building of the Trans-Siberian Railway and a room entirely devoted to Lenin and his people's revolution.

He has opted for the night shift at the aeroplane factory in order to maximise the time he can spend riding the city's trams to argue with babushkas who sound as if they are buying Yeltsin's propaganda.

'I'm a deputy,' he says proudly, when a factory manager's secretary asks him who he might be. She sniffs. He has forgotten his deputy's card.

He listens, too humble to proselytise here, while the factory manager in a smart suit says: 'What I like about the new state of affairs is that there is one man in charge.' Russians have had enough of 'people's power'.

Far better when it was Leninist one-man management under the dictatorship of the proletariat. But the SWP would rather be dead than support real socialism developments. And it sits silently by as Yeltsin's real capitalist philistinism sets about killing off the political progress that had been made under Soviet workers statehood.

Yeltsin can now only prepare open fascist dictatorship of the bourgeoisie to replace the dictatorship of the proletariat.

And while the SWP will keep its head in the sand, workers opinion worldwide will steadily come to the understanding that history's first experience of sustained workers statehood was basically a world-transforming success which the coming period of even greater revolutionary upheavals will return to again and again for inspiration and example, despising the fascist degeneracy which has been allowed by anti-communist philistinism of all kinds, to replace the Soviet workers state:

[Cutting ommitted]

Anti-communists like the SWP just turn a blind-eye to the reality that the Soviet Union was steadily organising and developing a large international non-racist society which, had it survived, would have made even more progress towards overcoming petty national chauvinism.

The SWP will simply tell lies to hide the fact that race relations have dramatically worsened (all the way to inter-ethnic warfare) since the demise of the multi-cultural Soviet workers state, (built, as only it could be, on a basis of planned socialism), - just as these Trot types have put out nothing but endless lying propaganda to support Croat and Bosnian fascism against the much more healthy Serbian-nationalist remnants of the Yugoslav workers state, who tried and wanted to keep many of the advantages of planned-socialist Yugoslavia together, precisely to avoid the mayhem of interethnic strife which has now broken out with

the breakdown of the old proletarian dictatorship, - cheered on, of course, by the SWP and the rest of the mindless anti-communist swamp.

The slow emergence of capitalist press revelations, self-incriminating, that the Serbs were not always the villains after all, is still totally ignored by the Trot swamp, incapable of facing up to its own backwardness so helpful

Discussion

Trot sectarianism writhes in suicidal ultra-left posturing agony. All subjective bourgeois ideology now on the rack of the most seething revolutionary ferment ever to begin in history. Spart provocations against genuine revolutionary solidarity with Cuba exposed. The proletarian-dictatorship anathema to Trots will prevail. Build Leninist theory more urgently than ever.

[EPSR No725 09-11-93]

The squirming by the fake-‘left’ now that its treacherous anti-Sovietism has been fully exposed for the anti-communism that it is (see EPSR 724 and many previous editions) is currently troubling the most extreme ultra-left sophisticates in the swamp.

At long last, one group of middle-class Trotskyite ‘revolutionaries’ has felt obliged to pursue the logic of ultra-leftism to the bitter end, and to continue demanding the ‘revolutionary’ overthrow of the Castro regime in the name of ‘more workers democracy’, and therefore ‘better socialism’ and ‘better anti-imperialism’.

Simultaneously, the Sparts have once again also felt obliged to return to their old anti-communist vomit over Poland and the Solidarnosc counter-revolution that all these petty-bourgeois fake ‘revolutionaries’ were so energetically cheering on because it allegedly promised more ‘rank-and-file socialism’.

Last week saw the SWP lying through its teeth that Solidarnosc was fine until winning the 1989 elections and that it was only “since then its leaders have embraced all the Thatcherite rubbish coming from the West”.

Only total morons or the most depraved reactionaries could try to put across such a deception in order to continue trying to bamboozle the working class.

Now the Sparts, who were canier than the rest of the swamp in getting off the Solidarnosc bandwagon in late 1981 when they felt that the stench of the CIA/Vatican counter-revolution was getting too strong for intelligent workers to no longer notice, are trying to pretend that it was only “in late 1981 when Walesa & Co first made their bid to restore

to fascism:

And all the Trots have, of course, always got Ireland wrong too, always misunderstanding the national-liberation struggle and the crisis for British colonial-imperialism which is now closer than ever to a humiliating climb-down from its vicious savagery of counter-revolutionary partition of Ireland.

DB

capitalism in Poland”. Crap.

By late 1981, the *Bulletin* (EPSR -ed) had already published more than a whole year’s weekly issues attacking Solidarnosc for the counter-revolutionary fraud that it was, most of those *Bulletins* containing easily intelligible evidence from the ‘free’ world bourgeoisie’s own media admissions proving what complete stooges for Western imperialist values Walesa & Co were.

Only the cretinous middle-class subjectivism of the swamp, so determined to hate the dictatorship of the proletariat and so determined to prove that ‘nice’ and ‘real’ so-called ‘workers democracy’ building ‘genuine socialism’ was so easily available, prevailed however.

That same petty-bourgeois subjective idealism is prevailing now with the Sparts.

These people know that they are lying about their coverage of Solidarnosc in that early period. They know that all the evidence was available long before the “end of 1981” to prove that Solidarnosc was nothing but a CIA/Vatican counter-revolutionary racket.

But the last thing these posturers are interested in is setting the scientific historical record straight so that the working class should for all time have the full benefit of the better lessons to be learned about Solidarnosc anti-communist hysteria, and the devastating effect of bourgeois counter-revolutionary culture.

The only thing this phony Spart ‘revolutionary’ pose is interested in is how it can continue to hood-wink workers into not rejecting the poisonous subjective-idealism of Trotskyism.

The Sparts’ new contribution on Cuba is a massive 6-page

ultra-left propaganda undertaking, oozing with ‘anti-imperialist’ sympathy and ‘solidarity’ with Cuba suffering under the murderous US-imperialist blockade, and correctly explaining the damage to the Revolution that the lack of Leninist world-proletarian-dictatorship perspectives (although not quite termed as such by the Sparts, of course, – significantly) has done in the past and will continue to do.

But its philosophy, unstated, is pure garbage. This claims that because the Cuban revolutionary leadership lacks a Leninist perspective for completing the international socialist revolution as the only ultimate guarantee of survival of workers states anywhere, – therefore this present Castro regime should be overthrown.

Thus the old Trotskyist incantation of the ‘political revolution’ is religiously resurrected, – the

“The mere presentation of the question - dictatorship of the Party or dictatorship of the class; dictatorship party of the leaders or dictatorship party of the masses - testifies to the most incredible and hopeless confusion of mind....Classes are led by political parties....directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders. All this is elementary...Why replace this by some rigmarole?”

Elsewhere, Lenin also explains bluntly that the historical form which Marxism’s long-awaited proletarian dictatorship had finally taken in practice, – was a party dictatorship.

And the main theme of the more than one dozen volumes of works written by Lenin from the October Revolution to his death is the defence of this dictatorship against every kind of crank utopia which wanted to see a babel of conflicting workers parties all squabbling in the soviets to supposedly achieve ‘real workers democracy’, which as Lenin explained a thousand times would have meant the certain immediate overthrow of the whole revolution by imperialist reaction.

And the last great warnings of Lenin’s lifetime, from the 10th Congress of the Bolshevik Party onwards, were all against allowing any factional splits to develop within the dictatorship party, for to do so would mean certain early loss of the whole revolution.

The only practice there has been in history of proletarian revolution has seen Marx’s brilliant theoretical analysis of the need for proletarian dictatorship richly confirmed a thousand times over, – from the slaughter of the weak Spanish parliamentary republic by Franco’s fascist forces in the 1930s which only a firm workers-state dictatorship might have had a chance of withstanding.

A coalition of workers party voices and a naïve faith in parliamentary methods as opposed to proletarian dictatorship saw the Allende ‘socialist’ regime

totally bogus ‘extension of Marxism’ which Trotsky invented just to cater for his personal ambition to seize the leadership of the Bolshevik Party and Soviet workers state after Lenin’s death but without wishing to be too clearly seen to be a counter-revolutionary, once the party had decisively rejected him.

This fiction claims that such a ‘political’ revolution would in no way challenge the socialist gains of the proletarian state or its class-dictatorship composition, but merely overthrow the political bureaucracy.

In practice, of course, such a distinction is farcically speculative, to say the least, if not a grotesque provocation.

As Lenin explained in a famous passage from *Left-wing communism, an infantile disorder* when analysing the discomfort of petty-bourgeois fake-‘Marxist’ ‘revolutionaries’ over the dictatorship of the proletariat:

“The mere presentation of the question - dictatorship of the Party or dictatorship of the class; dictatorship party of the leaders or dictatorship party of the masses - testifies to the most incredible and hopeless confusion of mind....Classes are led by political parties....directed by more or less stable groups composed of the most authoritative, influential and experienced members who are elected to the most responsible positions and are called leaders. All this is elementary...Why replace this by some rigmarole?”

overthrown in 1973 by fascist reaction. A total paralysis on questions of revolutionary theory saw the Grenada socialist revolution overthrown by US imperialist invasion in 1983 after the ruling New Jewel party leadership had split over issues which an understanding of proletarian dictatorship alone could have resolved.

The Sandinista Revolution in Nicaragua was half destroyed by imperialist military intervention, and then committed total suicide by falling for the delusion of ‘parliamentary democracy’ and giving Washington’s \$ billions the chance to win the elections.

Gorbachev abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat, – and the anarchy of bourgeois-parliamentary ideological confusion had let reaction in within months to totally wipe out the brilliant gains of 70 years of workers statehood.

Now the Sparts want the dictatorship of the proletariat abandoned in Cuba so that the workers state collapses there too.

With sophisticated cunning, these middle-class ‘revolutionaries’ make a big show of their academic Marxist-Leninist scraps of learning and admit that fighting for revolution outside of Cuba, – including, most importantly inside the USA itself, – is the first duty of international revolutionary support for the Cuban workers state.

They also correctly point to Havana’s feeble Leninist understanding in aligning Cuba with international popular-front dis-



Lech Walesa & stooges, counter-revolutionary agents for the Vatican, the CIA, and Pilsudski fascism,—getting their latest anti-communist & anti-Soviet instructions from a provocateur—representative of capitalist-feudal property relations.

Even early on the CIA Vatican backing for the bogus “trade union” Solidarnosc was glaringly clear as the EPSR (then the WP Bulletin) spelt out in polemic after polemic against the Trots (and revisionists)

aster after disaster in solidarity with endless Third International revisionist degeneracy, further demoralising workers everywhere, including in Cuba.

And with even more slippery cunning, the Sparts of course avoid saying that they want the dictatorship of the proletariat abandoned on Cuba.

But not once in 10,000 words do they support the dictatorship of the proletariat either. They just ignore it, just like they now ignore the 12 months after August 1980 when the Sparts were indelibly exposed as hunting with the petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionary pack to bring down the Polish workers state proletarian dictatorship.

The Sparts declare:

“What’s needed in Cuba is...a proletarian political revolution to oust the bureaucracy that is leading the country to counter-revolution, and to replace it with a regime based on democratic workers soviets, in which all parties that stand for and defend the workers state can put forward their programs....The Castro regime is viscerally hostile to this. If at first it didn’t have a consolidated bureaucracy (decisions were taken more often with whoever was sitting with Castro in his jeep), it was nevertheless bonapartist rule by a petty-bourgeois layer that was separate from and hostile to the working class.”

Slyly, the Sparts deliberately tie this latest damning-of-the-Cuban-Revolution-with-faint-praise to their doctrinaire Trotskyite ‘support’ for world revolution by opposing ‘social-

ism in one country’ to undermine existing workers states:

“We have insisted that this narrow, nationalist, bureaucratic regime was a roadblock to extension of the revolution, that there has to be a proletarian political revolution in Cuba to open the way forward. If ‘socialism in one country’ was a nationalist lie and an impossibility in the giant Soviet Union covering a sixth of the globe, the Castro-Stalinist version of socialism in one small Caribbean island 90 miles from the most powerful imperialist power on earth is far, far more so,”

the Sparts jeer derisively.

“The bureaucratic Castro regime is at a dead-end”

they continue.

“The Stalinist betrayers of the revolution, by blocking its extension internationally, would lead to social counter-revolution, as has now occurred in East Europe and the Soviet Union, as threatens China and Vietnam, and today looms over Cuba.

Without considerable state aid from a far more powerful workers state, the deformed workers state on this island of 11 million people cannot survive on its own forces.”

Cuba’s nationalist tinge and its partial retreat into NEP economic consolidation after the catastrophe of the revisionist suicide of the USSR is then derided as nothing but a counter-revolutionary retreat towards capitalism:

“In Cuba, the more right-wing elements are already looking further and are dreaming of some kind of peaceful counter-revolution, i.e., some kind of social-democratic variety of capitalism.

Castro put forward a whole series of slogans, which were: ‘Save the fatherland, save the revolution, and save the gains of social-

ism’. When a Stalinist starts talking about preserving the gains of socialism, hold on to your wallet.”

This degenerate drivel gets even worse when these Sparts actually resort to the cheapest CIA-manufactured bar-room philistinism:

“There’s an apocryphal joke about this,”

they go on in derision at some of the economic planning mistakes Cuba has suffered.

“Castro gets up before the Council of Ministers and says, ‘Che, I don’t understand how you could have done this. I mean, we were all sitting around this table, and I asked ‘Who here is an economist?’ And you raised your hand.’ Che responds, ‘Oh, I’m sorry, I thought you asked, ‘Who here is a communist?’”

This Spart abuse is so irresponsibly decadent as to not really need much argument to place this academic Trotskyism in its correct reactionary dilettante light. This stuff is pure counter-revolutionary provocation.

But some of the issues raised in the course of this depraved subjective-idealist rubbishing of the Cuban Revolution are worth discussing.

How should correct and proper criticism of Cuba’s non-Leninist weaknesses and mistakes be presented when the very survival of the workers state is under siege-like conditions of imperialist blockade and sabotage, relentless bourgeois counter-revolutionary propaganda, and suffering from revisionist own-goals? Is there legitimate value in firmly predicting that Havana’s many popular-front retreats on some interna-

tional revolutionary challenges have made Cuba’s own revolutionary survival not just harder but even impossible?

First, however, let the obvious crippling defect of the Spart “everything is rotten” Trotskyite approach (see *ILWP Books* vols 3, 4 and 5 for Lenin’s quotes on Trotsky’s destructive defeatism) be registered.

From the start, these arm-chair-socialist advocates only of the ‘perfect’ socialist revolution simply totally ignore the above Leninist scientific analysis of proletarian dictatorship consisting largely of authoritative political leadership, and the further Leninist wisdom that if proletarian dictatorship does not rule, then only bourgeois dictatorship can possibly rule.

Their opening phrase about ‘ousting the bureaucracy’ is just a philistine deception. They only mean the Castro group leadership, and the Castro group leadership is the heart and soul of the Cuban Revolution, as even any imbecile could tell you.

But the Sparts have the whole Castro-movement revolution down as something “hostile to the working-class” and a bourgeois bonapartist dictatorship.

And if such bourgeois forces are, according to the Sparts, not building socialism (not surprisingly, it could be added), – then the logic is that these bonapartists have really been building capitalism from the start, – as

indeed some of the later Spart abuse actually implies.

So why this relentless US imperialist campaign to wipe out the Cuban Castro-ite Revolution? Either the world's leading imperialist ruling class is utterly insane. Or the Sparts are congenital liars, and the most disgusting frauds that the fake-'left' swamp has ever produced.

And the Sparts' nauseating petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' subjectivism even exposes its own phony demand for the international expansion of the socialist revolution as the 'only antidote to Castro's hostility to the working class', etc.

Because in 1963, long before the Sparts could posture as being anti-Castro "only in the interests of extending workers-state power worldwide," which Castro is incredibly alleged to be opposed to, - the Spart forerunners were already trying to blast the Cuban Revolution out of the water to prevent it from

'harming the working class or damaging the cause of building socialism internationally.'

The 'perfectionist' petty-bourgeois ideology employed against the Castro movement then was slightly less subtle than now, using such phrases as:

"Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers democracy...Peasant-based guerrilla warfare under petty-bourgeois leadership can in itself lead to nothing more than an anti-working-class bureaucratic regime...For Trotskyists to incorporate into their strategy revisionism on the proletarian leadership in the revolution is a profound negation of Marxism-Leninism... Marxists must resolutely oppose any adventurist acceptance of the peasant-guerrilla road to socialism...This alternative would be

a suicidal course for the socialist goals of the movement",

etc.

Reading between the lines, these ivory-tower 'revolutionary' middle-class perfectionists would clearly have actually preferred the Cuban Revolution to have been strangled at birth. Giving it credibility would be 'suicide for socialism', the Sparts declared.

All of this makes the Sparts' current line of wanting Castro out so that the Cuban Revolution and world socialism can both be saved seem even more suspicious. And that suspicious swells to downright scepticism that the Sparts mean a single word they say when their own journalistic description of present-day Cuba (to establish their 'revolutionary' credentials for acceptance as worthy arbiters of what should now happen to the 'counter-revolution-bound' Castro regime) is examined:

In the first place, it's important to emphasize that this tiny island achieved the highest standard of living for the working class of anywhere in Latin America. The official statistics list a Gross Domestic Product of \$2,500 per person. That is roughly the same as Argentina, but you can't directly compare statistics for a workers state with those for a capitalist country. For one thing, the level of inequality is immensely less in Cuba. You can just see that the working-class districts in and around Havana and Santiago de Cuba are much better off than the huge slums surrounding Buenos Aires.

And you see it in a host of statistics: infant mortality in Cuba is now down to 93 per thousand, less than New York City, and it has continued to fall during this severe economic crisis. The Cubans say proudly that despite all the shortages they haven't closed a single hospital — compare that to Harlem and recall Sydenham Hospital. Life expectancy at birth is 72 years for men and 76 for women. The literacy rate of 96.2 percent is above that of the U.S.; 88 percent of school-age children go to secondary school; there is a huge number of

university students and graduates, a majority of whom are women.

You could go on like this at length.

Cuba had the second-highest food intake per capita in Latin America, with a calorie consumption of over 3,100 a day. Ninety-five percent of the population has electricity. With 22.5 percent of the workforce employed in industry (and another 16 percent in construction and transport), it was far and away the most industrialized country in Latin America. With a 1988 industrial output per capita of \$1,335, Cuba was closer to the level of a backward European country, like Portugal (\$1,591), which many of Cuba's statistics are similar to. But all of a sudden, this country has been brutally thrown back into a pre-industrial period.

Today Cuba is now facing the most serious and critical moment since the revolution, something that everyone there understands. The situation is excruciating, because they are caught between the American blockade and the collapse of the Soviet bloc. People will tell you that from 1989 on, as the Soviet bloc began crumbling—with capitalist-restorationist governments in Poland and Czechoslovakia, and the capitalist reunification of Germany—they never thought they would even make it this far. Their attitude is, well, we're somehow here, but it can't go on.

The fact that Cuba has been able to hold out against this tremendous pressure is a direct result of the collectivized property. Take the question of energy and transportation. Due to the Soviet cutoff of oil to Cuba, energy supplies were slashed to about 30 percent of what they were. That meant a number of industries have been cut way back, and transport was effectively militarized. They imported more than a million bicycles from China, and Cuba began producing its own bikes. They also began manufacturing carts to serve as horse-drawn taxis—it's infuriating to see this forced regression to a pre-motorized state. And if you have to go further than a bicycle or horse and buggy will take you, you wait at a transport point. There is a policeman at each one of these points, and he simply flags down every passing state-owned vehicle—whether it's a flat-bed truck, or a bus, or a little car—and it stops, and people are put on it. People often have to wait for two hours for long-distance transport, but it works and we saw very little discontent with that.

The blackouts when we were there were about eight hours a day per neighborhood. They went up to 16 hours a day in August when they shut down some industries altogether

for vacation, although now they have been reduced again. It's put in the paper when you're going to have it. So some people we met, they had a blackout that afternoon when we were sitting there, and the mother of the family was saying how silly her sister-in-law was, who had defrosted the refrigerator that morning; if she had just read the papers, she would have had it defrosted for her that afternoon. Of course, given the paper shortage it is extremely hard to get a newspaper at all: they eliminated all of the dailies except Granma, cut them back to weeklies.

But what may become the focus of the crisis here is the question of food. Hungry bellies cost a lot of votes, as the Sandinistas found out in 1990. Whereas people will put up with a lot if they have a perspective, there's no prospect of it ending, and it is really, really bad—there is very little to eat. Here let me read you the ration list in Centro Habana: Bread—one roll a day. That's it. Rice—five pounds a month. Sugar—six pounds a month. Cooking oil—half a pound a month. Dried beans—ten ounces a month. Cigarettes—well, they have tobacco, so they get four cartons a month. Chicken—half a pound every two months, "cuando llega" (when it arrives). Eggs—16 a month. Fish—two pounds a month, that's the main source of protein, which they continue to get because Canada lets Cuba fish off Newfoundland. And milk is available for children up to the age of seven, but nobody else.

One scientist who we talked to was in his mid-30s, and he explained that it's not just the lack of food, but how demoralizing this is. He said, "Ten years ago, I would have never bought anything on the black market, I support the revolution. But you have a family, you have kids, so you go out and you buy some milk on the black market, and then you feel so awful. You just feel demoralized because you've done it."

This damning-with-faint-praise then quickly resorts to its more usual bilious cynicism about the regime's allegedly dubious motives, its 'totally bureaucratic incompetence and self-serving', and its absolutely 'visceral hostility to the working class', etc.

Most honest workers will conclude from the Sparts' own admissions on just a meagre part of the truly heroic socialist transformation of Cuba over the past 34 years under Castro that this regime certainly has a strange way of showing its 'visceral' hostility to the working class.

They would also query why there was no deeper explanation from the strange ultra-left 'revolutionaries' about how their apparent 1963 predictions of disaster for the working-class on Cuba and for socialism generally seem to have been so criminally incorrect.

And they would also want to hear more fully from the Sparts about another curious contradiction, - again as best highlighted in the Sparts' own admissions:

The Yankee imperialists feel they now have a free hand to go after all their enemies. And right at the top of their "enemies list," as Nixon called it, whether there is a Republican or a Democrat in the White House, is Cuba. Three and a half decades after the revolution, American rulers are still so incensed at the effrontery of the semi-colony not just in its backyard but on its back doorstep overthrowing capitalism, and the fear that this could inspire revolution elsewhere in their Latin American neocolonial empire, that Washington is determined to strangle the island, which it is continuing to do with its draconian embargo. That was intensified last year



Havana schoolchildren — "Countries such as Cuba provide evidence that there is an alternative to the extreme hardship, inequality and repression associated with the early stages of accumulation under capitalism"

with the passage of the Torricelli Amendment, which would never have been passed without the support of the Democrats. And they're still squeezing.

Most normal objectively-minded people would conclude that such an 'overthrowing of capitalism', striking such terror into the heart of the most dangerously reactionary monopoly-imperialist ruling class in all history, was just about the essence of what the proletarian-dictatorship revolutionary socialist epoch, so crucially important to the future of civilisation, was all about.

But as already noted, for academic middle-class Trotskyite 'revolutionaries', life is much more importantly about them and their semi-religious dogmas being proved correct.

This Spart voodoo quickly moves on to immediately put right any workers who might be impressed by Washington's hatred of the Cuban Revolution into thinking that its achievements merit unconditional and enthusiastic support by revolutionaries everywhere. Not at all, sneer the Sparts at once:

Cuba is a key question for revolutionaries around the world, particularly in the U.S. and Latin America, and it has been a defining issue for the Spartacist tendency from our origins in the Revolutionary Tendency of the Socialist Workers Party. While the SWP was hailing Fidel Castro as an "unconscious Trotskyist" the RT noted that his petty-bourgeois nationalist guerrilla movement, which originally sought to carry out a program of bourgeois-democratic reforms, saw itself forced to expropriate the capitalists, both foreign and domestic, as the only alternative to submission to or defeat by U.S. imperialism. And that while the origins of Castro's 26th of July Movement were different from the Stalinist parties, the nature of the Castro regime and its political program were qualitatively the same as the Stalinist-ruled degenerated and deformed workers states.

The 'logic' of this put-down is pure doctrinaire pedantry. The Castro group might well have ended up not quite where they had fully anticipated going in the first place, and have been surprised at this, etc. But what else is new? Marx and Engels started out as Young Hegelians. The crucial historical pointer of proletarian dictatorship could not even begin to be seriously contemplated until after the defeat of the Paris Commune forced revolutionary minds to think about it. It took Lenin a whole lifetime of titanic and dramatic experiences, many of them surprising and unexpected, to become a complete Leninist. And Trotsky only became a total reactionary opportunist after four decades of working at it, etc, etc. (See *ILWP Books* vol 5).

Of course there is a continuing problem of the Castro movement's somewhat spontaneous and revisionist-spoiled attitude to the vital struggle for revolutionary theory, – just as there was indeed an ongoing (and increasing) problem of revisionist degeneration throughout the en-

tire socialist camp, from Moscow outwards.

But this 'political revolutionary overthrow' is just an academic fantasy. Clearer Marxist-Leninist understanding has always needed, and still needs, to be as resolutely fought for as possible. And it has to be considered as at least a possibility that such a struggle for Leninist theory might not always have been comfortable tolerated by workers-state authorities. And there is not the remotest call for any fetishistic exaggerated 'respect' for workers-state authorities as such, comparable to Third International revisionist fawning and the humiliating 'cult of the individual' phenomenon.

But starting out 'following' the Cuban Revolution with the aim from the beginning of overthrowing the Castro leadership will strike all normal workers as being just utterly and weirdly perverse. These Sparts write about the 'deformed and degenerated' workers states in an ultimatic way as if they were something from outer space and not the result of real living human experience, the first in history of trying to build workers states in the teeth of unremitting imperialist hostility, subversion, sabotage, and destruction, – including many catastrophic disasters, but much more importantly including many priceless triumphant achievements for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

It is much more the zombified approach of the Sparts (and all Trot anti-communists) to these moving developments in civilisation's record which seems more fittingly described as 'deformed and degenerated'.

These Sparts are just deluded liars and fools, or worse. There never has been any regime of just 'democratic workers soviets' anywhere or anytime in history nor ever will be. Leadership will always be crucial, and correct revolutionary theory the vital element of that leadership.

Everything, of course, can be argued about, and should be. But only total charlatans can pretend to be Marxist-Leninists yet never even mention the thorny and complex issue of proletarian dictatorship, – let alone always keep it at the very heart of all revolutionary debate and struggle as the ILWP has consistently achieved. Only complete frauds like the Sparts could go a whole year advising the working class to support Solidarnosc counter-revolution, but then retreat from that position with never a word of admission or explanation as to what went wrong with the analysis, followed by a continuing 12-year cover-up to this day of this ludicrous and shameful opportunism. Only posturing academic middle-class muddleheads could

liken their blind-dogma derivation of Cuba's 'peasant-guerrilla road to socialism' to Lenin's fight against the SR programme on tactics in 1917. The Bolsheviks could and did take power. The SRs were not going to, and didn't. What has any of this got to do with the Castro movement's glorious Cuban Revolution which has managed to terrorise the greatest imperialist power on earth for 34 years, building socialism.

Surely any approach to the clearly damaging revisionist weaknesses in the Cuban Revolution's make-up must begin only with truly unconditional solidarity, and that means solidarity first and foremost with the proletarian-dictatorship essence of the Cuban workers state (or any other workers state). Thereafter, any friendly or constructive criticism that arises should be made.

There is nothing but the most hostile sniping in this Spart approach, as there has never been anything else in the whole Trotskyite 'everything is rotten' subjective-defeatist rotten history.

Is Cuba's survival impossible, and is it correct to warn the working class of such a prediction?

The most curious and suspicious thing about this Trot approach is that the one crucial piece of advice which revolutionaries worldwide should keep on drumming out to the Cubans as loudly and insistently as possible, – do not even contemplate for one second relaxing the dictatorship of the proletariat by one millimetre, – is the one bit of advice which the Sparts don't make. Are there signs of a worrying liquidationist tendency growing inside Cuba? Of course there are, as there were bound to be.

And they should be as widely and energetically argued against as possible, – openly in front of the working class internationally, – just as the *Bulletin* has always done from its very inception.

But agitate and organise to overthrow the Castro regime? This would have been deserved suicide in 1963 when the Sparts seem to have ducked this issue, possibly intimidated off it by the colossal worldwide fervour behind the Cuban Revolution.

For a group of hostile Trotskyite interlopers to try it in 1993 when Cuba is under the most desperate imperialist siege and needs all the rallying round its revolutionary leadership that it can get, – would be even more deservedly suicidal. Why don't these Trotskyite stooges for bourgeois subjective-idealism just get a boat and sail into Havana harbour with their '*Down with Castro*' banners?

Plainly it is only from within a non-factionalising polemical struggle inside the revolution-

ary movement that the programme, strategy and tactics of any workers state can hope to be influenced. Trotsky's hate-filled bilious factionalising opposition to the revolutionary party leadership as such (from the 1923 '*New Course*' onwards) was doomed to catastrophe from the start, and this middle-class sectarian subjective mentality has never looked back.

There has never been a Trotskyite socialist revolution. The world has never come anywhere near a Trotskyite revolution of any kind. There has never been an anti-imperialist revolution overthrowing capitalism which just consisted of 'democratic workers soviets'. There has never been a revolution in history which Trotskyism has offered genuine unconditional support for.

What there has been in history are the anti-imperialist revolutions which have taken place, with all their faults, and weaknesses, and difficult learning processes.

And what there has been against them, apart from their own revisionist self-inflicted wounds, has been the fake ultra-left middle-class sectarianism of a few noisy handfuls of Trotskyites, mysteriously winning acres of bourgeois media publicity and star columns, mysteriously being encouraged to play a huge parasitic role in the Labour Party for decades, and growing fatter of all in the wealthiest imperialist countries of all where bourgeois individualism and subjective idealism is the absolutely rampant philosophy, maiming millions of intellectuals and workers in the course of the most devastating and sustained ideological onslaught in the whole history of civilisation, – anti-communism's relentless and unendingly subtle and varied campaigns.

For the record, this Spart dogma has also always acted with sectarian provocations over Ireland, either denouncing or denying the anti-imperialist triumphs of the IRA/Sinn Féin national-liberation struggle on the ludicrous doctrinaire basis that such advance still did not amount to revolutionary socialism. (Well of course it didn't. It is a bourgeois nationalist struggle, but no less importantly and triumphantly anti-colonialist for all that, aiding, not harming, the anti-imperialist struggle generally. But even if it had found its way towards some sort of socialist perspectives, it is guaranteed that Trotskyism would have denounced it or damned it with faint praise anyway).

But regardless of all sectarian middle-class provocations, the world continues heading for the greatest explosion of anti-imperi-

alist revolutionary struggles ever, with worldwide proletarian dictatorship as the only possible eventual aim. The stock exchanges keep twitching in panic, business confidence plummets, GATT looks lost, imperialist warmongering twitches at the Korean work-

ers state, Britain's snail's-pace humiliation-withdrawal from Occupied Ireland inches forward, and Royal parasites threaten press curbs to keep their lavishly-subsidised playboy antics private. Build Leninism.

A. Carr

Letters

Confirming the anti-theory opportunism of Healyite-Redgraveite posturing ultra-'leftism'.

[EPSR No748 26-04-94]

A doubt has been raised about the *ILWP Perspectives'* characterisation of the WRP's anti-Marxist opportunism in 1982 as having "refused to call for Thatcher's defeat in the Falklands".

But the complex confusions of the unstable WRP line, when analysed, show that despite a formally correct call for the downfall of the warmongering Thatcher government, the most vital realistic materialist question of how that was likely to happen, – because of a defeat for the Tory military-political adventure on the battlefield, – was either being deliberately played down or else completely ignored.

The recollection is that just as the Healy line used to make a cowardly opportunist retreat from confirming the Marxist-Leninist right of the Irish national-liberation struggle (to fight for independence with whatever weapons it thought fit) whenever a particularly nasty bomb went off in London (such as Harrods in the 1970s), and used to condemn the 'mindless indiscriminate slaughter' just like any other petty bourgeois traitors to anti-imperialism, – so did the WRP line initially flinch from daring to say to the April 1982 British warmongering hysteria: 'Let the Tory military-political adventure be defeated'.

The same explanation ruled in both cases. The Healyites always immediately abandoned political principle whenever it was opportunistically convenient to do so in pursuit of cheap populism so as to avoid the full brunt of bourgeois anti-communist propaganda and counter-revolutionary hysteria.

Just calling for the overthrow of the Thatcher government (which was deeply unpopular at the time because of the mass unemployment, and which only launched the war to try to avoid being so unpopular, – a move not immediately successful as elections soon after clearly showed), – shirked the really emotive question concerning the vast mass of British opinion, caught up in the televised warmongering gung-ho hysteria of the actual battlefields – 'Our lads versus the Argies', – of what should be the outcome of the actual fighting.

A Marxist-Leninist revolution-

ary approach wanted an anti-colonial victory for Argentina against the domineering Big Power imperialism of Britain.

The WRP did not just avoid publicly and loudly taking this crucial stance. The first WRP line to emerge quite deliberately ignored the biggest real-life question, – the outcome of the actual warfare, – and treacherously completely obscured the most vital historical-factual question, – namely defeat or victory for Thatcher's vicious British-imperialist stunt, – by coupling a call for Thatcher's downfall with a demand for Argentine workers to simultaneously bring down their warmongering government.

This would have been an utterly incorrect 'revolutionary' line in Argentina, was a cowardly evasion of all the major political class and national-war questions facing the anti-imperialist movement in the world at that time, – and sneakily in fact played into Thatcher's hands by helping the *Militant* and other treacherous fake-'lefts' to avoid the killer question for Thatcherism: that real British patriotism would require a defeat for her rotten unnecessary overseas military adventure.

The Redgrave-Healyite WRP was a totally petty-bourgeois anti-Soviet anti-communist philosophy in its essential middle-class opportunist stance.

A full elaboration of the WRP's whole anti-scientific Trotskyite ultra-'left' posturing covers hundreds of pages of *ILWP Leninist* output, starting with vol 2 of *ILWP Books* for the basic analysis and continuing in vols 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and other volumes for further examination of WRP destructive pseudo-Marxism into other areas of modern world political conflict.

A complete analysis of every incorrect WRP line on the Falklands War can be done if needed if anyone has all the WRP publications for the period.

A quick look into the *Bulletin* record immediately reveals the following wrongheaded opportunist nonsense from the WRP. (A lengthier examination, if needed, will probably produce more gems of anti-communist anti-Marxist stupidity from the Healy stable).

Bulletin 146 (1/7/82) quotes

the April 8th *Newsline* of 1982 as saying:

"The WRP declares once again the Leninist principle THIS IS NOT OUR WAR! The main enemy is at home for the British working class and the Argentinian masses as well.

...The Thatcher Government must be brought down and the Argentinian workers and peasants must take fullest advantage of this revolutionary crisis to smash the military junta in Buenos Aires.'

But without a word of explanation, the line had dramatically altered by June 1 when the WRP declared:

"A section of the ICFI in Argentina*

(*International Committee of the Fourth International, – another example of shallow Trotskyite posing)

would unconditionally support the Argentinian bourgeoisie against British imperialism...A Marxist Party in Argentina must therefore form a united front with the bourgeois military junta".

The quality of WRP thinking can be judged from one minute declaring that the war requires Argentine workers to make a revolutionary overthrow of their military government, to declaring the next minute (without a word of explanation) that a workers united front with the bourgeois military junta is called for. Both lines are hopelessly muddled and wrong.

But first the question of whether the WRP call for British workers to bring down the Thatcher Government is the same thing as a call for Thatcher's defeat in the Falklands War.

Clearly, it is not the same thing, – and the avoidance of calling for the defeat of "one's own" side in the war while yet being "for peace" and "for the removal" of one's "own" government is a piece of treacherous opportunist trickery with a long revisionist (anti-Leninist) pedigree in the history of revolutionary struggle.

Leninism, during part I of the World War for inter-imperialist trade-war supremacy, waged an uncompromising struggle against every variety of "peace" and "this is not our war" attitude imaginable among the remnants of the Second International which had turned completely revisionist and anti-communist, – including a ferocious longstanding struggle against the 'revolutionary anti-war' stances of Trotsky, Plekhanov, Martov, etc, which all fell short of the Bolshevik line of demanding defeat for Tsarist Russia, and agitation among the soldiers to turn their guns onto their own Russian officer class.

The muddled leftist phrase "This is not our war" is not the most obvious way to evoke Leninism and the essence of the Bolshevik line in its crucial differences from the entire remainder of the 'left' swamp. The Leninists even insisted on a split with those who shared the Bolshevik

position but who then argued that an anti-war pact was possible with other 'leftists' who simply declared 'this is not our war' but avoided calling for a Russian defeat or the turning of the soldiers guns against their own officers.

A mere 'this is not our war' line could convey just the agnostic philosophy of abstentionism, – i.e. this war is 'nothing to do with us'. But the Bolsheviks opposed such pacifism and did not support a "we won't go" line on conscription either, being in favour of accepting the war as a reality of life in the imperialist world (of capitalist economic crisis which could be solved in no other way but by war), and advocating revolutionary agitation inside the army instead.

But for this approach of turning the inter-imperialist war into a civil war to gain any chance of a hearing among the troops and the civilian populace back home, the question of what the German imperialist alliance would be doing in the meanwhile (while Russian efforts were devoted to disrupting and halting their 'own' side's war struggle), had to be faced, (and Argentina here).

And the 'correct' idea (although only at one point as far as the 1982 WRP was concerned) that the workers on the 'other' side should agitate to bring down 'their' government and war programme still does not answer the most difficult questions – what if revolutionary agitation halts the Russian imperialist side but does not halt the German imperialist side? (or the Argentine fascist junta in the Falklands case).

The Bolsheviks faced it squarely and from the start, – despite the hatred poured down on their head in what was initially a very patriotic war in 1914, – and said a defeat for Russia was the crucial and sole political perspective for Russian workers to correctly embrace.

In the hysterical jingoist atmosphere being whipped up in April 1982, the WRP opportunists initially shirked that demand, (based on this *Newsline* evidence.) They said a revolutionary workers government should replace the Tory ruling class government, – but say nothing about the likely real key to such a development, – namely a catastrophic military defeat for Thatcher's war adventure.

Further evidence that this was the WRP's opportunist thinking comes from the incorrect addition (by their own June 1982 standards) of a call for Argentine workers to bring down Galtieri at the same time as British workers were being called to bring down Thatcher (thus getting round the uncomfortable problem of 'What happens to our troops from Galtieri's attacks while we are trying

to disrupt our own Thatcher government's war efforts?').

But this was wrong. Any Argentine workers 'revolutionary' call for an 'anti-imperialist-war' demand to overthrow the Galtieri regime because of its opportunist Falklands war adventure, – would have been a bad mistake, – the WRP itself seeing this by June.

The Malvinas war was not strictly an inter-imperialist conflict.

The Argentine demand for the return of its Malvinas Islands was a correct anti-colonialist demand, even though it was obviously purely a diversionary stunt by the military dictatorship in Buenos Aires to get themselves out of a difficult political crisis.

The only correct line for Argentine workers would have been 'Malvinas si, Galtieri no.'

By June 1, 1982, it is not clear what had happened (from just this bit of quoted evidence) to the question of openly calling for British imperialism's defeat in the war.

But the WRP slogan which by now was implying just such a call, – namely the demand for Argentine workers to join in a united front with their 'own' bourgeois military junta against British imperialism, – was itself so incorrect and confused as to only muddle workers even further.

A defeat for British imperialism is not at all necessarily the same thing as a call for a 'junta victory,' – in exactly the same way that a call for the defeat of Russian imperialism did not remotely imply that the Bolsheviks were calling for a German imperialist victory.

The 'left' swamp fell into exactly this same widespread confusion over the Gulf War when it illogically concluded that the much wished-for defeat for the imperialist West (apart from some academic middle-class 'revolutionaries' who actually thought it smart to not mind Saddam's downfall because it would give 'revolutionary' opportunities in Iraq, – failing to even notice that the 'free world' imperialist alliance challenging Saddam represented a far more concentrated, longlasting, and significant reactionary force in modern world politics than ever any Arab-bourgeois nationalism, however maverick, could represent), – must mean 'Victory for Saddam'.

Nothing of the sort.

A 'victory for Saddam' slogan could only perpetuate all the subjective-idealistic myths of Arab bourgeois opportunism which have been precisely the main catastrophic feature of the post-war anti-imperialist fight in the Middle and Near East.

The final WRP position (at least as of June 1982) on the Falklands

War was just as disastrous, – asking Argentine workers to form a united front with its bourgeois-fascist military dictators.

This would have been grotesque opportunism even if all had gone well for this military-junta diversionary stunt to win more cheap chauvinistic popularity and prevent a popular uprising against the political and economic crisis that the Galtieri fascist dictatorship had brutally imposed on Argentina.

The demand for the Malvinas to be legitimately restored to Argentina could not have been resisted. But achieving such a reunification under a fascist bourgeois junta which was only finally picking a fight with Western imperialism, to cover up its own domestic difficulties, – was something to be continuously criticised. It would have been ultra-left opportunism to try to seize Buenos Aires while the Argentine military was correctly engaged in trying to free the Falklands from British imperialist domination. But it would have been correct to say that the 'legitimate' Galtieri stunt nevertheless solved nothing of the appalling political-economic crisis in Argentina and that it was still necessary to demand a workers overthrow of the corrupt Argentine ruling class.

As it happens, the Junta opportunist adventure against hated Western imperialism proved to be a pointless and catastrophic failure, bringing ridicule to Galtieri and the overthrow of his regime. The Healyite advice would have been a complete disaster for any Argentine workers misguided enough to fall for this 'Fourth International' posturing. What utterly crass opportunist stupidity for a revolutionary party to be locked in a class-collaborating united front with its bourgeois military junta just at the time when that junta's failed military adventure had brought about its deserved downfall through popular hostility.

There is no excuse for the *Perspectives*, or the *Bulletin* generally, ever to get any facts wrong, and certainly they must be corrected immediately a mistake is discovered.

But there do not seem to be too many mistakes about WRP opportunism in 1982 in this case; – and in broader perspective, it must be added that the wider WRP Healyite-Redgrave record is so politically and theoretically appalling that denunciations of the WRP can be almost always safely embarked upon. So thoroughgoing was Healy's treacherous opportunism that almost nothing of what the WRP 'achieved' was ever quite what it seemed. There was always a fraud lurking somewhere in everything Healy got up to. The man was a complete charlatan,

and a totally dishonest political crook of the most destructive fake ultra-'left' kind, nurtured by

National-liberation revisionism will be no match for imperialist slump's revolutionary crisis. And Trotskyism is just as bad (South Africa, Serbia, Bosnia etc).

[EPSP No749 03-05-94]

Nelson Mandela and his suddenly mushrooming worldwide big-bourgeois fan club should prepare for a very bumpy ride ahead.

The *Bulletin* has properly characterised the victory of the ANC as the culminating triumph of the era of revolutionary national-liberation struggle against the old direct colonial-imperialist political rule. Its electoral success was precisely an extension of its heroic armed fight and not at all a "victory for parliamentary democracy over bloodshed and the bullet" as the squirming middle-class journalists would like to pretend, fingers crossed.

But the limited Third-International revisionist mentality of the ANC/SACP movement which has seen things through to the legitimate completion of the national-liberation struggle is now inadequate to win the peace having won the war (i.e. in forcing international monopoly-capitalism to cut its losses by seeking a class-collaborating compromise over running South Africa before hardline apartheid repression drove the masses into total communist revolt).

The free-market system's worldwide trade-war slump is now the issue, and all the 'reformist' promises of Mandela & Co, however sincerely they begin to carry them out, will be unable to extract South Africa from the warmongering economic and political mayhem now relentlessly engulfing the entire capitalist connection.

The country is already an integral part of crucial imperialist financial trade and aid networks, – and whatever the personal inclinations of Mandela, the ANC, or the SACP, – that dominant monopoly-bourgeois relationship is going to call most of the tunes.

It might be possible to let the ANC sing out of key on some smaller single issues for some of the time, – such as trying to limit the brutal imperialist treatment of Mozambique or Angola, for example, to try to pay back old ANC debts to these countries whose own national-liberation movements were successful first and which enormously aided the ANC.

But what noises will black Pretoria make when questions are raised against bullying imperialist interference into even more explosive trouble-spots such as the Middle East, the Balkans, or Central America? What, for ex-

ample, will ANC South Africa say and do about the vicious US imperialist blockade of Cuba which has such a magnificent record of assistance to the armed national-liberation struggle against Apartheid and all its regional monopoly capitalist connections?

The issue is that at some stage, the exploitation and world-rule interests of the Western powers will be regarded as having reached a totally critical juncture at which point a brutal imperialist diktat is seen as being 'necessary to impose'.

The whole philosophical thread of all strands of revisionism is to deny that any such moments are ever reached, – to basically deny the essence of Marxist-Leninist science that class-war history must always eventually inevitably arrive at a revolutionary convulsion for the seizure of class power in an all-or-nothing situation.

Having heroically triumphed at the national-liberation stage of anti-imperialist transformation of the planet, which can nevertheless be temporarily concluded with class-compromise, the ANC/SACP revisionists will never now believe that the 'modern' monopoly-capitalist system will not somehow always be able to 'work something out' to 'solve' every conceivable forthcoming difficulty facing the free-market world, largely to 'everyone's' satisfaction.

But this is just grotesque philistine complacency which is going to end tragically in bureaucratic petty-bourgeois black treachery to the proletarian masses in South Africa and far beyond. The time will come for sides to be taken in revolutionary confrontations with the 'free West' ruling classes. Mandela & Co will be on the wrong side, making a sad spectacle of themselves.

The phony 'ultra-left' Trotskyite wing of middle class revisionist tiredness and self-satisfied complacency goes to roost on a slightly different class-collaborating perch, – one of continued 'revolutionary' posturing whilst in effect opting out of the most vital anti-imperialist confrontations just as routine Third-International revisionism did (and still does, what's left of it).

The newly-exited *Militant* gang of former Labour Party entrists have just been having a polemic with their former Trot

co-thinkers in *Socialist Outlook* over stooging for imperialism on the Bosnian question (and see elsewhere this issue).

The *Militant* strike some very left poses: And the less good bits are very hard to pin down on exactly what is wrong with them:

WE HAVE always considered the embargo on Serbia as prefiguring possible direct aggression.

The shooting down of four Serbian planes may be a first step towards such aggression: or the imperialists may keep on applying 'peaceful' pressure.

Especially given the particularly bellicose attitude of French imperialism and the press campaign here, we prioritised the campaign against the embargo, while explaining our overall analysis of the war.

In a war between Serbs, Croats and Muslims, we don't support any of the belligerents. Unlike you and your international co-thinkers, we have never campaigned for arms for Bosnia, or Serbia or Croatia.

Yes, we certainly have established links with Serbian trade unions, specifically with the principal independent union, Nezavinost, which is against the war and against Milosevic. If we had the opportunity we would be delighted to establish similar contacts with Croatian unions.

We and Militant Labour oppose all forms of blockade and embargo, economic or arms, imposed by imperialism on any of the belligerents in ex-Yugoslavia (or elsewhere). But we don't campaign around this question, whereas you do. You support Bosnia, and favour the Bosnian regime having more arms.

You invoke the right of nations to self-determination at the same time as you defend 'multi-ethnic' Bosnia which refuses the right to secede to the majority of Serbs and Croats who don't want to live within the Bosnian state.

Same rights

The Bosnian Muslims have the right to self-determination just as much as the Serbs or the Albanians or the Croats. But we don't think the solution lies in establishing bourgeois states in ex-Yugoslavia, 'multi-ethnic' or not *Socialist Outlook* writes:

'Yugoslavia is dead and can not be rebuilt.'

The Yugoslavia of Tito is dead and cannot be rebuilt. But what can and must be rebuilt is a bigger and better socialist Yugoslavia.

Bigger, because embracing the whole of the Balkans. Better because based on workers' democracy.

That's why we defend the traditional communist slogan of a 'Socialist federation of the Balkans'. Not an immediate solution, but a class solution. Our analysis starts from the process of restoration of capitalism in ex-Yugoslavia, of the use of nationalism by all the restorationist regimes, of the role of imperialism.

That leads us to 'prioritise' opposition to imperialist intervention and to give no support to Milosevic's Serbia, Tudjman's Croatia, or Izetbegovic's Bosnia.

Apart from a few token Serbs and Croats, the government of Sarajevo is largely Islamist. When *Socialist Outlook* talks about the 'multi-ethnic defense' in Tuzla and elsewhere you also explain unwittingly why we shouldn't support it. You pinpoint the problem:

'those brigades are part of the overall defense of Bosnia.'

They're part of the armed forces of the capitalist Muslim-dominated government.

It would be different if the multi-ethnic workers' defence militias were against the government, the Muslim warlords and militias that also commit atrocities.

[International] Workers Aid would be different if it were just organising material aid for Bosnian workers' organisations, and not smuggling in your line of military support for the Bosnian regime. You write:

'*Socialist Outlook* has no illusions

in the UN or imperialism. We are against Western military intervention.'

But how is it compatible with

'the necessity to open Tuzla airport, easily within the power of the UN?'

They've opened it.

The UN on its own couldn't open a tin of baked beans. Its only strength comes from the fact that its backed by imperialist military force, or the threat of it.

The *Bulletin* is clear that no illusions want to be sown in the Serbian workers-state remnants of the Yugoslav socialist federation's proud anti-imperialist achievements. Milosevic & Co suffer from an appalling unappetising type of nationalist revisionist philistinism.

Talk of 'support' for the Serbs could therefore be very misleading.

But the *Militant* wish to make it obvious that they want no question at all to arise of them being 'contaminated' with any aspect of support for the Serbs or Serbia looks suspiciously like something else entirely.

These poseurs clearly want to be thought of as very right-on and perceptive anti-imperialists.

They refuse to fall for a single trick of Western military aggression. They almost imply that they would wish the NATO military intervention to come to no good, without quite saying so (shades of *Militant's* notorious refusal to call for the defeat of Thatcher's sick and vicious military imperialist adventure to deny Argentina reunification with its legitimate Malvinas territory, colonised by British piracy[see p46 too]).

But how is all this to happen with such a pristine *Militant* opposition to the Serbs getting any arms with which to frustrate the imperialist intervention, the one realistic thing which these Trots are apparently positively in favour of?

The truth is that *Militant* is not dealing with real-life situations at all but is merely striking moralising attitudes.

They are continuing their "We are always right" fence-sitting posture which these sectarian Trots always seek out on the great historical questions, pretending to be for such 'ultra-revolutionary' commitment and such purity of purpose that they end up having to support no one at all in reality.

They spent several lifetimes doing this most notoriously towards the Soviet Union, pretending that they wanted the completion of the international socialist revolution and for the world's first workers state to not remain in dangerous isolation, but in practice doing everything they could right from the start to ensure that the maximum suspicion, hostility and hatred was spread about the USSR among workers

in the West (and widening this to the whole socialist camp when the proletarian dictatorship did finally extend its rule to China, East Europe, etc, etc.)

Militant don't really want the imperialists to be humiliated in their rotten aggressive adventure against the little nations of the Balkans. These Trots just don't want to be labelled as imperialist stooges along with the rest of the less canny 'left' Trot swamp of revisionism which has openly fallen for the West's latest anti-communist stunt of praising the 'heroic suffering' of imperialism's Bosnian Muslim bourgeois stooges against the 'vicious Serbian ethnic cleansing', etc.

No 'support' wants to be given to the Serbs in the sense of no political illusions want to be created around their fatally flawed nationalist-revisionism which has only a very limited anti-imperialist perspective.

But a defeat for imperialist intervention is very much to be argued for and agitated for, including whatever help can be given to the cause of campaigning to frustrate the West's economic blockade on Serbia.

But coupling this with a morally righteous 'no arms for any of the belligerents, – Serbs, Croats or Muslims', totally defeats this purpose in practice. The Croats and Muslims are not fighting the imperialists. They are the stooges of imperialist purposes. And what about no arms for the imperialists either, if *Militant* really wants to be seen to be so even-handed in their opposition to this 'unjustified military aggression' etc.

These *Militant* sectarians are also purely academically and fatuously 'correct' in airing their 'Marxist' knowledge by claiming that the Bosnian Muslims have just as much right to self-determination as the Serbs, Albanians or Croats (once again purely to demonstrate how 'proper' and unbiased the Trots are).

First, there is no Bosnian Muslim nationalism, strictly speaking. These Muslims are a class political sect, a historical anachronism, a wretched middle-class (in international class-war orientation) religious freemasonry which was recruited by 450 years of Ottoman colonial domination of the Balkans to service the Turk empire at the treacherous betrayal of their fellow Slavs whose language and race they still cannot but share. These Bosnian Muslims are only a 'nation' because Balkanising imperialist interventionist aggression has decreed they are such.

Genuine anti-imperialists (as opposed to 'revolutionary'-posturing ignorant middle-class philistines) should welcome every disaster for these Western stooges, whose only historical

significance is as philosophical anti-communist cannon-fodder.

And nothing could be a bigger sectarian fence-sitting giveaway, of course, than this *Militant* 'traditional communist slogan' for a '*Socialist federation of the Balkans*'.

No wonder these Trot opportunists immediately add in embarrassed confusion: "Not an immediate solution" (this posturing sect carefully omits saying just how un-immediate this 'solution' really is), "...but a class solution". So that's all right then?

Not really. There is only one history of the epoch of anti-imperialist struggle in the annals of the civilisation of the human species, – and that is the history of what has happened so far in the 20th century.

The Balkans already achieved some notable revolutionary anti-imperialist triumphs, – not least that of the Yugoslav socialist federation which was born out of the communist party armed revolutionary resistance to Western imperialist occupation and genocide during the 1939-45 part II of the unending inter-imperialist world war for economic supremacy, – a quite remarkable workers state which for the first time ever enabled all the squabbling petty nationalities of the Balkans to at last find a purposeful way of developing together out of the narrow past of ethnic prejudice and defensiveness, something which the now-collapse of the Yugoslav socialist federation and the restoration of market forces can never achieve.

In their typical half-arsed sectarian fence-sitting way, these *Militant* poseurs hint at acknowledging the anti-capitalist anti-nationalist achievements of socialist Yugoslavia, but only so as to damn it with faint praise, complacent with the unstated understanding that "real communists would have done it so much better than those Yugoslav communists managed to do", etc, etc.

So out comes this tired old Trot cliché of the discredited '*United States of socialist Europe*' vintage (see *ILWP Books* vol 5 for Lenin's denunciation of this Trot claptrap) in the form of a '*Socialist federation of the Balkans*'.

It is not worth arguing whether this could be a good or a bad programme because it is just irrelevant. Successful workers states have already been born in this region, and they have taken the form that they have, for all their faults, – the USSR, Poland, East Germany, Bulgaria, Hungary, Yugoslav federation, etc, etc.

Their weakness was nothing to do with their not being a 'socialist federation of the Balkans'. Their ultimate failure was entirely to do with Moscow's catastrophic perspective that

imperialist counter-revolution could never now be able to reverse the planned socialist gains of the Soviet Union and socialist camp, nor would ever really want to on the grounds that the complete illusion of 'permanent peaceful coexistence' was such a better solution for everybody, etc; – and the result of the international revisionist conspiracy (Trotsky included) to conceal the dictatorship of the proletariat as the essence of building an alternative society to the imperialist-dominated market-forces rat-race of degenerate 'consumerism' and bogus 'democracy'.

These posturing Trots and revisionists live in their own dreamworld 20th century where the only socialism and workers states they are prepared to defend really are the non-existent 'perfect' ones inside their own heads.

Their attitude to the entire history of the Soviet Union has been of this fence-sitting abstentionist kind (while all the time posturing about their unrivalled total commitment to the 'real' Bolshevik Revolutionary tradition).

But the triumphs of the USSR (and the subsequent expanded socialist camp) against imperialism (plus the extension of these triumphs into the massive national-liberation struggle which demolished all of the Western colonial empires) has been the essence of 20th century history, –

and the most monumental period of human achievement ever, the most massive real inroads into the world-dominant imperialist system that it has been possible to make.

It all might have gone better, – and the greatest priority is to pinpoint exactly those failures of revolutionary understanding which prevented the anti-imperialist struggle from being even more successful.

But the only real attitude of this Trot middle-class philosophy this century has been a polite yawn about actual world anti-imperialist events saying 'These are not the real thing'.

The Trots failed to defend socialist Yugoslavia. They won't defend Serbian defeats for imperialism now. They posture that a mass revolutionary party cannot be built simply by self-proclamation. But then worm into the Labour Party, for 'real socialist action' and completely turn their noses up to the actual workers states, and the actual anti-imperialist struggle.

Self-proclamation is certainly not enough to build a revolutionary party. But no activity of any kind for such a project can even begin until a correct revolutionary understanding of the world has been worked out. Middle-class Trot sectarianism gets everything wrong.

Build Leninism. JB

Anarchic Bosnian mess revealing more reactionary connections of capitalism's warmongering crisis while the fake-'lefts' and the stupid Labourites go tilting at more imaginary windmills

[EPSR No751 17- 05-94]

[...]while Serbian nationalism is a ludicrous-seeming comparison to the mighty Soviet Union of the 1930s and the Communist International, these Yugoslav workers' state remnants nevertheless do represent a whole new aspect of the planet which has become totally indigestible to monopoly capitalism, – the relentless emancipation of even the smallest nations by virtue of the non-stop industrial-technological revolution which has turned backward rural proletarians everywhere into highly mobile, communications-wise shift-workers with enormous new appetites for living and standing up for their rights.

The imperialist system itself has now helped so transform the planet that it has rendered itself no longer suitable or capable to dominate the 'backward masses' as of old. As Marxist science analysed in advance, the capitalist system has finally created its own grave-diggers.

Inviting muslim fundamentalism in to try to curb the healthy anti-imperialist element in Serbian nationalism where the Western imperialist United Nations own efforts have collapsed in ruins, – is only one more step on the road towards making the whole free-market capitalist inter-relationship a thoroughly suspect festering sore of a system.

How in 1994 can warmongering encouragement to such primitive reaction as muslim fundamentalism be regarded by any sane people as anything but the most extreme and dangerous degeneracy imaginable.

And increasingly, more sane voices are piping up spontaneously within the ranks of the middle class to tell the imperialist system that it is hopelessly out of touch in its old-fashioned and out-of-date manipulative Balkanisation policies, – as this letters-column sample now typically asserts of some important

new layers of petty-bourgeois public opinion:

Gallagher's picture of an integrated Bosnian state and society is exaggerated and is belied by the fact that the political parties that emerged as communist control and Yugoslav federal structures weakened were organised along national lines. In the 1990 elections, SDS commanded the allegiance of the majority of Bosnian Serbs, at least outside cities like Sarajevo and Tuzla, whilst the majority of Bosnian Croats supported the HDZ, and Muslims the SDA. Bosnia could only realistically have hoped to establish itself and to have survived as an independent unitary state if a political party spanning the three communities had emerged as the dominant political force at the 1990 election.

As it was, the SDS opposed the formation of an independent Bosnian state, and most rural Bosnian Serbs boycotted the referendum leading to independence.

In important respects this is a civil war, and indeed until the Bosnian state was officially recognised by the international community, it could hardly be classed as anything else.

An approximate parallel would be if Catalonia were to declare its independence, and the central authorities in Madrid were to join forces with the local Castilian population to resist the move by force.

If Nato had sought to establish a unitary independent Bosnian state by force in 1992, it would have confronted a nationalist Serb resistance quite as convinced of the justice of its cause as were the Vietnamese of theirs.

An attempt now to unify Bosnia by force would require a massive deployment of Nato troops – some suggest at least 100,000 – the repudiation of the recent Bosnian-Croat agreement which accepts the principle of a federal/cantonal structure in territory controlled by the Bosnian government and Croat forces, and a willingness to fight a major war on two fronts, one to regain control of Serb-held territory, another to do so in areas under Croat control.

Moreover, it would logically require Nato to place its forces at the disposal of the Tadjman government to establish control of the Krajina and other Serb-held areas in Croatia.

Such opinions are still hopelessly confused, of course, about drawing up an overall picture of imperialist manipulative domination of 20th century history via warmongering and stooge-making exploitation, – aware for example that Western propaganda attempts to present Serbia as the new Nazi Germany danger to civilisation are not just ludicrously exaggerated but actually stand things precisely on their head as to who are the real villains in the Balkans turmoil, – but not aware enough of exactly how it is the 'free' West itself which is the continuator of imperialist fascist aggression just as it was the essence of that development before in the 1930s when Germany was given such an artificially prominent role

(so that the West could disown fascism in due course if it proved necessary).

That letters-column adds half-correctly, still labouring under the delusion that all that Western anti-Serb propaganda must have had at least just some justification:

But it is not self-evident that lifting the arms embargo would have prevented or reduced the slaughter in Bosnia.

It is entirely likely that Serbia's allies would have responded by stepping up their supplies to Milosevic, thus leading to an intensification of the conflict and massacres on an even greater scale.

The parallel Gallagher draws with the Spanish civil war is also oversimplified. By 1936 the nazi and fascist menace was only too evident, and many people did in fact warn that the conflict in Spain would prove to be the prelude of a wider European war.

But nasty and vicious as the Milosevic government is, Serbia cannot be compared in industrial or military strength to pre-war nazi Germany. Nor does the democratically elected socialist government in Athens provide a convincing stand-in for Mussolini's Italy. This is not to deny that the war could spread. But then the policy of massive Nato intervention, which Gallagher has long advocated, is also fraught with risks. It could lead to a Vietnam style conflict in Europe, the re-emergence of the cold war and, at worst, even an East-West war.

Such struggles to see that the Serbs are in fact in the position of the Spanish Republic, – deliberately undermined by an imperialist-fascist conspiracy in order precisely to get the insoluble monopoly-capitalist economic slump crisis onto a warmongering trade war footing in order to prevent social revolution, – and that the Bosnian Muslims, Tadjman Croats and others are in the position of Franco and others, used as stooges by the big powers just to get the warmongering going and to obliterate the healthier socialist-leaning influences around the continent such as was the Spanish Republic then, and such as are the Serbian remnants of the Yugoslav socialist republic now, – are not helped by the monstrous confusion sown by the anti-Leninist 'left' swamp.

A Trotskyite May Day leaflet from the *Workers Press* faction of the old Healy criminal-exploitation WRP racket, presented the following 'analysis' of world events:

"A shadow hangs over May Day 1994 – That shadow is Gorazde. The town is being razed to the ground by fascist bands....Bosnia is the main question for the world working class..

If the Bosnian working class goes down to defeat this will strengthen the hand of the fascists throughout the world.

"Thus it was with Germany and Spain in the 1930s. So it is with Bosnia today....

"On this May Day we demand that the labour movement end this shameful record, take up the fight against racism and fascism, and come to the aid of multi-ethnic Bosnia.

"Wherever Workers Aid has gone it has met with the warmest response from thousands of workers. They want to help the people of Tuzla, Gorazde, and other towns under fascist siege. In contrast, the official leaders of the labour movement refuse to act because they are tied hand and foot to the ruling class..."

"On May Day when workers throughout the world reaffirm their solidarity in the common struggle against capitalism, we say that these leaders of the labour movement who have betrayed Bosnia should be called to account..."

To their shame the leaders of the international working class lift not a finger in defence of the Bosnian working class.

Behind moralistic hand-wringing about 'peace' and 'not taking sides', these ladies and gentlemen in practice support capitalist 'order' in the Balkans.

By their deeds they side in practice with the destruction of the Bosnian working class through "ethnic cleansing."

Such demented mental confusion and such grotesque and deliberate distortions of reality are themselves like the very fascism which this disgracefully ignorant leaflet pretends to be opposing.

The regime in Bosnia has not the remotest relevance to anything to do with anti-capitalism of any kind. Just the opposite. The regime in Bosnia is the most blatant example of fascist-bourgeois racketeering to be found in all Europe.

The regime in Bosnia has not the slightest connection with any conceivable interest of the international working class. The regime in Bosnia is a capitalist dictatorship of the nastiest kind imaginable, – totally dominated by the most reactionary muslim-fundamentalist bourgeoisie imaginable, the descendants of a whole heritage of pro-imperialist class collaboration which saw these middle-class South Slav renegades (mainly small-town bureaucrats and traders) turn muslim in order the better to creep into the service of the Ottoman Empire for 500 years, – and then just as quickly turn fascist when they rushed to form a Nazi statelet on behalf of the new German imperialist masters of the Balkans after 1939.

The best part of the Bosnian proletariat are the Serbs, not the muslims or the Roman Catholic Croats who have a similar history to the muslims of subservience to invading imperialist domination, – in their case to that of the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburg empire. All are from the same South Slav nation. All speak the same South Slav tongue.

Only Serbs have always spoken it with defiant independence, fighting every imperialist invader in turn. The joke 'muslim' and 'Croat' 'nations' have only ever spoken it treacherously.

There is no Bosnian working class in view as such. It exists only in the fevered imaginations of academic Trotskyite sectarianism where petty-bourgeois egotism and defeatism since 1917 has created an entire ultra-'left' mythology about the world so as

in practice to be able to constantly stab the Soviet workers state in the back while pretending to be the most 'revolutionary' anti-imperialists around.

This sick anti-imperialist pretence is nowhere clearer than here where the Trots are in fact piling in behind imperialism's wholly-fabricated anti-Serbian propaganda blitz which in best Goebbels style has convinced middle-class public opinion about non-existent 'Serb rape camps', 'Serb concentration camps', 'Serb starvation camps', 'Serb ethnic cleansing', etc, etc, when all that has been happening is a three-sided civil war in which most of the atrocities have always been begun by either the muslims or the Croats, – as has been amply proved by previous *Bulletin* evidence taken from the capitalist press's own inadvertent admissions.

The latest revelations about direct weapons-supply intervention by the monstrously reactionary religious dictatorship in Iran, closer even to feudalism than just to rotten mullah and bazaar-dominated capitalism, – extends the Trots' contemptible record. What could the crazed anti-communist Ayatollahs and the Bosnian working class possibly have in common that the reactionary theocracy should heed the *Workers Press's* anguished 'Workers Aid' call (another disgraceful 'left' front stunt by these incorrigible sectarian conspiracy-lovers) and fly in such painfully expensive massive arms aid against the Serbian workers?

The only joke 'connection' is in fact with the Trots own foul past record of ludicrously cynical and damaging 'left' provocations when Healy & Co urged workers internationally to welcome the blood-soaked reactionary regime of the crazed religious dictator Ayatollah Khomeini as being that of the 'greatest spontaneous revolutionary of our era' who was supposedly going to wipe Western imperialism out of the Middle East entirely and usher in the socialist millennium, etc.

Presumably, these barmy Trot provocateurs are still touting for this primitive Iranian theocracy and all its vile anti-communist interests.

Far from backing the Bosnian working class, as the Trots pretend, which was only really in a position to be backed when it was the working class of the Yugoslav socialist federation Bosnia, – the *Workers Press* is backing the sectarian muslim-bourgeois separatists who are being helped by international reaction to continue the break-up of the former Yugoslav workers state.

And when, of course, it was possible to back the Bosnian working class within socialist

Yugoslavia, who but the *Workers Press* and other Trots were always in the forefront of endless destructive sneering at Yugoslavia, doing their best to help international bourgeois propaganda to bring down that workers state.

And it was by that international anti-communist action, in which all the Trots shared, of bringing down the Yugoslav workers state that the workers of Bosnia and elsewhere were really condemned to the degenerate slaughter of national-chauvinist civil war as the various ethnic minorities of former Yugoslavia, – Serbs, Croats, muslims, Albanians, Slovenians, etc, – all scrambled to create territory for themselves where they would be the 'majority' population, and not subject to the savageries of being 'minorities' within other peoples boundaries once back under the 'civilisation' of the 'free world' of anti-communism to which Trot anti-Sovietism, among other bourgeois ideological influences, had condemned them.

The Trots are mouthing pious insane crap to pretend that the 'multi-ethnic Bosnian working class' is about to, or has ever been in any position to, launch a new move towards the 'real socialism' which the Trots always pretend is their motive for helping imperialist reaction to bring down past workers states. The workers in Bosnia are now clearly and inevitably blasted into national-chauvinist sectarianism, – Serbs versus Croats versus muslims versus Macedonians, etc, etc – as the unavoidable result of the anti-communist (and Trot) break-up of the Yugoslav socialist federation.

The stupidest gibberish of all in this degenerate Trot hysteria and hypocrisy is the nonsense about the Serbs being the 'new fascist threat to civilisation', etc. What utterly demented crap. This wretched imperialist balkanisation of the former socialist Yugoslavia is just one tiny part of a worldwide crisis of the monopoly-capitalist system whose essence is the new big-power trade-war drive to a fresh outbreak of inter-imperialist world war.

The insignificant little Serbian nationalist resistance to this big-power imperialist domination and warmongering aggression is of a tiny relevance only in that it represents one intriguing strand of imperialist difficulty in dominating the world as of old, – (and as such represents if anything a positive development, – even while not ceasing to be in essence reactionary national chauvinism.)

(But these *Workers Press* stooges of anti-Leninist philistinism could not even begin to get their understanding around such contradictions.)

These Trot sectarians are best

left just spouting the Goebbels-imperialist lies for the ruling class, hyping up the non-existent 'massacre' of Gorazde which even the British bourgeois commander of the dollar-backed United Nations forces (who have endlessly intervened on the side of Bosnian muslim reaction, or on the side of the Bosnian working class according to these Trot headcases) has let slip was another trumped-up charge against the Serbs:

Gen Rose said that the destruction of Gorazde after the Serb offensive was not as great as he had been led to believe.

"The situation was a lot better than I had been led to believe. One can only be pleased at that there was obviously damage to the town and you can't fight a battle around a town without there being damage to the town.

"But the town had not been destroyed to the level which I had expected."

He said he had visited the Gorazde hospital and spoken to its director. "He told me that he felt that the figures that we had been given of 2,000 wounded and 700 people killed were indeed an exaggeration."

Gen Rose said that among wounded people airlifted out of Gorazde by UN helicopters this week were "young men who hopped off the stretcher and went into town".

Clearly, the Iranian arms supplies to the Bosnian muslim-bourgeois ruling-class is already a well-established practice. It is obviously nonsense that the Serbian remnants of the Yugoslav workers state have "only won the civil war because the Bosnian muslims were refused arms", etc, in the words of the capitalist press and their Trot echoes over the past two years. Plainly, the Serb proletarian heart of the old Yugoslavia socialist federation is still the most powerful force in the region, – which is precisely why every reactionary anti-communist voice, from the Trots to US imperialism and from the Vatican to the Iranian theocracy, has been raised against the Serbs.

The strength of Serbian anti-imperialist resistance is also the reason why the imperialist forces have been so humiliated and so split amongst themselves, – to such an extent that the French are now saying openly that they will quit Bosnia before the end of 1994, whether or not their Bosnian muslim stooges have been persuaded by then to make a land-sharing deal with the Serbs and thereby make the best of a bad job.

The lame defeatist essence of the *Workers Press* hypocrisy could not be presenting a more ridiculously distorted and disarming view of the world in bleating about non-existent 'Serb fascist threats' to non-existent 'Bosnian working-class perspectives' or in pretending that such a 'menace' was also the 'greatest possible danger to the international

working-class's interests', etc, etc, - when in reality the splits in

the imperialist camp are the big encouraging issue.[...]Alf Lee

Parliamentary capitalism in its entirety is one giant swamp of graft and corruption protected only by the class-collaborating stupidity of the 'reformist' and revisionist 'opposition' and by the anti-communist propaganda of the very 'free press' making the sordid revelations. But Ireland proves how imperialism, and all subjective-idealist revisionist confusion, is still losing badly.

[EPSR No775 01-11-94]

[...]As the British bourgeoisie squabbles its way ever deeper into conflict over sleaze-filled corruption and decadence, catching out Government ministers and the Cabinet Secretary in grotesque lie after lie and cover-up after cover-up, over freebies and influence-selling in Paris and everywhere else, it is only fake 'socialism' of every variety, from far right to ultra-'left', which keeps capitalism afloat.[...]

If the private enterprise social class altogether gains from capitalist government policies, then it is a distinction without a difference to pretend that specific members of that bourgeois class, who happen to be in government, have not personally received any advantage from particular Cabinet policies.

And the endless scandals about ministers past and present breaching the 'spirit of the regulations' by, for example, taking leading well-paid jobs once they have left office, in industries which they have had important influence over when running various government departments, - demonstrate how impossible it is in practice to separate specific capitalist class interests from general capitalist class interests.

[And...]the Labourites in Parliament (and local government) have always been every bit as big crooks as the Tories when it comes to expenses fiddling, freebie freeloading, and influence-peddling graft.

[...]So who should be on hand to break the spell of self-righteous witch-hunting which sections of the middle-class media were working themselves up into, and to soften the hammer-blows of the repeated devastating revelations by the *Guardian* of one deception and distortion after another over the unpaid hotel bill, - than a couple of Labourites, Straw and Taylor, ludicrously agreeing with rightwing counter-attacks that Aitken's muddle was "no doubt perfectly innocent", and that the *Guardian's* supplying of a false Aitken letter so that the minister's Ritz bill, which they already had a copy of, could be

seen to have been given to them with out revealing their source of information in the management, - was some major scandal.

The thieving criminals running British capitalist politics should be called just that, - but the Lib-Labourite parliamentary 'opposition' has, of course, even more blood on its hands from past periods in office running the British imperialist state than the Tories have, - and just as many bribe-taking skeletons in its cupboard, - big crooks such as Maxwell, Poulson, Sproule, Smith, Wilson's sleazy cronies, and thousands more who have not yet been caught.

It is not only just the fact that any party administering the capitalist system and British imperialist state at local government or national level is automatically guilty of monstrous colonial hegemonism, racist bullying, and class exploitation.

The parliamentarians of all parties have also always had their own personal little hands corruptly in the till too, in large and small ways, - as the petty-bourgeois capitalist press itself is beginning to admit more and more openly as the smell of corruption and decay around the system starts to make some of the less robust middle-class posturers feel guilty.

[...]But even as the British capitalist state appears to be getting away with murder as far as its privatisation, sleaze, and other rackets are concerned, - in the longer historical view of broader real-world developments, the imperialist system is running into more and more difficulties in every corner of the globe, and the British imperialist bourgeoisie in particular continues to degenerate.

Yet even on Ireland, where the game is so plainly up as far as hanging on to the disgraceful colonial outrage called Northern Ireland is concerned, it is still the fake 'socialists' who do most to conceal the real picture of London's humiliation at the progressive hands of Irish national-liberation forces.



Despite having fought their way to a revolutionary triumph, arms in hand, against the monstrous imposed evil of Partition and the gerrymandered bastard sterile statelet of non-existent 'Northern Ireland', - an amazing success which should have all revolutionaries cheering everywhere just as previous bourgeois-nationalist triumphs over British colonialism in Ireland had Marx and Lenin cheering in earlier periods, - many ultra-'left' petty-bourgeois posturers have been incapable of any response but a sick sectarian bleat of misery and condemnation.

Listen to the Trotskyite Spartacists' analysis of the latest clever Sinn Féin/IRA peace strategy to wrongfoot the donkey-like British imperialists:

The current IRA cease-fire settles nothing in Northern Ireland. The "troubles" will not end short of a workers revolution which wrests power from the blood-drenched British bourgeoisie and its lackeys in Dublin and Belfast.

Britain is not about to put an end to Protestant ascendancy, nor is withdrawal of the British army—which continues to ride roughshod through the Catholic ghettos—an imminent possibility.

The British imperialists do not always see eye to eye with the fractious Loyalists, but for now they have no intention of abandoning their old allies.

Many working-class Catholic youth join the IRA because they mistakenly see it as the only force opposing the British army. Yet the IRA's "armed struggle" was never really aimed at—or capable of—driving the massive British imperialist military presence out of Northern Ireland, but rather at pressuring Britain to the conference table.

It would be fatal for working people to have illusions in such "settlements." In South Africa the newly installed Mandela/De Klerk regime has already moved to break strikes of black workers and squelch the expectations of the impoverished black masses. The Palestinian PLO now has its own cops to keep down the Palestinian masses in Gaza and Jericho. And while conditions in Northern Ireland are not identical, Ruari O Bradaigh, the leader of the dissident nationalist group Republican Sinn Féin, has warned that behind Gerry Adams'

call for "new policing arrangements" is a veiled appeal for recruiting Republican militants to serve in a "police service to be run in parallel with the RUC" to do "England's dirty work in Ireland" (*Irish News*, 6 September).

"The declaration marks the latest stage in the quest by the IRA and its political wing, Sinn Féin, for a 'negotiated settlement' with British imperialism, pursued through the "good offices" of the southern Irish clericalist state and underwritten by U.S. imperialist chief Bill Clinton.

Hoping to secure a place in the "New World Order" ordained by Washington following the destruction of the Soviet Union, the IRA/ Sinn Féin are predictably claiming a victory. Yet the oppressed Catholic minority in Northern Ireland have been offered nothing in exchange for the cease-fire. Sinn Féin does not even demand the withdrawal of British troops from the North."

The recent move was foreshadowed by the Anglo-Irish declaration between London and Dublin last December. As we warned then: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either.

The Loyalist stranglehold over the Protestant workers will only be reinforced by liberal bourgeois "solutions" that promise to spread the endemic poverty more evenly. In a situation of increasing economic desperation, fighting over a shrinking slice of pie only stokes up the fires of sectarianism.

This grotesque ultra-leftism postures its 'revolutionariness' in the most irresponsible and childish way imaginable.

Past *Bulletins* and *ILWP Books* (vol 8, 15, 22 *Ireland* Part 1-3 and 3 more since) have quoted endlessly from the works of Marx, Engels, and Lenin on the important strategic understanding to communists that bourgeois-nationalist and other defeats for the imperialist ruling class can frequently be of enormous help and significance for the subsequent success of proletarian-dictatorship revolution to get rid

of capitalism altogether.

It is just numbskulled posturing to keep on pointing out that bourgeois-nationalist liberation is not necessarily a short step from communist revolution (although they proved inseparable in Vietnam and Cuba, for example). It is well-known that Sinn Féin are philistinely ignorant of Marxism-Leninism.

The crucial question, however, is whether or not this bourgeois-nationalist struggle can cause British imperialism an enormous setback.

To ask the question is to answer it. Why else has British imperialism been fighting all these years with more than half their main land infantry forces to 'defeat terrorism' in the Occupied Zone of Ireland (and beyond) if not to avoid a humiliating reversal with dire consequences for all the ruling class's interests? The Spart slogan for proletarian-dictatorship revolution (although these opportunist sectarian cowards never spell this out scientifically) is not incorrect as an abstract theoretical statement but in practice is worse than useless, – a complete academic diversion.

To proclaim communist aims does not necessarily make it obligatory to rubbish national liberation aims. Just read Marx and Lenin on the subject.

And it is particularly stupid and reactionary sectarianism to denigrate a national-liberation struggle carried out in such a revolutionary manner, both politically and militarily, by Sinn Féin and the IRA, arms in hand. And especially so when that national-liberation movement turned out to be the only serious and effective anti-imperialist movement going, – and one with undoubted sensational success which has dramatically captured the world's imagination, commanded wide international sympathy, and confounded the entire British ruling class leaving it utterly tongue-tied and undermined.

Obviously, the Sinn Féin/IRA triumph is not yet a 'workers revolution', or even remotely any 'solution' to the immediate capitalist crisis afflicting Ireland (and everywhere else, of course), or even any guaranteed immediate satisfaction of Irish national aspirations and an end to the 'troubles'.

But it does represent a colossal retreat by British imperialism and reflects an enormous movement in international class forces which have felt obliged to force London to accept that it is potentially seriously damaging to the Western imperialist cause for naked British colonialism to keep on hopelessly brutally repressing a national-liberation fight which not only obviously will not be

beaten but which could start to become an increasingly dangerous revolutionary beacon for the oppressed worldwide, as the international imperialist slump continues to deepen.

After their first academic and pointless paragraph above, the Sparts' diatribe then quickly has to descend into just plain untruths or distortions, or commit yet more historically strategic errors by way of false analogies, or just simply get things wrong.

The fight for Leninist parties of proletarian-dictatorship revolution must never cease to grow, as is obvious to all real Marxists (although of doubtful appeal in fact to these Trots who, as always, are terrified of having to call communist revolution by its crucial proletarian dictatorship name), and the pan-bourgeois-nationalist coalition taking shape for the reunification of Ireland will naturally become the then open enemy of further social progress.

But it is sectarian insanity to just sneer at the final completion of Ireland's war of independence against bitter British imperialist resistance as an event of not only no historical importance but as actually a reactionary development, (as these ridiculous Spart academics try to do), – no matter how unpleasant the sight of 'imperialist lackeys' in Dublin jumping once again onto the nationalist bandwagon.

And as proof of the ridiculousness of the point they are trying to make, these boring and dimwitted Trot ultra-'lefts' then have to be very economical with the truth to try to back up their daft stance.

The 'Protestant ascendancy' is not ended yet, nor is the British army withdrawn, clearly. But it is equally plain to all who would see it that the old outrageous colonial notion of a supposed country called 'Northern Ireland', – a tame stooge of blatant British imperialism on occupied Irish soil, – is nevertheless utterly doomed now, never to be resurrected.

Only complete sectarian fake-'left' fools can fail to see this, or fail to see what a huge revolutionary shift of historical forces this represents.

The Sparts are just wrong. Disregarding Trot silly canny wordplay, the 'Loyalists' certainly are being abandoned in the sense that the essence of the former British colonialist tradition, – i.e. 'Ulster is forever British' (meaning the gerrymandered ripped-out parts of six of the Irish province's nine counties), – is no more, – destroyed by a heroic revolutionary-guerrilla war from a wholly legitimate national-liberation movement.

It is just the depths of triviality for these Spart cretins to try to present the successful negotia-



Protestant triumphalist ascendancy on the way out historically

tions forced on infinitely stronger British imperialism by the tiny but unbeatable revolutionary war as proof that "the IRA's 'armed struggle' (put in offensive commas in the original) was never really aimed at...driving the massive British imperialist military presence out of Northern Ireland (noticeably not put in quotes by these Sparts who presumably accept the British bastard colony's legitimacy).

What insane crap is this. One of the most dramatic and triumphant guerrilla wars of all time fought by tiny forces against a huge enemy which succeeded virtually in laying siege to that enemy's own capital city (the barriers are still up around London's Square Mile, so terrified is British monopoly capitalism of further crippling blows to its property and its prestige), – and these arm-chair socialists pretend that it was nothing, and no real intended challenge to British imperialism. What total mental bollocks.

Of course the guerrilla war's aims were limited, – to force British imperialist rule out of Ireland. No sane person doubts that it is now on its way out. And only the most pedantic dilettantes could be so childish as to try to make more sectarian points out of the obvious reality that the British Occupation would eventually be forced to effectively surrender via a covered-up negotiated 'peace

settlement', – just as has always happened with 99% of West European colonial retreats from former empires.

The wild analogies with South Africa and the PLO are just silly and misleading, but are wrong anyway. Of course it was a necessary historical stage to go through for the ANC national-liberation struggle to form a bourgeois nationalist independence government before the correct unending struggle for a proletarian-dictatorship socialist revolution could hope to make further significant progress in southern Africa. It would have been sectarian gibberish, incomprehensible to the African masses, to have agitated for a Leninist revolutionary movement in South Africa in direct antagonistic opposition to success for the ANC's national-liberation war. The cause of proletarian dictatorship was obviously served, not hindered, by the prior defeat of apartheid-imperialist dictatorship by the national-liberation forces. And that is even true to some extent in Occupied Palestine in spite of the trivial extent to which the Zionist Occupation has been forced to retreat, and in spite of the suicidal ludicrousness of the pocket-handkerchief sized 'independent' areas which Arafat has accepted as Palestinian 'self-determination'. That truly bogus 'settlement' will be

the death of Arafatism, which is to the good, but it will also be a further spur to a clearer understanding that it is imperialist economic domination of the region as a whole, spearheaded by the Zionist colonial presence, which must be defeated before genuine Arab national aspirations and self-determination can be achieved, – obviously only under proletarian-dictatorship revolution eventually.

Quoting O’Bradaigh’s views as ‘proof’ that Sinn Féin and the IRA are only negotiating with London in order to “do England’s dirty work in Ireland” for it, is just more sectarian unseriousness.

And it is just plain wrong, and shows disgraceful lightmindedness, to claim that neither nationalist or ‘loyalist’ workers have gained a thing from the brutal war being brought to an end by British military occupation’s acceptance of the IRA’s truce-for-talks initiative. These armchair socialists obviously have never even considered what an enormous national sacrifice has been put up by the Irish population of the Occupied Zone to sustain 25 years of unprecedented repression-terror by the British army, special assassination forces, secret police, and RUC shoot-to-kill squads, etc, plus concentration-camp internment without trial, the torture-barracks routine brutalisation of all nationalist suspects, and the nightly house-wrecking onslaughts on strongly republican areas, – not to mention the sinister murderous activities of the ‘loyalist’ fascist terror gangs.

The infamous irresponsibility for this casual Trot observation that the war might just as well go on for all the good that any ‘peace settlement’ might do, becomes more graspable when the Sparts’ motives are further probed. They actually hate the Irish national-liberation movement, and want it slaughtered, virtually accusing it of genocidal fascist intent against British imperialism’s ‘loyalist’ stooges, and joining in with British imperialist propaganda to denounce Sinn Féin as nothing but a movement of sectarian terror:

Any attempt to forcibly incorporate the large and relatively well-armed Protestants into the Irish clerical state could only precipitate a wholesale communal conflict. While Irish Republicans usually present their struggle as fundamentally directed against British imperialism, the more hardheaded IRA nationalists acknowledge that the Protestant Loyalists are the ultimate obstacle to their programme of reunification with the South. As one Belfast IRA commander told an American journalist:

“This is not about peace. This is about getting the referees off the playing field, about finding a way for the British to leave with some semblance of dignity. The real war has always been between us and the Loyalists. That has not changed, and that’s what we’re getting ready for.” —New York

Times, 2 September

The bloody logic of this nationalist line is currently being played out in the former Yugoslavia.

However, a central component of the IRA’s nationalist strategy involved reprehensible indiscriminate terror against Northern Protestants, as well as against civilian targets in Britain, aimed at exacerbating the communal divide between Catholics and Protestants and at galvanising the oppressed Catholic minority behind the banner of Green nationalism.

We call for the formation of integrated workers militias to combat both imperialist/Loyalist rampage and sectarian terror from any quarter.

The Protestant majority are deeply hostile to—and a significant number of Northern Catholics are wary of—the nationalist project of reunifying the North with the even more poverty-stricken and virulently anti-woman southern clerical state, where divorce as well as abortion is illegal.

And this Trot-totalitarian intolerance of genuine Irish national aspirations, barmily regarding the ‘loyalists’ as equally-good Irish patriots (!), – has had the lifelong nerve to denounce the Soviet workers state for its ‘undemocratic arbitrariness’. What a sick joke.

Time will tell what a monstrous misrepresentation the above comments are of the national-liberation movement’s intentions towards the whole population of Ireland, – nothing remotely in common with the genocidal, repressive, sectarian reaction which these Spart ivory-tower loons ascribe to Sinn Féin and the IRA.

Already the Sparts’ instant September predictions are looking not just silly, but looking like a clear provocation from these strange fake-“lefts”:

Meanwhile, the viciously sectarian RUC and Royal Irish Regiment (RIR) are still in place, and the heavily armed fascistic Protestant Loyalist/Unionist paramilitaries, who have killed far more people than the IRA this year—mostly in random, indiscriminate attacks on the Catholic populace—have refused thus far to reciprocate the IRA’s cease-fire.

As a woman from Ardoyne—a Catholic area of north Belfast where unemployment runs 47 percent—put it:

“I want peace but nothing has changed around here. The Brits and the peelers (cops) are still on the streets, young lads are still being harassed. We’re terrified of a loyalist attack” (*Irish Times*, 8 September).

Only hours before the cease-fire went into effect, a Loyalist gang dragged Belfast Catholic Sean McDermott from his bed and executed him. Shortly after the IRA declaration, John O’Hanlon was shot in cold blood outside a friend’s house in Belfast. On 5 September the Protestant paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force (UVF) set off a large car bomb outside Sinn Féin’s headquarters in Belfast, following up five days later with an assassination attempt against a Sinn Féin activist.

The actual historical developments are clearly different from these hopelessly wrong predictions revealing complete muddleheaded incomprehension of the first thing about the real class and national war situation in Ireland.

But exactly what the balance of forces between British imperial-

ism and the national-liberation movement will exactly throw up at this stage is obviously not yet fully clear.

Yet the signs still accumulate, – from the capitalist press’s own coverage of events, – that things are still well on course for completing the rout of the British imperialist colony on occupied Irish soil, and for the eventual reunification of Ireland under a bourgeois democratic republic, – the best conditions of capitalist dictatorship for proceeding with the struggle for a revolutionary workers state:

The symbolism carried more weight than what he said. Mr McGuinness, an executive member of Sinn Féin, told BBC TV’s *On the Record* he had received a private assurance from the Government that it was working towards a united Ireland, a claim first

The endless quantitative stream of dollar instability will result in a qualitative upheaval shortly, shattering the whole fabric of the counter-revolutionary postwar imperialist set-up. The shallow ‘anti-communist epoch’ will be no more.

[EPRS No798 18-04-95]

The international ‘free-market’ system is now in near-continuous crisis.

So vast has been the uneven development, due to the essential anarchy of private-enterprise competition, that the whole postwar US imperialist leadership structure of the ‘free world’ must collapse.

The endless currency turmoils and instability in every aspect of financial regulation are just the symptoms.

Behind the dollar’s relentless decline, which is regarded in a confusion of conflicting views as being either a good thing, or a bad thing, or a matter of no consequence either way, – the real strength of US imperialism’s former dominant positions worldwide must be crumbling too.

With this economic hauling back (in relative terms) of the USA, (and to some extent also of its closest Western ally in Britain), – the realignment to the postwar world in political and military considerations cannot now be long delayed either.

German and Japanese imperialism must again come to the fore, regardless of what traumatic inhibitions sections of their bourgeoisies might retain against such a transformation, not to mention the alarm that every other bourgeoisie will experience at such developments.

This will be the real shuffling up, not the explosive displays on the currency markets, – as damaging and sapping of confidence as they are.

In the throes of such an

made in January by Sinn Féin when it published secret correspondence between the party and the Government.

[Cutting continuation and several more here omitted on British talks with the IRA/Sinn Féin and the Downing Street Declaration (prelude to the Good Friday Agreement and steady snail’s-pace path to reunification)] [see EPRS Books Vol 22 Ireland Part 3]

Revisionism is the dying clammy hand of subjective bourgeois-idealist philosophy holding back workers from Marxist-Leninist science, – fake ‘socialists’ from right-wing Labourite ‘reformist’ class-collaborators to the sectarian Trot middle-class ultra-lefts at the other extreme. Build Leninism. Spread the *ILWP Bulletin* (EPRS).

Joe Harper

imperialist realignment, the full implications of which undoubtedly are immense but are very hard to fully envisage, – the world can never be the same place again.

The whole framework of modern history is the framework of one giant imperialist power after another rising to the top to challenge the existing inter-imperialist pecking order for the domination of world affairs, – a pattern merely temporarily concealed by the phony Cold-War standoff between the newly-formed camp of workers states and the entire might of imperialist gangsterdom in a brief show of ‘unity’.

With that deceptive Cold War swept aside to some extent by the far more pressing concerns of serious inter-imperialist rivalry breaking out unstopably once again (and further banished by the startling self-liquidation of the revisionist regime in the Soviet Union which had long yearned for a class-collaborating accommodation with the West), the old trade-war patterns of history, followed by shooting-war conflicts, are once more dominating the horizon[...]

[Cuttings omitted here on Japan stagnation and yen currency stabilisation – dollar fall instability – inter-imperialist intriguing in former Yugoslavia Balkans – US secret arming Bosnian Muslims by facilitating Iranian arms deliveries despite supposed embargoes.]

[...]The drift of events seems obvious. Along with imperialist economic power comes inevitably international political and mili-

tary power as well.

Despite not yet being officially nuclear powers, Germany and Japan are already the second and third most advanced and competent military powers on earth as far as the free-world and influence on open market politics is concerned. (Communist China might yet be stronger, but will remain isolated from the inter-imperialist intriguing to a certain extent, possibly playing a role only later as a last-minute ally for one or other of the imperialist camps, – just as the Soviet Union was able to do before World War II broke out to avoid being set up as a sacrifice on its own to fascist-imperialist aggression, – the fate the West intended for the USSR.)

Endless rows are already splitting the former 'free-world alliance', and always over questions of economic trade-war muscle, or directly over questions of regional military power-struggles where rival imperialist influences are already being accused of being 'the real trouble' behind any situation.

[...]As also analysed in last week's *Bulletin (EPSR)*, the 'new' rightwing reactionary mentality which is getting a grip of the American political establishment, is stupid and primitive enough to facilitate a hopelessly muddled arms race all over the planet without having the faintest idea of where it will all end, or what it really hopes to achieve by all these intrigues, other than keep in sight the main aim of doing down rival imperialist powers at all costs.

Into this confusion step the remnants of the fake-'left' in the West such as the Redgraveite 'Marxist' posturing, and other Trot middle-class sectarians, who have ostentatiously struck a 'revolutionary' pose over the imperialist-created Balkans turmoil, – but in favour of the Bosnian muslims and their allies as the progressive force in the area!

The way that these Bosnian muslims and their Croat fascist allies stooged for nazi imperialism during World War II to try to wipe out the communist partisan (mainly Serbian nationalist) resistance, is seemingly forgotten.

The current islamic-fundamentalist reactionaries pursuing opportunist petty-bourgeois politics in Sarajevo are supposedly somehow 'different' from their like-minded religious obscurantists of the 1940s who led 'Bosnia' into such infamous collaboration with the SS death squads trying to drown Yugoslav antifascist resistance in blood.

But the 'independent Croatia' allies of 'independent Bosnia' now, – as then, – are still as rampantly fascist as ever, – only this time without even the excuse of any dominant cultural

influence from Hitler-Germany's Wehrmacht hanging over them, – as the capitalist press itself is admitting:

PRESIDENT TUDJMAN of Croatia wants all non-white peacekeepers removed from the former Yugoslav republic in a move that has plunged the troubled United Nations operation there into fresh turmoil, and which is likely to be regarded as offensive by Boutros Boutros Ghali, the UN Secretary General, who is an Egyptian.

Dr Tudjman has told the UN that he thinks only "First World" troops understand Croatia's problems, but his position is being seen by many UN peacekeepers as "old-fashioned Croatian racism" one diplomatic source said yesterday.

The UN Protection Force (Unprofor) has had to change its name and mandate in Croatia to placate President Tudjman, who earlier this year threatened to expel it. The new, smaller force is to be called the UN Confidence Restoration Operation in Croatia (Uncro) to sound more Croatian.

The Croatian desire to remove African and Asian troops has caused special bitterness among Jordanian, Kenyan, Nepalese and Argentinian peacekeepers, who have risked life and limb trying to bring stability to the republic. Twenty-one peacekeepers have been killed in Croatia in pursuit of their duties, and 173 injured since the operation began in 1992.

The latest casualty was a Polish soldier who was shot dead yesterday after the Croatian army fired on a UN observation post along a demarcation line between Croatia's forces and Croatian Serb fighters.

Belgian, Russian, Danish, Ukrainian, Polish, Czech and Canadian troops are also based in Croatia, and it is not clear whether Dr Tudjman regards those from the former eastern bloc as suitable.

Paul Beaver, editor of *Sentinel*, a defence bulletin, commented: "There aren't enough white-faced troops to deal with Croatia anyway and, if you look at the Somalia pullout, it was the Indians who coped with it."

These appalling Redgrave-ite nincompoops have failed to hit the headlines with any comment on these allies of their Bosnian muslim heroes, but they have made news with their own latest political-cultural indulgence.

After another glossy write-up in the *Times* colour supplement at the week-end (following two such blurbs in *Hello*, the village gossip rag of the idle rich and stupid), it is appropriate to let the bourgeois press itself describe these Trots latest fake-'left' posturing fiasco:

IT is the ultimate irony for the Redgraves, theatre's most left-wing family. A company of Bosnian actors brought out of Sarajevo by Vanessa and Corin Redgrave and Unesco to perform in a festival of drama against fascism have gone on strike.

Instead of performing their acclaimed *Silk Drums 2*, director Haris Pasovic's Sarajevo Festival Ensemble sit on stage at the Riverside Studios in Hammersmith, west London, fielding questions from the audience, compered by an exasperated Corin

Redgrave.

In the studio next door, his sister performs *The Fall of Skopje*, directed by Ljubisa Ristic, Pasovic's former mentor, the most distinguished director in former Yugoslavia. Ristic is also the new head of Yugoslav Left, the Serbian political movement whose leading light is President Slobodan Milosevic's wife.

The official reason for the show's cancellation – it was due to run from last Tuesday to yesterday – was Sarajevo's worsening situation. 'We cannot perform because of the renewed shelling,' said Mr Pasovic.

'We're all very close to Haris and the people in the Sarajevo ensemble but we cannot put ourselves into their situation,' said Ms Redgrave.

'This is a political statement,' said Irena Mulamuhic, one of the actresses. 'It is a protest against the policy of Britain, John Major and Rupert Smith [the new UN commander in Bosnia].'

But one Bosnian Unesco source suggests another explanation: 'The real reason they are not performing is the presence of Ljubisa Ristic. Yugoslav Left has Communist ideology and it is run by Slobodan Milosevic's wife.'

This is all very embarrassing for the Redgraves: the spirit of cultural tolerance appears to be sadly lacking in the Sarajevo Festival Ensemble. 'You'll have to ask Haris,' was all Ms Redgrave would say about the Ristic question.

'Ljubisa Ristic was not the head of Yugoslav Left when he was asked to come here,' Mr Redgrave said. 'He only became head about two weeks ago. But there was never a question of asking him not to work.'

Relentless class-collaborating opportunism, and fake-'left' posturing muddleheadedness as a principle, don't appear in many editions of the *Communist Manifesto*. Maybe these 'Marxist Party' thespian automatons have just forgotten their lines again.

An even worse act were the hindsight reminiscences of the Redgraves' old pals in the Gorbachevite Stalinist bureaucracy, who were once hailed by Healy as the long-lost 'political revolution', – as recently packaged up by the BBC as a 'final verdict' on the USSR in the *Messengers from Moscow* series.

These monstrous dullards, now all scraping a living from Mafia Incorporated, or from imperialist handouts, or as occasionally sober props for the permanently

inebriated oaf Yeltsin, – parroted whatever imbecilic script-questions the BBC chose to put up to them.

The result made *Alice in Wonderland* seem like perverse deliberate sanity by comparison.

The first notion was that the Soviet Union collapsed from being a dogmatic system of totalitarian force, as founded by Lenin, which had its teeth drawn by one violent adventure too many, which meant that the entire USSR and its 70 years of successful history had 'overreached itself'.

The cause of this historic reverse, surely one of the most amazing military and political upsets in the whole record of human civilisation???? The squabbling reactionary islamic fundamentalist bandits of Afghanistan who had to have their entire operation organised for them by infiltrated spies from the CIA and Pakistani military intelligence, backed by a grotesque world media disinformation campaign plus caring concern from Médecins Sans Frontières, and money and even manpower from centres of muslim backwardness in Saudi Arabia and Iran, – a whole heaving mess of rotteness which has spent the subsequent six years since Soviet withdrawal just battering the entire country into an internecine factional obscurantist bloodbath, leaving not one stone of the capital Kabul piled on another. The Kray twins gang, or the Italian mafia, would have had a better chance of 'defeating' the USSR, which did, after all, wipe out Nazi German imperialism in four years of the bloodiest total war in history, and with one hand tied behind its back.

The Moscow revisionist regime certainly did pull out of Afghanistan with the job of suppressing the CIA-sponsored reaction against the 1978 socialist revolution in Afghanistan only half completed.

But the reason for leaving was straightforward political betrayal. The Gorbachevite revisionist traitors to Leninism had made up their tiny minds to embrace fullscale collaboration with imperialism and to abandon

Boris Yeltsin, counter-revolutionary president of the FSU (former Soviet Union - now Russia) - a "permanently inebriated oaf".





Working people of Afghanistan are carrying out the economic development plans of the April revolution. The photo shows women-workers of a textile mill in Kabul.

all further thought and mention of world socialism and anti-imperialist struggle. The Afghan revolution was simply left in the lurch to cope with all-out imperialist subversion as best it could.

The Red Army supported the Kabul government wearing kid gloves against the Islamic reaction, but were easily containing the sabotage. It would have been only a matter of time before the progress brought to Afghan society by its socialist government (the first-ever general education service, the first-ever health service, the first major industrialisation, etc) would have eliminated all further resistance.

And the idea that there was an anti-war protest movement inside the USSR which undermined the Soviet government is just the most ludicrous Western propaganda nonsense.

The next barmy notion floated by the BBC's tame revisionists was that the USSR collapsed because it had always had a false dogmatic ideology which proved unreformable. But later in the programme, one of these bureaucratic no-hopers quietly admits that it was their Gorbachevite 'reforms' which produced the chaos and proved utterly sterile, which is a different thing entirely.

Soviet ideology, from the start, was simply that the imperialist system would always sooner or later end up in economic and warmongering crisis which the workers of the whole world would eventually no longer be able to tolerate, just as the Soviet proletariat had finally been forced to make the Bolshevik revolution to survive, – a basic Marxist under-

standing of history.

Even after the earliest Stalinist revisionist retreats into delusions of imperialism collapsing peacefully ultimately, or of planned socialist economic developments simply overtaking the best productivity that imperialist exploitation could achieve, leading to 'peaceful roads to socialism' etc, – the basic ideology still remained that the anti-imperialist struggle would continue, and the world would ultimately go socialist.

Within that ideology, there had been more major reforms of the Soviet economy and state structures than in any other country in the world under any system.

Latterly, many such reforms of the USSR and the socialist camp had become a bit sterile but only because of the very retreat from a Leninist class-war perspective towards peaceful-road and permanent peaceful coexistence nonsense which the Gorbachevite 'reformers' finally became the stupid epitome of. Their 'reforms' did not work because they were not reforms at all, but a deliberate catastrophic liquidation of the very foundation of socialism, – the proletarian-dictatorship workers state, and its combative anti-imperialist ideology, the only possible philosophy which could make socialism work.

The next BBC proposal, through the mouths of revisionist dolts, was that fundamental Soviet military aggressiveness against the West had finally bounced back on the USSR, provoking Reagan to 'resist the evil empire', and forcing 'Soviet client states' to face growing powerful domestic resistance all over the world, etc.

And when this Western 'resistance to Soviet aggression' led to the Star Wars 'defensive system', then the USSR knew 'that it had bitten off more than it could chew.'

It could 'not keep pace'.

Its 'aggressiveness' had 'been the death of' the USSR, etc. "We decided wisely not to compete with Star Wars because it was beyond our power and our psychology", etc.

What utter total gibberish, – to commit suicide over some completely daft military fantasy by the most viciously murderous but clumsy bunch of imperialist gangsters in all history, in face of whom the Soviet Union 'deservedly' ought to feel 'guiltily defeatist', for some obscure reason, according to this drivel. No wonder these deranged revisionist prats sent themselves sprawling within months of their own 'reforms' of *perestroika* and *glasnost* (i.e. dismantling of the Soviet workers state).

For the record, the USSR had managed to compete, despite massive odds against it, with every single military aggression or new threatening weapons technology that imperialism had hurled against the socialist revolution ever since 1917, including the 14 capitalist armies of intervention, the Nazi German imperialist juggernaut, and all the nuclear and rocket developments of US imperialism. There had never been a single act of Soviet aggression in all history that was not in defence of existing socialist territory.

The final insanity of these BBC theses was the revisionist pretence that there had never existed any real outside imperialist threat to the Soviet Union. It was a complete fiction, 'invented by the regime' so as to be able to continue ruling the USSR 'by fear'; and the Soviet structure was 'no longer needed' as soon as Gorbachev explained that 'there was no outside threat to the USSR', etc. Only completely bemused imbeciles will swallow this crap.

The final decision to liquidate the Soviet workers state 'because we felt a political, economic and social crash coming' was almost certainly more of the Tienanmen 'democracy movement' and Helsinki-agreement reactionary

agitation which revisionism's own demented counter-revolutionary ignorance had long been stimulating, – a trivial petty-bourgeois posture which the KGB could have dealt with effortlessly, if given the go ahead.

The placing of Gorbachev's final conversion to liquidation while on a tour of Canadian wheatfields is most significant. Endless Soviet agricultural reforms may doubtless still have left much to be desired under such a cowardly and talentless political leadership, but comparisons of the hugely unfavourable Soviet climatic conditions with the most productive wheatfields in the world, and any comparison between humane socialist production (generously helping out half the world's national-liberation struggles) with the cut-throat competitiveness of top-rated monopoly-capitalist exploitation, – would be stupid in any product.

The disgraceful anti-theory philistinism of this last generation of Soviet bureaucrats must now be looked on as well got rid of. Bitter contradiction alone, in the FSU & elsewhere can now revive a fighting scientific-materialist philosophy again. Most telling story of the week was the IMF releasing its record-ever loan, – to the FSU, of course. Why so, given such a BBC 'defeat of communism', and given such a disastrous perspective now on all accumulated postwar dollar loans, about to wreck the leading imperialist currency? Because the 'defeat of communism' is a complete fraud, as everyone knows.

And because imperialism has no other counter-revolutionary trick than trying hopelessly to breathe new life into its now dying inflationary-boom mechanism, printing dollars. But this despairing tactic can only pour 'good' money after 'bad' in terms of adding to the worldwide dollar-debt pollution which is already suffocating the international free-market financial system.

Meanwhile, the arms race will continue everywhere, and Germany and Japan, – and many others besides, – will go nuclear in weapons as soon as it is really needed if they have not secretly done so behind closed doors already.

Build Leninism. JH

A Serb-nationalist rebuff for West's sordid warmongering intrigue in its Balkanisation drive, best available outcome to this sick crisis of 'free market' conflicts. Fake-'lefts' play more disgraceful role than ever.

[EPSR No805 06-06-95]

The course towards inter-imperialist war is relentlessly being set by the unstoppable and incurable trade war, which eventually is

bound to eclipse all other international considerations.

The bourgeoisie not only really believes in free-market competi-

tion, it simply cannot function as a class without it, – and without rationalising every aspect of its cutthroat ideology, – as the capitalist press is beginning to reflect:

The basic framework of the competitive imperialist arms race, – and how the capitalist trade-war crisis must end up in World War III, – is already absolutely clear to the most dimly politically literate.

Arms sales are pushed, – even at the cost of public taxpayers subsidies, because the greater the volume of sales worldwide, the more up-to-date arms-industry investment can any individual imperialist power afford to keep.

[...]Amidst all this imperialist mayhem, which is the only framework within which to try to analyse the significance of the class-force movements inside and outside ex-Yugoslavia or anywhere else, the last thing that the working class needs is such 'leadership' from fake-'lefts' in and around the Labour Party such as Foot, Loach, and the Redgraves, – hysterically baring their 'anti-Stalinist' credentials yet again, so as to adopt a huge 'democratic' pose in this epoch of growing warmongering tension, – of embracing 'multi-ethnic Bosnia' as a supposed 'great embarrassment to the Western leaders' etc.

What obscene nonsense.

The petty-bourgeois Muslim separatists in Bosnia did not get German Nazi imperialist backing, or Turkish imperialist backing before that, or US imperialist backing now, – because they are remotely 'democratic'. It is because such unrepresentative religious sects, promoted to bogus 'nations', typify the basic ingredient of the whole of imperialism's divide-and-rule Balkanisation policies all over the world, for all time, that these capitalist-opportunist obscurantists win support.

These reactionary Bosnian stooges, fresh out of their Nazi-imperialist uniforms to don the uniforms of US imperialist domination, just like their co-reactionary dupes around Tudjman's Catholic mafia in Croatia, – can only be a vehicle for further monopoly-capitalist destabilisation of the Balkans as the inter-imperialist trade war gets further under way.

The only genuine nationality standing up to imperialist warmongering interference and domination in the Balkans is that of Serbia, however unappetising its opportunist leadership may be.

There is only one kind of fascist aggression in history and it is inseparable from imperialist trade-war aggression.

For these Trots and near-Trots to denounce as 'fascism' the Serbian nationalist resistance to aggressive imperialist warmonger-

ing intervention to re-Balkanise the Balkans just as German Nazi imperialism and other imperialist aggressions before it did, – is such ludicrous insanity as to discredit such people for all times on all subjects.

Such 'left' posturing can only remain with one conclusion, – namely that the US and other Western imperialists who have started manipulating the politics of the Balkans, have moved in purely for 'humanitarian' reasons, and are about to emerge as the good fairies of world history.

Such degenerate madness is truly offensive.

Serb nationalism is not much to bank on either as a resistance to imperialism on a longterm full-time basis.

But in view of the desperate international trade-war crisis now closing in on the entire capitalist system worldwide, it is likely that eventually, all such national resistance to imperialist domination will learn what all the Yugoslavs themselves had to learn in the course of the 1930s depression and the subsequent second part of the unending world war for imperialist domination, – namely that only the rule of the working class, – a workers state under the dictatorship of the proletariat, – can finally give a guarantee of genuine independence, plus the only possibility of any kind of worthwhile future perspective under a whole planet of similar workers states, with capitalism's free market and its incurable warmongering crises banished for ever.

But 'left' individualism of the Trotskyite variety basically sneers at all such notions, in spite of paying lip-service to them under the guise of a loose adherence to 'Marxism'.

When it comes down to seeing the essential warmongering nature of the imperialist system, – as manifested now so obviously in the Balkans and everywhere else, – they simply refuse to see it.

For this demented middle class ideology whose basic economic, social, and cultural liaison is to the bourgeoisie, – the idea that it is the everyday American, British and French imperialist existence, that we are all so familiar with, which is currently the living embodiment of monopoly-capitalism's incurable warmongering-crisis tendencies, is unthinkable. They 'know' the West is imperialist. They 'know' that capitalism can never change from its inbuilt warmongering needs and inclination. But they look at the terrible chaos on the ruins of the Yugoslav workers state, – and they see Serbian nationalism as the coming "aggressive fascist threat to mankind"!!!!

This is because they in fact never 'see' or 'know' anything

at all. They are utterly incorrigible individualists of the most unpleasant posturing petty-bourgeois character whose pose in life is to be 'left'.

All that they can see in the Balkans is what they have hated all their lives, – namely Stalinism, namely the Serbian remnants of the Yugoslav workers state.

These middle-class individuals hate the dictatorship of the proletariat worse than any religious freak ever hated the devil, or any devil ever hated holy water, – despite all of their flatulent posturing of being so 'Marxist' or even 'Leninist' throughout their lives. It is all a totally demented deception. These are the most poisonous petty-bourgeois individualists that have ever existed. They have always hated the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, regardless of any occasional pained verbal acknowledgement to the contrary (in deference to their 'Marxist' posture), and they have always hated a thousand times more strongly anything remotely connected to the dictatorship of the proletariat in practice.

Hence their bizarre hysteria towards 9 million Serbs struggling for their own national self-determination in the imperialist-imposed ruins of socialist multi-ethnic Yugoslavia, and against being partitioned into stifling reactionary-religious artificial mini-states with no serious national perspective whatsoever, destined to be nothing but the stooge playthings of whatever next imperialist trade-war stunt hits the region.

Even allowing for some possible acts of clumsy brutality in the great three-way scramble between Serb nationalists and the Croat-catholic and Bosnian muslim religious sects (from being all muddled up under Yugoslavia) to get to where they wanted to be under Western 'recognition' pressure, unleashing an avalanche of 'ethnic cleansing' on all sides, – how could any sane person conclude that only Serbs could do such things, – especially in the historical light of the Tudjman-comparable Ustashe regime set up in Croatia by German Nazi imperialism (and echoed under comparable Bosnian muslims of the time) which in real fascist style (i.e. in the service of warmongering imperialist trade-war aggression) undertook on Germany's behalf to effectively wipe out the basic orthodox Serb nationalism from that part of Yugoslavia by murdering in concentration camps the million or so who refused to 'convert to Croat catholic loyalism'.

Besides which the evidence of renewed 'ethnic cleansing' against Serbs, by sectarian Croat Catholicism and Bosnian Muslimism this time round has already

been copiously established from the very beginning of this latest Balkans crisis by the capitalist press itself (see abundant past *Bulletins*).

All such crude chauvinism is obviously obscene, from all three sides. But Western anti-communism is basically responsible for that, or the Western tradition of uncontrollable hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat which felt it a matter of life and death to drive a stake through the heart of the Yugoslav workers state while it had the chance.

And where do these 'left' hypocrites stand anyway? Some of the most vicious and destructive 'ethnic cleansing' this century was committed right on their own doorstep, – by British 'democracy' in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, – a fascist-imperialist outrage all 'left' Labourites have cosily condoned or lived with ever since the 1921 scouring of the artificially gerrymandered borders of another imperialist-stooge bogus statelet – 'Northern Ireland'.

And the Trots come out of it no better, Loach's WRP having notoriously publicly backed away from its notional unconditional support for the national-liberation struggle throughout the 70s and 80s whenever such a stance might have brought the danger of Irish Gerry's collar being felt by the Old Bill, – at which moment 'Irish terrorism' would be opportunistically denounced, regardless of more than 50 years of anti-Irish ethnic cleansing in the Occupied Zone, (and remarkably different to current Trot attitudes to NATO embargo terrorism and air-strike terrorism against the Serbs on the Bosnian muslims behalf.)

And now the fake-'left', the greatest hazard in history for the working masses in their battle against imperialist crisis, – is poised to create catastrophic confusion as Western military aggression thinks about slaughtering the Serbs with the enthusiastic backing of the Trots, – completing the job that German Nazi imperialism, with its fascist Croat and fascist muslim stooges, failed to finish off in World War II despite the concentration camps.

And from just today's capitalist press reports, imperialism's fascist-military aggression machinery plus its local stooges smell no sweeter now than they did four years ago when the wretched Balkanisation intervention began:

[...]What a lovely world the Deutschmarks and the imperialist warmongering machinery are creating, just like in World War II, and just like in every capitalist-system crisis there could ever be. And to which the only possible answer is to fight for Marxist-Leninist science.

JH

Trot anti-sovietism still the worst possible influence on workers, betraying them to every aspect of renewed warmongering imperialist crisis from the Balkans arms-race colonising to job insecurity and housing.

[EP SR No806 13-06-95]

The revival of trade-union protest action (bank workers, nurses, health service workers, teachers, doctors, etc) has meant a bit more bounce for such 'left'-activist sects as the SWP, – middle-class 'revolutionaries' whose role in history is to demoralise and mislead the working class by their shallow opportunism, and hostility to theory.

When the SWP calls for a 'summer of discontent', it thinks and hopes it is addressing the same working class as of old, before the Reagan-Thatcherite years had conspired with Labour Party class-collaborationism and coincided with revisionist liquidationism to virtually wipe out most existing 'socialist' illusions.

In other words, the SWP thinks and hopes it is preaching to the duped Western working class of the Cold War era, misled by revisionism and reformism, which accepted the 'triumph of history' for capitalist imperialism and the corresponding supposed 'final defeat of communism'.

That is not a good working class to appeal to from the position of the anti-communist anti-Soviet SWP. It could only ever produce a 'revolutionary' leadership which would bring workers to the same catastrophe again that revisionism achieved.

The only worthwhile summons to renewed class struggle under capitalism's rapidly-emerging greatest-ever economic crisis on a worldwide scale will be one which consciously rejects all the old anti-communism as being the biggest disaster ever to undermine the proletariat.

This is far from SWP thinking. Exactly the opposite. These posturing ultra-'left' petty bourgeois are delighted with their anti-Soviet role which helped to finally bring down the proletarian-dictatorship workers-state (established by Lenin and the Bolshevik Revolution), 70-odd years after its establishment.

The claims of being 'Marxist' by every Trot sect that has ever existed have all been entirely bogus.

Soviet revisionism itself steadily retreated from Marxism-Leninism, obviously. But not all the 'opponents' of this retreat were what they seemed.

Leninist understanding demanded the strengthening of the Soviet proletarian dictatorship, always denouncing international retreats from the perspective of

a world proletarian dictatorship, and warning from 1985 onwards that Gorbachevism represented the worst liquidationism against Leninism ever to emerge within the CPSU bureaucracy [see EP SR Books Vol 13 *Gorbachevism*].

The Trotskyite and other fake-'left' so-called 'opposition' demanded the exact opposite, – the destruction of the proletarian dictatorship, regardless of all their pretence of standing for the 'defence' of the USSR with 'critical support'.

This was proved again and again, a thousand times over, when the practical positions adopted by the Trots towards the socialist camp over scores of years were indistinguishable from the counter-revolutionary subversion promoted by the bourgeoisie's other anti-communist agencies.

The Polish 'Solidarnosc' stunt provides the clearest example, promoted by the CIA and the Vatican as a 'trade union' fighting for 'grass-roots socialism', and instantly embraced by every fake-'left' group on the planet. Only the Leninist ILWP exposed totally this counter-revolutionary reactionary nonsense from the very first moment that Walesa poked his head over the Gdansk shipyard wall in the summer of 1980.

Walesa & Co were so obviously out to destroy the Polish workers state and planned socialism that only political imbeciles could have avoided seeing it. Every single Trot and other fake-'left' group, in Britain for example, cheered Solidarnosc on, – in spite of all the lying pretences since by some of them, such as the Sparts and the RCG, that their philistine 'left' shallowness did not get caught out, – on and on in most cases towards the total destruction of the Polish workers state and towards the status quo now which teeters on the brink of total fascist reaction, led by Walesa.

Therefore, far from opposing the Stalinist retreat from Marxism-Leninism, the Trot philistine dilettantes, denouncing everything that did not match up to their petty-bourgeois 'left' fantasies about the 'perfect revolution' (which never has been and never will be), in fact only ever agitated and acted to help speed up the defeat of the socialist-camp workers states.

This was always obviously inevitable from the unmistakably individualistic petty-bourgeois

class character of all of these groups and sects without exception.

It was also always obviously inevitable from any study of their profound real ignorance about, – and hostility to, – the scientific essence of Marxist-Leninist philosophy, – despite the many claimed poses of 'Marxism'.

In the SWP's case, of course, this came from the purest essence of philistinism, – most of their members being actually proud of their complete ignorance of the philosophical achievements of Marxist-Leninist science.

In the case of the most insistent claimants to a study of 'revolutionary theory', – the Healy-Redgrave WRP circus, – the joke at a summer-camp actors' performance sending up a particularly busy participant with the remark 'That's what I call a real volume 38!' was astonishingly much closer to the truth about that miserable destructive sect than was remotely imagined by most at the time.

Academic study of dialectical-materialism in the abstract, Healy's bizarre forte, is absolutely the wrong approach, laughably so.

The evolutionary progress of proletarian-dictatorship workers states in their historical setting, reflecting the international balance of class forces, – to a clear background of Marxism-Leninism's irrefutable conviction that only through a relentless strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat worldwide would a path towards true full democracy for mankind ever be carved out, – was always the highest point of struggle and the unarguable starting out point for all understanding of theory.

But only the ILWP has ever placed on its banner Lenin's classic phrase:

"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."

The 70-odd years of human existence without the capitalist class in charge, and without a capitalist

class at all, which passed in the Soviet Union (and later in the much vaster socialist camp), – in the forefront of world attention, in this, society's most advanced century ("by an enormous distance), creating a rival 'super-power' to continuing imperialist domination of the planet, – are the undoubted supreme embodiment (so far) of that proletarian dictatorship, and the unavoidable first focus of all class-struggle analysis.

The fake-'left' certainly lived parasitically off the Soviet Union, and never stopped sneering at its achievements, but despite the odd ostentatious show of 'solidarity' with the USSR by some Trots, and the 'knowing' desire by all middle-class posturers on the 'left' to acclaim the Bolshevik Revolution in some way or other up to a certain point – (as used to happen, at least, until the latest setbacks (to the vestiges of 1917) began to encourage even more opportunists to take the anti-Leninist path), – not the slightest trace of true understanding of what unconditional support of the Soviet workers state really meant ever emerged in these circles, all ashamed and embarrassed about the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Revisionism and Trotskyism alike, by different routes, in the end reached the same sorry debacle of failing to defend the Soviet workers state by the only way it could be defended, – by the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Thus the hope of the SWP, or any other fake-'lefts', to capture the 'revolutionary' leadership of the working class by agitation for a new summer of discontent, in circumstances where the proletariat has not even begun yet to fully grasp the crucial historical lesson of what a catastrophic setback for workers was the inability of the Soviet workers state, the world's first, to survive much beyond 70 years because of revisionist bureaucracy, – is a hope which confident and experienced revolutionary workers would have nothing but hostile contempt for.

Far from an SWP or other Trot

Trotskyists all hailed Lech Walesa, the fascist leader of bogus "trade union" Solidarnosc, here confiding in the ear of CIA-installed reactionary Polish Pope John Paul II



leadership being 'different' from the ultimate paralysed incompetence of revisionist bureaucracy, these fake-'left' bitter haters of the dictatorship of the proletariat would, from the start, quickly tend towards far worse class-colaborationism than even Stalinism eventually retreated into.

Screaming 'left' subjectivism of the "We will never betray our principles" variety is precisely not what is needed. What is required is a full grasp of Lenin's scientific understanding of the endless important implications of proletarian dictatorship, the main theme elaborated at great length in the collected works of the Bolshevik leader from volumes 24 to 33 – plus the bringing up-to-date of that understanding into the present-day circumstances of the international class struggle (see issues 1 to 806 of this *Bulletin*).

This crucial aspect of Marxist science has not only never featured in any aspect of Trotskyite contemporary 'treatment' of the international balance of class forces, but was consciously and deliberately reneged upon in all the fake-'left' dealings with anti-Soviet stunts in the West. Far from ever defending the Soviet proletarian dictatorship, the modern Trot and other "left" sects have only ever jumped on every anti-communist propaganda bandwagon that was kept going by the 'free world'.

Invariably the 'freedom' stunts unleashed endlessly by the CIA international headquarters of anti-communist propaganda, pushed hardest against the Leninist policy of proletarian dictatorship. Invariably, every treacherous petty-bourgeois Trot and other fake-'left' outfit under the sun would either refuse to speak up in unconditional support of the Soviet workers state, or most likely would join in the 'free world' sneering, either openly or in some sneaky phony 'workers democracy' back-stabbing.

Not infrequently, tragically, – especially towards the sick liquidationist end of the CPSU, – the Soviet revisionist bureaucracy itself would try to answer all this reactionary 'democratic' bourgeois propaganda in the West by emphasising some 'democratic' shallowness of its own, not necessarily always an exaggeration, but very often deliberately skipping over the question of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

All of this accumulated anti-communist backwardness has to be shed in the West (and everywhere else in the world) before anyone anywhere is going to come to grips with this towering imperialist economic crisis which is going to dominate and transform the planet as nothing else has done throughout all history.

For the anti-proletarian-

dictatorship Philistines of the SWP to be making a 'new' summons to workers for 'revolutionary' struggle without even the slightest adjustment to their old anti-communist stance, is either just a ludicrous perspective or a frightening nightmare (if workers really signed up for nothing better than more of this anti-theory philistine activism).

The passage of history itself will shift workers' understanding on. It is not conceivable that the coming crash of capitalism is not going to set up a furore about (among many other things) just what was the justification, in hindsight, of the endless debunking of the Soviet workers state's planned socialist development over 70 years, free from any slump or trade-war crisis, free from any mass unemployment sackings or exploitation, and always guaranteeing improving jobs and education for everyone, and a high standard of constant social services and welfare for all.

There will also be innumerable answerless questions about how the system of imperialist domination and permanent trade-warring arms race managed to fool the whole 'free world' (particularly thanks to the Labourite and fake-'left' parasites of Cold War anti-communism) into letting monopoly-capitalism relentlessly engineer itself into position for eventually unleashing inter-imperialist World War III for international supremacy, denying freedom from destruction, fear, death, and humiliation to the mass of humanity on a scale which would make the dictatorship of the proletariat's denial of 'freedom' to anti-communist agitation look like a vicar's tea party, by comparison.

There will be a huge price to pay for the decades of anti-communist lies both of the SWP fake-'left' variety, and the more straightforward bourgeois opportunist variety, openly backing capitalist democracy (the only historic alternative to the dictatorship of the proletariat).

Workers will not be able to fight the coming imperialist crisis simply on a trade-union reformist programme and strategy. Only Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory can possibly answer the challenge of bourgeois-idealist philosophy that the 'market' is the only fair and just arbiter of all things, including the 'necessary' level of permanent mass unemployment and its 'disciplining' effect on 'inflationary wage costs' and on 'inflationary public spending subsidies', and the like.

Only by denouncing late capitalism as a monopoly-ridden historical catastrophe for the majority of mankind in general and for society's peaceful cultural progress in particular will the

need for planned international economic development, free from trade wars, slumps, and the poverty diseases and social ills of exploitation and hopelessness, – begin to be seriously considered.

And only a consistently pro-Soviet Marxist-Leninist scientific understanding, built around proletarian dictatorship as the highest philosophical achievement of historical materialism, – can possibly be in a position to so denounce the 'free market' disaster[...]

Again this week, capitalism's uncontrollable 'surplus capital' crisis looks more like rumbling completely out of control than taking any other direction.

Thatcher has wound up the British imperialist isolationists yet another notch in their delusion that Deutschmark imperialism can somehow be evaded in its domination of Europe or that a way might be found for British ruling-class survival in all its old privileged positions either through independently fighting the coming inter-imperialist trade war for world domination, or by playing America's stooge, or by sticking its head in the sand and not 'deciding' its stance one way or the other (it would, in this case, be decided for it, one way or the other)[...]

The mentality and language is already turning very nasty, and there is nothing on earth that anyone can do, or will do, to stop it getting steadily worse and more belligerent.

The contradiction of relative 'surplus' capital is an absolute as far as imperialist ideology is concerned, – 'someone is going to go under, and it is not going to be me'.

This is being increasingly savagely muttered both within states and between imperialist powers, – and all the signs are already there of how ruthlessly these arrogant world-dominant entrepreneurs interpret the dictates of this situation, on behalf of themselves and on behalf of their 'own' bourgeois class.

They will sack any number of their own 'loyal' employees, and destroy any number of 'guaranteed' contracts (replaced by the 'temporary' contract treadmill), and boost their own personal fortunes alarmingly, – in pursuit of the killer instinct and the killer cost-saving strategy to achieve 'world' domination[...]

Nuclear weapons are the 'supreme commodity' in the never-ending capitalist arms race where the most ferocious rivalry is already under way, with dire consequences for any ruling class which fails to keep investment and production going for a sufficiently mighty arsenal of all descriptions for when trade-war push comes to shove after too

many unheeded cries of 'foul', – or fails to keep in good alliance or stoogedom with one of the more successful major players.

And foreign sales, as abundant past-*Bulletin* evidence from the capitalist press has demonstrated, are crucial for achieving the production and investment levels needed to keep ahead in the arms race, as well as being a prime cause themselves of some of the most desperate trade-war rivalry.

It is no accident that the biggest scandals of the corruption-filled recent years of capitalist government in Britain (and similarly echoed in other capitalist countries) have been the crimes of crooked or illegal gun-running, – in breach of 'proper' trade, City, or taxing practice, or in breach of 'enlightened' world-government policy, – such as the current 'arms for Iraq' racketeering partly exposed by the Scott inquiry, and being brazenly covered-up by the Major sleaze regime.

Foiled on this rampant war-mongering arms-race skulduggery, thanks in particular to the anti-communist 'left' reformist and Trotskyite bogus 'opposition' to imperialism (falling for every Cold War anti-Soviet stunt going), workers in Britain are already beginning to realise in a big way how badly they have been fooled over some of the supposed 'economic triumphs of the free-market system over communism', – such as the 'property-owning democracy'.

Just as big business is now getting nasty with all employees, sacking them or wiping out their perks or work guarantees (except to a favoured elite of high profit-producers), so has house ownership been turned into a nightmare for millions.

It is a time-bomb ticking under capitalism's 'new world order', as Thatcher pointlessly tried to warn the Tory government yesterday. But the truth is that finance-capital-industry-yields are being just as much squeezed by 'surplus' investment in a slump, just like any other business. And so horns must be pulled in, on housing as well as job security, these disasters for workers mutually reinforcing each other. *Cutting on massive repossessions[...]*

These are just some of the early catastrophic effects of the huge slump that is inevitably at last on its way to wipe out the entire mythology of postwar capitalist 'democracy' and its 'superiority' to the proletarian-dictatorship workers states, – myths parasitically depended upon by the 'left' anti-communists for their flourishing, and so crucial to revisionism's lunatic liquidationism under Gorbachev (a 'hero' to most fake-'lefts' and Trots).

Many other huge shocks to the anti-communist ideological

swamp blanketing postwar workers in the West (thanks to the fake-'left' and Trotskyite sects) are already in the making, – such as the astonishing widespread return to 'communist' voting in East Europe (workers still only getting revisionist posturing, of course, but making their planned socialist preferences abundantly clear, usually to the amazed censorship of the 'free world' press). Some faint admissions of this phenomenon have surfaced in Fleet Street, as follows, but the truth about the triumph of the workers states, (in spite of their abysmal revisionist failings in many respects due to rotten anti-Leninist leadership), will really hit the headlines when workers there resume their revolutionary struggle for proletarian dictatorship:

"Belarus voted for yesterday" said one observer, commenting on the May referendum that approved closer economic ties with Moscow, gave the Russian language virtual preference over the Belarusian tongue, and dumped the red and white national flag and symbol in favour of the old Soviet Belarusian design – albeit with hammer and sickle reluctantly removed.

Nowhere is nostalgia for the good old Soviet times greater than in the republic of Belarus, or White Russia. History has not smiled on this flat, green expanse of territory, which has been invaded countless times by armies on the way to Moscow and occupied by the Germans, the French, the Poles, and the Russians in repeated waves of bloodshed. No country, with the possible exception of Ukraine, suffered as Belarus did during the second world war, when it lost one-third of its population.

The calm and stability that came during post-war communist times were a welcome break from bloodshed, and the Belarussians enjoyed one of the highest standards of living in any of the Soviet republics. But in 1991 it all jerked unhappily to an end.

Belarussians looked at dramatic and painful economic reforms in Russia, shuddered, and did nothing. As a result, a mere 10% of its industry has been privatised. Since its unsought-for split from the other republics, conservative officials, including Alexander Lukashenko, the populist president, have kept the country much to the frustration of the International Monetary Fund, which has refused to lend Belarus any money.

Lukashenko, a former collective farm director, is operating without a legislature, a prosecutor general or a president of the constitutional court to get in his way. Apart from coinciding with the potato season, the elections were severely marred by the fact that Lukashenko banned all parliamentary candidates from state television, forbade them from spending more than the equivalent of £30 on their campaigns, and discouraged citizens from voting, saying that all the deputies "swindle".

The SWP & Co will undoubtedly supplement, in their usual sly fake-'left' way, every scrap of renewed anti-communist propa-

ganda by the CIA's imperialist brainwashing masterminds, distorting events in Belarus (largely edited out of the above piece) and everywhere else.

But relentlessly the news piles up that despite the things planned socialism failed to achieve (because of its degenerate revisionist leadership), the usually much more instantly and easily successful capitalist system (immediate glitz production, and never mind the exploitation or the longterm futility) is proving a disastrous replacement for the supposedly 'failed' Soviet workers state[...]

And still the fake-'left' wallows in the increasingly sly CIA anti-communist propaganda, similar to this latest style of Fleet Street 'heartbreak' subtlety over Bosnia, where supposedly 'free-world' gentleness and harmony are stressed rather than too blunt anti-Serb venom (although plenty of that eventually creeps in as well).

The typical soft-sell stuff, which has easily bamboozled the entire fake-'left' in Britain into anti-Serb hysteria, exactly as the CIA and other imperialist intelligence agencies have planned, – begins with such touching idylls as these:

That meant one certain outcome when the Bosnian Serb army shell was fired into Kappa, the crowded café area, in the early evening 18 days ago. Muslims would die but Serbs would perish too.

Dijana was a strong 20-year old and doctors thought she would make a fine recovery. She fought for 11 days, but hopes faded as infection set in.

In the seventh floor flat sat a Serb, a Croat and a Muslim. The first was Dijana's father: the second, her mother, and the third was her boyfriend. They huddled in grief, speaking in monotone, detached yet devastated. Friends scurried around, filling glasses with brandy or orange squash, and passing around coffee. There was sliced egg, cheese and meat. No one ate.

Samir Mujic was 29 when he died, one of the older victims. Most were teenagers. He ran a boutique, and was relatively well off. Samir was Muslim but his best friend, Nenad Radoicicj was Serb. He is now recovering on the second floor of the Gradira Hospital, one of 45 due to be taken abroad for medical treatment. Not one is going to Britain.

Nenad, aged 28, lost all his teeth in the shelling.

He pulled back his sheet to show he had lost both legs at the knee. He said it made him very angry. "I looked across and I saw my legs with the shoes on. They were new black slippers. I wanted to take them with me."

"The people who did this say they are Serbs. I am a Serb, and I have nothing in common with them. I love Bosnia and I love Tuzla, and I want to live in a place with Muslims and Croats.

I don't want to live where there are

only these people."

Miso Bozic is president of the Serb association in Tuzla, dedicated to peace within Bosnia's recognised borders. Momcilo Duric, aged 42, also a Serb, used to be in the old Yugoslav army. He went on the run when his commander ordered him to target Tuzla.

He is now a senior officer in the BIH army, second corps. He had a few days off because his daughter has just given birth to his first grandchild, a boy called Adi.

"This country is a Muslim, Croat and Serb country and that is the type of place I want for my grandson. Whatever I have in life, it is here.

"I was born here, and I will die here. Nobody will ever tell me to go and certainly nobody calling themselves a Serb like that will ever have any influence over me.

"What would make me happiest is for some of the Serbs who left our town to come back. As long as there is no blood on their hands, they will always be welcome here."

But at this slightly-overdoing-it-point of marvellous 'democratic' harmony, an unasked and unanswered question suddenly poses itself. Why did the majority of Serbs (more than 10,000) leave their homes and traditions in Tuzla in the first place?

Bit by bit, some hints of another reality break through this very, very carefully and cleverly crafted piece:

SELIM Beslagic, mayor, and another former communist, has taken a tough stand with the government in Sarajevo to protect relations here.

He forced the government army to back down last year after it attempted to eject Serbs from their homes in a nearby village to use the houses for army officers.

There are other problems. Tuzla is beginning to tire of the refugees, welcomed three years ago when they were kicked out their own towns and villages. Some have been given good flats, and they often sell the humanitarian aid they receive.

For their part, many refugees cannot understand why Serbs are allowed to remain in their homes. There have been minor skirmishes, said Mr Bozic. "It's understandable when you think what they have been through."

But the majority of Serbs did not remain in their homes, it is admitted. It could not just be, could it, – as the Serbs have consistently maintained, – that they were 'ethnic cleansed' out, in the very first months of separatist mayhem unleashed by Western subversion of the Yugoslav workers state (with the help of German Nazi imperialism's old fascist stooges from World War II among the Croatian Catholics and the Bosnian muslims) which caused the Serbs to go to war in the first place?

There is more suspicious smoke, reading carefully between the lines:

An old Communist Party man, like many here, he thinks its legacy negated extremism. Tuzla, which

fought strongly with Tito during the second world war is still proud it was, in 1943, the largest town in continental Europe free of fascism.

The nationalist parties never took off in Tuzla, and a 1991 census showed almost one quarter of people regarded themselves as Yugoslavs. A similar poll now would, he suggests, show almost everybody calling themselves Bosnians, rather than Serbs, Croats or Muslims.

Nice praise for the Tito communist party, – thanks. But surely the great political question then is: So why break up socialist Yugoslavia in the first place? And why should Serbs have to change from being free and equal citizens of Yugoslavia whether living in so-called 'Bosnia' or 'Croatia', to having to become a clear Serb minority once the artificial sectarian mini-states have been set up there, with their unhappy anti-Serb fascist traditions (nearly one million Serbs butchered under 'independent' fascist Croatia during the German Balkan-ising occupation, for example).

The unwitting admissions go on:

People had a lean time here for more than a year. The Bosnian Croats blockaded the route to the Adriatic Sea, and the 150,000 inhabitants and refugees relied on humanitarian aid. It was scant – only one third of the target got through.

But that phase of the war, between the Bosnian government army (the BiH), and the Bosnian Croat forces (the HVO), came to an end 16 months ago and they are now colleagues in the Bosnian Federation which covers 51 per cent of Bosnia-Herzegovina.

And so it was that supplies began rolling again through central Bosnia. The shops are now full and the prices reasonable. It is even possible to buy dirty magazines.

So the really nasty trouble was caused by Croat ethnic-cleansing separatism, it seems, blockading everyone to starvation. The Western-press-notorious 'Serb blockade' seems to be doing nothing of the sort. (The wake was well supplied too, it is noticed).

And on:

The Bosnian Serb fighters regularly respond to any government offensive by targeting civilians. Their mortar, from Osren mountains, 12 miles to the east, was designed to cause the BiH to pause and ponder.

So the alleged Serbian killer shell was in fact during a Serbian response to yet another 'government offensive' by the Bosnian muslim fundamentalist-separatist fanatics. More Serbian houses to be requisitioned?

But the fake-'left' and swp-type Trots will just lap up all the CIA-type disinformation as usual, and fall for this imperialist-warmongering imposed separatism for Balkanising Yugoslavia anew, in order to divide and rule, just as under German imperialism from 1939-1945. Reactionary Serb nationalism-revisionism

is a pity, if understandable. But something closer to (or better than) Tito communism would be welcomed by all genuine proletarian internationalists in ex-Yugoslavia right now. Not by SWP anti-communists, however. Build Leninism. JH

tarian internationalists in ex-Yugoslavia right now. Not by SWP anti-communists, however. Build Leninism. JH

Divided trade-war imperialists have no wish to bury the hatchet, – except in each other. Blitzing the Serbs' smallscale independence fight would just be the criminal violence of the despicable inter-imperialist supremacy conflict. But Balkans and Ireland show that defeat for imperialism is the real perspective

[EPSR No812 25-07-95]

Events in the Balkans and Ireland demonstrate some crucial philosophical truths of historical-materialist science which, fully understood, will give unbeatable strength to the international anti-imperialist movement among workers.

In former Yugoslavia, the 10 million Serbs' refusal to accept the Balkanisation of their country into artificial mini-statelets dominated by reactionary middle-class religious mafias who would be nothing but stooges for Western imperialist influence, and which would destroy the one genuine regional nationalism by forcing nearly half of all Serbs to become discriminated-against minorities inside fanatical confessional hell-holes (like Muslim Bosnia or Catholic Croatia), – has laid bare a vital perception for the fight against the degeneracy of monopoly-capitalist crisis.

In the long run, the imperialist powers cannot avoid being split irreconcilably, – on everything, – and this simple understanding, fully and well grasped by workers, will be of colossal significance for the eventual socialist revolution.

The fake-'left', – (bogus petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' like the SWP, RCP, WRP and Eurocommunists), – have always kept workers divided for the most part throughout history by their theoretical confusion. Only briefly have genuine Leninist parties like the Bolsheviks managed to build enough support for relentlessly-disciplined parties of revolutionary-theory leadership to set up proletarian dictatorships, the only way state power will ever be conquered by the working class.

Not only does the 'left' fail to see the splits in the warmonger Western powers as a great anti-imperialist victory in Bosnia; most of these anti-Leninist dilettantes are busy cheering on the incipient monopoly-capitalist blitzkrieg on the Serbs.

Demonstrations on Saturday projected an obscene 'unity' between reactionary Labour MPs and even more reactionary university academics with those WRP stalwarts Redgrave, Loach, and Redgrave to demand 'armed force' to 'stop rape' in Bosnia.

The charlatan Redgraves were less belligerent about stopping rape inside their own Workers Revolutionary Party. Refusing to condemn the monstrous sexual exploitation of scores of female WRP workers and members by the disgusting old revered guru Gerry Healy, imposed on them in an intimidatory nonsense about 'collective duty' and 'collective discipline', etc, – the Redgraves dismissed the accusations as 'not a principled issue of class politics', and continued supporting the mad old brute until his death.

The pro-Muslim politics over Bosnia of their 'Marxist Party' are even more disgusting, – worse than their insane ecstasy over the Gorbachev-Yeltsin counter-revolution as the 'socialist revolution restored at last', and a worthy follow-up to the WRP's equally-deranged past worship of Saddam Hussein and Ayatollah Khomeini as two of the 'world's greatest spontaneous revolutionaries' and the equally despicable lauding of Gaddafi and Arafat for financial gain, – all obscurantists who may have played an involuntary anti-imperialist role of sorts at times but who also all ultimately represent a hopeless obstacle to the necessary flourishing of Marxist-Leninist science.

Now the craziness of this fake-'left' Trotskyism is just openly backing Muslim reaction without even the slightest pretence of any 'revolutionary' hidden virtues. The most backward CIA, State Department, and Middle-Eastern forces are behind this Izetbegovic, Silajdzic, Sacirbey mafia selected out to help put the firmest nails possible into the coffin of the deposed Yugoslav workers state so that it should never rise again. No surprise that Trots should be in the company of such pro-imperialist stooges as ex-Labour leader Foot on such a reactionary platform. How typical that such unprincipled anti-communist extremists as the Redgraves and Foot could cheerfully forget their previously diametrically opposed positions on, say, Saddam Hussein, in order to put the collective boot into the Serbian national-liberation struggle on behalf of Western imperi-

alist reaction.

Even sections of the capitalist press, in quieter moments in between the lines and behind the headlines, occasionally make a better stab at grasping what really reactionary imperialist forces and conflicts lie beneath the purely superficial 'Aid for Bosnia' racket than do Foot and the Redgraves and Loach, – admitting, almost, that German Fourth Reich ambitions are a key to this vicious Balkanising sabotage of former socialist Yugoslavia (with the Serbs at its heart, – the only 45 years of ethnic harmony the region has ever known, and the only possible basis for any real or lasting multi-culturalism and multi-nationalism there), – and also nearly grasping that inter-imperialist rivalry is the most important and threatening phenomenon in the Balkans:

But the 'human rights' posturing of Foot and the Trots over Bosnia is a million subjective-idealist light years away from seeing inter-imperialist conflict as the issue really worth holding a London march and rally over. These middle-class philistines are on a different planet to these genuine concerns of Marxist-Leninist science. Such are the consequences of hostility to advancing a theoretical understanding about real world developments as opposed to merely academic theoretical exercises tacked onto profound anti-communism and anti-Sovietism just for a 'left' effect.

But the West is divided by insoluble trade-war contradictions as never before. The anti-communist 'New World Order' which alone 'unites' every shade of reactionary from the weird Murdoch-Blair-New Thatcherite opportunism to the even more nauseating Foot-Redgrave-Loach obscenity, – is in fact the very essence of the new capitalist-crisis instability.

The huge joke on all these anti-communist ghoulis is that at the very moment of their supreme anti-Soviet 'triumph', it is imperialist reaction itself which is in the greatest trouble.

NATO blitzkrieg air power may yet rape the Serbs again, even more brutally than before.

But it is against each other that the real imperialist knives are out.

Pacifying the Balkans for possible political-economic exploitation or mere territorial-base advantages is a marginal contingency plan. The Great Powers have followed each other into this quagmire largely in order to avoid loss of face and prestige, as accepted in part by the above bourgeois press comments.

Once there, the game has far more been one of keeping up appearances rather than any great concern at all for what is happen-

ing on the ground.

The anti-Serb propaganda racket, dominated by the CIA-influenced international news agencies, is to some extent running to its own agenda, taking up where earlier bilious anti-communist fabrications left off. The major imperialist rivals, however, have been much more busy watching each other.

As noted, even the capitalist newspapers are aware that the 'free world' leaders are looking for each others' diplomatic gaffes or tactical mistakes to exploit or make fun of rather than take any real interest in the tragic fate of the wretched Yugoslavs:

PRESIDENT Clinton has ordered the Central Intelligence Agency to make economic espionage against America's trade rivals a priority, intelligence sources say.

The CIA provided strong intelligence information on the Japanese during this spring's motor industry trade negotiations between Washington and Tokyo. "We've done really well," one source said.

The talks ended in compromise, and critics said negotiators and officials in each country had misjudged the political undercurrents influencing their rivals. Even so, sources say that the United States trade representative, Mickey Kantor, was pleased with the agency's accurate reports on the bargaining positions of America's rivals in the motor trade talks and other negotiations.

The CIA refused to comment and it is unclear whether the US used electronic bugging methods or covert agents against the Japanese.

The shift to economic intelligence began well before Mr Clinton's new directive. Once it became clear that economic rivalry with industrial superpowers such as Japan and Germany was being viewed by the White House and Congress as a critical national security issue, following the collapse of the Soviet Union, the agency began to divert resources from Russia and other traditional targets.

The shift has not been an unqualified success. The CIA was recently humiliated by a bungled operation in France which is now being investigated by the agency's inspector-general, Frederick Hitz, urged, on by the Senate intelligence committee.

As a result of the French debacle, the CIA's new director, John Deutch, has vetoed the appointment of Joseph DeTrani as the agency's Paris station chief, sources say. As European division chief, Mr DeTrani was responsible for overseeing the French government and unearthing the secrets of French and European Community economic and trade policies – much as the French have spied on US corporations.[...]

Uncovering bribes by rival countries competing against US companies for contracts abroad is another area that the CIA is developing. [...]

The new focus on economic espionage has put the intelligence services of the US and its allies in a delicate position: they are spying on each other to gain economic advantage while continuing to share information on military and national security affairs. – *Los Angeles Times*.

There is a particular fascination with wondering how Germany would cope with finally having to try to reassert its undoubted imperialist power once again, – especially in such a sensitive area as the Balkans where Third Reich military aggression still stirs such hostile passions. How will the Fourth Reich be received?

Various imperialist government speculations and propaganda ambushes are detectable in the off-the-record briefings which inspired the above report, supposed to be about the Lancaster House discussions on what military action to take next over Bosnia. The imperialist powers' real worries are about what trade-war action, and worse, they may soon have to take against each other.

Germany is paying the piper and so Germany is calling the tune on what should happen around Europe. But French imperialism is speculatively wondering, with a sneer, whether the Germans could go it alone if they have to, bearing in mind hostile European memories of past German militarism, and asking itself how much more European Union cover it dare lend the Germans.

At the same time, the French imperialist bourgeoisie are prepared to stir everybody up in order to remind the world once again of France's nuclear muscles, while simultaneously playing the European card once more against British imperialism, hoping to keep London distrusted as just a US imperialist stooge, and at the same time to exacerbate the known divisions within the British bourgeoisie over whether to try for a European alliance or an American alliance in the coming inter-bloc trade-war holocaust, (it is interesting to note in passing how it is another old Trotskyite 'left' fraud, Cohn-Bendit, who is leading the clamour in Germany for the imperialist Wehrmacht to renew throwing its weight about).

The inter-continental dimensions of how the imperialist powers are much more concerned to watch each other's movements and prevent any advantage being taken, rather than really worry about what is happening to the people in the Balkans, – are made clearer [by..]American fears of German nuclear ambitions:

Cutting on German nuclear research reactor

These are embarrassingly touchy subjects, – the West having taken advantage of Germany and Japan for decades by leaving it publicly unstated, but privately understood, how appalled world public opinion would be at the idea of Germany and Japan trying to complete their industrial-imperialist regeneration by becoming fully competent nuclear powers as well, just like the other imperial-

ist trade-war giants.

Anyone with half a brain would bet that German and Japanese imperialism has been secretly working for decades on perfecting all the nuclear know-how that their international trade-war rivals possess, including, of course, nuclear weapons know-how.

But the time was always likely to arrive when it would have to become a matter of public knowledge (and concern) that German and Japanese imperialism are fully back in the picture again for world domination once more. That moment looks like it might have come already.

In a routine cover-up to continue avoiding alerting the world's masses to the really serious threat to "human rights" of forthcoming inter-imperialist conflict (aided by Trot muddle-headed reactionaries who want to convince people that the national-liberation struggle of 10 million Serbs is the real threat to mankind), – this report uses polite euphemisms about 'non-proliferation' of 'highly enriched uranium' with the 'high neutron-flux' when the real issue is weapons-grade uranium which should be banned, say the West, to on no account give their German imperialist rivals any access to the atomic bomb.

The NATO imperialist 'allies' are almost certainly wasting their time in trying to restrict the development of German and Japanese imperialist might in this way.

In spite of French derision of Britain for keeping its options open to switch to an American power bloc for defence and warmongering purposes depending on which direction or how disastrously the trade war goes, potential collective European Union security remains a major battleground for monopoly-imperialist concerns.

As with the American ruling-class worries over a possible German nuclear bomb, all of the talk in public is really a code language for how the imperialist rivals see their opportunities shaping up for when the trade war gets closer to fullscale inter-imperialist shooting war once again:

Once again, the deep splits which have paralysed the British ruling class party (which came so close to toppling John Major and forced power-sharing on him with Michael Heseltine) over whether to get deeper into European Union or encourage the American alliance more, are making themselves felt throughout the industrial bourgeoisie as well. No wonder British imperialist policy on the Balkans quagmire has been even more constipated than the paralysed-enough manoeuvres of the rest of the imperialist gangsters.

That paralysis in London has extended to what was already an arthritic-enough programme for the snail's-pace withdrawal from the Occupied Zone of Ireland, – the elimination of one of British imperialism's final colonies, the non-existent bastard colonial statelet of 'Northern Ireland', a survival of an earlier divide-and-rule creation of an imperialist-stooge confessional hellhole (under the Orange-lodge fanatics).

But despite the enormous confusion generated by the extreme sclerotic condition of the collapsing British imperialist ruling class in recent weeks, latest developments have indicated that the snail's-pace withdrawal, the ILWP's unique analysis of the conflict in Ireland (see *ILWP Books* vol 8,15,22,25-28), remains on course.

The desperate British cover-up of its retreat plus the chaos of last month's leadership resignation and electoral challenge, have conspired to continue fooling everyone (i.e. those who want to be fooled like some middle-class diehard reactionaries and their close cousins in the fake-'left' Trotskyite groups) that it is Irish Republican Army/Sinn Féin struggle which has capitulated, and British imperialism which has 'won'.

That very queer outfit *Living Marxism* has been one of the latest to sneer at the guns-in-hand Irish national-liberation struggle for 'bottling out':

Every assumption of the *Framework Document* is anti-nationalist. There is no concession to Ireland's right to form one independent nation state.

Under the terms of the *Framework Document* British dominion will remain over Irish affairs.

The acceptance by the Irish government and even more importantly by Sinn Féin of the legitimacy of diverse 'identities' and 'traditions' in Ireland marks the end of Irish nationalism. Ireland will never be a nation.

Previous outbreaks of republican resistance ended in heroic defeat, but always with the pledge to try again in more auspicious circumstances.

The final phase of the last 25 years is descending into low farce. It is a truly pitiful end to a once powerful movement, and a poor tribute to those who fought and gave their lives for Irish freedom.

This is the most obscene nonsense from emotionally-retarded Trotskyite dilettantes of the most diseased kind.

Deviously, these demented buggers also admit that the great aim of the Sinn Féin national-liberation struggle, – the downfall of the hated fiction 'Northern Ireland', – has also been achieved.

But their dishonest tortured way of accepting this in order to conceal their own past incorrectness about the conflict in Ireland is to provocatively declare:

"Now that Irish nationalism is dead, the nuisance of partition can finally be removed".

The pretence is that the British imperialists have long wanted to get rid of their bankrupt Orange-Unionist colony as too unwieldy,

preferring more subtle methods of control.

Certainly, world and British imperialist influences will still pollute the politics of Ireland for some time to come, no one is denying it.

But all of this misses the point entirely that British imperialism, – aided for a long while by the condoning complacency of world imperialism, fought ferociously with every dirty means in the book in order to try to avoid being defeated (by armed revolutionary struggle, with all the terrifying significance that would have for the international bourgeois system), – in order to 'defeat terrorism'. And British imperialism failed catastrophically.

The triumph of the Irish national-liberation struggle is to be seen precisely in the winding up of the despised colonial statelet and Partition. Only the most deranged subjective-idealist political posturing could pretend to conclude that Partition is dead, but that Irish nationhood is also now dead. It is a nonsense not worth arguing against.

The diverse identities and traditions in Ireland do not and could not remotely stop Ireland from being Ireland, however dubious they were and however much begrudged 'recognition' they receive. One trip to Ireland would suffice to prove this, if it was not spent hanging around men's public lavatories the whole time. It has always been obvious that the 350-year British colonial plantation should be given the choice to become really Irish, under Irish sovereignty, or to remain as foreign visitors, or to emigrate to South Africa as the Orangemen used to do (a less viable option for racial bigotry now). Most, of course, will stay. But Ireland will still be Ireland.

These fake-'lefts' wrote off Sinn Féin because they could not grasp that imperialism could be defeated, and defeated at the hands of revolutionary struggle, without it necessarily being at the hands of these self-aggrandising Trotskyites, full of the most insane subjective conceit.

They also could not remotely grasp the crucial lesson of Marxist historical-materialist science that a defeat for imperialism, at whoever's hands, would be the only key to unlocking the door to future socialist progress in Ireland (and in Britain too).

These lunatic Trotskyite sectarians have been vilifying and undermining anti-imperialist struggle after anti-imperialist struggle for decades on the idiot grounds that the anti-imperialist fighters were not 'perfect revolutionaries' like these armchair-socialist dilettante Trots puff themselves up to be.

The real condemnation of Sinn

Féin and the IRA of course, was in practice nothing but a gift to imperialism's counter-revolutionary efforts. It is only the Trots, of course, who have never done anything but 'betray the revolution', – 100% in every situation in history.

But despite all this fake-'left' subjective denigration from the petty-bourgeoisie, despite all the British big bourgeoisie's delaying tactics and cover-up confusion-mongering, – the defeat for imperialism is clear.

The latest alarms about the peace process have been settled by capitalist press admissions that the imperialist bourgeoisie has now begun full talks with the 'unspeakable terrorists' who at one time were to be 'only totally destroyed'. The remnants of the British colonial community can only foam at the mouth in wounded disgust at their total betrayal. Paisley may be only a joke now, but he is not joking in his bilious hatred for the ending of Partition and his apoplectic outrage at being sold out, and he has only been made a joke by the triumphant struggle of the Irish national-liberation movement.

The British media also reveal that as well as the start to full-scale negotiations between the Government and Sinn Féin, there are other snail's-pace concessions in the pipeline, exactly as the ILWP has long been explaining would happen:

There is an expectation in security circles that the Government will announce the reintroduction of 50 per cent remission for paramilitary prisoners. Legislation brought forward in November would mean the release of about 100 prisoners by Christmas.

More transfers of republican prisoners from English jails are in the pipeline, as are proposals to further disarm the RUC. At a Sinn Féin demonstration in Belfast on Friday, many police officers were not carrying even standard issue revolvers.

There is speculation that Sir Patrick is considering a compromise on political talks, which would fudge the issue of "substantive" and "exploratory" negotiations with Sinn Féin. An informed source speculated this might take the form of an open table at which the Northern Ireland Secretary would be prepared to meet any of the parties. It would be up to them to choose when and with whom they would convene.

At the same time, British and Irish civil servants are said to be casting around for a suitable candidate to head an independent commission which would oversee the practicalities of disarming the paramilitaries.

Sinn Féin's view is that the release of prisoners is a distraction and that only the setting of a date for all-party talks – sometime within the next six months – will avert the impending crisis.

In a radio interview before the talks between Sir Patrick and Mr Spring at Hillsborough, Co Down, Mr Adams said he had informed Sir Patrick "that

the IRA... were not going to decommission unilaterally at this time or as part of a precondition." Usually reliable Unionist sources yesterday said they believed Northern Ireland Office officials were working on a form of words which would fudge Sir Patrick's insistence on substantial arms progress and which would pave the way for all-party talks as soon as September. But Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists have made it clear that they would not attend such talks, while the Ulster Unionists are facing a leadership change and would be incapable of approaching the table.

Earlier Sir Patrick, defending his secret meeting last week with Mr Adams and Martin McGuinness in Londonderry, said the Government was asking only for a start to be made on the decommissioning of weapons and there was a "fair hope" this could happen soon.

But Mr Adams rejected this in a separate radio interview later. "I told Sir Patrick Mayhew very frankly that as the leader of Sinn Féin, I accepted no preconditions being placed upon our party," he said.

However, there are some signs that London is warming to the idea of an independent commission to oversee the disposal of paramilitary weapons. The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, said the idea had been discussed and not ruled out during the three-hour meeting with the Irish Foreign Minister, Dick Spring.

In a further move, up to 20 high-profile Irish terrorist prisoners are to be repatriated to the Republic in an attempt to ease severe tensions in the Anglo-Irish peace process.

In a separate move, a further three IRA prisoners who are on a 'dirty protest' at Whitemoor jail in Cambridgeshire – Feilim O'Adhmaill, Liam Heffeman and Martin McMonagle – are to be sent back to Northern Ireland

Being repatriated to Ireland was a main aim of the 'dirty protest'.

The British imperialist retreat is the key to another vital revolutionary understanding. For decades, the Trot sectarians have been screaming abuse at the national-liberation struggle for 'dividing the proletariat' in the Occupied Zone, (which the Trots have always been willing treacherously to call 'Northern Ireland' as if it were a real country, and regarding the working-class colonists there as the normal proletariat of a regular capitalist country). The Irish national-liberation struggle was denounced for encouraging 'Catholic sectarianism' and for driving 'Protestant workers' into the arms of British imperialism.

The ILWP has alone long explained that the only front line in the anti-imperialist struggle was the national-liberation struggle led by Sinn Féin and the IRA and that such a revolutionary fight should have the unconditional, if critical, support of all revolutionaries everywhere as being the likeliest route to the defeat of British imperialism in Ireland.

Only such a defeat, it was repeatedly explained, could at last

release the so-called 'Protestant working-class' (really only proletarian colonists until the defeat of Britain) from being stooges for their own British ruling class. And only then could the fight for the socialist revolution in Ireland, based on the entire working class, really begin.

And so it has proved.

It is the defeat and humiliation for British imperialism in the guerrilla war which has finally given colonist workers the chance to see their own exploitation at the hands of the Orange bourgeoisie, and the utterly futile perspective of tying their fate to that of the British colonial ruling class any longer.

This process is still in its very early stages, but the evidence for it is provided by the capitalist press itself:

In the ten months since the Nationalist and Loyalist ceasefire, old enmities have begun to fade and in spite of the painfully slow progress of peace negotiations at Westminster level, new allegiances are being forged on the streets of Belfast. There will be some elements of the ancien regime out there today attempting to stir up traditional hatreds, but they are outnumbered by those who see that a chapter of Northern Ireland's bloody history has closed.

The ceasefire and the publication of the *Framework Document* left the old Unionist parties of Molyneux and Paisley either raging in impotent silence or standing on the sidelines unsure of what to do next. Molyneux's Ulster Unionists took a battering in last week's by-election in well-to-do North Down.

Meanwhile, a further two new Loyalist parties have emerged on an increasingly fragmented political scene. In the same way that much of Sinn Féin's clout stems from it being the political wing of the IRA, Garry McMichael's Ulster Democratic Party and Billy Hutchinson's Progressive Ulster Party have won respect because they represent the former gunmen of the UDA and the UVF respectively.

In the PR war that has replaced the shooting war, Gerry Adams and Sinn Féin have so far won hands down. Once demonised, he is now lionised. So where are the province's Protestant standardbearers in the new struggle for hearts and minds? Where the once ubiquitous Dr Paisley, last seen being unceremoniously ejected from Downing Street?

Where the prim and grim James Molyneux, leader of Ulster's largest Unionist party? It's as if 25 years of bluster and defiance of the South and of British perfidy have simply evaporated.

David Adams of the new Ulster Democratic Party, the political voice of the proscribed Ulster Defence Association. Adams has, as he puts it "been active in the Loyalist cause" since his teens. He seemed not entirely at home in the neat suit, shirt and tie. Unlike some of the slick performers brought to the fore by the peace process, he seems sincere. "The crucial mistake made by the Protestant working class was 25 years ago when the

civil rights campaign started and we didn't get up and nail our banners on to sticks and walk with those people. For we were as disadvantaged and didn't realise it."

David Adams comes from a family of ten where only his father was entitled to a local council vote. Like many of his contemporaries, he dropped out of grammar school because he felt out of place among the middle-class and well-off children. "Northern Ireland is a very snobby society, I found school a complete nightmare." He sees the stance of the new parties, his own and Billy Hutchinson's Progressive Ulster Party, as "far more realistic and moderate than those politicians not personally involved in the armed struggle. We know the outcome of setting people on a certain course of action. We know the communities that are going to suffer for it..."

"There is not a hope in hell of a peaceful settlement without a settlement for all the prisoners " said Adams. "Only for the troubles, most would never have seen the inside of a police station let alone prison.

"All political representatives must get together with the serious intent of working something out."

[Cutting continues - full analysis in EPSR Books 1-7 on Ireland]

Far from hating Sinn Féin for their supposedly 'despised Catholic sectarianism', these 'Protestant' workers are clearly full of admiration for the tenacious anti-imperialist struggle put up by the Irish masses.

At the same time, it is their sense of the British-Orange colonist community decaying and disintegrating from its ruling-class head downwards which is beginning to convince them that their future does not lie with imperialism.

Once again, it is the defeat of imperialism which has been the decisive historical lesson.

For the moment, attempts to revive Orange colonist reaction via the summer marching season have failed. A majority of voices have been raised for compromise with Irish nationalist sentiments. Anti-Major moves inside the Tory Cabinet with the same reactionary aim have similarly failed, it seems, with Mayhew playing an important extraordinary role in rescuing current policy from a rightwing backlash by his open letter to the Times even before Major had resigned the party leadership. And if Molyneux is ousted from the UUP leadership, die-hardism may even start dying at slightly faster than snail's-pace; and the provocative Clegg release may yet be seen with hindsight as just a ruse to quieten British die-hard reaction against IRA prisoner releases, a key part of accepting the abandonment at last of that outrageous colonial folly, the non-existent bastard statelet of 'Northern Ireland', an endless recipe for troubles.

Build Leninism.

DB

Land & Freedom, film – anti-communist Trotskyist lies and subjective idealism

[EPSR No828 14-11-95]

THE film *Land and Freedom* by Trotskyite fellow travellers Ken Loach and James Allen is just about the worst anti-Communist diatribe to come from this reactionary political camp so far.

What talents director Loach and playwright Allen possess have been willingly expended on a grotesque distortion of the Spanish Civil War, a vicious denigration of the Soviet Union's support for the anti-Franco cause, and an infantile reactionary interpretation of the Barcelona putsch which, for a time, derailed the anti-fascist struggle.

The confusion is so serious that cinema-goers without a fairly detailed knowledge of the war could easily assume the Communists in the struggle were in fact the fascists, and that the Soviet leadership was the executioner of the centrist Republican government, not Franco and his armed fascist-clerical hordes. Hardly a fascist soldier, and no fascist leaders, are portrayed, and the long final scene in the film uses unmistakable symbolism – low angled shots of jackboots and snarling gun-toting commissars barking orders – to suggest that the Communists ('Stalinist') were as bad as the fascists.

No wonder the film has been warmly welcomed by most bourgeois critics (particularly the deeply reactionary pundits of the 'liberal' press who like a bit of flattering leftism mixed with their anti-Communism), and condemned by the Civil War veterans appalled that the sacrifice of their dead comrades has been so utterly ignored.

Apart from anti-Communism (or anti-Stalinism as the consistently anti-Soviet Trot camp would have it), the other reactionary thread in the film is the tired reformist notion that workers are better left alone to lead their own mini-revolutions, and that leadership, centralism, and a struggle for socialist scientific theory is all entirely suspect.

This is Allen's particular stock-in-trade and is now taken to such degenerate lengths that every kind of Catholic, petty-criminal backwardness is now glorified as a fine example of 'pure' class consciousness – (see the film *Raining Stones* – scripted by Allen, directed by Loach.)

Land and Freedom's narrative is artificially contrived to bolster the Trotskyite fable that the putsch by the centrist-Trot influenced POUM, the so-called Party of Marxist Unification, together with a breakaway from the mass anarchist group the CNT, could have been the start of the Span-

ish proletarian revolution but for "the Stalinists" who put it down.

Thus the film follows the journey of an active card-carrying member of the Communist Party from Liverpool to Spain where he joins the POUMist-anarchist militia on the Aragon front.

Of course such a regular member of the CP would have been drafted into the International Brigade but this anomaly is deliberate since it is through this 'hero's' journey from support for the anti-fascist struggle, to his demoralised decision to desert, that Loach and Allen attempt to make their twisted points. The development of revolutionary consciousness in the Spanish conflict, and the possibilities of social revolution during the Civil War, are undoubtedly an important study and one that would yield rich lessons for better Leninist leadership in the present day, but the Loach-Allen-Trot notion that the POUMist-anarchist putsch was the start of the Spanish revolution is certainly a Trotskyite fantasy concocted to heap another anti-Communist boulder onto the mountain of lies stacked upon the Soviet leadership before, during and after the Cold War.

The POUM and the break-away anarchists were not capable of any revolutionary leadership, as even Trotsky on his writings on Spain admitted.

Thousands of communists volunteers from around the world joined the International Brigade giving up everything to go and fight in Spain with many sacrificing their lives



The POUM had influence only in Catalonia, principally in Barcelona and Lerida, and had no mass base elsewhere in Civil War Spain.

The anarchist were hostile to party leadership, a unified revolutionary army, and the creation of a workers state.

Both organisations had no clear policy to win over the majority peasant population of the country, and invited the hostility of the sizable regular army units loyal to the Republic.

In short the conditions that convinced Lenin for revolution in Russia in October 1917, – support for the Bolsheviks from the overwhelming majority of the advanced working class; backing from a sizable section of the peasantry with the promise of land (not collectivisation of agriculture, advanced by the film as a key unifying demand in Spain); and, crucially, support from a significant section of the disaffected Tzarist armed forces, – were totally absent in the Barcelona putsch days in May 1937.

Furthermore, the doomed adventure punched a 20 mile hole in the Aragon front as militias abandoned their lines for Barcelona allowing Franco to halve his forces there and send 20,000 men to the Madrid front where the bloody battle of Jarama was taking place in defence of Madrid.

Not surprisingly the putsch failed, with the mass of the Barcelona workers in the CNT at best neutral.

None of these crippling weaknesses are addressed in *Land and*

Freedom which blames the failure of the POUMist adventure on the evils of Stalin. Stalin, says the 'hero' in one scene, is moving the workers movement around the "chess board" in order to sell-out the revolution and snuggle-up to the Western powers of Britain, France and the USA.

The suggestion that one man, with a perverse and unexplained desire to see workers struggles strangled at birth, wanted to advance a secret campaign to further Western capitalist interests in direct conflict with the workers state he leads, is the most wretched and stupid piece of anti-Communist nonsense imaginable.

And in what strange ways did this 'monster' Stalin go about his treachery. He and the Soviet leadership started by publicly denouncing the cynical 'Non-Interventionist' policy of Britain and France which became a cover for massive German and Italian Fascist support for the Franco forces.

While the two Axis powers flooded Franco Spain with 200,000 troops, thousands of planes, and tanks, – the 'sinister' Soviet Union defied 'Non-Intervention' and sent 2,000 of its own soldiers, 500,000 rifles, 15,000 machine guns and, in the closing stages of the conflict, \$100M in economic aid.

The **only** official support for the Republican side came from the Soviet leadership.

Of the 2,000 British Communist Party members who

volunteered for the International Brigades (no doubt to do their 'counter-revolutionary' best), – one quarter died on Spanish soil. The head of the Republican Air Force General Cisneros maintains in his own memoirs that far from stabbing the struggle in the back, Soviet aid could have turned the tide against Franco, but for the sabotage of the Western powers who refused to allow arms, ammunition, troops and food across their own territories, forcing the Soviet Union to send the essential supplies by the dangerous Mediterranean route with great loss of shipping.

Not a single mention of **any** of these factors in the Loach-Allen diatribe; – what a stitch-up!

The more subtle argument, (certainly too subtle for Loach and Allen), – that Stalinism subordinated revolutionary support for the Spanish struggle through its overwhelming reliance on Popular Front policies, – is also suspect.

No doubt the growing influence of revisionist conservatism (and lack of confidence) in the Soviet leadership played a role in checking any advance of revolutionary consciousness; but it was hardly responsible for stopping a social

revolution there any more than it was in Korea, China, Vietnam and Cuba, all of which were supported and armed by the Soviet leadership.

And against these weaknesses of revisionism must be balanced the lethal and gathering threat of capitalist encirclement of the Soviet Union. Even the best Leninist leadership would have been wary of being drawn into an open-ended political commitment to a struggle it did not control (the Communists took only 17 seats in the 300-odd seat Republican parliament in 1936), especially as capitalist butchers were looking for any excuse to stage an economic or military provocation against the Soviet Union at the time.

In fact the Soviet leadership efforts to head off this threat and widen the antagonisms between the capitalist powers as the Second World War for market and trade domination approached, – paid off brilliantly, culminating in the Stalin-Hitler pact which set one capitalist block blitzing another (before the inevitable military invasion of workers-state territory began).

But for this sound workers diplomacy, fascism would indeed

have triumphed instead of having its guts ripped out on the Eastern Front.

It was the illusion-building in Popular Frontism, – and the growing suggestion that there could be a peaceful, parliamentary road to socialism, – that undermined the development of working class consciousness, – not the heroic physical support by the Stalinist leadership for the Spanish struggle.

Just how much Bolshevik-style consciousness developed in the Spanish masses, was an important question.

But one which is not even posed, let alone answered, in the crude anti-Communist *Land and Freedom*.

The film's bitter distortions are a grotesque product of latter-day Trotskyism, the fairyland where revolutions must be perfect down to the last fetching bandana worn round the neck of a student-like activist, and all problems, all difficulties, mistakes, retreats and defeats are put simply down to the devil called Stalinism. Such pitiful, unpleasant idealist crap!

Ironically the film makers themselves have yet to produce what would be a far more instructive dramatic study for the British

working class, – the British Trotskyist movement with which they had a long, arms-length association. Let's have a documentary about the rise and fall of Gerry Healy, the Workers Revolutionary Party, and its Redgrave remnants who embraced Gorbachev and the oaf Yeltsin as symbols of the 'real' workers revolution of Russia and who conduct international propaganda exercises for the fascist Croatian nationalists.

Let's hear about how the Trotskyite movement with its 'splendid' theory, abysmally failed to produce a party capable of developing revolutionary consciousness and nurturing correct scientific socialist ideas. Why not an examination of the methods of Trotskyite leaders like Healy whose subjective-idealist, administrative antics were worse than the worst examples of bureaucratic idiocy in the Soviet Union, (and indeed would have put plenty in the Gulag, given power, instead of the more farcical petty tyrannies of Clapham High Street.)

The film makers are silent on all these issues, but when a little niche in the rancid anti-Communist bourgeois propaganda scene opens up, – you bet, they're there. SJ.

Silly foot-stamping by SWP against Scargill's SLP will not protect their "united anti-Tory vote" nonsense, or expose the fatal anti-theory weakness of Scargillism (which the SWP activists share)

[EPSR No832 12-12-95]

A breakaway from the Labour Party mooted by Arthur Scargill has met with a less than rapacious response from the SWP (Socialist Workers Party).

These sectarian anti-communists, who persistently stabbed the Soviet workers state in the back throughout its entire history on the posturing ultra-left pretence that the USSR was still 'capitalist', i.e. not socialist enough for the middle-class 'revolutionary' heroes of the SWP, – are worried that their centrist ground (half-way between reform and revolution, speaking the word 'revolution' a lot but never going further than 'left' pressure on the existing status quo, and never educating their party or the working class in the cataclysmic nature of real revolution which can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat) may be stolen.

But rather than be heard pathetically bleating that they were there first and don't want Arthur stealing their 'leftist' patch from them, – and incapable of theoretically demolishing Scargill's centrist delusions (which they suffer from themselves), the SWP cobble together the most spurious

'reasoning' to try to put the miners' leader off and cover up their own dog-in-the-manger small-mindedness.

'The problem', they start by pretending, 'is that a Socialist Labour Party (SLP) under Scargill would split the anti-Tory vote.'

The SWP say:

The thought of the loathed Conservatives winning again is too terrible to contemplate.

This poses a problem for a left of Labour party which wants to make parliamentary elections a major focus.

At the last election there were 51 seats which other parties won over Labour by less than 4,000. There were 56 seats where Labour won by less than 4,000.

So there are over 100 seats where it would be complete suicide to stand. Nobody could shrug their shoulders and say they do not care if voting SLP allows the Tories or the Liberals to win.

In addition, the Tories' crisis means that at the next election there will be many seats where Tory MPs with much bigger majorities are quite likely to be thrown out.

An SLP candidate would be seen as at best irrelevant, at worst a splitter dividing the anti-Tory vote.

If Arthur Scargill does turn his discussions into reality it will be a very serious development for the left.

They throw in their usual scorn of Blair's Labour leadership so that it not be thought that these opportunistic 'lefts' are sucking up to the reformist establishment,

but their message is clear: 'Vote Labour'.

The SWP are continually embarrassed by this exposure of their own fundamentally class-collaborationist souls.

In between elections, they always denounce the Labour Party more noisily than anyone else. At such boastful moments of their own meetings, they deny that they will be back in the Labour Party's pocket by the time of the next election. But at every election, they dutifully mislead workers by telling them to go and vote Labour again, and again, and again, etc.

This is the heart of their essentially reformist philosophy of 'revolution' by gradual 'left' pressure. It reveals zero theoretical understanding of the nature of revolutionary contradiction, only confirming the hostility to theory which has doomed the entire history of 'leftism' in the British labour movement.

It has been completely obvious for a very long time to even the most remotely class-conscious worker that what has been building up for decades, or generations in many cases, is the arrival of the time when the proletariat will need and want to vote against Labour as vehemently as it votes against the Tory Party.

The SWP will quickly claim that 'we know all that' when it is pointed out that the fundamental class position of the Labour Party is every bit as bourgeois-imperialist, and in defence of the

capitalist system of bourgeois dictatorship, as all the rest of the parliamentary cretins. However, Scargill's 'leftism' has potentially stolen a march on the SWP's 'leftism' by implying that his political philosophy is about to embrace precisely such a clear-cut denunciation of the class-collaborating essence of Labourism. The SWP's only pathetic response is to feel miffed, and to throw at him the most nerdlie outrageous hypocrisy that even rightwing Labour would be proud of, – "don't split the anti-Tory vote".

And what does Labour's anti-Toryism consist of? At best, just the same 'left' posturing that much of the middle-class has always got up to. At worst, being even more rabidly anti-communist and imperialist-reactionary than much of even the Tory Party is.

All the grossest acts of fascist tyranny by British imperialism since 1945 are actually down to Labour Governments, not Tory, – the genocidal war to re-impose the British Empire against the Malayan communist revolution; the treachery to the Soviet triumph over fascist imperialism by launching the Cold War nuclear encirclement of the USSR and resurrecting monopoly capitalism in West Germany; the imperialist slaughter of the Greek communist revolution; helping US imperialism's foul Korean War stunt; quietly supportive of US imperialism's even more monstrous genocide against Vietnam

and Indo-China; conniving with Ian Smith's colonial-fascist dictatorship UDI in Rhodesia; re-establishing the British colonial police-military dictatorship over Occupied Zone of Ireland in 1969, bogusly to 'help the nationalists'; rushing the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act through 'parliamentary democracy' in under 12 hours, still in force to brutally harass every Irish person in Britain and the Occupied Zone; etc, etc, etc, etc.

And it is worse than ever currently, with the Labourite imperialists primitively screaming first, loudest, and longest for maximum bombing terror against the Serb nationalists fight for self-determination, – falling completely for the US imperialist intrigues around the Croat and Bosnian Muslim fascist circles, the same groups which helped German imperialism nearly genocidally wipe out an earlier generation of Serbs from their traditional homelands in Krajina, Sarajevo, etc.

The SWP's centrist opportunism just is incapable of grasping total contradiction as the essence of Labour's relationship with the working class. They pretend to 'see all that', but then always get helplessly seduced by the utterly philistine delusion that "a Labour Government would nevertheless be better than a Tory Government". On the surface, the SWP lay a loose claim to 'marxism' of a sort. Scratch the surface, and the most tedious deluded nonsense emerges that 'left' protest politics will keep on pushing capitalist government to the left.

This is gibberish. Of course the working class must defend its gains every inch of the way, – and will do so whether the SWP exists or not to posture mightily that they have produced X amount of leaflets for this struggle, and X amount of posters for that struggle, etc, (implying that these struggles would not be happening if it was not for the SWP! – such is their petty-bourgeois subjective-idealism, substituting themselves for a revolutionary proletarian vanguard such as the miners provided in 1972 and 1974, and again in the great 1984-85 strike, (incidentally, a strike that the sectarian SWP fatally ignored for several months on the grounds that it was just an unimportant momentary gesture which would soon fizzle out!))

The working masses will fight for their rights whether anyone wants them to or not. What the working class cannot do for itself, even its revolutionary vanguard, is theoretically develop an entire programme, strategy, and tactics for taking the class war against the monopoly bourgeoisie all the way to a victory for planned socialism under the dictatorship

of the proletariat. Only a party of revolutionary theory can do that. And whatever the SWP might be, the one thing it certainly is nowhere near being, never has been, and never will be, – is a party of revolutionary theory, a Leninist party.

What Scargill needs to be challenged with is precisely all of the above, not this pathetic jealous subjectivism of 'Get off our patch. We are the party to the left of Labour, not you'.

Let Scargill damage Labour as much as possible. Let the SLP stand in every constituency in the country to expose and taunt Labour's bogus credentials as a party of working-class interests. Leninists will gladly help this fight along.

Scargill is just as hopeless a 'left' centrist posturer as the SWP, and Leninists will openly point this out, even while helping the cause of debunking Labour. But Scargill is an opportunist who has at last turned his political programme in a slightly more useful direction than when he guaranteed that the 1984-85 strike would fail (it was probably doomed anyway at that time for many other historical reasons) by limiting its revolutionary political horizons merely to a return of a Labour Government committed to the Plan for Coal (in a reformist-boom capitalist economy of the past which could never then be restored, and never will be in the future either). Deep down, the working class had no faith in the effectiveness of such a Labour Government orientation, and the working class was right (as was the unconditionally supportive Leninist participation in that strike, – see *ILWP Books* vols 6 & 7).

And Arthur Scargill also happens to be a very outstanding trade union leader with a highly creditable record of service to the cause of the working class, at home and internationally. When such a lifelong traditional 'left' Labour-movement figure starts pushing the boat out to such an extent, it will generally help the struggle for clarity to everyone's benefit to give him a hand.

Nothing but a huge and useful debate can flow from SLP candidates standing against Labour calling on workers to opt for socialism as a solution to the capitalist crisis rather than the murderous policies of Blair & Co who will do anything to maintain Britain's imperialist position in the 'free world' (the latest stunt being to damn the Irish peace process more certainly than the Tories are risking by demanding a fatuous IRA arms surrender even more stridently than the fascist Unionists are doing).

Having opposed Scargill's new party venture for the wrong

reasons, the SWP then wretchedly fail to criticise the out-of-date NUM leader for the correct reasons, namely his failure to make clear the Labourist political causes (and his own opportunist part in them) for the failure of the 1984-85 strike; and his failure to get beyond "Labour's new (!) abandonment of socialism" as the reason for the SLP, and start grappling with the issue of world imperialist crisis which totally dominates all political questions on earth now.

And this despite the most astonishing further humbug from the SWP of warning Scargill that the 'honesty' required for playing a really revolutionary role in the British labour movement (i.e. like the SWP, nudge, nudge) would make too difficult demands for a trade-union milieu to cope with:

The search for votes pushes a party towards a softening of its message, towards a search for accommodation with the union leaders in order to secure backing and finance.

Any honest approach to building strikes involves recognising and organising against the waverings and sellouts of the union leaders. This is unlikely to endear them to a new party.

So why do the SWP soften their message to Scargill? Why not tell the working class (while welcoming an SLP kick up the backside to Labour) just how flawed Scargill's own politics are and always have been?

Because the SWP are even bigger opportunist creeps than even the old Labour-TUC back-scratching circles were.

And incredibly, the SWP are also more muddle-headed, even.

Their next silly sour whinge against Scargill's venture is to declare that middle-class fake 'revolutionaries' have postured to the left of the Labour Party before, and were worse than useless to the working class. Quick, get a mirror someone!

There are also far more fundamental reasons for thinking that a "purified Labour Party" is not what we need. Such a party has been tried before.

In the 1930s a large group of socialists, gathered in the Independent Labour Party (ILP), were driven from the Labour Party. They had argued for a more fighting policy after the betrayals of the first two Labour governments.

They were told to shut up or get out, and many of them left.

For the previous ten years the ILP had maintained its own conference, branches and policy while being part of the Labour Party.

At the end of the 1920s it could claim support from 142 Labour MPs—although this dropped to just 17 when the ILP's leaders insisted on a disciplined voting policy.

Nevertheless 17 is a base—and outside parliament the ILP had 16,000 members in 645 branches.

It had real working class roots with 40 members on Glasgow City Council.

The ILP's chairman, Fenner Brockway, announced it was "all set to replace the Labour Party".

The party's words were good. It said it "always recognised that socialism could not be made by parliamentary methods only. Socialists must be prepared to organise mass industrial action."

But the ILP was still committed primarily to parliament and this proved disastrous.

In practice the main focus of its activity was the ballot box and here the party could not compete with a Labour Party backed by the trade union leaders.

ILP membership fell from 16,773 in 1932, to 11,092 in 1933, to 7,166 in 1934, to 4,392 in 1935 and below 2,000 by the outbreak of war.

What is bizarre about this half-hearted exposure of ILP centrism (or really mere 'left' reformism) is the condemnation of really being "still committed primarily to parliament" when the SWP declare their own main reason for trying to damn Scargill's honourable stand is that it will damage Labour's parliamentary electoral chances.

And the SWP's triumphal attempt at a bogus linkage between the SLP 'wrongly' splitting the Labour vote and the ILP being wiped out by an attempt to replace the Labour Party mainly via parliament, – is utterly destroyed by another point that the SWP make themselves, namely that the Communist Party grew from 3,000 members in 1931 to 17,500 by 1939 (whilst running against the Labour Party at general elections, a point the SWP omits). Obviously, the crucial question is what political philosophy and programme is going to be put up opposed to the Labour Party. And that is the one question, of course, that the anti-theory SWP fail to take up with Scargill.

Their final argument against an SLP is such self-important sectarian nonsense that it is scarcely believable. The SWP see their petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' appeal permanently remaining a minority interest, and being a continuous barrier to any worthwhile participation in elections:

A socialist Labour Party will soon face a choice. In words it is possible to talk about combining serious interventions in elections with struggle outside the Commons. In practice the two pull in opposite directions.

The alternative is to centre on struggle and to recognise that in any situation short of an insurrection revolutionary socialists will appeal to only a minority of the class.

This is bad for elections, but means that intervention can be focused on the battles where people's ideas can change fastest and most fundamentally.

Any honest approach to building strikes involves recognising and organising against the waverings and sell outs of the union leaders. This is unlikely to endear them to a new party.

But it does mean the possibility of increasing the strength and confidence of rank and file workers to act independently of union leaders.

But in those discussions we will insist the left needs a socialist party that is prepared to criticise ruthlessly the failings of union leaders, a party that must have clear socialist politics and one that must be based on struggle, not elections.

There are some partial obvious truths referred to here, but overall the sense of this is crassly misleading.

Revolutionary ideas do not necessarily only appeal to a minority of workers, even well in advance of a revolutionary situation or an insurrection. And the battles to be focused on, knowing



the SWP's record, implies strike struggles and demonstrations of one sort or another, whereas the first 'intervention' required of a revolutionary party (as opposed to a primarily electoral party in the SWP's tendentious categorisation), should be towards the development of revolutionary theory and understanding, – political philosophy of the widest possible scope. But this does not even get mentioned. Ideas certainly can change fastest and most fundamentally through conflict and contradiction, but the SWP impli-

cation that this basically means pay disputes, a fight for jobs or conditions, or other industrial struggles, is ludicrously workerist and apolitical. Working class thinking is undergoing constant transformation under capitalism as a result of every aspect of bourgeois society and inter-imperialist crisis. The picket-line is a heroic class-war battleground. But the fight to change ideas is a far, far wider struggle than that. It is not impossible, even under the fraudulent racket of bourgeois elections (a point the SWP

fail to make every time they say 'vote Labour'), that an election itself could turn into an important class-war struggle.

To repeat, the issue to raise with Scargill is not these envy-driven, impressionistic, point-scoring superficialities boded out by the SWP hacks, but to challenge the philosophical class-collaborationist essence of all 'left' Labourism hitherto (including those who canvass for Blair & Co as well as those who will now canvass against them).

Build Leninism. Ben Tulley

Right and 'left' critics of Irish national-liberation struggle have history against them. The occupied colony of non-existent 'Northern Ireland' is a doomed imperialist anachronism which cannot last. Fake-'Marxist' critics (such as the *Weekly Worker*) are ludicrously missing the point.

[EPSR No841 20-02-96]

The Irish national liberation struggle's decision to resume its war for full independence from British colonial domination over any part of the island, continues to disorient bourgeois thinking of all kinds.

The IRA's confident resolve to end the ceasefire and to again take on the full might of the British imperialist military, police, and security forces has especially disturbed the critical realism of 'reformists' in Britain, and the fake 'Marxism' of the petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' sects.

The conceited arrogance of these comfortable and complacent circles has never believed that what have often been dismissed as nothing but a 'bunch of murdering bog-trotters' could become a partial instrument of significant historical change.

If 'reformist' decades of 'Official Opposition' to Tory imperialist government could do nothing at all to improve or disrupt London's obviously failed Ireland policy, then what could

mere 'handfuls of desperate gunmen' achieve, it was assumed, – especially when they had once been universally dismissed as just 'racketeering criminals' and were treated as such, denied any political-prisoner status or prisoner-of-war status at all.

Least of all could the putrid 'progressive intelligentsia' of Britain conceive that the tiny national liberation struggle could be capable of the only really far-sighted, magnanimous, and truly civilised behaviour in this whole affair by helping to get imperialism off the hook by declaring a ceasefire in the first place. The IRA's peace-talks proposal was just dismissed as 'defeat', 'capitulation', or 'realisation of the hopelessness of their aims' by all strands of British bourgeois opinion, – right, centre, and Trotskyite.

The ending of the ceasefire a week ago left all, & bogus 'Marxism', embarrassingly exposed as understanding nothing of the national liberation struggle in

were as phoney as Trotskyism's always have been throughout its existence (see *ILWP Books* vols 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, etc.).

These petty-bourgeois posturers loathe and despise the historical reality of the dictatorship of the proletariat as much as any armchair socialist 'intellectual' philistines have ever done. At any crisis moment when the only actual workers state power that has ever existed was under ferocious bourgeois imperialist propaganda and subversion pressure (such as the 1980 CIA/Vatican 'Solidarnosc' bogus 'trade-union' counter-revolutionary disruption of the Polish workers state), – this Islington-acceptable brand of 'Marxism-Leninism' always made sure that its basic 'pro-freedom' (i.e. anti-communist) sentiments were well understood.

Despite copious volumes of nauseating 'left' verbal diarrhoea, these '*Leninist*' frauds could never bring themselves to say that they wanted the dictatorship of the proletariat in Poland to ruthlessly crush the obscene 'Solidarnosc' petty bourgeois degeneracy.

Now, similarly, they cannot bring themselves to say that they want the Irish national liberation struggle to complete its toppling of British colonialism in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, – in spite of its '*New fight for Ireland*' and '*For the IRA, against the British state*' headlines in their Feb 15 *Weekly Worker* issue, because once again they don't really believe in it.

In both cases, although relating to vastly different sectors of historical significance for the international class struggle, the reason these Trot sectarians cannot grasp the objective necessity of the situation (if it can be achieved by the revolutionary forces available) is because they only really ever listen to their own subjective idealist self-promotion.

They had no sincere commitment to keeping Polish workers-state power going in 1980 because they dream exclusively of the 'perfect revolution' somewhere, someday, which will not suffer the obvious defects and mistakes of the postwar proletarian dictatorship in Poland, or the long history of revisionist crimes and difficulties of the USSR, etc., – a 'perfect revolution' which, of course, only they could ever lead (or people like them.)

These Trot-'*Leninist*' poseurs similarly have no real stake in an IRA/Sinn Féin national liberation victory over British imperialism because their actual ignorance of Marxist philosophy means they can see no real historical value in such a triumph. Such a thing just does not exist for them, – so tunnel visioned are they in their petty-bourgeois fantasies of lead-

Ireland, or anything about the international crisis of the imperialist system either (as examined in the previous *Review*).

But the sectarianism of the middle-class fake-'left' in Britain never ceases to astonish. Instead of licking their wounds and trying to learn something, these anti-communist 'revolutionaries' have merely started repeating their stupidity.

The national-liberation struggle really is just "defeated despair", they have resumed saying; and beneath a pretence of defending the IRA's right to fight, they just repeat their old criticism of it all as 'futile', and refuse to help expose the obstacles to Sinn Féin's anti-imperialist stand.

Under a superficial headline appearance of cheering on the national liberation struggle to new defiance and to routing its critics in the wake of the Docklands explosion, the '*Leninist*' rump who captured the CPGB title (Communist Party of Great Britain, now defunct) have really only told IRA/Sinn Féin not to bother, thus emphasising their inability to understand the international class struggle in all its complexities, and the cosmetic shallowness of their ultra-left sloganising, much like the Sparts.

These Trot CPGB anti-communists only ever lived inside the Eurocommunist swamp for so long, without suffocating, because their feigned 'pro-Soviet' and 'pro-Lenin' protestations

ing “really worthwhile socialist revolutions” everywhere.

Extricated from all their ‘right-on’ verbal camouflage of the ‘up the revolution’ variety, the basic class pessimism (petty bourgeois) of these ‘revolutionary’ fantasists can be established from their own words, taken from their two frontpage statements:

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, liberation struggles and hot spots throughout the world are being resolved in imperialism’s favour.

The failure of Irish republicans to take any other course is a failure of the whole of the working class oppressed under the same British state.

It is this failure that has left republicans in the north facing monolithic opposition, with all bourgeois parties singing with one voice, and no independent working class voice to be heard.

This failure has meant that it is not just the republican struggle upon which imperialism is wreaked its revenge. The British state has wielded its weapons of oppression, steered in the north of Ireland, against the working class on its mainland. Troops against the miners in 1984-85, police tactics against anything from anti-poll tax demonstrators to anti-road and even anti-live animal export demonstrators. Repressive legislation, honed against revolutionaries in the Six Counties, has been brought home in the Criminal Justice Act.

It seems increasingly clear that this bomb and the IRA statement to end the ceasefire were part and parcel of the strategy of negotiations and commitment to the ‘peace’ process.

This was not a breakaway aimed at restarting the war against British imperialism.

Republicans in the north, left isolated by the lack of solidarity of workers in Britain, now see little alternative.

The ending of the ceasefire in these circumstances does not contradict the fact that what is taking place is an imperialist-brokered peace in the context of the US-dominated new world order. In many ‘hot spots’ around the world, the negative resolution of revolutionary situations have been accompanied by flashes of violence, contradictions and temporary ‘setbacks’.

The basic solution remains the same. The working class of Ireland and the UK needs an independent revolutionary communist party of its own.

Though all struggle is for the moment directed towards what can only be an imperialist-brokered ‘peace’, the battle is far from over.

The new situation makes new demands and places new responsibilities on all revolutionaries. To take our common fight for liberation forward demands a unity capable of destroying once and for all the British imperialist state which keeps us all in chains. Revolutionaries in Britain and Ireland need to be organised for that task now.

Dissected in this way from their deliberately confusing overall gobbledegook, they clearly paint a picture of the IRA’s ending of the ceasefire with the Docklands bomb being nothing more than just another insignificant incident in a historical pattern they regard as already well entrenched and unaffected by purely nationalist aspirations, – (as they view the IRA/Sinn Féin fight.)

As these anti-communists see it, “imperialism has got the whip hand worldwide at the moment; the nationalist attempt to influence the historical outcome via pressure on the bourgeoisie is doomed; the Docklands bomb was just another part of this same

hopeless peace process; and the only real way for Irish national-liberation interests to extricate themselves from a losing scenario is to join forces now with such revolutionary hotshots as the CPGB and go directly for a communist overthrow of imperialism in Britain and Ireland.”

It would, of course, be the EPSPR’s own wish to join in such a happy dream, but meanwhile the immediate practical way forward is at least to make a correct analysis of objective reality, – the international balance of class forces and the decisive movements within it, – not to sow total confusion by a complete misreading of what is going on.

The first crucial requirement is to grasp the nature of the epoch we are living in. Far from it being the time when everything is resolved in imperialism’s favour, it is just the opposite, – the epoch of terminal imperialist crisis.

Purely temporarily, a brief ‘new world order’ period is taking place which gives a superficial appearance of US imperialism easily dominating every situation with its bullying ‘unchallengeable’ military and economic might.

But the immediate obvious reality of this ‘order’ is total unsatisfactory chaos, – and underneath it all, an inter-imperialist crisis of unprecedented proportions is relentlessly brewing, – as the more honest critical-realist outpourings of the bourgeoisie itself, of course, continuously confirm (see endless past *Reviews*). The artificial postwar inflationary boom and arms race can only result in eventual all-out trade war, markets collapse, and war-mongering confrontation between all the great ‘free-world’ powers (and their various areas of stooge influence.)

The revisionist self-liquidation in the former Soviet Union is part of the crisis of bourgeois anti-Leninist ideology, the crisis of international class-collaboration, – not a crisis of anti-imperialist struggle. The Cold War ‘balance of class forces’ was always essentially a phony balance at root because the revisionist Moscow ideology no longer believed in anti-imperialist revolution as the essential way forward for civilisation (see *ILWP Books* vol 13 and 21).

Liquidating that colossal revisionist influence on the world (especially on these anti-communist CPGBers), exposing it as a ‘Leninist’ fraud (Gorbachev used to quote Lenin too, the posturing oaf), – was an essential step for helping revive international revolutionary science, a step which should have been fought for not through the Trot Eurocommunist anti-Soviet anti-Leninist continuous treachery to the East European workers states in their difficulties, but through uncondi-

tional support for the proletarian dictatorships, only criticising (from a communist angle) Moscow’s pro-world-collaboration delusions.

The examples these defeatists give of ‘imperialist domination’ are only superficially plausible, concealing the underlying anti-imperialist reality.

South Africa, for example, is currently a sad spectacle of bourgeois-nationalist delusions usurping the ANC’s revolutionary defeat of apartheid-imperialism temporarily, but in no way able to detract from the colossal overall historical significance (for Africa and the world) of that final mass-movement triumph over monopoly-capitalist international tyranny. Reaction wanted to, and did, hold onto apartheid for as long as possible. Reaction only finally gave in when it could see that a deal with the ANC nationalists would be better than risking total communist mass revolutionary overthrow later on. So which direction is history heading for, towards imperialist domination, or towards communist domination? Obviously, more towards revolution all the time.

So the anti-imperialism of the Irish national-liberation struggle is going with the grain of history, not against it. And only some superficial word play enables these bogus ‘Leninists’ to label Irish republicanism a ‘failure’ – by identifying it as part of

“a failure of the whole of the working class oppressed under the same British state”.

But what is failing the whole working class in Britain is its entire anti-communist past leadership, – Labour, TUC, Trots, Eurocommunists, and bogus ‘lefts’ of all descriptions, all of them complete philistines who only ever posture about ‘Marxism’ in order to kill it with revisionist distortion and demoralise the working class. And that is a failure much to be welcomed as opening the door at last to a serious revival of Leninist science, greatly in harmony with the revolutionary spirit with which Irish republicanism has triumphantly challenged British imperialism.

And it is just not true that “all bourgeois parties are singing with one voice” against Sinn Féin and the IRA on the Irish question. Last week’s *Review* quoted dozens of capitalist sources denouncing Tory muddle and weakness for the renewed war tensions. The flow of bourgeois condemnation of culpable imperialist trickery and decadence has not diminished:

The target, rather, was IRA ideology, which maintains that they are in a state of war with the British regime and that their arms are legitimate. So what Britain sought was not an actual end to the capacity but the defeat of a concept.

But even the concept may be of less importance than the search for a way of forcing the other side into a retreat, a search which the IRA and the British have been conducting. This urge to dominate was long ago identified in conflict theory as one of the reasons why conflicts go critical and why resolution efforts fail.

Hindsight shows that the persistent raising of the decommissioning issue, whatever the theoretical rights and wrongs, was a mistake, and one which London tried to back away from too late.

This is always likely to happen when the issue of who dominates is allowed to become central.

Old powers with a tradition of thinking of themselves as the centre of the universe are prone to a reflex of dominance.

Peace theory says that you approach settlement by sidelining issues of dominance, which are really the old war questions of who is winning and who is losing in a different form. Peace moves along, then, on an imperfect basis, dependent for quite a long time on the avoidance of at least some of the hard questions. Then, when they are finally looked at again, they may have changed, or the parties may have changed, which is the same thing. That change, if it comes about, arises from an acceptance of the complexity of what history has created, its entanglement of peoples, its overlapping of jurisdictions, its neighbouring of the strong and the weak. The irony of many conflicts at the end of the century is that in most cases the antagonists know that they cannot achieve their objectives by war and therefore have a common interest in peace, but they carry on making war because, futile and dangerous as it is, it is easier than making peace.

This may well be very constipated critical realism as a British bourgeois tries to digest British bourgeois-imperialist decadence, but this is just one more added to the scores of examples of the British capitalist state being told by its own side that it is already well on the way to being judged guilty by history for the 1996 ceasefire breakdown.

It is British imperialism which is terrified of losing face by having to capitulate to an armistice in a major conflict with a ‘bunch of criminal gunmen, six of whom it takes to change one light bulb’, etc.

The ‘urge to dominate’ is the living historical essence of the imperialist-economic exploitation system (monopoly capitalism) and could be nothing else. This bourgeois realises this. There is only one ‘old power with a tradition of thinking of itself as the centre of the universe’ involved in the war in Ireland, – British imperialism.

And there is only one side which is obviously ‘avoiding looking at the hard questions, spinning things out, hoping that something might change’, – and that is British imperialism, putting off the time it hopes will never come when Unionist

intransigence finally has to be told “Accept a new political settlement for the whole of Ireland or be forced into one”. And it is only British imperialism which knows that it is carrying on a futile and dangerous war because, in its senility and paralysed confusion and 3-vote majority in the House of Commons, it feels this is ‘easier than making peace’.

Having missed the underlying message of modern history on the question of US imperialism’s purely temporary chaotic ‘new world order’ which is masking the greatest economic, political war-mongering catastrophe ever suffered by international bourgeois society, – the CPGB fake ‘*Leninists*’, also miss essential revolutionary lessons which have been learned in the course of their long list of recent working-class ‘failures’, and which could not have been learned in any other way. In other words they are setbacks essential for the transformation of a ‘reformist’-minded, class-collaborating British imperialist working class towards becoming a revolutionary class.

The defeat of the 1984-85 miners’ strike was crucial among them, helping towards the demolition at last of the illusion that ‘left’ trade-union pressure on a bourgeois government, with the hope of a ‘reformist’ Labour government to take over subsequently to give workers all they want, can solve the class contradictions of the modem trade-war imperialist crisis (which in fact can only find a solution in the direction of world communist revolution). History works slowly, and Scargill is a hopelessly centrist and sectarian middlehead. But the formation at last of the SLP breakaway from the Labour Party, to challenge Labour’s essential anti-socialism, anti-working class ambitions, – is proof of how history is working.

And the organisation of the 1984-85 miners’ strike was in itself an enormous triumph anyway, although part of a colossal and necessary defeat for political illusions. And that organisational experience as part of an always accumulating working-class tradition of confident struggle and maturity, showed up in the anti-poll tax fight which was anything but a failure. It is also very light-minded even to write off such apparently eccentric protests as the anti-road and anti-animal-export demonstrations. What they increasingly show is that people do not like what is happening to their lives under modem monopoly-imperialism. They may be hopelessly single-issue or hopelessly idealistic in the causes they take up, and obviously a political diversion. But there is simply no way of knowing which diversions might

prove to have been the route by which some people come towards an understanding of monopoly-capitalist crisis as the root of their problems, and proletarian dictatorship as its only solution.

The automatic equating of every failed or partially successful protest with total historic working class failure, expresses only one thing, – the incurably subjective defeatism of the petty-bourgeois making the observations.

The fixed idea of these middle-class ‘revolutionaries’, – total socialist victory or nothing, – having been inappropriately applied to essential learning processes in the transformation of the old class-collaborating British working class, – is then ludicrously incorrectly used as a measure of success in a purely national-liberation struggle. They are virtually saying that even if the peace process was a success from Sinn Féin’s point of view, – a reunited Ireland, – it would be a failure.

This is irrelevant ‘left’ sectarianism gone barmy.

All they are really hoping for, between the lines, is that the IRA will fight these petty-bourgeois “lefts” war for them against British imperialism. They actually **want** the IRA and Sinn Féin to split in the hope of “restarting the war against British imperialism”, war which obviously will not cease with the liquidation of the hated ‘Northern Ireland’ colony and Partition, but will aim only for the total actual military defeat of all British imperialism!

This is grotesque. Why don’t these super-‘revolutionaries’ start their own urban guerrilla warfare against the British imperialist state on their own frontline and give the IRA a hand?

This monstrous kibbutzing-in on someone else’s fight by these CPGB freaks shows contempt for the subject and people’s intelligence in both directions. Are they really telling the British working class to start urban guerrilla warfare against the British state in England now? In the circumstances of an as yet incompletely exposed full parliamentary bourgeois democracy system, this would certainly not be a classical Marxist-Leninist strategy, more like a stupid anarchist provocation. And the CPGB is presumably calling for no such thing, of course.

But this unstated implication of ‘Right on to the barricades now, lads’ is slyly useful for adopting a grandiosely ‘revolutionary’ posture against the IRA: ‘Oh, this Docklands bomb is just a way of getting back to the peace process. It’s not the start of a **real** war against British imperialism’.

And such irrelevant Walter Mitty fantasies demonstrate that

this CPGB rump is not talking seriously about the Irish question either. Yet again, it is just another vehicle for yet more petty-bourgeois subjective-‘revolutionary’ verbal diarrhoea. National-liberation struggle can be a limited anti-imperialist struggle, but a wholly legitimate one from a scientific Marxist-Leninist point of view in the right circumstances, and even one to be enthusiastically unconditionally supported in certain conditions, as being an important and even revolutionary blow against imperialism. Such is the IRA/Sinn Féin struggle (see *ILWP Books* vol 8,15,22,25-8).

Sickest of all with these poseurs, and their hopelessly philistine and sectarian petty-bourgeois ‘revolutionary’ milieu, – the suspicion is inescapable that really it irks them to have to identify with the Sinn Féin/IRA struggle as it is, – superficially very unpopular with the British public, – but that their posturing life-style requires them to find a very ‘left’ reason for avoiding doing so. This was certainly part of their weird middle-class psychology with regard to the Polish workers state. On the only realistic anti-imperialist way forward, – for the Polish workers state or the Red Army to crush the ‘Solidarnosc’ counter-revolution without trace (which would have run into a hurricane of hatred and abuse from Western public opinion), – these fake ‘Leninists’ were very unenthusiastic, even though their intellectual alertness made them want to distance themselves from the Solidarnosc fraud in favour of **real** ‘real socialism’. Are all these ‘revolutionary’ summonses to unity in the IRA’s direction just a sick way of avoiding wholeheartedly defending the national-liberation struggle’s right to fight the actual war it is fighting now? (albeit with often-stated disagreement between what a Marxist-Leninist movement might choose as the best strategy and tactics, and what bourgeois nationalism might choose).

There can be no historical-hindsight theoretical justification for all these fake-‘*Leninist*’ lines on the grounds that these CPGBers were right not to look for a Polish workers-state victory over Solidarnosc because they knew its deeply revisionist-flawed condition was bound to be a disastrous loser eventually, – as eventually it did lose, totally and spectacularly, collapsing completely.

What the working class needs to understand from any and every struggle is in which direction the longterm historical trend necessarily most go. The Paris Commune was bound to lose because of its many flaws, most of which Marx and Engels saw from the start. But they wholeheartedly urged it on as the only way to go

historically in the longterm. The Easter Rising 1916 was doomed from the start for its premature, idealist putschist nature. But Lenin welcomed it ecstatically as a glorious ‘revolutionary’ explosion of what was to come in European history. The 1984-85 miners strike was handicapped from the start, as the Leninist ILWP fully explained at the time.

But the *Review*’s predecessor paper worked wholeheartedly and enthusiastically for the victory of such a mass working-class struggle to the end, even though knowing failure was coming, because it was the only way historically for working-class experience to go.

The Polish workers state represented the only period of proletarian dictatorship there has been on earth so far, – the Soviet camp experience started in 1917 and continuing on now via China, Cuba, Korea, Vietnam, etc. Undoubtedly, the world will have to return again and again to this proletarian-dictatorship experience, – as the former Soviet Union is beginning to do now, and as much of East Europe has already done, voting in Communists on the belief that this was bringing back some of the stability and colossal social and economic achievements of the former workers states.

While obviously mistake-strewn and revisionist-corrupted, these proletarian dictatorships nevertheless represented the only alternative way forward from capitalism. They died from the collapse of Marxist-Leninist understanding of this fact, sabotaged by revisionist imbecility, that believed socialism and capitalism could harmonise their better achievements; that capitalism had overcome its crisis-ridden essence; that Western living standards were what they seemed superficially, – the result of the market mechanism rather than of worldwide colonial exploitation; and that imperialism had somehow divested itself of its essential arms-race warmongering counter-revolutionary nature.

The 1980 Polish workers state (and Moscow, by extension) needed an unconditional defence based on criticism of the above delusions. What it got from various opportunist CPGB factions and other Trot sectarians was no unconditional defence at all (i.e. no defence at all), and just a bit of sympathy from the slyer ones who could see through Solidarnosc, but conditional on the Polish workers state giving up its proletarian dictatorship anyway, and Moscow too. None of the fake-‘left’ willed the East European workers states on to victory, – the correct Marxist-Leninist scientific stance even though these particular flawed regimes might well already have

been doomed in the long run.

But as the *Review* has frequently already asked various sectarian 'left' posturers, – where do they stand now on China, Cuba, Vietnam, etc? They have all inherited many revisionist faults in their understanding, and have undoubtedly made mistakes. It may turn out with historical hindsight that these regimes were already irrevocably flawed even when still battling on against imperialism in 1996. But who is now going to say as a policy: Let China collapse against counter-revolutionary imperialist propaganda pressure and economic-sabotage threats? Only incorrigibly sectarian idiots who don't live in the real world but only in the 'perfect revolutionary' world of their own fantasies.

Leninism says defend the Chinese workers state unconditionally in all its contradictions with the 'free' world. Constructively criticise it only as part of the struggle to return the whole world to a true Marxist-Leninist scientific understanding of imperialist crisis and the vital role of proletarian dictatorship in securing civilisation's future, consistent with completing the communist revolution internationally.

The ultra-'left' all-or-nothing defeatism only survives in the short term because only the renewed surge of spontaneous world-revolutionary struggle can prove their pessimisms wrong, basing itself as it must on taking up the Soviet proletarian dictatorship experiences from where they were left off under creeping revisionist imbecility. And that revolutionary surge is, naturally, far longer in coming than anyone can imagine, want, or expect.

Some of these criminally light-minded Trot dilettantes do actually call for the overthrow of the Castro revolution in Cuba, for example, in favour of an even better 'real socialist' revolution, – from the safety of their arm-chairs in Islington, of course. And while the CPGB are not yet this sectarian-barmy, the notion of them being 'right' not to call for Poland's proletarian dictatorship to assert itself and crush Solidarnosc in 1980 is just as sick, – living only for the fantasy 'perfect revolution' that never comes.

And even if longterm historical hindsight eventually proves them 'right' to give the thumbs-down to the Irish national-liberation struggle's present perspective (of forcing British imperialism to negotiate away a completely new political set-up for the whole of Ireland) in that it still might fail (because superseded by other developments, such as World War III, or sudden spontaneous socialist revolution erupting all over Britain), – they would still be

wrong. The Irish revolutionary-nationalist perspective to force British and world imperialism to concede total Ireland independence, or face an added and increasing revolutionary hazard to what the West already has on its plate worldwide, – is eminently conceivable, and would also happen to be a very worthwhile revolutionary (arms-in-hand) pushing back of imperialist forces by popular struggle.

Bourgeois critics of British imperialism see things much more clearly, – understanding exactly the successful limited war aims that the Irish national-liberation struggle has posed. These glimmerings of critical-realist enlightenment also give the lie to the newest Ulster-Unionist propaganda obscenity that IRA bombing has recommenced because Sinn Féin was unable to go through with the peace process, – standing reality exactly on its head. That it was the British imperialist camp which had to abort the negotiated peace process is abundantly clear from admissions such as these (and scores more) in its own capitalist press:

Violence was, is and always will be a potential condition of existence in and concerning Ireland, whether or not any given batch of leaders has agreed to end it.

In these circumstances, the British demand on de-commissioning and renunciation was always more totemic than substantive. If it had been satisfied, that wouldn't have removed the threat of violence. For ministers to talk about not negotiating "when one party has a gun outside the door" may have sounded reasonable but posed, in fact, an unreal hypothesis. The purpose was symbolic: to make the IRA eat dirt.

It had almost nothing to do with effective peace-making. Unmentioned in the Downing Street Declaration, it was a way of belatedly recompensing the people most put out by both declaration and framework document, the Ulster Unionists.

However, the demand was inconsistent with the strategy Major had already adopted. This was, bravely and irregularly, to override the Unionist veto on political progress. Major's text was that Britain no longer entertained a "selfish" interest in Northern Ireland. Deciding to devote himself to a new way of peace, he was prepared to shatter icons. He liberated himself from the past, and sought to bypass old entanglements. Ulster, he made plain, no longer had the same eternal place as Cornwall or Wales in British thinking. Its connection was contingent, and he would not strive to keep it alive against any majority inclination that disclosed itself in the future.

This was a remarkable shift. It proposed a new way forward whereby the mainland polity, entering an alliance with the Dublin government, simultaneously defended the status quo while acknowledging that, if the will of the people changed, it might not last for ever. The logic of this was that London would talk to Sinn Féin even though the IRA threat could plainly not be definitively written out

of the script.

The point of the strategy was to create a new reality that might lead to a political settlement. It could never ordain that the threat of violence was wiped off the agenda. If all-party talks began, in parallel with rather than preceded by de-commissioning, they would be another step forward, a proof that the momentum of peace could be preserved, a way of further bedding down a new status quo. It is a great tragedy that they did not occur. If they had, there would have been no South Quay bomb.

If the de-commissioning demand was, in the real world, a chimera, then this whole political edifice Mr Major constructed was not well served by it. It was invented to satisfy the Unionists, who were thus able to impose their view on the entire negotiating procedure, and almost the entire House of Commons.

The House of Commons is important. It has been a place of reliable consensus from the beginning to the end of the peace process. But we begin to see the weaknesses of this. There was a huge majority for the process, and thus for the adventurous modifications it made on time-honoured British attitudes to Ulster. It is hard to believe, given the symbolic nature of the required de-commissioning, that the majority, given a free hand, would have allowed that to stop the process dead. If the Government had found another way of dealing with it, Mr Major would have secured the certain agreement of most MPs. But at the last, he ran away from his own logic. Instead of assembling a critical mass of British politicians behind a process that posed no genuine threat to the Unionist constituency, he let the Unionists draw their line in the sand.

We know one reason why this happened. The Tories feared for their position. Enjoying a vast majority for their Irish policy, they were and are vulnerable on every other policy. Such is the grim arithmetic of political priorities.

Worldwide, the Irish national-liberation struggle will be more listened to than decrepit British imperialist cowardice, and world opinion will judge that London is in the wrong (in spite of the pathetic renewed televised hand-wringing propaganda onslaught about the 'terrible suffering inflicted on the innocent by the evil bombers', etc) – as the capitalist press itself is further obliged to admit:

The IRA yesterday confirmed unequivocally that its ceasefire was over and offered only the most oblique prospect of a resumption in the event of progress towards talks.

A "spokesperson for the general headquarters staff" of the IRA told *An Phoblacht* that the decision to end the ceasefire was taken because of "John Major's cynical misuse and betrayal of the historic opportunity" it had offered.

In its first detailed explanation of the background to the Canary Wharf bomb in London last Friday, the IRA claimed that Mr Major had reneged on his commitments in order to keep himself in power.

Suggestions that the bomb had been a one-off action were rejected when

an IRA spokesperson said: "We in Ograigh na hEireann will continue to assert Irish national rights in the face of British denial for as long as is necessary."

In the two-page interview, the spokesperson stated: "There is only one place for all the political representatives of the Irish people to go and that is to the negotiating table. Current British policy prevents all those with a democratic mandate from sitting around that table."

There was also criticism of John Bruton, the Irish premier, who this week claimed he had been betrayed by the bombing. The IRA said he well knew the basis of the ceasefire.

The spokesperson denied there was any split in the IRA and said it had no problem with Sinn Féin continuing its peace strategy.

Meanwhile, Michael Ancram, the Northern Ireland political development minister, said yesterday that an election could be held without a ceasefire, but he refused to be drawn when asked if Sinn Féin could take part in such circumstances.

The Government came in for further criticism yesterday from Albert Reynolds, who said that Britain's response to the Mitchell report on illegally held weapons was the straw that broke the camel's back.

'He said that Mr Major's reaction to the report was "the greatest challenge that goaded them [the IRA] into proving they were back in existence".'

After 25 years of all-out national-liberation struggle against all-out imperialist police-military repression, the IRA's ceasefire initiative demonstrated that no-one (apart from complete maniacs like Paisley) dared say that a negotiated solution, fully including the 'men of violence' was impossible.

But it has not happened because of British imperialist intransigence.

So now the choice is back to 25 more years of all-out national-liberation struggle against all-out imperialist police-military repression, or else back to the negotiating table (or at least to more serious 'talks about talks' than taken place so far). It is a choice which the unfortunate British public, indeed suffering from the horrors of an urban guerrilla war erupting in its midst, should loudly declare is no choice at all. Get back quickly to the negotiating table, is the obvious message, and start talking seriously this time about a complete new settlement for Ireland, in particular, the cowardly Labourite 'Official Opposition' worms should be told finally to either oppose imperialist reaction, or disappear from history completely.

As unlikely as it may seem, Labour's class-collaborating servility to British imperialism on the Irish question may be forced to shift by the sheer weight of public opinion. Letters columns to the bourgeois press are no more scientific than the radio and TV vox pops, but all round there does seem to be more refreshing

open-mindedness on this issue than ever before:

MY house was rocked by the Canary Wharf bomb. The people of London are not prepared to carry the burden of unionist intransigence any longer. The British government, under pressure from the unionists, has spent the last 18 months throwing up obstacle after obstacle to serious negotiations over Northern Ireland.

The reason is equally obvious; any negotiations must involve compromise, and that means some weakening of unionist power. The unionists are not prepared to cede an inch, and have successfully blackmailed the Government into playing their game.

We owe the bigots of Northern Ireland nothing and it's time we got rid of this expensive colony, just like we've got rid of dozens of others in the past 30 years.

WE are constantly being told that the "democratic process" is the best way, the only way, to resolve conflict. That being so why cannot the people of Ireland (the whole of Ireland) decide the future of their country? Is not the existence of Northern Ireland a denial of democracy?

ARTHUR Aughey's appeal to "democracy" in support of David Trimble's election proposals is disingenuous (*Comment Page*, February 12). The conflict has been caused by majoritarian "democracy" within the sectarian Northern Ireland framework. The two main unionist parties would simply perpetuate the problem by insisting that an election within this framework is the only route for admitting Sinn Féin to all-party talks.

Such a single-issue election would lead to further sectarian polarisation. Trimble's proposal was intended to delay all-party talks, reduce the Dublin government's involvement in the peace process and marginalise the small loyalist parties — their more reasonable stance since the ceasefire began has shown up the inflexibility of Trimble's and Paisley's mainstream

Trot muddle on racism conceals total confusion on 'democracy', on the practicalities and priorities for socialist revolution, and on what Lenin thought he was building for 7 years until his death in the USSR. Misunderstanding the SLP phenomenon asks for trouble.

[EPSR No853 14-05-96]

Sections of the left inside the Socialist Labour Party have accused Scargill's closest colleagues of opportunism over the question of immigration controls.

The *Weekly Worker* of the CPGB (resurrected) put it this way:

An amendment had been submitted to remove a vague phrase in the 'anti-racism' document to "re-examine in the cold light of day all existing immigration controls within the framework of establishing a humane and non-racist immigration system". The amendment was to replace this with "The SLP will scrap all immigration controls and the Asylum Bill".

Speaker after speaker rose in support of this amendment, saying that if capital can move freely, so should workers. Immigration laws

unionism.

John Major, supported by "opposition" leader Tony Blair, adopted Trimble's proposal, rather than accept the Mitchell advice to call immediately all-party talks. It seems this triggered the IRA's appalling return to bombing.

Arthur Aughey claims elections would make it "the people's peace process", but the delay and further marginalisation of the small loyalist parties and Sinn Féin would destroy any chance of there being a "peace process" — another pyrrhic victory for the main unionist parties.

John Hume's proposal for immediate referenda North and South, on the two questions of rejecting violent methods and the need for all-party talks, should be extended to Britain. For too long the main unionist parties have been the "tail wagging the dog".

I am surprised and disappointed that the *Guardian's* editorial (February 10) has joined the "whitewashes" of John Major and the Government in the latest IRA bombing outrage. The IRA and very likely Sinn Féin are responsible for this act, but as to the question whose fault it has been, you could at least reserve your judgment.

I think also that you are mistaken as to the effect of this bombing. It is not another "blitz" and John Major is not another Churchill. The IRA is obviously trying to avoid human casualties, going for destruction of real estate, and money seems to be valued these days more than anything else. After all, if it is for material gain, this government kowtows to such objectionable people as the Saudi royals and the Nigerian dictator, General Abacha. Multi-million losses in the heart of the City have their eloquence.

But Ireland is far from British imperialism's only, or even essential problem, [...]. As even the capitalist press grasps, the arms-race scandal is more about terminal imperialist crisis than lie exposures:

Imperialist decadence is dying. Build Leninism. Douglas Bell

were condemned for being racist but also anti-worker, as they controlled the movement of workers in order to ensure a regulated supply of cheap labour.

The laws were used against workers, not against the rich. Our movement is an international one and we should champion the rights of workers to live and work wherever they want. Many could not see how any socialist could argue against this right.

Basic democracy is not an abstract; it is something all workers need to champion. The liberation of humanity might be abstract to Brian Heron, but it is something that we dedicate our lives to by fighting for concrete democratic rights in the here and now. One can only presume that Brian thinks that self-determination for Ireland, Scotland and Wales is an abstract principle, in case the Scottish people, in some abstract world of Brian's, start

a war against socialist England. Perhaps also a minimum wage is an abstract principle in some abstract world of Brian's, where socialism in Britain is surrounded by hostile forces and impoverished.

This is national socialism and reformism, concerned about how we create 'socialism' in Britain. Opposed to it is international socialism and revolution. This is about how workers throughout the world make revolution in their own country and make that revolution international and permanent.

Socialism cannot be built in one country: surely the Soviet Union, should teach us that much. Socialists are internationalists with the whole of humanity as their concern, not the government of Britain. If a revolution in Britain was isolated, it would try to defend itself against a hostile siege. This is not an immigration policy: it is about the urgency of spreading revolution or being defeated. What is important about this debate is the rank dishonesty of the ex-*Socialist Outlook* and Fourth International Supporters Caucus members who argued and voted against this amendment. The vote went to a count and for the first time Pat Sikorski and Carolyn Sikorski on the platform also produced their cards to vote against the amendment. Others who voted against the amendment need to be won to a revolutionary position. But these comrades are quite well aware of the principled revolutionary position, yet argued against it out of sheer opportunism — unless of course they have flipped over against revolution.

The argument over immigration controls is well known in the revolutionary movement and in the Trotskyist Fourth International from which these comrades come. Their position

Owing to the constantly increasing concentration of tenant farming, Ireland steadily supplies its own surplus to the English labour market, and thus forces down wages and lowers the moral and material condition of the English working class.

And most important of all! Every industrial and commercial centre in England now possesses a working class *divided* into two *hostile* camps, English proletarians and Irish proletarians. The ordinary English worker hates the Irish worker as a competitor who lowers his standard of life. In relation to the Irish worker he feels himself a member of the *ruling* nation and so turns himself into a tool of the aristocrats and capitalists of his country *against Ireland*, thus strengthening their domination *over himself*. He cherishes religious, social, and national prejudices against the Irish worker. His attitude towards him is much the same as that of the "poor whites" to the "niggers" in the former slave states of the USA. The Irishman pays him back with interest in his own money. He sees in the English worker at once the accomplice and the stupid tool of the *English rule in Ireland*.

This antagonism is artificially kept alive and intensified by the press, the pulpit, the comic papers, in short, by all the means at the disposal of the ruling classes. This *antagonism* is the *secret of the impotence of the English working class*, despite its organization. It is the secret by which the capitalist class maintains its power. And that class is fully aware of it.

But the evil does not stop here. It continues across the ocean. The antagonism between English and Irish is the hidden basis of the conflict between the United States and England. It makes any honest and serious co-operation between the working classes of the two countries impossible. It enables the governments of both countries, whenever they think fit, to break the edge off the social conflict by their mutual bullying, and, in case of need, by war with one another.

England, being the metropolis of capital, the power which has hitherto ruled the world market, is for the present the most important country for the workers' revolution, and moreover the *only* country in which the material conditions for this revolution have developed up to a certain degree of maturity. Therefore to hasten the social revolution in England is the most important object of the International Workingmen's Association. The sole means of hastening it is to make Ireland independent.

Hence it is the task of the International everywhere to put the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with Ireland. And it is the special task of the Central Council in London to awaken a consciousness in the English workers that for *them* the *national emancipation of Ireland* is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment but the *first condition of their own social emancipation*.

Marx to S.Meyer and A.Vogt, April 9, 1870

The CPGB attitude is more a mixture of an abstract-idealist attack on racist prejudice as such, which is pure reformism, plus a statement in favour of international revolution as some kind of

is not only anti-Marxist but a travesty of the great revolutionary, Trotsky, and of Trotskyism in general.

This exercise in the art of "rap-prochement" for which the CPGB would like to become famous, is a bit of a muddle.

There were many good speeches against the amendment too, one of which by a comrade from the Indian sub-continent asked what lay behind the assumption that workers anywhere would ever want to be immigrants anywhere else once the injustices and despair of the international monopoly-capitalist system were resolved by revolution.

This more deeply philosophical point raises doubts about what the superficially-correct 'revolutionary internationalism' of the WW really means.

When Marx dealt with the issue of race prejudice in England against Irish immigrants in the 19th century, he produced his well-known understanding that until national oppression and exploitation is ended, then the workers of oppressor and exploiter nations will themselves never achieve their own emancipation:

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The SLP has made its own

curtsies towards international socialist revolution as a general principle. Its deliberate backwardness is in refusing to accept that an enormous development of Marxist-Leninist theory is required to achieve the abolition of capitalism anywhere, and make it survive against worldwide imperialist counter-revolution.

The SLP has no theory of imperialist crisis and the extraordinary conditions of economic breakdown, conflict, and upheaval which alone can possibly disrupt the control of state power by the bourgeoisie, and make its replacement only by a workers state unavoidable, – the sole way that socialism will ever replace capitalism in reality.

But the SLP's sad perspective of 'left' pressure and parliamentary reformism, backed by endless single-issue direct-action campaigns, is virtually ignored by this CPGB report on the 'revolutionary' significance of this first conference, – in favour of challenging the SLP on matters which it got basically correct.

The SLP missed pointing out that immigration and its problems are a phenomenon of capitalist crisis and imperialist exploitation, but the CPGB do not explain this either.

What should have been said is that the solution to all racist/immigration problems everywhere can only come about through the defeat everywhere of the existing imperialist finance world order. On the way towards that ultimate international triumph of the socialist revolution, individual workers states will first make breakthroughs here and there,

and will immediately need to establish total strict control over all movements in and out of the country as a guard against physical or financial counter-revolutionary disruption and sabotage.

People proposing that the first concern of an SLP workers state should be to "scrap all immigration controls" are not living in the real world.

Instant asylum for revolutionary allies from outside the country whenever they need it is the obvious requirement, but that was ignored by both the SLP and its CPGB critics, and it is not remotely dealt with by the notion "scrap all immigration controls".

Immigration is decidedly not the aim of such political asylum. Just the opposite. Precisely what the host workers state needs more than anything else is for the revolutionaries given asylum to get back to the home territory they know as soon as possible to complete the anti-imperialist revolution there too, the only ultimate guarantee of everyone's emancipation.

The leap to a socialist world ('international revolution') in the CPGB argument (that eventually under world socialism there will be no countries or borders) amazingly leaves out the one crucial question posed in 1996, especially by the launch of the anti-theory SLP relying on vague 'left' pressure and parliamentary reformism, – which is how is the socialist revolution going to come about and how is it going to survive against international imperialist counter-revolution. Brusquely dismissing the SLP concern (that a socialist Brit-

ain might need to defend itself against a hostile siege) as "this is not an immigration policy" shows that the CPGB's concerns are even further removed from reality than are the SLP's.

But perhaps the saddest thing of all is the CPGB's shakiness on even the ABC of Marxist philosophy.

The notion of "basic democracy" has always been used by reaction precisely because it is just about the most abstract and misleading concept that could be formulated. And the idea that workers under capitalism want to go round "championing" this

"basic democracy" is utterly stupefying coming from a supposedly 'Leninist' group. And the CPGB mean it too, calling for the 'free movement of workers' to be put on a par with the free movement of capital; calling on bourgeois democracy to stop biasing its immigration laws against workers; insisting on the rights of ethnic minorities against the operation of bourgeois state controls; etc.

The Marxist-Leninist approach was to use bourgeois democracy, when available, only in order to tell workers what a deliberately-conceived trap this 'democracy' was, not in order to tell them to "champion basic democracy":

It is sheer mockery of the working and exploited people to speak of pure democracy, of democracy in general, of equality, freedom and universal rights when the workers and all working people are ill-fed, ill-clad, ruined and worn out not only as a result of capitalist wage slavery, but as a consequence of four years of predatory war, while the capitalists and profiteers remain in possession of the "property" usurped by them and the "ready-made" apparatus of state power. This is tantamount to trampling on the basic truths of Marxism which has taught the workers: you must take advantage of bourgeois democracy which, compared with feudalism, represents a great historical advance, but not for one minute must you forget the bourgeois character of this "democracy", its historically conditional and limited character. Never share the "superstitious belief" in the "state" and never forget that the state even in the most democratic republic, and not only in a monarchy, is simply a machine for the suppression of one class by another.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys speak about "pure democracy" and "democracy" in general for the purpose of deceiving the people and concealing from them the bourgeois character of present-day democracy.

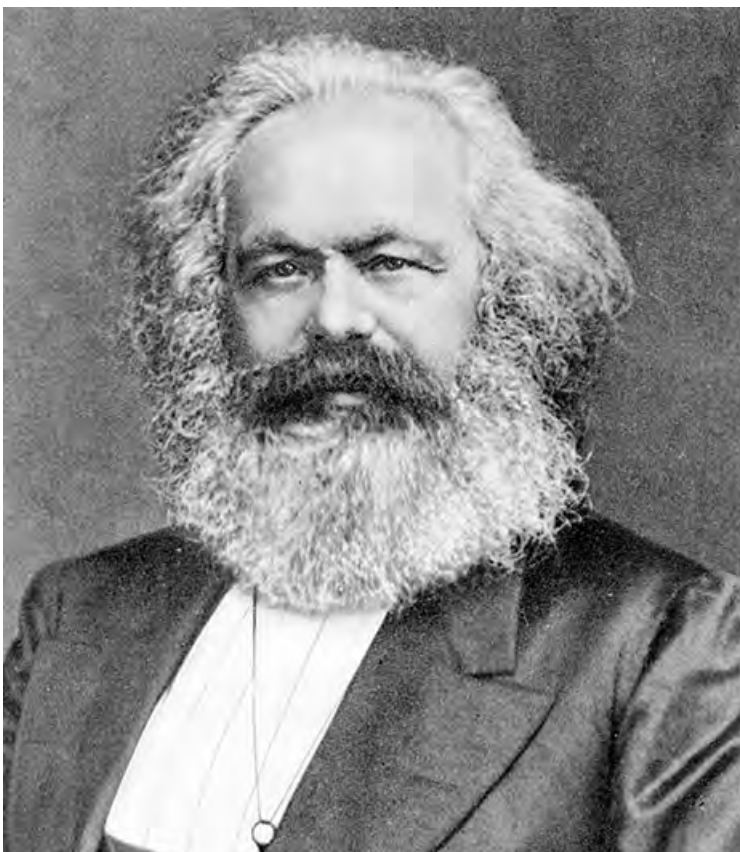
These words are designed to conceal the truth, to conceal the fact that the means of production and political power remain in the hands of the exploiters, and that therefore real freedom and real equality for the exploited, that is, for the vast majority of the population, are out of the question. It is profitable and indispensable for the bourgeoisie to conceal from the people the bourgeois character of modern democracy, to picture it as democracy in general or "pure democracy", and the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, repeating this, in practice abandon the standpoint of the proletariat and side with the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels in their last joint preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (in 1872) considered it necessary specially to warn the workers that the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made (that is, the bourgeois) state machine and wield it for its own purpose, that it must smash it up. The renegade Kautsky, who has written a special pamphlet entitled *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, concealed from the workers this most important Marxist truth, utterly distorted Marxism.

Firstly, this argument employs the concepts of "democracy in general" and "dictatorship in general", without posing the question of the class concerned. This non-class or above-class presentation, which supposedly is popular, is an outright travesty of the basic tenet of socialism, namely, its theory of class struggle, which socialists who have sided with the bourgeoisie recognise in words but disregard in practice. For in no civilised capitalist country does "democracy in general" exist; all that exists is bourgeois democracy, and it is not a question of "dictatorship in general", but of the dictatorship of the oppressed class, i.e., the proletariat, over its oppressors and exploiters, i.e., the bourgeoisie, in order to overcome the resistance offered by the exploiters in their fight to maintain their domination.

In explaining the class nature of bourgeois civilisation, bourgeois democracy and the bourgeois parliamentary system, all socialists have expressed the idea formulated with the greatest scientific precision by Marx and Engels, namely, that the most democratic bourgeois republic is no more than a machine for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie, for the suppression of the working people by a handful of capitalists.¹⁷⁵ There is not a single revolutionary, not a single Marxist among those now shouting against dictatorship and for democracy who has not sworn and vowed to the workers that he accepts this basic truth of socialism. But now, when the revolutionary proletariat is in a fighting mood and taking action to destroy this machine of oppression and to establish proletarian dictatorship, these traitors to socialism claim that the bourgeoisie have granted the working people "pure democracy", have abandoned resistance and are prepared to yield to the majority of the working people.

The bourgeoisie are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as "popular government" or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (bourgeois) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people. The Scheidemanns and Kautsky's the Austerlitzes and Renners (and now, to our regret, with the help of Friedrich Adler) fall in line with this falsehood and hypocrisy. But Marxists, Communists, expose this hypocrisy, and tell the workers and the working people in general this frank



and straightforward truth: the democratic republic, the Constituent Assembly, general elections, etc., are, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital there is no other way but to replace this dictatorship with the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

The dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy - democracy for the rich - and establish democracy for the poor, that is, make the blessings of democracy really accessible to the workers and poor peasants, whereas now (even in the most democratic - bourgeois - republic) the blessings of democracy are, in fact, inaccessible to the vast majority of working people.

Take, for example, freedom of assembly and freedom of the press. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners assure the workers that the present elections to the Constituent Assembly in Germany and Austria are "democratic". That is a lie. In practice the capitalists, the exploiters, the landowners and the profiteers own 9/10 of the best meeting halls and 9/10 of the stocks of newsprint, printing presses, etc. The urban workers and the farm hands and day labourers are, in practice, debarred from democracy by the "sacred right of property" (guarded by the Kautskys and Renners, and now, to our regret, by Friedrich Adler as well) and by the bourgeois state apparatus, that is, bourgeois officials, bourgeois judges, and so on. The present "freedom of assembly and the press" in the "democratic" (bourgeois democratic) German republic is false and hypocritical, because in fact it is freedom for the rich to buy and bribe the press, freedom for the rich to befuddle the people with the venomous lies of the bourgeois press, freedom for the rich to keep as their "property" the landowners' mansions, the best buildings, etc. The dictatorship of the proletariat will take from the capitalists and hand over to the working people the landowners' mansions, the best buildings, printing-presses and the stocks of newsprint.

But this means replacing "universal", "pure" democracy by the "dictatorship of one class", scream the Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners (together with their followers in other countries - the Gomperses, Hendersons, Renaudels, Vandervelde and Co.).

Wrong, we reply. This means replacing what in fact, is the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie (a dictatorship hypocritically cloaked in the forms of the democratic bourgeois republic) by the dictatorship of the proletariat. This means replacing democracy for the rich by democracy for the poor. This means replacing freedom of assembly and the press for the minority, for the exploiters, by freedom of assembly and the press for the majority of the population, for the working people. This means a gigantic, world-historic extension of democracy, its transformation from falsehood into truth, the liberation of humanity from the shackles of capital, which distorts and truncates any, even the most "democratic" and republican, bourgeois democracy. This means replacing the bourgeois state by the proletarian state, a replacement that is the sole way the state can eventually wither away altogether.

But why not reach this goal without the dictatorship of one class? Why not switch directly to "pure" democracy? So ask the hypocritical friends of the bourgeoisie or the naive petty bourgeois and philistines gulled by them.

And we reply: Because in any capitalist society the decisive say lies with either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, while the small proprietors, inevitably, remain wavering, helpless, stupid dreamers of "pure", i.e., non-class or above-class, democracy. Because from a society in which one class oppresses another there is no way out other than through the dictatorship of the oppressed class. Because the proletariat alone is capable of defeating the bourgeoisie, of overthrowing them, being the sole class which capitalism has united and "schooled", and which is capable of drawing to its side the wavering mass of the working population with a petty-bourgeois way of life, of drawing them to its side or at least "neutralising" them. Because only mealy mouthed petty bourgeois and philistines can dream - deceiving thereby both themselves and the workers - of overthrowing capitalist oppression without a long and difficult process of suppressing the resistance of the exploiters.

From the point of view of bourgeois society, once there is "democracy", and once capitalist and proletarian alike take part in the voting, this is the "popular will", this is "equality" and all expression of the people's will. We know what an abominable fraud this talk is, which only serves as a cover for butchers and murderers like Ebert and Scheidemann. In bourgeois society, the mass of the working people are governed by the bourgeoisie with the help of more or less democratic forms. They are governed by a minority, the property owners, those who have a share in capitalist property and who have turned education and science, that supreme bulwark and flower of capitalist civilisation, into an instrument of exploitation, into a monopoly.

I would respectfully remind Mr. Kautsky, who has Marx and Engels off pat, of the following appraisal of the Paris Commune given by Engels from the point of view of... "pure democracy":

"Have these gentlemen" (the anti-authoritarians) "ever seen a revolution? A revolution is certainly the most authoritarian thing there is; it is an act whereby one part of the population imposes its will upon the other by means of rifles, bayonets and cannon - all of which are highly authoritarian means. And the victorious party must maintain its rule by means of the terror which its arms inspire in the reactionaries. Would the Paris Commune have lasted more than a day if it had not used the authority of the armed people against the bourgeoisie? Cannot we, on the contrary, blame it for having made too little use of that authority?"⁹⁹

Here is your "pure democracy"! How Engels would have ridiculed the vulgar petty bourgeois, the "Social-Democrat" (in the French sense of the forties and the general European sense of 1914-18), who took it into his head to talk about "pure

democracy" in a class-divided society!

To sum up: Kautsky has in a most unparalleled manner distorted the concept dictatorship of the proletariat, and has turned Marx into a common liberal; that is, he himself has sunk to the level of a liberal who utters banal phrases about "pure democracy", embellishing and glossing over the class content of bourgeois democracy, and shrinking, above all, from the use of *revolutionary violence* by the oppressed class. By so "interpreting" the concept "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" as to expunge the revolutionary violence of the oppressed class against its oppressors, Kautsky has beaten the world record in the liberal distortion of Marx. The renegade Bernstein has proved to be a mere puppy compared with the renegade Kautsky.

If we are not to mock at common sense and history, it is obvious that we cannot speak of "pure democracy" as long as different classes exist; we call only speak of class democracy. (Let us say in parenthesis that "pure democracy" is not only an ignorant phrase, revealing a lack of understanding both of the class struggle and of the nature of the state, but also a thrice-empty phrase, since in communist society democracy will wither away in the process of changing and becoming a habit, but will never be "pure" democracy.)

"Pure democracy" is the mendacious phrase of a liberal who wants to fool the workers. History knows of bourgeois democracy which takes the place of feudalism, and of proletarian democracy which takes the place of bourgeois democracy.

Kautsky takes from Marxism what is acceptable to the liberals, to the bourgeoisie (the criticism of the Middle Ages, and the progressive historical role of capitalism in general and of capitalist democracy in particular), and discards, passes over in silence, glosses over all that in Marxism which is unacceptable to the bourgeoisie (the revolutionary violence of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie for the latter's destruction). That is why Kautsky, by virtue of his objective position and irrespective of what his subjective convictions may be, inevitably proves to be a lackey of the bourgeoisie.

Bourgeois democracy, although a great historical advance in comparison with medievalism, always remains, and under capitalism is bound to remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and deception for the exploited, for the poor. It is this truth which forms a most essential part of Marx's teaching, that Kautsky the "Marxist" has failed to understand. On this - the fundamental issue - Kautsky offers "delights" for the bourgeoisie instead of a scientific criticism of those conditions which make every bourgeois democracy a democracy for the rich.

Let us first remind the most learned Mr. Kautsky of the theoretical propositions of Marx and Engels which that pedant has so disgracefully "forgotten" (to please the bourgeoisie), and then explain the matter as popularly as possible.

Not only the ancient and feudal, but also "the modern representative state is an instrument of exploitation of wage-labour by capital" (Engels, in his work on the state).¹⁰¹ "As, therefore, the state is only a transitional institution which is used in the struggle, to hold down one's adversaries by force, it is sheer nonsense to talk of a free people's state; so long as the proletariat still needs the state, it does not need it in the interests of freedom but in order to hold down its adversaries, and as soon as it becomes possible to speak of freedom the state as such ceases to exist". (Engels, in his letter to Bebel, March 28, 1875). "In reality, however, the state is nothing but a machine for the oppression of one class by another, and indeed in the democratic republic no less than in the monarchy". (Engels, *Introduction to The Civil War in France* by Marx). Universal suffrage is "the gauge of the maturity of the working class. It cannot and never will be anything more in the present-day state". (Engels, in his work on the state).¹⁰² Mr. Kautsky very tediously chews over the cud in the first part of this proposition, which is acceptable to the bourgeoisie. But the second part, which we have italicised and which is not acceptable to the bourgeoisie, the renegade Kautsky passes over in silence! "The Commune was to be a working, not a parliamentary, body, executive and legislative at the same time ... Instead of deciding once in three or six years which member of the ruling class was to represent and suppress (*ver- und zertreten*) the people in Parliament, universal suffrage was to serve the people, constituted in Communes, as individual suffrage serves every other employer in the search for workers, foremen and accountants for his business" (Marx, in his work on the Paris



Commune, *The Civil War in France*).¹⁰⁴

Every one of these propositions, which are excellently known to the most learned Mr. Kautsky, is a slap in his face and lays bare his apostasy. Nowhere in his pamphlet does Kautsky reveal the slightest understanding of these truths. His whole pamphlet is a sheer mockery of Marxism!

Take the fundamental laws of modern states, take their administration, take freedom of assembly, freedom of the press, or "equality of all citizens before the law", and you will see at every turn evidence of the hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy with which every honest and class conscious worker is familiar. There is not a single state, however democratic, which has no loopholes or reservations in its constitution guaranteeing the bourgeoisie the possibility of dispatching troops against the workers, of proclaiming martial law, and so forth, in case of a "violation of public order", and actually in case the exploited class "violates" its position of slavery and tries to behave in a non-slavish manner. Kautsky shamelessly embellishes bourgeois democracy and omits to mention, for instance, how the most democratic and republican bourgeoisie in America or Switzerland deal with workers on strike.

The wise and learned Kautsky keeps silent about these things! That learned politician does not realise that to remain silent on this matter is despicable. He prefers to tell the workers nursery tales of the kind that democracy means "protecting the minority". It is incredible, but it is a fact! In the year of our Lord 1918, in the fifth year of the world imperialist slaughter and the strangulation of internationalist minorities (i.e., those who have not despicably betrayed socialism; like the Renandels and Longuets, the Scheidermanns and Kautskys, the Hendersons and Webbs et al) in all "democracies" of the world, the learned Mr. Kautsky sweetly, very sweetly, sings the praises of "protection of the minority". Those who are interested may read this on page 15 of Kautsky's pamphlet. And on page 16 this learned ... individual tells you about the Whigs and Tories in England in the eighteenth century!

What wonderful erudition! What refilled servility to the bourgeoisie! What civilised belly-crawling before the capitalists and boot-licking! If I were Krupp or Scheidermann, or Clemenceau or Rebnaudel, I would pay Mr. Kautsky millions, reward him with Judas kisses, praise him before the workers and urge "socialist unity" with "honourable" men like him. To write pamphlets against the dictatorship of the proletariat, to talk about the Whigs and Tories in England in the eighteenth century, to assert that democracy means "protecting the minority", and remain silent about pogroms against internationalists in the "democratic" republic of America - isn't this rendering lackey service to the bourgeoisie?

The learned Mr. Kautsky has "forgotten" - accidentally forgotten, probably - a "trifle", namely, that the ruling party in a bourgeois democracy extends the protection of the minority only to another bourgeois party, while the proletariat, on all serious, profound and fundamental issues, gets martial law or pogroms, instead of the "protection of tile minority". *The more highly developed a democracy is, the more imminent are pogroms or civil war in connection with any profound political divergence which is dangerous to the bourgeoisie.* The learned Mr. Kautsky could have studied this "law" of bourgeois democracy in connection with the Dreyfus case¹⁰⁵ in republican France, with the lynching of Negroes and internationalists in the democratic republic of America, with the case of Ireland and Ulster in democratic Britain,¹⁰⁶ with the baiting of the Bolsheviks and the staging of pogroms against them in April 1917 in the democratic republic of Russia. I have purposely chosen examples not only from wartime but also from pre-war time, peacetime. But mealy-mouthed Mr. Kautsky prefers to shut his eyes to these facts of the twentieth century and instead to tell the workers wonderfully new, remarkably interesting, unusually edifying and incredibly important things about the Whigs and Tories of the eighteenth century!

Take the bourgeois parliament. Can it be that the learned Kautsky has never heard that the more highly democracy is developed, the more the bourgeois parliaments are subjected by the stock exchange and the bankers? This does not mean that we must not make use of bourgeois parliament (the Bolsheviks made better use of it than probably any other party in the world, for in 1912-14 we won the entire workers' curia in the Fourth Duma). But it does mean that only a liberal can forget the *historical limitations and conventional nature* of the bourgeois parliamentary system as Kautsky does. Even in the most democratic bourgeois state the oppressed people at every step encounter the crying contradiction between the *formal* equality proclaimed by the "democracy" of the capitalists and the thousands of *real* limitations and subterfuges which turn the proletarians into *wage-slaves*. It is precisely this contradiction that is opening the eyes of the people to the rottenness, mendacity and hypocrisy of capitalism. It is this contradiction that the agitators and propagandists of socialism are constantly exposing to the people, *in order to prepare them* for revolution. And now that the era of revolution *has begun*, Kautsky turns his back upon it and begins to extol the charms of *moribund* bourgeois democracy.

Democracy and dictatorship 1918

First Congress of the Communist International, 1919

Second All-Russia trade union congress 1919

Proletarian revolution and the renegade Kautsky 1918

What sort of international society is the CPGB implying is possible where workers can move as freely as capital? What sort of international society is envisaged	where workers have the same immigration and emigration rights as the rich? This confusion is made worse by muddling pre-revolutionary
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reformist demands with the possibilities of social development under world communism, - casually tossing in a totally-disputed one line summary of 20th century history into the bargain, without a word of justification, - contentious matters which are precisely the subject for the really big debate awaiting the SLP, the CPGB, and the entire workers movement worldwide.

So what was the Soviet Union building until 1990? What is Cuba building at the moment? What is the basis of the hostility for 50 years between North and South Korea? Why does the anti-communist vilification of China continue throughout so many 'freeworld' agencies, splitting the US imperialist ruling class over tactics, etc? The statement:

'Socialism cannot be built in one country'

has been a specious cover-up for much of the most opportunist anti-communist treachery in the whole history of working-class struggle for proletarian dictatorship science.

Socialism was being built in only one country under the leadership of Lenin himself until his death in 1924, as the slightest acquaintance with the 20 volumes of his writings after 1917 will confirm, and would have gone on being built in only one country under Lenin's leadership, had he lived, for an unknown number of years after that too. The world revolution was slow to spread because of the inherited backwardness and destruction of Russia, and the continued phenomenal expansion of world imperialist economic strength. Trotsky's sneer against 'socialism in one country' was a piece of monstrous anti-Soviet opportunism based on his 'permanent revolution' ultra-leftism which Lenin comprehensively rubbished under his general dismissal of Trotsky as a Menshevik windbag from 1905 onwards when this bureaucratic schematic posturing first appeared, (see *ILWP Books* vol 5 for excerpts and a summary of the more than 600 pages of Lenin's writings against Trotsky).

Of course Stalinist revisionism eventually betrayed the completion of the world socialist revolution and the completion of building socialism in the USSR, but categorising this theoretical degeneration in the 1990s with some spurious posturing phrase that was immediately nonsense in the 1920s is just gibberish, especially after the massive expansion of the socialist camp after 1945, - and it just lets Stalinism off the hook, blocking the path to the important scholarship that needs doing on revisionist self-liquidation.

Such unthinking shallowness just plays into the hands of anti-

communism and state-capitalism which are desperate to play down 'free-world' embarrassment at the astonishing economic and social deterioration in the former Soviet Union and East Europe since capitalism replaced what was being built there before without a capitalist class and a free market, and in Cold War hostility to imperialism, - that strange 73-years-long historical vacuum which apparently can be called anything but planned socialist construction, according to the CPGB now as well as the Trots.

In the light of the immense lack of seriousness and infantile sectarianism of this weird posturing then the incomprehensibility of the further remarks to 'Brian' (about a devolved Scotland's war on England; the minimum wage in impoverished and surrounded Britain; and national socialism) are perhaps not so strange.

The CPGB carry on with this muddle in their strategic manoeuvring towards the SLP. CPGBers trying to fight an incipient SLP proscription witch-hunt against them have pronounced themselves 'ex-CPGB' in order to stay within Scargill's ranks.

But their *Weekly Worker* paper's SLP conference report describes it as

"a rousing one for all revolutionaries involved, and should be a call to all those who have as yet not thrown themselves into this struggle for Party. The Party inevitably is not handed to us on a plate."

If this is a call to 'all' non-CPGB 'revolutionaries' to dissolve into the SLP and is not total humbug, then it must mean that all the CPGB have already gone in. Which makes all the continued evidence all over the *Weekly Worker* of an ongoing CPGB slightly awkward. If it is a call to 'all' other CPGBers, it betrays a woeful lack of party discipline, and is hardly a recommendation of the CPGBers as the nucleus of a future Bolshevik Party in Britain, plus also earmarking the same aforementioned running down of CPGB activities in the *Weekly Worker* in the near future.

In addition, the phrase "the Party (cap P) is not handed to us on a plate" could hardly fail to alarm the people who founded the SLP.

This chaos over strategy and tactics is almost certainly not helped by basic confusion in the CPGB over historically assessing the SLP phenomenon correctly.

The chances of it being turned into 'the' revolutionary party were always very slim even when it was first unveiled, and have dwindled almost to absolute zero since then. Scargillism is a classic centrist movement, - revolution in words, reformist in deeds, - as the *EPSR* described it from the beginning. But as such it is nevertheless

still an enormously important development, encouragingly reflecting the ripening of imperialist crisis and the impossible strains now being put on orthodox reformism (Labour and the TUC) to still posture as the 'opposition' to decaying British imperialism while naturally not offering a glimmer of encouragement any more to a serious socialist alternative because of the highly volatile conditions that are on the way.

The SLP needs supporting and polemicising with in the spirit of a broad front movement that will find it hard to avoid serious discussion about almost every aspect of the past and present struggle for socialism and against imperialism, – to the benefit of everyone, not least the SLP itself which needs to perform reasona-

Infantile defeatism of the British 'left' more sharply revealed as British colonialism prepares the ground for further retreats over Ireland, confirming the EPSR's long struggle for a Marxist analysis of the national liberation struggle.

[EPSR No854 21-05-96]

The world imperialist system continues plunging towards unprecedented humiliations, not least in Ireland, and this will be a key factor in routing the defeatism of the anti-theory 'left' which so damages the workers movement in Britain and elsewhere.

The ruling class's greatest weapon against any serious revolutionary challenge to their economic, social, and ideological dictatorship is the widespread negative feeling among workers that the establishment will always win.

Through anti-communism, the most nightmarish phenomenon imposed on the 20th century by imperialism, – the majority of petty bourgeois 'revolutionary' sects made a 'positive' living out of this defeatism, led by the SWP and other Trots.

With their shallow intellectual idealism and their faint-hearted middle-class opportunism much daunted by the enormous unprecedented difficulties of maintaining unconditional solidarity (however critical) with the Soviet workers state in the face of each and every 'free world' denunciation of USSR problems and mistakes, these petty bourgeois 'lefts' rapidly evolved various styles of avoiding anti-communism's too-obvious extremes and pitfalls while at the same time making sure not to get 'caught out' believing too strongly in anything ever again.

Thus the hopeless cynicism of Trotskyism and state-capitalism were born, and their most destructive feature by far was the

bly intelligently and competently in order to hold down the centrist slot that history has prepared for it. A wrong approach to the SLP will only result in continued naïve disappointment.

CPGB 'rapprochement' is not helped by its continuing refusal to polemicise with, and properly reply to, EPSR criticisms of profoundly incorrect *Weekly Worker* positions. This humbug of ignoring the EPSR comrades has gone on for 16 years, and has been particularly egregious in recent months of sustained EPSR criticism on a wide array of issues, all of them relevant to the SLP and the 'rapprochement' question. CPGB comrades with an ounce of gumption in them should begin to query this strange silence. Build Leninism.

Adam Carr

deadening influence they had on all attempts to continue the fight for revolutionary theory.

This philistinism allowed on one side such rampant idealist nonsense as state-capitalism to survive the entire lifetime of colossal anti-imperialist struggles and achievements by the Soviet-led socialist camp, – and on the other side allowed revisionist stupidity to slowly strangle the Third International.

The worst legacy is the continuing defeatism and hostility to theory which is now worn by generations of petty-bourgeois-minded workers in Britain as a hard but brittle superficial survivalist polish, now beginning to rush round the centrist adventure in ever decreasing circles.

Smooth operators of all descriptions have been buzzing around Scargill's SLP, for instance, (as well as genuine revolutionaries, obviously), hoping to gain an extension of life for their cynicism.

Heroic failure is the essence of this Trotskyite defeatist mentality, all stemming from the 'what might have been' idealism which quickly asserted itself from the 1920s onwards as the imperialist economic system continued its phenomenally rapid expansion and modernisation (based on consumerist greed and exploitation), – easily, of course, leaving the initially catastrophically backward Soviet workers state very far behind.

With their 'perfect revolutionary paradise' daydreams quickly in tatters, the petty-bourgeois

minded 'lefts' soon built up their "if only Trotsky had taken over" fantasies, the widespread ideological counter-balance to the withering anti-communist onslaught to which the world was subjected to an unparalleled degree for the next 70 years.

In such an extraordinary historical epoch, only defeatism could flourish on any mass scale, easily dwarfing (and eventually taking over) the dwindling ranks of outright revisionist enthusiasts still bowing the head towards Moscow, and effortlessly drowning out the few remaining sparks of genuine Marxist-Leninist endeavour with sectarian contempt indistinguishable from anti-communism itself.

This widespread defeatist mentality is impossible to crack just by correct Leninist polemics alone. It is impossible to even get the majority of the 'left' to recognise it is defeatist and hostile to theory.

Only the major earthquakes now trembling under imperialism's seemingly all-triumphant exterior will finally shatter this cynicism, first and foremost ripping apart the quiescent self-fulfilling creed that "they will always find a way out of their crisis", etc, about the repeated undoubted economic alarms.

Preceding and surrounding the major earthquakes undermining the monopoly capitalist bourgeoisie will be scores of lesser tremors, helping to disturb accepted defeatist prejudices, – of which Ireland is a classic example.

The main cogs of the bourgeois anti-communist propaganda machinery automatically poured ill-concealed triumphalist scorn on the IRA's 'defeated' revolutionary national liberation struggle following the original ceasefire declaration by the Republican movement.

And who immediately fell into this same illusion-filled trap but virtually the entire defeatist 'left' in Britain, – albeit with its own usual shallow anti-imperialist gloss put on things, issuing fantasy threats to the Tory establishment that a united workers revolutionary movement, north and south, will soon drive capitalism out of business, – simultaneously disassociating themselves from the 'losers' Sinn Féin and the IRA, who of course had failed for not being 'revolutionary Marxist' enough, etc.

As the potentially momentous developments of the June 10 talks about a complete new deal for Ireland rapidly approach, the bourgeoisie's counter-revolutionary propaganda machinery is as usual quicker to react to the unusual stirrings connected with that approach than are the fake-'lefts', complacent in their untroubled defeatism.

But before analysing the capitalist press's own interesting signals that perhaps the IRA has not been 'defeated' after all, but might even be winning, assessing the significance of Major's *Irish Times* statement, the release back to Irish goals of leading IRA prisoners-of-war, and psychological preparation for possible subsequent press releases with the sudden startling revelation that the Ministry of Defence forensic laboratory evidence for convicted bombers trials might all have to be declared 'unsafe', – it is necessary to recall just how the defeatist 'left' mentality automatically operates in such situations as the imperialist retreat over Ireland.

For more than 15 years, the Leninist comrades supporting the *Review* have fought to put across an examination of the Irish national liberation struggle in its historical context (see *ILWP Books* vol.8, first published following the 1985 Anglo-Irish Treaty, – and countless *Reviews* since ([see Vols.15, 22, 25-28]).

Briefly, this noted the repeated signs of retreat in the way British imperialism handled its Ireland crisis, and explained the background to this in the collapse of the British Empire's economic and political viability which made subsidizing its Occupied Zone of Ireland no longer industrially, commercially, or strategically worthwhile, – and in the general unbeatability of national-liberation movements in the modern era ever since such colossal constraints had been placed on too-blatant colonial bullying by the history-making expansion post-1945 of the socialist camp of workers states, and the subsequent mighty movement for colonial freedom. It also noted the parallel beginnings of collapse of the old colonial-community solidarity and arrogance of the so-called 'Ulster Unionist' state of the entirely fictional 'Northern Ireland', – i.e. the British-occupied colonial zone of Ireland, which could not possibly survive much longer.

For nearly 15 years, the EPSR's Leninist views have challenged the fake-'left' in Britain to a polemic over its defeatism which hides an incapacity to understand the viability of a nationalist struggle and a fear of declaring unconditional solidarity with such uncompromising guerrilla-war terror tactics, making relieved predictions of 'defeat' for the IRA instead. To this is added obscene posturing about how the 'real revolution' should be fought in Ireland (all workers north and south against all capitalists, etc, – something the Trots never have the conscience and courage to unleash themselves against the UK state (of which 'Northern Ireland' is still part)).

It was even necessary to challenge Sinn Féin itself (see *ILWP Books* vol 8) for its own bout of traditional British-Isles defeatist hostility to theory which initially just could not grasp what a colossal admission of imperialist defeat the 1985 Anglo-Irish Treaty was, not a piece of triumphalist intransigence as Sinn Féin first tried to describe it.

The *Review* has continued to use the example of Ireland frequently to illustrate the philistine defeatism of the British 'left' (and the crucial role of correct revolutionary theory for the future of anti-imperialist struggle) because of the complexities of the national question, because of a particular blindspot among British middle-class 'revolutionaries', and because the possibly relatively-short timetable until the general lines of the outcome of this particular anti-imperialist fight become clear make it potentially priceless for the crucial testing process of putting theory into practice.

This is more a question of identifying general historical trends rather than making firm predictions of precise outcomes, but these broad outlines offer a clear-enough choice of assessments. 'Defeat for the national-liberation struggle, or success?' "Retreat for world imperialism, or advance?" "Further decline for dying British imperialism, or continued successful vicious intransigence?" "Vindication of Marx's historical materialism which analyses progress from the standpoint of objective necessity, or triumph for the 'Marxism' which postures its own subjective perspectives as reality?"

Almost without exception, the entire spectrum of petty-bourgeois 'left' ideology in Britain has replaced objective analysis of what is happening to imperialism in Ireland with posturing subjectivism about what ought to happen, which is nothing whatever to do with Marxism.

The most recent misleading nonsense the *Review* has dealt with in a long record of exposing every fake-'revolutionary' group within British petty-bourgeois 'left' ideology contained the following rubbish published by the CPGB's *Weekly Worker*:

I am a Marxist. I have never been in favour of the armed struggle, it is an anathema to me that a small group of people set themselves up as the liberators of my class. I have never been too infected by attachment to the romantic forms of Irish nationalism.

The armed struggle has been a total dead end. There was never any possibility of any return commensurate with the time, effort and sacrifice that was put into it. It could never work.

When the ceasefire was declared there was an air of triumphalism in and around the republican movement and a belief they were on a 'high road' to a united Ireland.

They lack any class perspective. Even so, the triumphalism has faded: a certain disillusion-

ment has set in. Impatience and discontent is expressing itself. Among the rank and file there is a deeper disappointment and a feeling that they must re-examine how they got into this cul-de-sac.

This re-examination must involve facing some painful truths. You would have to be a fool nor to understand that the strategy that was presented to them simply has not worked.

This is just a giant subjective wank by a posturing 'left' nin-compoop.

What has childish self-promotion about 'being a Marxist' got to do with equally egocentric declarations of 'not being in favour of' the armed struggle? This is petty-bourgeois moralising, not historical materialist analysis, and it is an outrage to serve up such individualistic posturing to workers as worthwhile 'revolutionary theory'.

It would certainly be possible, although profoundly mistaken, to conclude that "nationalist revolutionary armed struggle has utterly failed to force colonial imperialism to retreat one inch in Ireland and has only done harm to the real perspective for anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland", and explain why this has happened from an analysis of the international balance of class forces, leading on to perspectives of what sort of struggle "would drive imperialism back now", such as the fantasy of an immediate Trot-led workers revolt north and south against capitalism.

But the declaration "I am a Marxist. I have never been in favour of the armed struggle" is just self-righteous exhibitionism of the most ludicrous kind.

A statement saying "I am a Marxist. I have always been in favour of the armed struggle" would be closer to the truth of the historical record since the 1840s, but would be equally fatuous as a revolutionary-theory argument to meet a specific historical situation. It is just middle-class emotional blather.

The analysis, such as it is, simply claims that the national-liberation's armed struggle has been a total disastrous failure. The ready alternative anti-imperialist struggle, it pretends, is to just nip down the Shankhill Road and recruit the 'protestant' working class (whatever that means) out of the grip of the 'loyalist' (a sick euphemism, hiding its rotten colonial lineage) reactionary stooges of bourgeois imperialism.

For the moment, these can only remain ridiculous fantasies, – a complete joke as a pretended 'alternative policy'. This is a British colonial working class; calling it 'protestant' simply conceals the reality. It will be broken from British imperialism, of course, as will the entire British working class eventually. But not remotely possible for the moment, not until British imperialist defeat in Ireland, part of the inescap-

able longterm collapse of British imperialist positions in the world, has become much more obvious. What Marx wrote about the English working class never being free of its racist subservience to the British imperialist state all the time that British colonial control over Ireland, or part of it, prevailed, must inevitably be even more true of the British colonial working class which was settled in the Occupied Zone of Ireland (see last week's *Review*, Marx's letter to Meyer and Vogt, 1870 [p70-this book]).

And the vehicle for delivering that defeat to British colonialism is the Irish national-liberation struggle, – completely contrary to these CPGB urgings and opinions, – as will become more and more apparent as the coming few years bring Ireland's reunification closer and closer, arising from the British imperialist retreat-settlement which will be reached not far in the future, subsequent to the talks on a new settlement (which will probably commence at last on June 10), and following all that has gone before in this triumphant anti-imperialist struggle.

The attempted *Weekly Worker* justification for its sectarian confusion about Ireland and ignorance about Marxism, – that the Republicans "lack any class perspective", – is just more petty bourgeois 'leftism', – sounding clever but saying nothing. It is just a glib 'revolutionary' phrase serving to conceal the poverty of the analysis.

Sinn Féin and the IRA obviously have a bourgeois-nationalist class perspective (whatever they like to claim for themselves). But it is just infantile ignorance to imply that this national-liberation struggle in Ireland could never win Marxist critical support, therefore. Just the opposite. Marxism-Leninism has frequently given enthusiastic critical support for anti-imperialist struggles led by nationalists on the obvious grounds that given the objective necessity of such a conflict, imperialism could well emerge gravely damaged, to the clear ultimate advantage of every prospective further anti-imperialist struggle. Marx and Lenin were particularly clear about the benefit which the proletarian class war in Britain would eventually derive from a successful national-liberation struggle in Ireland putting an end to Britain's colonial-imperialist relationship to Ireland and the Irish, which was corrupting British workers (and obviously British workers in the Occupied Zone) along racist lines.

Of course the bourgeois nationalist Sinn Féin and IRA do not have a proletarian revolutionary perspective against all capitalism in Ireland. But it is dishonest and

imbecilic to drop smart-alec hints about this as attempted 'justification' for a sneaky 'left' denunciation of Sinn Féin and the IRA, right in line with the imperialist bourgeoisie's own hypocritical 'horror' at such 'terror tactics', etc:

I am occasionally struck by how blithely those who wish to solidarise with the republican movement accept the deaths of innocent workers.

Workers with an ounce of serious anti-imperialism in their brains will be struck by the sheer humbug of such anti-IRA posturers. These could equally be charged with "blithely accepting the death of innocent workers" by solidarising with the forces which have opposed or denounced the armed struggle, led by most sections of British bourgeois ideology, large and small, whose imperialist-tainted mentality (see Marx's letter on the corrupting influence on all British workers of their country's epoch of colonial dominance) has blithely accepted the death of literally tens of millions of colonial subjects over time.

But this would be a sick route to pursue, and all the more shame on the CPGB *Weekly Worker* for starting down it with this contemptible sneer at Marxism's unconditional (though critical) solidarity with the Irish national-liberation struggle, past and present.

This defeatist petty-bourgeois philosophy is all-pervasive, however, throughout the opportunist 'left' (57 varieties) in Britain. In the very week that the IRA's resumed guerrilla war exposed the nonsense all the Trots had written about its original ceasefire being just a thinly-disguised admission of 'defeat' (exactly as the most reactionary bourgeois ideology was saying), – the CPGB came straight out with yet more blinkered pessimism, seeing only continued defeat for the national-liberation struggle, and groundless fantasies about immediate revolutionary communism, north and south, as the alternative:

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union, liberation struggles and hot spots throughout the world are being resolved in imperialism's favour.

The failure of Irish republicans to take any other course is a failure of the whole of the working class oppressed under the same British state.

It is this failure that has left republicans in the north facing monolithic opposition, with all bourgeois parties singing with one voice, and no independent working class voice to be heard.

This failure has meant that it is not just the republican struggle upon which imperialism is wreaked its revenge. The British state has wielded its weapons of oppression, steered in the north of Ireland, against the working class on its mainland. Troops against the miners in 1984-85, police tactics against anything from anti-poll tax demonstrators to anti-road and even anti-live animal export demonstrators. Repressive legislation, honed against revolutionaries in the Six Counties, has been brought home in the Criminal Justice Act.

It seems increasingly clear that this bomb and the IRA statement to end the ceasefire were part and parcel of the strategy of negotiations and commitment to the 'peace' process.

This was not a breakaway aimed at restarting the war against British imperialism.

Republicans in the north, left isolated by the lack of solidarity of workers in Britain, now see little alternative.

The ending of the ceasefire in these circumstances does not contradict the fact that what is taking piece is an imperialist-brokered peace in the context of the US-dominated new world order. In many 'hot spots' around the world, the negative resolution of revolutionary situations have been accompanied by flashes of violence, contradictions end temporary 'setbacks'.

The basic solution remains the same; The working class of Ireland and the UK needs an independent revolutionary communist party of its own.

Though all struggle is for the moment directed towards what can only be an imperialist-brokered 'peace', the battle is far from over.

The new situation makes new demands and places new responsibilities on all revolutionaries. To take our common light for liberation forward demands a unity capable of destroying once and for all the British imperialist state which keeps us all in chains. Revolutionaries in Britain and Ireland need to be organised for that task now •

Despite all their pretence about open polemic and rapprochement, the CPGB has still not replied to the EPSR criticism of its defeatism, and so it has to be partially-repeated:

‘As these anti-communists see it, “imperialism has got the whip hand worldwide at the moment; the nationalist attempt to influence the historical outcome via pressure on the bourgeoisie is doomed; the Docklands bomb was just another part of this same hopeless peace process; and the only real way for Irish national-liberation interests to extricate themselves from a losing scenario is to join forces now with such revolutionary hotshots as the CPGB and go directly for a communist overthrow of imperialism in Britain and Ireland.”

It would, of course, be the EPSR's own wish to join in such a happy dream, but meanwhile the immediate practical way forward is at least to make a correct analysis of objective reality, – the international balance of class forces and the decisive movements within it, – not to sow total confusion by a complete misreading of what is going on.

The first crucial requirement is to grasp the nature of the epoch we are living in. Far from it being the time when everything is resolved in imperialism's favour, it is just the opposite, – the epoch of terminal imperialist crisis.

Purely temporarily, a brief 'new world order' period is taking place which gives a superficial appearance of US imperialism easily dominating every situation with its bullying 'unchallengeable' military and economic might.

But the immediate obvious reality of this 'order' is total unsatisfactory chaos, – and underneath it all, an inter-imperialist crisis of unprecedented proportions is relentlessly brewing, – as the more honest critical-realist outpourings of the bourgeoisie itself, of course, continuously confirm (see endless past *Reviews*).

The artificial postwar inflationary boom and arms race can only result in eventual all-out trade war, markets collapse, and warmongering confrontation between all the great 'free-world' powers (and their various areas of stooge influence.)

The revisionist self-liquidation in the former Soviet Union is part of the crisis of bourgeois anti-Leninist ideology, the crisis of international class-collaboration, – not a crisis of anti-imperialist struggle. The Cold War 'balance of class forces' was always essentially a phony balance at root because the revisionist Moscow ideology no longer believed in anti-imperialist revolution as the essential way forward for civilisation (see *ILWP Books* vol 13). Liquidating that colossal revisionist influence on the world (especially on these anti-communist CPGBers), exposing it as a 'Leninist' fraud (Gorbachev used to quote Lenin too, the posturing oaf), – was an essential step for helping revive international revolutionary science, a step which should have been fought for not through the Trot/Eurocommunist anti-Soviet anti-Leninist continuous treachery to the East European workers states in their difficulties, but through unconditional support for the proletarian dictatorships, only criticising (from a communist angle) Moscow's pro-world-collaboration delusions.

The examples these defeatists give of 'imperialist domination' are only superficially plausible, concealing the underlying anti-imperialist reality.

South Africa, for example, is currently a sad spectacle of bourgeois-nationalist delusions usurping the ANC's revolutionary defeat of apartheid-imperialism temporarily, but in no way able to detract from the colossal overall historical significance (for Africa and the world) of that final mass-movement triumph over monopoly-capitalist international tyranny. Reaction wanted to, and did, hold onto apartheid for as long as possible. Reaction only finally gave in when it could see that a deal with the ANC nationalists would be better than risking total communist mass revolutionary overthrow later on. So which direction is history heading for, towards imperialist domination, or towards communist revolution all the time.

So the anti-imperialism of the Irish national-liberation struggle is going with the grain of history, not against it. And only some superficial word play enables these bogus 'Leninists' to label Irish republicanism a 'failure' – by identifying it as part of "a failure of the whole of the working class oppressed under the same British state".

But what is failing the whole working class in Britain is its entire anti-communist past leadership, – Labour, TUC, Trots, Eurocommunists, and bogus 'lefts' of all descriptions, all of them complete Philistines who only ever posture about 'Marxism' in order to kill it with revisionist distortion and demoralise the working class. And that is a failure to be welcomed as opening the door at last to a serious revival of Leninist science, greatly in harmony with the revolutionary spirit with which Irish republicanism has triumphantly challenged British imperialism.¶

The essence of that challenge is now being seen to be coming to the boil by everyone (except the isolated sectarian 'lefts', of course) as the June 10 talks (which should effectively result in declaring the beginning of the end for 'Northern Ireland', the diseased historical racket fraudulently pretending to be a separate country when it is just an occupied British-colonial zone

of Ireland), at last come into view.

As the capitalist press itself admits about the imperialist disarray in its own ranks over fears of what John Major's notorious *Irish Times* article last week was trying to tell the world, the panic is now on that imperialism is accepting defeat:

Is the IRA winning?' asked the *Daily Telegraph* and called Major's initiative 'a fudge'. A restrained *Times* observed: 'The wisdom of his current approach must be questioned.' An unrestrained *Daily Mail* referred to it as an act of appeasement' and the *Daily Express* claimed Major had 'performed a soft shoe shuffle... to the fury of his critics.'

'Even close allies are baffled,' said the *Express*. The announcement 'clearly worries some Ministers,' alleged the *Telegraph*. And the *Times* quoted an unnamed MP who said he and 'one or two colleagues are seriously considering resigning the whip if the Government persists with this'. In reality, 'both London and Dublin have danced to the Republican flute,' said its leader. 'They have placed courting the IRA above attempting to make progress without it.'

It is blindingly clear that the British Government's enemy in Northern Ireland has been the IRA. How, therefore, can the *Times'* leader writer argue that substantive peace talks exclude the IRA's political wing, Sinn Féin?

The answer lies in the assumption of right-wing newspapers that the original ceasefire represented some kind of military victory and that its proponents do not merit a place at any peace table. That is why papers, along with Unionist politicians, have placed so much emphasis on the surrender of arms. Then apparent victory becomes real.

The *London Evening Standard* said as much in arguing the point the other way round: The IRA would never concede such a step [disarming], because it would be an admission of military defeat.' However, the paper seemed happy – in line with Major's view – that some kind of gesture by the IRA, such as 'a token handover of Republican weapons to some neutral supervisory body', might suffice.

For the most Unionist of papers, compromise is irrelevant. The *Daily Telegraph* cut through semantics with what amounts to a call to arms: 'Do Ministers not realise that they risk driving Loyalists towards their own resumption of terrorism – and bloodier violence than before?'

To grasp just how irresponsible, and bigoted, this statement is, simply substitute the word 'Republicans' for 'Loyalists'. What newspaper would dare to threaten the British Government's peace goal by encouraging the IRA to bloody violence? Yet readers accept this outrageous Orange bias because of the years of press coverage in which only one enemy of the British state, the IRA, has been identified.

In its four grudging paragraphs on Major's article, the *Sun* quoted Democratic Unionist spokesman Sammy Wilson as calling the Prime Minister 'a pathetic man of putty'. Elsewhere we heard Major called 'a sheep' and 'a doormat'. Major might want peace but Tory papers clearly

favour war. To adapt the *Telegraph's* leader writer: Do newspapers not realise that their continuing bias risks driving everyone to a resumption of terrorism – and bloodier violence than before?

Another Fleet Street rag tries to put a 'progressive liberal' gloss on the same imperialist retreat:

London will not now stall the talks over the issue of weapons decommissioning.

This is a genuinely welcome change from the British position last year. Fifteen months ago, Sir Patrick Mayhew set out a precondition for all-party talks which became known in Ulster-speak as Washington Three. It demanded "the actual decommissioning of some arms as a tangible confidence-building measure". That precondition created an impasse, and arguably helped to provoke the end of the IRA ceasefire. It has taken most of this year to extricate Britain from its self-created hole, but Mr Major's article is a vital step in completing that process. Decommissioning, it says, must be "addressed at the beginning of the talks" and the *Mitchell Report's* recommendations taken forward. But this must be done, says a crucial phrase in the article, "without blocking the negotiations".

This is not the end of all discussion on the subject. But it unquestionably aligns the British with the Irish government in seeking to place decommissioning into a separate but parallel talks process, the so-called "fourth strand". It also means that, once the May 30 elections have taken place, the two governments will be back on the track of using the *Mitchell Report* as the basis for future progress. Decommissioning is no longer a precondition. The way now lies clear for substantive discussion on all issues. The agenda is open, says Mr Major's article, and Britain is committed to "a genuine and serious effort to reach a comprehensive settlement covering all the issues of concern and acceptable to all concerned."

At the start of this week the Sinn Féin hierarchy asked for reassurances from Mr Major himself that the talks would be comprehensive and unencumbered by preconditions. Within days, Mr Major has given a public and positive answer. There are still preconditions, above all the requirement for the IRA to resume its ceasefire, but the road is open on the basis which Irish nationalists and republicans alike (and others too) have long advocated.

The bourgeoisie's 'anti-terrorist' self-righteousness is steadily being softened up prior to breaking down completely as the post-June 10 dealing gets under way.

Far from there being any serious Tory attempt to renew their Curragh Mutiny treason (to thwart Home Rule for the whole of Ireland prior to the First World War, threatening civil war on the streets of Ulster against the Liberal Government), – most of the cowed British ruling-class pressure will go on advising the die-hard colonist 'Unionists' to not push their luck too far on what is now a historically spent issue, (given the clear direct-

ives from Washington and the Common Market partners that they would prefer British colonial history in Ireland to be brought to as dignified and trouble-free an end as possible, and as soon as possible).

That means capitulating to the IRA's determined 'shot across the bows' at London's Dockland in early February and at last agree a firm date for peace talks (June 10), and giving way on every other bogus delaying-tactic as well, such as the earlier posturing drivel about ceasefire conditions, about prior de-commissioning gestures, about initial de-commissioning promises, and about a host of other provocative pre-conditions designed to create a false picture of 'British imperialism negotiating from strength' and the national-liberation struggle negotiating from a position of enforced surrender and weakness.

To prepare the humiliated British ruling class for even bigger climb-downs to come, the astonishing announcement that the legal forensic proof of all bombing-convictions since 1988 might now all be declared a mistake must rank as one of the most self-destructive propaganda retreats of all time. The unchallenged repatriation of more IRA prisoners-of-war is one obvi-

ous immediate purpose of such a frank admission of colossal stupidity and incompetence, but the speculation must be that a more devious purpose of such an extraordinary own goal was to undermine any remaining British colonial intransigence/confidence from the die-hard 'Unionists' which is the real remaining threat to British imperialism's purpose at the June 10 peace negotiations.

The more perceptive sections of the capitalist press are already tuning in to this new key for the final movements on a 'bash the Orange troublemakers' theme:

The symbolism is entirely apt, for the Unionists' attempts to reposition themselves in the political marketplace require a tactful rewriting of history. They have perceived the need to distance themselves from the image of their creed conveyed by Ian Paisley and his acolytes - that curious amalgam of whingeing defensiveness, racist triumphalism and religious bigotry which has been such a turn-off for the mainland Brits who, in the end, subsidise it. In its place, Mr Trimble and his advisers seek to insinuate a picture of Unionism as the very soul of sweet, democratic reasonableness, and of themselves as a persecuted and much-misunderstood minority whose only desire in life is to make 'progress' on 'difficult and complex' issues.

In effecting this transformation, they are considerably assisted by the

historical illiteracy - not to mention the new-tick memory span - of much of the British mass media. As a result, some violence has been done to the truth. An impression has been created in the public mind, for example, that the only obstacles to progress in the Northern Ireland peace process are Mr Adams and his friends in the IRA. To anyone who knows anything about the filibustering intransigence of Ulster Unionism, this impression must raise a wry smile, for David Trimble and his crew make Sinn Féin look like poodles on Valium. Dr Paisley's celebrated mantra - 'Ulster Says No' - may not be blazoned on the walls of the UO, but the sentiment underlying it remains the motivating force of the party and its grassroots constituents.

Cutting continues against "New Unionist" protests about democracy as rank hypocrisy in light of near coup against Home Rule by which it was founded with the paramilitary Ulster Volunteer Force "importing 35,000 rifles" (see EPSR Book Vol 25 Ireland Part Four).

[...] Striking of this new anti-'Unionist' note follows the quite remarkable capitalist press silence or muted response to the amazing London announcement that the notorious forum to be elected on May 30, so bitterly-denounced by Sinn Féin and the entire nationalist Irish cause, would have no independent role

at all at the June 10 talks, - as big a kick in the face to all past British imperialist 'democracy' posturing as could be imagined.

There has been equal silence (apart from Paisley) over the repatriation of some of the IRA's top figures in UK prisons, which the capitalist press itself had admitted was one of the IRA's own preconditions for agreeing to a new ceasefire to help British imperialism with its June 10 peace-talks difficulties.

And all these humiliating reverses to blind British stupidity, deluding itself about an IRA 'defeat', came on top of the staggering revelations in press and book that a Back Channel had been kept open between Downing Street and Sinn Féin for years to work out a peace settlement while in public the IRA was still officially being denounced and ostracised:

Cutting on clandestine communications begun under Thatcher

Imperialism is in crisis, and defeatist hostility to correct revolutionary theory is the worst obstacle facing development of a Marxist-Leninist workers movement to exploit the deepening crisis all the way to revolution.

Build Leninism.
Douglas Bell

British colonialism's Irish debacle is most instructive about imperialist system weaknesses. Fake-'Marxist left' Trots exposed in all their sectarian stupidity.

[EPSR No855 28-05-96]

The fake 'democracy' of elections this week in the British-Occupied Zone of Ireland, still suffering under its gerrymandered artificial Orange-colonist majority, will be one of the last farcical acts of the hated imperialist domination.

The polling for the cosmetic 'Forum' is a final gesture by the humiliated London establishment to its own stupid fears of losing face, and to the sick 'Ulster Unionist' posturing of its outdated colonial regime in the OZ.

The 'Forum' was a skinny use-less rabbit pulled out of the hat at the 189th minute by the Tory ruling class after the *Mitchell Commission Report* had effectively told London to drop all preconditions about 'decommissioning arms', etc, and fix a firm date for all-party negotiations, at last, on a completely new deal for Ireland.

The South quay bomb in London's Docklands in February was the national-liberation struggle's effective answer to this further unconfident dithering by London, frightened of further setbacks at the hands of the IRA's guerrilla war, but too befuddled and timid to finally push its 'Union-

ist' stooges into a corner either, and tell them to at last face up to the loss of their former colonial racket in so-called 'Northern Ireland'.

The 'Forum' elections gimmick was persisted in, but the firm date (June 10) was at once fixed for the opening of the all-sided negotiations, London, Dublin, the 'Unionists', and the Irish nationalist population of the Occupied Zone, - with heavyweight imperialism from the USA and Europe hovering in the background to push the reluctant British ruling class into agreeing some new deal for Ireland to replace the despised colony position and Partition provocation of 'Northern Ireland' as it was, - a permanent legitimate target for revolutionary guerrilla-war action.

Having accepted that the peace process must finally begin, the Tory hierarchy has since February been going through contortions trying to admit that there will no longer be any preconditions imposed on the national liberation movement at all, - while continuing to cloak their public statements in such confusion that the leading 'Unionist' pos-

turers would not feel too exposed as empty bags of wind and feel obliged to resign.

London's further retreat, clearly visible for a while and always inevitable according to the historical-materialist analysis of imperialist decline (and especially the collapse of British imperialism's positions) which the *EPSR* long ago established (see *ILWP Books* vol 8 published just after the turning-point climb-down for Britain in the 1985 Anglo-Irish Treaty), - was semi-official in this weekend's capitalist press admissions:

THE BRITISH Government is prepared to allow detailed discussions to begin on constitutional and political issues at the all-party Northern Ireland talks before the IRA starts handing over its weapons, the Observer has learned.

The IRA has repeatedly made it clear it will not accept decommissioning as a precondition for negotiations.

In sum, Dublin now accepts there would not have been a ceasefire in the first place had there been such a stipulation. It takes the view it would be much harder a second time round to make another ceasefire conditional on decommissioning as a route into the 10 June talks.

The British Government holds to the view that it has compromised on the issue. Sir Patrick Mayhew said last week the Government wanted decommissioning ahead of all party negotiations. The IRA said it could only happen at the end.

The Mitchell Commission supposed 'middle course', - no prior

decommissioning before talks start immediately; disarming to be dealt with in the course of the negotiations, - is in fact a complete capitulation by London.

The leaders of the national-liberation struggle will enter the peace process in total triumph, having forced the imperialist colonisers to negotiate a new deal for Ireland, and having surrendered none of their weapons, ready and willing to resume the guerrilla war the moment that London sabotages the talks again, or allows its 'Unionist' stooges to do so.

It is not even absolutely certain that the IRA will honour the settlement conference with another ceasefire, although they will probably do so out of good tactical sense. But the national liberation struggle has properly refused all demands for any 'guarantee', - short-term or longterm, - about ending its military activities. The South Quay bomb was and remains an effective ultimatum: Either talk seriously about a new deal for Ireland, or you know what to expect. And that will continue to be the sole reality, whatever idiot pretences that the Tory imperialist press propagandists try to come up with.

The desperately posturing 'Unionists' attempted one last 'menacing' hoax last week (to try to hide their retreat from their notorious 'No Surrender' past colonial bluster) when the UUP



spokesman Trimble pretended to threaten to bring down Major's precarious government (only a one-vote majority in the Commons with the aid of the 'Unionist' MPs).

This should have been a sensational story, – a real threat to bring down the Tories after 17 years in power, and a real threat to rip apart the obvious unquestioning past unity between the colonists and their imperialist protectors.

But the story barely caused a ripple in the capitalist press. Everyone (bar the fake-'left' in Britain) now recognises that the British presence in Ireland is going to have to make a historic compromise with Irish nationalist self-determination in the coming period (months or years), and that the old 'Unionist' defiance of 'No Surrender' – (meaning continued exclusively British control over the Occupied Zone) is now hopelessly out-of-date and is what is going to have to disappear in order to make way for a new set-up in Ireland.

The long-running scuttle from colonial empire is going to continue. The only thing left to the British imperialists of all shades is to try to rescue a little prestige and avoid total humiliation at the hands of the despised 'bog-trotters' (six of whom it takes, remember, to change one light bulb).

The 'Unionist' bourgeoisie do not wish to appear too naked of real political power and know-how in front of their own working class, for fear of losing even more than just their ill-gotten privileged position in the bogus statelet of 'Northern Ireland'. The British imperialist state did not want to be seen to have been defeated by a relatively tiny movement of armed urban guerrillas.

Hence the problem for the imperialists in their long slow retreat from colonial empire in

Ireland has been one of endless cover-ups of what is really going on, endless delays and procrastinations, and endless irritability and nervousness on all sides for fear of ending up with the historical 'blame' for the retreat.

This atmosphere of subterfuge and double-dealing has been added to by the concerns of the wider imperialist world to get justice for Irish national-liberation and self-determination (especially to score a point against rival British imperialists) but without remotely wishing to be seen internationally as having condoned or encouraged armed revolutionary struggle, which would be a disastrous precedent to set to the exploited and dominated Third World.[...]

It now looks as if the stage is finally set for a great moment in history, – the preparations towards the ultimate conclusion to 827 years of domineering occupation of Ireland from Britain via direct armed rule, subversion, and colonisation.

This eventual scuttle has long been made way for, – as has been made obvious in recent weeks with the publication of Mallie and McKittrick's book on *The Secret Story Behind The Irish Peace Process*, much quoted from in the capitalist press itself, detailing the quite astonishing degree, from 1990 onwards, of concealed British government cooperation with the Irish national-liberation struggle to end the war with a self-determination peace settlement, followed by a bad attack of cold feet in Downing Street once the Ulster Unionist votes had become so vital for securing the Major Cabinet's survival in the House of Commons:[...]

[Cutting omitted here]

There still exist powerful potential setbacks to these hopes for a successful eventual conclusion to Ireland's unprecedentedly long national-liberation struggle, [see

previous item also p74 - ed] such as the toppling of Major from the Tory leadership, a resurgence of Tory determination to stay in office at all costs, or an early general election followed by a hung Parliament, etc, etc, etc.

But the deeper currents of history are generally what are going to prevail, and these dictate an ending (in a few months, a few years) at last to the monstrous outrage of the British colonial Partition of Ireland.

This will represent a colossal triumph for anti-imperialist struggle the whole world over, brilliantly directed militarily and politically by a tiny group of determined revolutionary spirits, arms in hand.

It is of course a nationalist revolution, as the *EPSR* has astonishingly had to continually point out to sectarian philistine groups on the fake-'left' of the British petty-bourgeoisie's bogus 'Marxist' swamp, – but it is nonetheless an outstandingly important anti-imperialist victory for all that. A 'free-world' monopoly-imperialist giant will have been seen to have been defeated by an armed revolutionary struggle. And even more importantly, the British working class itself will at last have been freed of one of its oldest and most corrupting imperialist influences, – the mindless racist arrogance that inevitably flows from feeling to be part of 'major power superiority', particularly contemptuous over the centuries against the Irish, and irrevocably tying workers in Britain to class-collaboration with their own ruling class, making an effective struggle for their own emancipation impossible.

As Marx explained:
'No nation which oppresses another can itself be free'

and this applies even more to the British colonial working class in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, the pointless targets of ultra-'left'

posturing by middle-class 'Marxist revolutionary' frauds. Many Trot sects with no real political courage, convictions, or maturity, have tried inventing a 'plausible denial' of the need for unconditional revolutionary solidarity with the Irish national-liberation struggle on the grounds that Sinn Féin & Co should really be appealing to the 'protestant' workers in the Occupied Zone for a joint revolution, north and south, against all capitalist governments.

This is particularly nasty and destructive posturing and confusion-sowing by these shallow opportunists. On one hand, it is a gutless retreat from fear of 'contamination' with IRA terrorist violence in a completely unprincipled way. No serious-minded revolutionary worker or anti-imperialist could ever dream of saying anything other than that the Irish national-liberation struggle has the absolute right to fight against colonial occupation with any and every means it chooses.

On the other hand, this fake-'left' stance is such humbug. To tell Sinn Féin it should only be fighting a revolutionary struggle against capitalist government north and south, – while not one single Trot is conducting one sliver of armed revolutionary struggle against any other part of the United Kingdom (as 'Northern Ireland' constitutionally remains) is the most despicable and provocative hypocrisy.

And the other damage these loud-mouthed provocateurs do, of course, is in general to the whole cause of Marxist-Leninist revolutionary science by showing such shallow philistine ignorance of the very ABCs of Marxism, while posturing as 'Marxists'.

Take the following poisonous sectarian rubbish from the Sparts, which goes even further than the disgraceful-enough CPGB *Workers Weekly* venom (see last week's *Review*) which took up British Imperialism's sneering bourgeois-moralist stance against the 'death of innocent workers' due to, allegedly, IRA guerrilla-war actions.

As the *Review* has explained in the past to such utter nonsense, it is the imperialist ruling class which drives people to desperate terrorist struggle in the first place, and the same cowardly ruling class which, in the second place, deliberately protects itself from any danger of frontline guerrilla-war assaults, and quite consciously only leaves the more indiscriminate targets available such as ruling-class property such as the City of London buildings. On top of that, imperialist-state policy has been quite notoriously lax on many occasions about protecting the general public when public-area bomb alerts have

been notified, – frequently, as in the case of February's South Quay incident, failing to clear property areas for which more than ample warning had been given. The tragic victims at South Quay had already once been cleared from their newsagents kiosk, only to be told to go back in there before the bomb alert had even remotely been satisfactorily resolved one way or the other, – all totally due to either the authorities' incompetence or their intended negligence. The same suspicions have followed scores of other tragic incidents in the past.

It is utterly reactionary to stick the knife into a popular struggle which is fighting with its lives to turn the tables on brutal imperialist repression. No international working-class sympathy with anti-imperialist struggle is obliged to endorse any particular tactics whether it be hunger strikes, dirty protests, assassinations, or urban guerilla bombs. But what has always been required, without exception throughout the entire history of Marxist-Leninist science, has been unconditional solidarity with the right of any popular struggle to take on imperialism by any means it chooses.

The Sparts go one worse than the CPGB in their moralising condemnation of national-liberation struggle and guerrilla-war terrorist methods. In an astonishing series of comments taken from recent *Workers Hammers* Nos 147 and 149, these most bureaucratically-minded of Trotskyite sectarians advance from denouncing IRA/Sinn Féin as gullible stooges of British imperialism, to accusing Gerry Adams of being about to treacherously disarm the IRA to please British imperialism, to accusing the national-liberation struggle itself of murderous criminal responsibility for deepening the hatred between Catholics and Protestants, and between English and Irish workers!

The "armalite" and the "ballot box" wings of the IRA/Sinn Féin are symbiotic, reflecting two sides of a desperate nationalist strategy which has no perspective outside the framework of capitalism and looks to imperialism for a "solution". Having built up illusions in an imperialist-brokered settlement, the IRA ended their ceasefire complaining that "instead of embracing the peace process, the British government acted in bad faith", while still calling for an "inclusive, negotiated settlement".

Talk by Sinn Féin about "taking all guns, including those of the army, RUC and Loyalists, permanently out of Irish politics" (*Independent*, 14 August) is ludicrous, bespeaking deadly illusions in imperialism.

The present dispute over whether disarming the IRA should begin before, during or after "negotiations", only reflects uncertainty over how quickly and effectively Gerry Adams can deliver the weapons without provoking a split in the IRA ranks.

As we warned: "Any imperialist 'deal' will be bloody and brutal and will necessarily be at the expense of the oppressed Catholic minority. And it would not do any good for working-class Protestants either" (*Workers Hammer* No 138

November/December 1993).

The imperialist-sponsored "peace process" in fact necessarily reinforces communal divisions between impoverished Protestant and Catholic workers through a form of the "divide and rule" strategy beloved of the British ruling class.

In such situations of interpenetrated peoples there can be no just solution to national oppression outside of the overthrow of capitalism and the establishment of workers rule.

We Marxists oppose forcible unification of Ireland, which would reverse the terms of oppression against the Protestant community, who are separate and distinct from the Irish Catholic nation.

We call for integrated, programmatically based workers militias to combat both Army/RUC rampages and sectarian terror from both sides.

Travellers have been subjected to systematic, deadly pogromist attacks throughout the south, both in cities like Dublin and in rural backwaters like Wicklow and Westmeath. For workers defence guards to defend Travellers against fascistic mobs!

Integrated workers militias - incorporating both Catholics and Protestants, under a communist leadership—are vital in Northern Ireland to combat imperialist and Loyalist rampage as well as sectarian terror from any quarter - Orange or Green.

We fight for an Irish workers republic as part of a federation of workers republics in the British Isles, forged through the revolutionary unity of the working class across national and religious boundaries.

The only way to disarm the repressive forces of the capitalist state is for the working class to seize power, and to create its own, new revolutionary armed force. We say: British troops out of Northern Ireland now! Not Orange against Green but class against class!

From the standpoint of proletarian revolutionaries the Canary Wharf bombing was indefensible - in no way a blow against the forces of British imperialism.

It indiscriminately targeted civilians who simply happen to live or work in London's Docklands.

We Marxists oppose the tactic of terrorism because it is antithetical to the necessary task of mobilising the proletariat against the imperialist oppressors. Rather it reflects the petty-bourgeois aims of its practitioners to assert themselves as the leaders of "their" people.

But we take a fundamentally different attitude to indiscriminate terror. From a proletarian perspective, these are criminal acts which serve only to deepen hatred between Catholic and Protestant, English and Irish workers.

This grotesque confusion starts with the same old 'left' school-boy howler of denouncing the national-liberation struggle for not being a revolutionary socialist struggle. Sinn Féin and the IRA might as well be being denounced for not being a pork sausage or a bag of crisps. It is a nationalist struggle.

That is what it is.

But it does not remotely follow from SE/IRA not being a Marxist-Leninist proletarian revolutionary struggle that it is necessarily "looking to imperialism for a solution" or wrong to anticipate being able to force imperialism into retreat from the colonial occupation of Ireland.

It is waging guerrilla war against imperialism for a 'solution', –and very effectively too.

And modern history is littered with negotiated retreats by imperialism as the 'solution' to scores of national-liberation struggles short of outright total destruc-

tion for the imperialist power or forces. Most of the British Empire achieved self-determination by such enforced negotiated settlements.

Nor in the circumstances of British imperialism's colonial retreat from Ireland is it at all 'ludicrous' or 'bespeaking deadly illusions in imperialism' to imagine that all British imperialist guns (army, RUC, and Loyalist) might eventually be taken out of Irish politics. It is precisely what will happen under eventual reunification of Ireland under a Dublin government.

It is contemptible nonsense beyond all reason to then suggest that Gerry Adams is doing his best to disarm the IRA in the interests of imperialism. What demented bilious subjectivism these petty-bourgeois 'lefts' of Trotskyite bogus 'Marxist' persuasion are capable of! How wrong is it possible to get a historic analysis posing as 'Marxist'?

The Sparts quickly demonstrate how wrong by their insane conclusion that the national-liberation struggle has achieved nothing so far (entirely incorrect) and will in fact make things worse for the nationalist population (ignorantly called 'Catholic') all round.

So blinkered are the Sparts in this determination not to see the reality in colonial Ireland but to see only their own, entirely subjective interpretation confirmed, that this daft idea, – that the national-liberation struggle can only worsen the Irish population's plight in the Occupied Zone, – is proudly re-stated in March 1996, after the ending of the IRA ceasefire, – in order to boast how correct the Sparts had been when they first uttered this lunacy in December 1993.

The obvious regret by the entire population of the OZ that the IRA ceasefire had to be called off this February because of British imperialist intransigence, jeopardising thereby the improvements in life in the Occupied Zone which had flowed from the far more civilised conduct of the Zone's affairs by British imperialism in the wake of the IRA's major peace gesture, – has just not been noticed by these sectarian navel-contemplators.

What is even barmier, these Trots then add that not only will an imperialist 'deal' be bloody and brutal and at the expense of the Irish nationalist population in the Occupied Zone but that this will be inevitable precisely because the national-liberation struggle has posed matters in an allegedly artificial 'Orange v Green' manner, merely thereby resurrecting British imperialism's divide and rule strategy which for some unexplained reason is presumed to have fallen into disuse!

This is fantasy country. British

imperialism plays the Orange card for centuries, deliberately implanting British-Protestant colonists on occupied Irish-Catholic lands and then terrorising the displaced ethnic Irish poor, and endlessly rousing colonial spirits with non-stop scare-mongering about 'foul Fenian revenge' and 'Papist tyranny on the march', etc, etc, – and the long tradition of Irish national-liberation struggle is then blamed by these armchair 'socialists' for these sectarian divisions in the Occupied Zone population. British colonist workers have apparently never existed in their own right but have only been created by Sinn Féin's misguided propaganda, it is alleged. And the working class in Britain with its British imperialist mentality as described famously by Marx as never being ready for their own emancipation all the time they continued supporting their 'own' British imperialist ruling class (and especially true of the British working class in the Occupied Zone part of the United Kingdom), – have never existed either, – just more mere creations of misguided IRA sectarianism, according to these Trot geniuses. These academic 'Marxists' truly live in ivory towers of their own making.

The fantasies just mount. Having written legitimate national-liberation struggle out of the history books, and having corrected Marx's 'delusion' that workers loyal to the British imperialist state were totally corrupted for all socialist purposes, the Sparts then pronounce that only proletarian revolution supported by British and Irish workers together is a way forward out of the Irish troubles, – just like that.

Now well into its make-believe stride, Trotskyite purity then declares what a good thing it is that national-liberation struggle is not able to defeat British imperialist occupation of part of Ireland, – because it would only lead to even worse domination in reverse, by the Irish against the worker-leftovers from the British colonisation!

First what a disgusting baseless slander. But second, what if there was just a remote grain of truth about some Irish attitudes towards some British colonial remnants in a re-united Ireland? In Ireland (or anywhere else) Marxism has always held that national Irish self-determination interests have the absolute right to flourish, not British colonial rights. The Trot philosophical trick here is to pretend that reality is what they would like to pretend is true, – namely that the British colonial working class are already pure internationalist proletarian revolutionaries, obviously in no way deserving of any

national-discrimination disadvantages at all in Ireland, – which presumably has no right at all to feel Irish until the Spart Revolutionaries say that it is all right.

This dream world then builds up. Any hint of Irish nationalism is by now being called not just deluded and unfortunate, – strengthening the Irish’s own chains, – but has become “sectarian terror” and nothing else!!

And to prove the point, attention is drawn to the supposedly routine sectarian terror, – no, fascist terror, even, – now rampant in town and country alike in the Irish Republic:– Gipsies have been less than well treated down there.

Now the prejudiced hostility that Gipsies arouse everywhere, in every country, is undoubtedly a sad reality, – a complex problem rooted on all sides in the hate-making contradictions of the capitalist system itself. But to blame the Irish national-liberation struggle for this racist

and social prejudice – inherent in all capitalism – is just demented, – so unhinged that these anarchic ‘travellers’ are described as being subjected to ‘fascist pogroms’ in the Republic of Ireland. To put it mildly, this seems a slightly unbalanced way to view history.

Next comes the instant mind-boggling solution: ‘Mobilise the communist workers militias immediately, north and south, the only way to progress! Forget Marx; forget national-liberation; forget history. Just get moving quickly to transform world development at a stroke, and get down to Westmeath to protect those Gipsies who are having a poor reception locally.’

If this stuff were not so comical, it would be tragically certifiable.

But it gets worse again. Having made the case for instant proletarian socialist revolution now, not just in Ireland north and south but all over Britain as well

at the same time, the Trots can then devote their full invective against what they really hate and wish to target, – the actual revolutionary struggle by the Irish national-liberation movement.

South Quay was “just an indefensible blow against innocent civilians. It was the epitome of deluded petty-bourgeois individualist terror, arrogantly pretending to leadership through a vain exhibition of indiscriminate violence. These are just criminal acts, themselves partly responsible for racist hatred in imperialist Britain. All terror is utterly abhorred by ‘We Marxists’”.

What indescribable conceited nonsense!

Marxism only ever ‘opposed’ terror tactics in the sense of preferring to mobilise working class revolutionary forces by mass political action and the philosophical leadership of correct theory in the revolutionary programme.

But the Bolsheviks themselves,

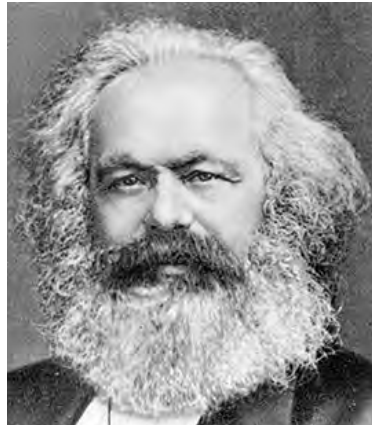
under Lenin, were not opposed to the odd terrorist tactic or two, such as bank robbing; and killing Tsarist government spies; and explosions to break out of jail, killing guards if they had to; etc, etc.

This Trot posturing against heroic Irish national-liberation struggle is simply a million miles distant from the ecstatic spirit in which the founders of Marxism-Leninism enthused over militant struggle against imperialism from every quarter, – nationalism included.

These Trots are not communists but the most despicable bureaucratically minded pedants, – petty-bourgeois individualists living vicariously off the mass anti-imperialist movements.

It is this sectarian nonsense which damages the anti-imperialist cause by sowing confusion into workers minds. Expose Trotskyism. Build Leninism.

Douglas Bell.



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Engels, Marx and Lenin



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.” (Lenin)

“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.*)” Lenin

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