

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 2

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, subverting and undermining the struggle to end capitalism.

It pours defeatism and venom into workers class struggle, pretending to criticise “Stalinist” mistakes, but solely to declare “all is rotten” rather than correct the revolutionary path.

The battle against this vile obstacle to working class understanding, – blocking and disrupting genuine (Leninist) revolutionary theory and leadership with its treacherous posturing and sneering, – is central to the fight for a planned socialist future and rational communist society as the EPSR has shown over 40 years (see ILWP

(EPSR) Books Vol 5 Against Trotsky’s Permanent Counter-Revolution). Trot theoretical nonsense was further demolished in multiple EPSRs, collated in Part One of this series (EPSR Books Vol 29).

In this second volume modern Trotskyism’s devious and damaging anti-communist “theory” is further exposed, in particular through practical experiences of Trot sabotage of the important 1996 Scargill centrist break with Labourism made by launching the Socialist Labour Party.

Despite eventually failing to go beyond trade union narrowness and chauvinist backwardness, the SLP initially provided an open arena for communist ideas to be fought for and needed positive support as such, not parasitic entryism by Trots and subjective individualist “rights” whining.DH

Actual events in the international and class struggles are the only objective test of a correct Marxist analysis. Perceptive theory about the latest developments in the world imperialist crisis, confirmed by revolutionary struggle, is the best ‘programme’ by far

[EPSR No863 23-10-96]

The suspicion alone that TWA 800 was blown up by Middle East ‘terrorists’ is all that anyone needs to know to resolve the polemical disputes currently dividing and paralysing the communist movement.

Just imperialism’s anxious response is enough to rout the naff ‘programme’ of a typical vanguardist sect, and at the same time explode the hollowness of the *Open Polemic* line deploring ‘vanguardism’ and ‘leader centralism’.

The *OP*’s latest 10,000 word attack on the CPGB for getting it wrong about how to rebuild a serious communist party for Britain and internationally, is astonishing for not mentioning one single issue from the real world of the international class struggle. The entire rigmarole is about the ‘proper’ procedures for polemics and democracy, and alleged breaches thereof.

The only Marxist challenge to

the CPGB, – and to *Open Polemic*, – is to show that their theory of what is happening in the world is either wrong or non-existent, – in either case a hopeless basis for developing an active communist party.

Only real life can demonstrate the correctness of any understanding about how anti-imperialist struggle is going to be crowned with the sustainable world socialist revolution, even on such questions as inner-party democracy. The *OP*’s 10,000 words are all utterly wasted. They are up a completely blind subjective alley.

All ideas about anything come from mankind’s individual and collective struggle for survival. The best theory about what to do next can emerge however it wants, but what it needs to be is correct. The way to stop a leader’s ideas from misleading people is to get better leading ideas, not insanely challenge the natural

order of things which observes leadership at work throughout all history.

Who usually takes the leading role inside *OP*? Who gave the lead for this latest challenge to the CPGB? Whoever it is, better leading ideas are needed. If no one did, then the useless results only prove the point even more. This fear of leading ideas sounds more like a problem for psychoanalysis than a matter for political polemic.

What the CPGB need telling is that their world view is completely cockeyed, not that they are suffering from a nasty dose of vanguardism. They have hopelessly got wrong the character of the epoch they are living in.

Only in imperialist propaganda and the *Weekly Worker* is it “the US dominated new world order”, printed without ironic quote marks around it, which has allegedly imposed

“a NEGATIVE (original emphasis) resolution of revolutionary situations”

via insisting on the settlement of such ‘hot spots’ as Palestine, South Africa, and Ireland which are under the imperialist guise of being ‘peaceful and democratic’ but which in the CPGB’s version of reality are simply defeats for the anti-imperialist struggle.

The way imperialism has approached the TWA 800 disaster,

to take just the latest highest point of class-struggle development, hardly tells the story of an all-powerful US-dominated world order currently able to impose its will on everybody, never mind the CPGB’s incredible claims that the dismantling of apartheid was a ‘defeat’ for anti-imperialist development, or that the Sinn Féin/IRA national liberation struggle has just collapsed, another ‘victim’ of mighty Washington’s negation, – matters at last in polemical dispute between the CPGB and the EPSR (see below).

And finding imperialism’s horror-struck panic-stricken response to TWA 800 was by no means just some chance lucky event for the EPSR world view that this remains the epoch of the crisis of world imperialism, marked in particular by the catastrophic imminent collapse of US supremacy which will drag down the rest of imperialism with it in a holocaust of trade war, insoluble anti-imperialist struggle, and eventually mutually-destructive inter-imperialist war.

The EPSR’s entire understanding of Marxist ‘programme’ rests wholly on the continuous attempt to provide an up-to-the-minute analysis of world developments which can confirm (or disprove) the basic revolutionary theory or perspective.

Is US imperialist lone super-power hegemonism totally dominating the planet, or is the capitalist system about to crash into the greatest period of revolutionary turmoil and upheaval in all history? All elaborated 'programmes' and 10,000-word essays on correct political courtship procedures are a bit redundant by comparison, as the Bolsheviks discovered in 1917 when Lenin tore a way through the long awaited "democratic dictatorship of the proletariat and peasantry" with scarcely a glance at the pained protests of myriad proceduralists, and charged straight on towards the proclaiming of the dictatorship of the proletariat minus all 'democratic' compromise as the only means of guaranteeing the defeat of the counter-revolution, negating in seconds (or as long as it took for the idea to form) what the Marxist political circles had toiled so laboriously with for nearly 20 years of programme-writing.

"An ounce of revolutionary movement is worth a dozen programmes", as Lenin explained. Theory and programme must be formulated and elaborated, but theory and programme which are not renewed and kept up-to-date on a weekly and daily basis are worse than useless to the revolutionary movement.

If it was an anti-imperialist bomb which got TWA 800, the CPGB will presumably tell all workers to believe that it was just a one-off despairing gesture which will quickly be pacified at source by all-powerful US imperialism, – educating the working class towards defeatism (its greatest weakness) as the EPSR would see it, but educating the working class towards reality, as the CPGB would presumably explain it:

[Cutting on sabotage speculation on TWA flight and growing threat of terrorism]

Now, TWA 800 may of course turn out not to have been a 'terrorist' bomb, – but the bourgeois ideologists above amply make the point that one bomb more or less would not alter the general pattern of the imperialist powers facing increasing difficulty from anti-imperialist struggle, – the complete opposite of the defeatist character which the CPGB insists on ascribing to the present world epoch.

The above capitalist press coverage could not be clearer that there is now such a vast sweep of anti-imperialist struggle brewing, just in the Middle East and/or Muslim world alone, that the US counter-revolutionary agencies are almost at their wits end stumbling to try to keep track of them all, let alone penetrate them all and destroy them.

Elsewhere, a whole new guer-

rilla revolutionary army (the EER) has appeared suddenly in Guerrero state of Mexico, entirely separate from the Zapatista national liberation army (EZLN) challenging Mexican state power in the Chiapas region of the south.

US imperialism has been frantic about the Zapatistas after the near catastrophe of the collapse of the Mexican peso last year:

[cutting]

It looks as if it is going to take even more than the world-record IMF loans during the currency emergency to buy off this trouble. And that is just Mexico, one of the better-off Latin American countries. US armed forces are currently hovering in Occupied Panama near the borders with Colombia because of a threatened communist guerrilla-army takeover in the northern provinces there. Another dozen Latin American and Caribbean states are close to similar turmoil. Certainly Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama, and Haiti were pacified, up to a point. But far bigger revolts are on the horizon. And Cuba is still unpacifiable.

And what will US imperialism do when the whole of giant Brazil goes up in flames?

[Cutting on landless revolt]

And Brazil is far from being the poorest country on earth by a long way.

And in the even more desperate areas, the free-market system is making things worse by the day, leading to the most gross inequalities in living standards in modern times, with absolute deterioration in the lives of billions of the most wretched, – as the United Nations itself has just reported:

The perspective is not one of US imperialism dominating the world's "hot spots" with imposed pacification, but on the contrary of the imperialist-system control of the planet being completely overwhelmed by the scale of the coming revolt by the dispossessed.

Meanwhile, the notion of imperialist domination and US pacification, even temporarily, is completely misleading nonsense. Not only is there the continuing terrifying prospect of an unwinnable trade war between the USA, Europe, and Japan, but the European countries are also now challenging, in unprecedentedly blunt language, Washington's right to dictate to its former Cold War allies on such matters as trade with Cuba, restrictions on which some EC states have outspokenly rejected. In the background, the world's stock exchanges and currency markets now seem to hover permanently on the brink of the most devastating crash in their whole history. And to cap it all, US imperialism has just learned

that its world-beating 'smart' weaponry which supposedly won the war against the sitting duck Saddam Hussein, was nothing like as effective as originally claimed by Gulf War propaganda, and is also proving prohibitively expensive, – too expensive for the Federal Government budget.

It splits in the imperialist camp which designate the epoch we are living in, not the supreme unchallengeable power of a single mighty imperialist control. The new Tory splits over European integration policy are the most soul-destroying ever, shattering ruling-class nerves on the brink of a terribly destabilising election period. And the knives are coming out ever more publicly, – and ever more back-stabbingly sharp, – as the very absence of any winning perspective for British imperialism (and therefore for imperialism in general) becomes all the clearer. By the very nature of capitalism, imperialism faces an insoluble crisis, not an unchallengeable Pax America, – as prom-

inent disillusioned bourgeois are more and more frequently telling the capitalist press:

In *Fighting Among Allies – America and England at Peace and War*, Sir Robin argues that Britain needs to have a more modest view of the so-called special relationship with the United States, which he describes as "an especially close relationship" that is not unique.

He targets those Euro-sceptic Thatcherites who suggest Britain can side with Washington instead of Brussels, claiming that Britain will not enjoy its privileged position with the US if it remains on the margins of Europe. His statement confirms the suspicion that Bonn has become more important to the US administration than London.

Sir Robin complains that France and Germany make all the key decisions about Europe, Spain and Italy exercise a moderating role, and Britain is on the sidelines, jeering at the action.

The former envoy – who also served in South Africa and was said to be a favourite of Baroness Thatcher – argues that Britain has to ditch its divide-and-rule approach to Europe, playing France and Germany off each other.

Revolutionary insurgencies developing in Mexico and elsewhere in Latin America



“The Franco-German relationship will continue to more important to both countries than the relationship with Britain is to either of them,” he writes.

The memoir traces the root of the problem to Britain’s failure to sign the Treaty of Rome in 1957, citing it as a strategic disaster far greater than the ill-fated Suez invasion a year earlier.

Britain is a weak link in the imperialist chain, which is why its humiliation at the hands of the Irish national liberation struggle is such an important and heroic story, simply not recognizable in the CPGB’s idiotic dirge about the IRA/Sinn Féin being forced to abandon its fight by becoming the latest ‘victim’ of enforced US imperialist pacification. Where? When? How? Who noticed? The CPGB tries to reply to *EPSR* views (to be dealt with subsequently) but still, Trot-like, cannot put a time or place on the ‘betrayal’ of the revolution.

They want to give up trying. Tales of a Sinn Féin/IRA sell-out are a defeatist nonsense.

The CPGB ‘reply’ then simply invents things the *EPSR* has never stated in order to knock down so many Aunt Sallies, specifically, mainly, that *EPSR* positions represent

“so much praise upon the Stalinite bureaucracy”; or “there is always JV Stalin who can save us all the time and effort and build ‘communism’ for us”; or “why do we need a Communist Party at all with all these ‘surrogates’ and ‘substitutes’ floating around, – Red Army, JV Stalin, ANC, Gerry Adams, etc”; or “uncritical cheerleaders for Sinn Féin/IRA”; or “the national-liberation struggle is the preserve of nationalist movements”; or “communists can emerge like supermen after the national liberation stage”; or “pro-IRA internationalism is flowering inside the British working class”;

and much more such gibberish, not one word of which was uttered by the letter to CPGB (see below). Just who “has taken leave of his senses”, (to quote some more CPGB nonsense)?

To identify Trot defeatism as a fake ‘revolutionary’ petty-bourgeois mentality fantasising only about the ‘perfect revolution’ implies no support for Stalinist revisionism at all, which is where the CPGB began life, not the *EPSR*. To see the Sinn Féin/IRA national-liberation struggle as a defeat for British imperialism does not remotely imply an uncritical approach to the laughable ideological limitations of petty-bourgeois nationalism, or that national-liberation struggles must be the preserve of nationalist movements (Cuba, Vietnam, and China to some extent, are obvious proof of the opposite, communist leadership). It would have been better if there **had** been communists around to lead the Irish national-liberation struggle. To see that British imperialist setbacks are the route for British workers to break from a pro-imperialist position is not remotely the same

as saying that “pro-IRA internationalism is flowering inside the British working class”.

The CPGB is just lying and distorting to make its ‘reply’, and still failing to explain how the defeat of apartheid was a ‘setback’. The overthrow of reaction by revolutionary struggle cannot always proceed directly to the total victory of the socialist revolution, as Vietnam showed, after the French defeat, via a negotiated outcome, – especially when the ANC and SACP leadership is non-communist or even anti-communist. But to see the overthrow of apartheid as a victory for imperialist reaction is just perverse silliness, lacking the slightest grasp of historical development. Ditto in Ireland. The CPGB suffer from Trot sectarianism of the most blinkered self-aggrandising kind, just like their crooked failed guru Yurukoglu, or that other degenerate Trot hero, – the rat-fink Orwell (see *EPSR* No1190 eg), stooge of the British imperialist secret police.

Even the bourgeois media has started dishing the dirt on this latest disgrace for failed British imperialism, – willy nilly informing workers of the important real retreat by colonialism, just the opposite of the CPGB’s demoralising nonsense about Sinn Féin and the IRA giving up:

The Order did not come out of William of Orange’s famous victory over James II at the Battle of the Boyne in 1690, but from a much less epic skirmish, the Battle of the Diamond, a glorified sectarian row at a County Armagh crossroads in 1795. It was inspired, not by the historical reality of William of Orange, but by the need to give the sanction of the past to contemporary events. Its founders were embattled people forging a weapon for present conflicts. One, embodied in initiation rituals and unseen by outsiders, is a way of giving a Biblical resonance to the often squalid realities of sectarian competition. Anthony Buckley of the Ulster Folk Museum, who has had more access to the secret rituals than most outsiders, notes that most of the Biblical texts used in them emphasise a common situation: “that of an individual or group living in a foreign land or among sinners or heathens”.

The texts alluded to on banners and in emblems and rituals “provide object lessons in how the Israelites and later the Jews dealt with a very similar situation of having inherited a promised land which had hitherto belonged to somebody else”. The ideal they inculcate is that of men who have been tried and tested, tempered for the hard struggle for survival in a harsh political landscape. The Garvaghy Road, to religious Orangemen, is a local version of the plains of Jericho.

The other is its ability to present an appearance of unity at times of division. The Order really is experienced by many Protestants as a social space in which religious and class differences can be set aside.

The danger of disunity, moreover,

has seldom been so obvious. The once formidable monolith of Ulster Unionism has fractured. At the elections for the Northern Ireland Forum in May, no fewer than five Unionist parties won seats.

The depth and ferocity of these divisions was on public display at the opening of the negotiations last month, with Paisley and McCartney accusing Trimble of selling out the Union, and the loyalist fringe parties accusing the other Unionist parties of conspiring to exclude them. Never before has Unionism been so openly divided within itself.

The appeal of the Orange Order as a symbol of Protestant and Unionist unity is, in this context, obvious. The rallying-call from Portadown may be based on a spurious notion even of Orange tradition itself, but it revivifies the simplifying myth of a steadfast people defending its ancient rights.

David Trimble and others in the Unionist leadership must know how thin this illusion really is. Even if the Orangemen win, the prize for victory – the futile gesture of walking down a street protected by ranks of armed policemen – is pathetic.

When such symbols take on such importance for their own sake, it is clear that the confident unity of purpose they are meant to be symbols of really is a thing of the past.

Exactly as the *EPSR* has always explained, the tide of history isousting outdated British colonialism.

A new Ireland, no longer still partly an imperialist possession, is being born, – not socialist revolution, of course, as only Trot-fantasy ‘revolutionaries’ suggested it could be, but an important anti-imperialist national-liberation revolution nevertheless, successfully fought for arms-in-hand against overwhelming odds. Only anti-Marxists could fail to appreciate this tremendous achievement. Build Leninist science. JH

Letter to CPGB – *Weekly Worker*.

“Your ‘peace’ bomb article (20/6/96) reads like a case history of the Trot mindset. You are determined to see defeat (*‘Revolution Betrayed’*) whatever happens so that you can mentally wallow in ‘perfect revolution’ fantasy-land.

Why avoid the simpler explanation that the Docklands and Manchester guerrilla war operations were a continuation of the 25 years previous guerrilla war? Because that would undermine your determination to believe that Sinn Féin/IRA have sold out. Hence, ‘peace’ bombs.

As ‘proof’ you quote a republican source saying ‘no ceasefire unless Sinn Féin is at the talks’. But forcing British imperialism into a negotiated retreat from the original gerrymandered ‘No Surrender’ Partition was precisely the aim of the national-liberation struggle, so how does forcing talks on procrastinating London equal sell-out?

These 1996 IRA operations were “not a breakaway aimed at restarting the war against British imperialism”, you say. No, they’re part of same war. It has not ended yet. The only confusion is in your heads. What you are really trying to say is that what hasn’t restarted is a

revolutionary socialist war. True, but ludicrously irrelevant. It has always been a national-liberation war, but for all that, a mighty blow against imperialism nevertheless. And not sold out, or defeated.

It was indeed “a very loud knock at the negotiating door” as you say with another sneer. But how does it differ from 25 years of previous loud knocking (other than being more damaging and dismaying to imperialism than ever)?

The republican movement “left isolated”? It has succeeded in putting unprecedented international political pressure on imperialism in recent years, culminating in at last forcing ‘new deal’ talks (after 75 years of ‘No Surrender’ obduracy, maintaining the fictitious ‘separate country’ of non-existent ‘Northern Ireland’); and winning 40% of the Irish voting strength now in the Occupied Zone, an astonishing achievement against the modern world’s anti-terrorist’ propaganda.

What wouldn’t the CPGB give to be just a fraction as ‘isolated’ among English workers.

Exactly when did the IRA become a ‘victim’ of the New World Order? And what mortal blow was struck by imperialism precisely?

You can no more put a date and place on this defeatist fantasy than Trotskyism ever could on the development in the 1920s which was supposed to prove that the Soviet Union had ceased to be a workers state building socialism and had ‘sided’ via the Comintern, with “the bourgeois order” to take a “cynical counter-revolutionary role” (*Transitional Programme* 1938).

You have the defeatist mentality of the petty-bourgeois ‘left’ which rallied to Trotsky whose slanders began as early as the 1923 *New Course* declaring that nothing now lay ahead of the Soviet workers state but “ossification”, and by 1940 was dementedly gloating about

“the new aristocracy’s...incapacity to conduct a war” (*Stalin - Hitler’s Quartermaster*);

and that

“Stalin cannot make a war with discontented workers and peasants and with a decapitated Red Army” (*German-Soviet Alliance*);

and that

“The level of the USSR’s productive forces forbids a major war” (*The Twin Star: Hitler-Stalin*).

As German imperialism discovered after wiping out ‘advanced’ West Europe, some ‘ossification’.

Only the Trotskyite petty-bourgeois defeatist mentality could treat the overthrow of apartheid as a setback, as you do. Imperialism only retreated to a peaceful settlement with the ANC to avoid an even worse revolutionary defeat later on. The same in Ireland. But these are not defeats but victories over imperialism, by revolutionary armed struggle.

Your conclusion “without the British working class behind it, Irish national-liberation can’t win” is the heart of your problem. Marxist science declares a completely contrary reality: that until Britain is forced to concede Ireland its full independence, then the British working class will never break from imperialist domination, (see *Economic and Philosophic Science Review* 858).

Real life is proving it. The more British ‘control’ gets humiliated by the IRA and Sinn Féin, the more British people say ‘Get out of Ireland’.

Your sour defeatism undermines the national-liberation struggle. Marxist recognition of its titanic achievements cheers it on. ²

[*EPSR*]

Workers states which deteriorate into revisionism so completely that they can no longer inspire a renewed revolutionary onslaught on imperialism, eventually become historically redundant, – great pioneers which have outlived their usefulness.

[EPSR No870 10-09-96]

The historical significance of the 70 years existence of the Soviet workers state continues to haunt the ideologists of Western imperialism, still giving rise to endless books trying to laugh off the USSR, and endless CIA-launched TV & newspaper articles hoping to imply that communism is now well and truly buried.

The reality of the colossal achievements of the Soviet Union, however, will be hard to shift, deeply embedded as they still are in the consciousness of more than half of mankind.

What usefully continues to emerge is that the perspectives for anti-imperialist struggle and the international socialist revolution are now better than ever, despite the sad shock of the inability of the world's first workers state to continue adapting and renewing itself to keep in the forefront of Marxist-Leninist scientific understanding.

It is now becoming obvious that the astonishing self-liquidation by the revisionist bureaucracy of the CPSU was clearly a necessary prelude to the enormous leap forward in revolutionary struggle worldwide that lies ahead for workers (now freed from the dead hand of international class-collaborative delusions, emanating from the USSR and its huge fraternity of 'Official' Communist Parties around the planet – in response to the sharpening of the inter-imperialist trade-war crisis which was a crucial part of that revisionist collapse).

For decades, the Soviet Union had been becoming an increasingly reluctant "counterbalance to imperialism". It was a role it had always played more notionally than in practice, and Western imperialist aggression and domination had been allowed to get away with more than 200 acts of colonial war, military coups, counter-revolutions, armed subversion, and the like, killing tens of millions of national-liberation fighters and communist revolutionaries in Greece, Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, Egypt, Iran, Guatemala, Indonesia, Dominican Republic, Guyana, Kenya, Cyprus, Aden, the Congo, Chile, Grenada, Nicaragua, Panama, Angola, Mozambique, Afghanistan, Ethiopia, etc, etc, with the Soviet "counterbalance" frequently nowhere to be seen, or else too much of a background gesture or

too small to be effective.

The overall historical record of the Soviet workers state, of course, remains an unparalleled achievement in the development of civilisation, – the first country ever to appear on the international stage acting not in order to exploit other peoples, but on the contrary, in order to try to help them emerge out of colonial tutelage, to industrialise, and to train and educate themselves.

Huge assistance was given to the Chinese revolution. Massive arms were given to Vietnam. Millions of doctors, teachers, engineers, scientists, etc, were trained from Africa, Asia, and Latin America in the USSR at Soviet expense. Socialist-bloc trade was frequently conducted to the detriment of the Soviet Union, especially in oil and other raw materials which were invariably supplied at less than world market prices.

Cuba, for example, was always generously subsidised by the USSR. Living standards were invariably higher in East Europe than in the Soviet Union itself; and inside the USSR, the Baltic republics, for example, always enjoyed higher living standards than Russia proper. Not one rouble of investment or trade was ever advanced by the Soviet workers state with the aim of economic exploitation of other peoples.

But the counter-balance to imperialism became more and more theoretically muddled towards the end, conducting operations or responding to events with less and less conviction about the future of the anti-imperialist struggle and the world socialist revolution.

This degeneration was a long time in the making, and cumulative. It arose from a combination of conservatism and inadequacy, both subjective and objective, over the difficult problems facing the international revolution in the 1920s and 1930s, threatened by resurgent and rearming imperialism, plus self-satisfied complacency that the Soviet workers states and the planned economy had nevertheless survived against all the odds, and by the 1950s and 1960s was achieving formidable 'super power' world status.

The triumphant bureaucracy compounded this incipient stagnation by embracing completely incorrect 'developments' of

Marxist-Leninist theory.

These were Stalinism's truly great crimes.

The colossal triumph of the Soviet workers state during the 20th century's second great inter-imperialist war in holding Japanese imperialism at bay in the Far East, and wiping out German imperialism in Europe, after the entire 'free West' had been utterly subjugated by the immense might of Nazi blitzkrieg, – a series of staggering military successes for the USSR unprecedented in all history, and a triumph of economic and political organisation to match, achievements as significant and epoch making as the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution itself, – obliged US, British, and French imperialism to form a real alliance with the Soviet Union. This bred vain revisionist hopes, already inherent in the failed and misleading Popular Front policy in the Spanish civil war of the 1930s, that the 'better aspects' of 'free world' civilisation might be won to a permanent 'peaceful co-existence' with workers states of planned socialism, acting against the supposedly 'harmful and maverick elements of imperialist aggression' such as Nazi Germany and fascism in general.

This fearful nonsense, absolving the vicious imperialist system as a whole of its monstrous history of colonial exploitation crimes so as to nail the new savagery by Germany, Japan, etc, – then flowered into such permanent barminess as the 'peaceful road to socialism' illusion, the notion of perpetual peaceful coexistence internationally, and the delusion that the expanding camp of planned socialism would gradually capture the world market from imperialist exploitation, which would then begin contracting and dying (as opposed to needing to be overthrown by revolution everywhere) – [1952: *Economic Problems of Socialism*].

This revisionist wishful thinking was hugely popular worldwide, and in particular of course in the Soviet Union. This comfortable USSR ideological decay was in effect becoming unreformable because of the very success of the Soviet workers state.

It can now be seen that only some farcical self-inflicted damage to the USSR itself was ever going to cut short the enormous moribund influence of the CPSU on the workers movements of the world. All the time that the Soviet Union itself was still there, a colossal triumph of history as the world's first workers state, then the grip of revisionism would remain hard-to-impossible to overcome.

The trade-war conflict of inter-imperialist crisis, sharpening steadily throughout the 1970s and 1980s, would eventually make

such a break with revisionism's anti-revolutionary international class-collaborationism imperative. And it was the main motive force of 20th century history, – inter-imperialist crisis itself, – which pushed revisionism's dead hand out of the way, via Gorbachevism's amazing torrent of self-liquidating fantasies at the end of the 1980s.

Paradoxically, it was the Reagan administration, which for years had been spitting the most hair-raising fire and blood at the "evil empire" that had been heard in a long time, which was obliged (due to crippling budget deficits caused by murderous trade-war competition from Germany and Japan) to offer a new period, and a new level, of détente to the Soviet Union. The Gorbachevite bureaucracy could hardly conceal its delight at such an unexpected turnaround, seeming to fulfil all of its revisionist dreams, letting it retreat further than ever from its uncomfortable "counter-balance to imperialism" role, and making possible new gimmicks for tackling continuing Soviet economic development problems, trumpeting glasnost and perestroika.

These, of course, were fairly empty gestures in the absence, almost total by now, of the one ideology always necessary to the further advance towards communism and which alone will be able to take civilisation there, – the ever deeper grasp of the world revolutionary science of Marxism-Leninism, which must become the earnestly wanted and fought-for philosophy of all mankind, and without which no society will ever be reached where work becomes man's prime necessity, and where the state (force and compulsion in adult human affairs) can at last begin to wither away.

But what Gorbachevite revisionist fantasies did require in order for glasnost and perestroika to look and sound good was a measure of relaxation of the state structure of the Soviet workers state, – the dictatorship of the proletariat, centred on the CPSU as the sole and constitutional ruling party. Gorbachev abandoned it, thinking to become the greatest hero of Soviet history. Still obviously surrounded by world bourgeois-imperialist influences and bribery/subversion, the Soviet workers state and planned economy immediately began to be totally undermined. Gorbachev instead became the most despised booby in history, – the complete philistine.

The CPSU bureaucracy disintegrated completely, theoretically bankrupt; and deprived of even the pretence of Marxist-Leninist leadership any more, the Soviet workers state itself was left completely rudderless, as was bound



Massive aid was given to the bitter and dogged struggle of the Vietnamese against imperialism's grotesque barbaric warmongering

to happen. The most wretched opportunism took over, virtually effortlessly.

Imperialist crisis, therefore, sharpening rapidly in recent years, has begun to create the need for the renewed socialist-revolutionary advance of civilisation, and has also indirectly made possible the means, – by indirectly sweeping aside the totally inadequate revisionist “counter-balance to imperialism” standing in the way of that renewed revolutionary advance.

Sharpening imperialist crisis pushed the Reagan administration first down the road of screeching, “evil empire”, accelerated warmongering threats, the old tried and tested Cold War route to firmer US imperialist domination of the rest of the planet by cajoling or bullying its imperialist ‘allies’ to support and help pay for the hegemony of American military technology (and therefore all technology), American political influence, and thereby American commercial sway. Such had been the postwar ‘anti-communist crusade’ means to US imperialist world domination.

But having failed once to prevent Germany and Japan from re-emerging as renewed threats to American international economic and political leadership, the simplistic ‘evil empire’ rhetorical revival was only likely to saddle the USA with even more costly ‘imperialist gendarme’ burdens such as the Star Wars threat, but with still no end to the ruthless relentless commercial challenge from Germany and Japan to virtually undermine the US economy and its worldwide influences.

So, having first rattled Soviet bureaucratic complacency with its “evil empire” rhetoric, the Reagan administration now delighted

Gorbachevism by switching to a détente-agreement approach, intending to reduce the budget-cost burdens of the USA’s imperialist-world leadership, play down the ‘communist threat’ to it, and concentrate America’s efforts much more on the real threat to US world hegemony, – the deadly economic rivalry from Germany and Japan and all its other imperialist ‘allies’.

Thus imperialist crisis so shook up the old phony “counter-balance to imperialism” situation that it fell apart completely, first staggering reluctantly through the increasingly difficult war in Afghanistan which US imperialist intervention deliberately hotted up alarmingly, – and then tripping just as unconvincingly, compassless, and perspectiveless into glasnost and perestroika, and the dismantling of the dictatorship of the proletariat, the crucial revolutionary role of which was fatally not understood by revisionist theoretical bankruptcy (see *EPS Review* No 867) [Also *EPSR* book Vol 31 *Party Building* Part 2].

The Soviet Union’s self-destruction obviously caused huge concern to anti-imperialists all round the world, but in retrospect, the situation is much more easily grasped and digested. The USSR was a colossal triumph as the world’s first workers state of planned economic development, social progress, and international friendship, demonstrating how the world can do without capitalist market anarchy and imperialist exploiters. But the combination of the Soviet internal philosophical deterioration plus the failure of the world socialist revolution to sweep forward on a wide enough basis and in such a way as to take up the banner of Marxist-Leninist science and carry it further forward, left the USSR in steadily increasing com-

placent stagnation, unreformable from within due to its success.

Its record of achievement will remain a service to mankind for all time. But having fallen behind the necessary philosophical world developments, and its influence still being so vast on the international working class, the incipient revolutionary circumstances were bound to arrive when the negative influences worldwide of communist party revisionism began outweighing the advantages of continued Soviet Union existence. Gorbachevism can now begin to be seen as a welcome and unsurprising end to a terminal condition of revisionist self-inflicted harm which was threatening to start doing positive damage to the anti-imperialist movement (instead of mostly negative damage by omissions hitherto) with such confused stunts as joint declarations with US imperialism against “international terrorism”, etc. Seemingly unresponsive any longer to the needs of the international anti-imperialist struggle, and having abandoned Afghanistan, for example, to a brutal reactionary fate at the hands of US-inspired tribal/feudal primitivism (still going on murderously and destructively to this day), the world’s first great example of workers state development was coming to the end of its useful life.

Many perceived reactionary consequences of the USSR’s liquidation are in fact just a continuation of the return to ultra-rightwing fundamentalism in Western imperialism (which preceded Gorbachev) in step with deepening worries over monopoly-capitalist trade war and inter-imperialist cutthroat competition, a conservative response typified by Reagan and Thatcher. This anti-welfare cost-cutting harshness will continue

as capitalist-state policy for as long as national-chauvinist envy gets away with blaming foreign competition and international bureaucratic unfairness for any particular country’s poor trade-war performance, and until the catastrophic worldwide dimensions of the imperialist system’s difficulties resurrect the question of is it not capitalism itself, and its destructive anarchy, which is really responsible for the growing crisis burdens on mankind in the ‘free world’(?).

Many other supposed adverse international results of Soviet revisionism’s demise are in fact entirely imaginary, as analysed in past *Reviews* exposing petty-bourgeois ultra-leftist defeatism for describing both the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa and the snail’s-pace reunification process British colonialism has been forced into in Ireland as victories for imperialism instead of victories for national-liberation revolutionary struggle.

Revisionism elsewhere has admittedly shown signs of becoming even more confused and volatile as a result of the CPSU debacle, but as Moscow’s influence on Cuba or North Korea was never going to push them back towards Leninism anyway, then at least the theoretical possibility is now opened up that obviously increased imperialist pressure, or renewed revolutionary advances internationally as a result of Moscow’s dead hand being removed, – might just have that effect.

As for US imperialism’s supposed ‘new-world-order’ renewed strength in dictating to the whole world now, – all past *EPS Reviews* have continuously exposed just the exact opposite of this, – the ever-deepening confusion, conflict, and crisis within the imperialist camp, dragging the entire imperialist system ever closer towards a renewal of warmongering, slump-ridden, fascist chaos and insoluble economic crisis, including especially the catastrophic decline and fall of Washington hegemony, with all the unprecedented consequences of disruption and dislocation that this will bring, exactly because of the overwhelmingly dominant role that the USA has previously come to play due to the incurable anarchic unevenness of development, and brutal injustice, of the ‘free market’ system. To describe this sordid unstable mess as an effective ‘new imperialist world order’ is to reveal the most naive lack of historical awareness imaginable (see next story).

In this light of chronic imperialist instability, the supposed “loss of an alternative centre for non-imperialist countries and national-liberation movements to look to” in the USSR, has to be completely reversed. It is

encouragement to revolutionary struggle which is now absolutely vital, not encouragement to domestic and international class-collaboration which Moscow had been ladling out for decades. Right up until Gorbachev's final self-destruction, Soviet policy was still being defended by Communist Parties worldwide. For the revolutionary overthrow of imperialism, in the long run the loss of such an anti-Leninist "alternative centre" for the national-liberation aid anti-imperialist movements will be seen as necessary.

Throughout its existence and after its demise, the great problem with how the role of the world's first workers state was received and analysed was from people looking to the USSR to demonstrate some point or other which reflected mostly on the subjective condition of the people looking and their needs, but told little of Soviet reality and its historic achievements.

Millions flocked into communist parties everywhere inspired with ideals of a Soviet Union steadily growing in perfection, and a Bolshevik leadership gaining all the time in flawless wisdom. These illusions were a tragic disaster. Millions more remained cynically sceptical, tragically neutralised by the ferocious anti-communist propaganda onslaught by bourgeois ideology from seeing any great historic triumph at all against imperialist reaction by the Soviet workers state.

A few thousand left sectarians turned savagely against the USSR, denouncing it for not being the perfect socialist revolution and the instant hammer of all imperialism immediately, worldwide. This sour subjectivism was a total disaster.

What Soviet developments needed was what they never got, – unconditional support in the face of all the bourgeois attacks of every kind which were heaped upon the USSR, but sympathetic criticism of the mistakes which began to be made, in particular the revisionist weaknesses which began to creep into the CPSU's grasp of Marxist-Leninist scientific theory.

The clever Trotsky's denunciations of Stalinist "counter-revolution" were an utter catastrophe for the international working class, from the 1920s onwards, reaching their insane peak when they resulted in widespread sectarian hostility to the Cuban socialist revolution of the 1960s (aided by the Soviet "counter-revolution"!); or soured international solidarity with the heroic Afghan revolutionary attempts to overcome US-financed tribal-feudal backwardness and barbarism in the 1980s; or when they demoralised workers every-

where by announcing imminent German imperialist victory over "Hitler's twin-star Stalin" during the second great inter-imperialist war period; etc.

The state-capitalist denunciation of the Soviet workers state as a new bureaucratic bourgeoisie, exploiting the working class in the USSR and internationally, was even worse destructive biliousness for subjective sectarian petty-bourgeois to inflict on unsuspecting workers. A halving of living standards, and appalling suffering from mass unemployment, uncontrollable crime and corruption, and a near breakdown of all welfare-state social services were inflicted on the unsuspecting Soviet public when capitalism and the exploitation of workers really was reintroduced into Soviet territory in the 1990s.

And what happened to the supposed new "state-capitalist Soviet ruling caste" (the CPSU, 18-million strong by the 1980s) after Gorbachev? Presumably, all 18 million just stuck up a sign saying "private capitalist" and carried on as before? No, 99.99% of them are now powerless victimised workers or else unemployed, and all suffering along with the rest of the Soviet people. And what happened to Gorbachev? Presumably as the top boss of state-capitalism going private, he would have ended up as the top privateer? Even as Western imperialism's greatest-ever stooge, he has ended up as a bit of an outcast, apparently backed only by "free-world" handouts.

And completely unexplained is the greatest mystery of all: Why would the Soviet state-capitalist bourgeoisie want to become a private capitalist bourgeoisie anyway, even if they all made it safely onto the changed gravy-trains (instead of 99.99% of them falling off)? All of history has demonstrated that power is the real turn-on for the privileged, not an extra dacha, or an extra limousine, or an extra breakfast, which is all that changing from state-capitalist bosses to private capitalist bosses would have meant.

And power, the sweetest thing of all according to most great figures of history, is the one thing the Soviet bureaucracy was almost certain to have to give up or to compromise over if they switched from being state-capitalist bosses to private capitalist bosses under a free-market bourgeois-democracy system (as in fact has happened).

So were these the most stupid 'evil exploiting capitalist bosses' in all history?

Or just maybe, perhaps, they were not state-capitalist bosses at all, ever.

Another range of attacks on the Soviet workers state came

from the semi-anarchic school of 'rank-and-file socialism', summed up in all its appalling reactionary self-delusion and treachery by the Solidarnosc racket, entirely organised and financed by the CIA and the Vatican with looted Banco Ambrosiano mafia funds, whose fictional '10 million members' were the idol of fake-'lefts' the world over, which ended up dismantling the Polish workers-state gains and installing the near-fascist Walesa as president, stooge-in-chief for Western imperialist interests. Such 'rank-and-file socialism' has never believed in a powerful state of proletarian dictatorship as the main essential teaching of all Marxist-Leninist science (see *EPS Review* 867) and has never done anything anywhere but play into the hands of counter-revolution.

The mass democratic involvement in the running of the state was one of the most powerful features of the Soviet Union's development, seen at its best during the German Nazi imperialist onslaught which saw virtually half the armed nation ranged in front of the Wehrmacht, and the other half armed as partisans behind the German lines.

No commissars were shot, – only imperialist exploiters, and many millions of them.

But party and soviet democracy were thwarted from any steps towards full flourishing by the wretched theoretical limitations of the CPSU leadership after Lenin. Marxism-Leninism is a practical world-revolutionary philosophy or it is nothing, vitally depending on a full grasp of the very latest front-line developments in the anti-imperialist struggle everywhere, constantly reinterpreting the changing international balance of class forces and advancing the most perceptive analysis of it, or drying up completely.

The Soviet workers state taught 'dialectical materialism' to every student, and made possible tens of thousands of solidarity groups of Soviet citizens with all those in anti-imperialist struggle the world over.

But the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist cutting edge was largely absent from all these activities. Scientific anti-imperialist struggle was never given up-to-date polemical teaching, actively analysing every latest class-war and inter-imperialist war development with a view to advancing the most effective communist policy possible, and actively engaging the mass Soviet democracy education in all those international revolutionary struggles. Marxism-Leninism became just known as 'dia-mat', – an arid dessicated school subject about as entertaining and vital as learning Latin irregular verbs. It

was still a workers state pursuing democratic socialism and mass involvement, but the theoretical blindness and smug complacency of the CPSU leadership turned all this into aimless dross by the end, a society without a driving philosophy (which had to be world socialist revolution, or nothing), – a pushover for a really determined opportunist philistine like Gorbachev.

The answer to all the pointless wishful-thinking questions of 'could it have all been better; could it have turned out differently?' is a clear No. Whatever atrocious mistakes or arbitrary crimes are eventually proven against the leadership after Lenin, the CPSU and the Soviet state always overwhelmingly went with the always clearcut party majority. Whatever character is ever assigned to the performance, achievements, and omissions of that leadership, that will be a fairly accurate reflection of the level of culture of which the Soviet revolution was capable in the period after Lenin.

Stalin easily defeated Trotsky on all the disputed matters between them, and fully deserved to. His central core of long-serving Bolsheviks was always far closer to Leninism than Trotsky had ever been. A textual comparison between Stalin's *Foundations of Leninism*, *October Revolution and Tactics of Russian Communists*, and *Problems of Leninism*, and Trotsky's rival books similarly published in the USSR between 1923 and 1926 including *The New Course*, the new *Preface to 'The Year 1905'* and *'The Year 1917'*, etc, demonstrates that it was no contest. Stalin won hands down, and it is no surprise that at the 13th Party Conference before Lenin died, and at the 13th Congress (where Lenin's 'testament' was read to the delegates) and the 5th Congress of the Comintern later (spring and summer) in 1924, Stalin's line won all the votes overwhelmingly against Trotsky's line. The Soviet workers state of planned socialism that the world got for 70 years of the mid 20th century, achieving an astonishing unprecedented impact on civilisation, was about the best the world could anticipate given the prevailing conditions and difficulties.

The tragic relapse back into revisionism by the acknowledged leadership of the international revolutionary movement was not the first time this had happened to Marxism-Leninism; and when first Bernstein, and then Kautsky, led the International into exactly these revisionist disasters, there were far less unnerving circumstances facing them than that which afflicted the Third International leadership after Lenin.

The challenge to the validity of trying to build socialism at all in



Millions of workers supported the Soviet second world war effort: on the frontlines, as partisans and in the military supply factories where production line conditions were tough, involving long hours in unheated factories on limited rations. Here they making the T72 tanks which overwhelmed the Germans in colossal battles

Soviet Russia isolated from world revolution, is best answered by Lenin himself:

The successes scored in this respect by the Soviets have been tremendous. When, three years ago, we raised the question of the tasks and the conditions of the proletarian revolution's victory in Russia, we always stated emphatically that victory could not be permanent unless it was followed up by a proletarian revolution in the West, and that a correct appraisal of our revolution was possible only from the international point of view. For victory to be lasting, we must achieve the victory of the proletarian revolution in all, or at any rate in several, of the main capitalist countries. After three years of desperate and stubborn struggle, we can see in what respect our predictions have or have not materialised. They have not materialised in the sense that there has been no rapid or simple solution of the problem. None of us, of course, expected that such an unequal struggle as the one waged by Russia against the whole of the capitalist world could last for three years. It has emerged that neither side—the Russian Soviet Republic or the capitalist world—has gained victory or suffered defeat; at the same time it has turned out that, while our forecasts did not materialise simply, rapidly and directly, they were fulfilled insofar as we achieved the main thing—the possibility has been maintained of the existence of proletarian rule and the Soviet Republic even in the event of the world socialist revolution being delayed. In this respect it must be said that the Republic's international position today provides the best and most precise confirmation of all our plans and all our policy.

Needless to say, there can be no question of comparing the military strength of the R.S.F.S.R. with that of all the capitalist powers. In this respect we are incomparably weaker than they are, yet, after three years of war, we have forced almost all of these states to abandon the idea of further intervention. This means that what we saw as possible three years ago, while the imperialist war was not yet over, i.e., a highly protracted situation, without any final decision one way or the other, has come about. That has been, not because we have proved militarily stronger and the Entente weaker, but because throughout this period the disintegration in the Entente countries has intensified, whereas our inner strength has grown. This has been confirmed and proved by the war. The Entente was unable to fight us with its own forces. The workers and peasants of the capitalist countries could not be forced to fight us. The bourgeois states were able to emerge from the imperialist war with their bourgeois regimes intact. They were able to stave off and delay the crisis hanging over them, but basically they so undermined their own position that, despite all their gigantic military forces, they had to acknowledge, after three years, that they were unable to crush the Soviet Republic with its almost non-existent military forces. It has thus turned out that our policy and our predictions have proved fundamentally correct in all respects and that the oppressed people in any capitalist country have indeed shown themselves our allies, for it was they who stopped the war. Without having gained an international victory, which we consider the only sure victory, we are in a position of having won conditions

enabling us to exist side by side with capitalist powers, who are now compelled to enter into trade relations with us. In the course of this struggle we have won the right to an independent existence.

Thus a glance at our international position as a whole will show that we have achieved tremendous successes and have won, not only a breathing-space but something much more significant. By a breathing-space we understand a brief period during which the imperialist powers have had many opportunities to renew in greater force the war against us. Today, too, we do not underestimate the danger and do not deny the possibility of future military intervention by the capitalist countries. It is essential for us to maintain our military preparedness. However, if we cast a glance at the conditions in which we defeated all attempts made by the Russian counter-revolutionaries and achieved a formal peace with all the Western states, it will be clear that we have something more than a breathing-space: we have entered a new period, in which we have won the right to our fundamental international existence in the network of capitalist states. Domestic conditions have not allowed a single powerful capitalist state to hurl its army against Russia; this has been due to the revolution having matured within such countries, preventing them from overcoming us as quickly as they might have done. There were British, French and Japanese armies on Russian territory for three years. There can be no doubt that the most insignificant concentration of forces by these three powers would have been quite enough to win a victory over us in a few months, if not in a few weeks. We were able to contain that attack only on account of the demoralisation among the French troops and the unrest that set in among the British and Japanese. We have made use of this divergence of imperialist interests all the time. We defeated the interventionists only because their interests divided them, thereby enhancing our strength and unity. This gave us a breathing-space and rendered impossible the complete victory of German imperialism at the time of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk.

These dissensions have become more aggravated of late, especially because of the project of an agreement on concessions with a group of American capitalist sharks, with the toughest of them, headed by a multimillionaire who expects to form a group of multimillionaires.¹¹⁸ We know that almost all reports from the Far East bear witness to the extreme resentment felt in Japan over the conclusion of this agreement, although so far there has been no agreement, but only the draft of one. Japanese public opinion, however, is already seething, and today I read a communication which said that Japan is accusing Soviet Russia of wanting to set Japan against America.

We have correctly appraised the intensity of the imperialist rivalry and have told ourselves that we must make systematic use of the dissension between them so as to hamper their struggle against us. Political dissension is already apparent in the relations between Britain and France. Today we can speak, not merely of a breathing-space, but of a real chance of a new and lengthy period of development. Until now we have actually had no basis in the international sense. We now have

this basis, the reason being the attitude of the smaller powers that are completely dependent on the Great Powers both in the military and in the economic sense. It now appears that, despite the pressure brought to bear by France, Poland has signed a peace with us. The Polish capitalists have a hate of Soviet power; they crush the most ordinary strikes with unparalleled ferocity. They want war with Soviet Russia more than anything else, yet they prefer to make peace with us rather than carry out the conditions set by the Entente. We see that the imperialist powers dominate the whole world although they comprise an insignificant part of the world's population. The fact that a country has appeared that for three years has resisted world imperialism has considerably changed the international situation; the minor powers—and they form the majority of the world's population—are therefore all inclined to make peace with us.

The entry of the socialist country into trade relations with capitalist countries is a most important factor ensuring our existence in such a complex and absolutely exceptional situation.

I have had occasion to observe a certain Spargo, an American social-chauvinist close to our Right Socialist-Revolutionaries and Mensheviks, one of the leaders of the Second International and member of the American Socialist Party, a kind of American Alexinsky, and author of a number of anti-Bolshevik books, who has reproached us—and has quoted the fact as evidence of the complete collapse of communism—for speaking of transactions with capitalist powers. He has written that he cannot imagine better proof of the complete collapse of communism and the breakdown of its programme. I think that anybody who has given thought to the matter will say the reverse. No better proof of the Russian Soviet Republic's material and moral victory over the capitalists of the whole world can be found than the fact that the powers that took up arms against us because of our terror and our entire system have been compelled, against their will, to enter into trade relations with us in the knowledge that by so doing they are strengthening us. This might have been advanced as proof of the collapse of communism only if we had promised, with the forces of Russia alone, to transform the whole world, or had dreamed of doing so. However, we have never harboured such crazy ideas and have always said that our revolution will be victorious when it is supported by the workers of all lands. In fact, they went half-way in their support, for they weakened the hand raised against us, yet in doing so they were helping us.

1920: Our foreign and domestic position and party tasks

'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, 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.

Nov 1922 Speech at plenary session of Moscow Soviet

Indeed, 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 co-operatives, out of co-operatives alone, which we formerly ridiculed as huckstering and which from a certain aspect we have the right to treat as such now, under NEP? Is this not all that is necessary to build a complete socialist society? It is still not the building of socialist society, but it is all that is necessary and sufficient for it.

On co-operation Jan 1923

The system of international relationships which has now taken shape is one in which a European state, Germany, is enslaved by the victor countries. Furthermore, owing to their victory, a number of states, the oldest states in the West, are in a position to make some insignificant concessions to their oppressed classes—concessions which, working people, reduced to the last degree of human suffering, has been forced into a position where its physical and material strength cannot possibly be compared with the physical, material and military strength of any of the much smaller West-European states.

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

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

In the last analysis, the outcome of the struggle will be determined by the fact that Russia, India, China, etc., account for the overwhelming majority of the population of the globe. And during the past few years it is this majority that has

been drawn into the struggle for emancipation with extraordinary rapidity, so that in this respect there cannot be the slightest doubt what the final outcome of the world struggle will be. In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured.

But what interests us is not the inevitability of this complete victory of socialism, but the tactics which we, the Russian Communist Party, we, the Russian Soviet Government, should pursue to prevent the West-European counter-revolutionary states from crushing us. To ensure our existence until the next military conflict between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East, between the most civilised countries of the world and the Orientally backward countries which, however, comprise the majority, this majority must become civilised. We, too, lack enough civilisation to enable us to pass straight on to socialism, although we do have the political requisites for it. We should adopt the following tactics, or pursue the following policy, to save ourselves.

We must strive to build up a state in which the workers retain the leadership of the peasants, in which they retain the confidence of the peasants, and by exercising the greatest economy remove every trace of extravagance from our social relations.

We must reduce our state apparatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must banish from it all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from tsarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist state machine.

Will not this be a reign of peasant limitations?

No. If we see to it that the working class retains its leadership over the peasantry, we shall be able, by exercising the greatest possible thrift in the economic life of our state, to use every saving we make to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, the hydraulic extraction of peat, to complete the Volkhov Power Project,¹⁶² etc.

In this, and in this alone, lies our hope. Only when we have done this shall we, speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, to change from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of an economy designed for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and must seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of the Volkhov Power Station, etc-

Better fewer, but better (March 1923)

And it worked to epoch-making effect. And when Russia has to repeat its socialist revolution soon, – along lines quite comparable, in some ways, to the first socialist revolution, cynics should be silenced for all time. Soviet socialism was not then, and will not be next time, a model for more civilised West European countries to imitate (borrowing Lenin's phrase) but the entire Third World will be delighted at such a resurrection, not remotely sharing the sceptical Western ultra-left poison that the USSR only ever exploited its friends and allies for its own survival: Just ignorant and lying nonsense.

The worst condemnation of the Soviet Union from, say, the Chinese workers state was not that all Soviet help was merely economic exploitation, or political betrayal, but that Soviet policies internationally were not adventurous or revolutionary enough. The only trouble was that Mao Tse-tung & Co got their Marxism-Leninism wrong too to a certain extent, certainly failing in time on the crucial perspectives for world socialist revolution.

Far too much criticism of the USSR has been based on its supposed failures as the vehicle for progressing the completion of the world socialist revolution, which was a hazy concept at best, and was not in the forefront of Lenin's mature mind, as the above quotes indicate. Far too little estimation has been given to the Soviet Union as the world's first workers state, an actual historical place and event of real complex living millions, all coming from a most difficult background, but achieving miracles.

The more gruesome crimes of Soviet history are still a painful puzzle such as the Show Trials and the largescale purges, but the extent of German imperialist subversive agencies' penetration is still not fully revealed, and the colossal sophisticated ability of the CIA to undermine regime after regime around the world should cause hesitation in condemning the Soviet socialist baby with its contaminated political bathwater.

Many alleged Soviet 'atrocities' are just pure slander. The real tragedy for the small Caucasus Chechen nation, one of the minority of 100 Soviet nationalities which was never fully reconciled to proletarian-dictatorship rule, especially under Russian or Soviet leadership, came not from their temporary deportation during the German Nazi imperialist invasion to avoid them collaborating with the Occupation. It only became a bloody catastrophe when so-called 'freedom' was restored to Soviet lands after 1990. Then the Chechens started to suffer racial discrimination in Moscow, e.g. for the first time ever, – and to feel so seriously neglected by the new regime of petty-bourgeois wretchedness in Moscow that full independence was immediately demanded, – and naïvely expected. The Chechens got the shock of their lives, and their entire country destroyed all around them, massacring nearly 50,000 and totally wrecking their impressive Soviet capital Grozny and all their remarkable Soviet-era social advances, none of which had existed in such tribal areas pre-Bolshevism. The Chechens had always skirmished

with Moscow power in the USSR, – but never had fullscale war been declared, or any major military operations been required at all to keep relations moving on slowly but surely. Only anti-communist ‘freedom’ brought the Chechens such untold humiliation, suffering, damage, and despair.

The same favourable comparison in the effects of the USSR versus restored capitalist ‘democracy’ will be observable in every aspect of state involvement in human affairs.

Identifying the theoretical degeneration in the Soviet leadership after Lenin as the real crime of Soviet history while rejecting the glib ‘materialist’ explanations for the decline (in too much state-capitalist profiteering; too many bureaucratic comforts; too little rank-and-file democracy; too much leadership-centralism; etc, etc,) is not being idealist, implying Stalin & Co just ‘went bad’ with no material cause or in a complete vacuum of influential international conditions. There were obvious domestic and world material and ideological pressures pushing the bureaucracy towards

a defeatist complacency and nervousness which then turned into revisionist self-justification.

But the workers-state philosophy required fully conscious rational leadership to deliberately take it ever further and deeper into all-round mastery of the whole of Marxist-Leninist science, – as every future socialist-state development always will require (and the remaining present ones do today), – ultimately involving the whole country in such advanced political development, – and courting stagnant redundancy if such a theoretical uninterrupted revolution was not embraced.

The Soviet leadership after Lenin simply failed to grasp this understanding. The whole world of anti-communist ideology, from academic right to fake ultra-“left”, has obviously failed to grasp this even more abysmally. It is the work for the revolutionary socialist future, for which the world’s first workers state was a heroic and magnificent start, well able to inspire the whole rest of history ahead.

Build Leninism. RB

“Previous thorns in imperialism’s flesh such as Iraq.. are gradually being brought to book” – CPGB defeatists, Aug 29, 1996. Clear this anti-communist philosophy out of the workers movement. Build Leninism instead

[EPSR No871 17-09-96]

Defeatism is a class ideology of the petty-bourgeoisie, notorious throughout the whole history of the struggle for Marxist science, and which invariably covers its traces with ultra-leftist posturing.

Its essence is a deep lack of confidence in the ability of the working class to impose its dictatorship on society, and an even greater fear of that dictatorship if and when it did come about.

This mentality is not confined to people from the middle class. It can apply to workers from every kind of background who are of a conservative disposition or intellectually too weak to withstand the colossal avalanche of brainwashing propaganda, against all the countries of proletarian dictatorship which has been hammered into ‘free world’ thinking from 1917 to the present day.

But it is a petty-bourgeois class position by definition, – one which is attracted to the strength of the working class for potentially being able and willing to fight the big bourgeoisie to a standstill (miners strike 1984) against anarchic slump policies which the middle class hate as much as workers do, – but one which also fears (for self-interest reasons, or self-preservation) putting itself at the mercy of the dictatorship

of the proletariat.

This petty-bourgeois mentality, widespread among workers in West Europe, has mostly been accommodated (for nearly a century of imperialist affluence and welfare state concessions) through the huge popular success of the reformist parties pretending that ‘socialist’ justice and progress is available without any need for a revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat.

A minority of politically petty-bourgeois sects, however, feel increasingly embarrassed by, or uncomfortable with, the dirty and useless compromise of reformist politics, and opt for a halfway stage of posturing ‘revolutionary’-ness but philistinely unwilling or incapable of submitting to the rigours of Marxist-Leninist science, particularly its insistence on the dictatorship of the proletariat as the kernel of its understanding, and especially its stress on an ability to face up to one’s own mistakes in trying to analyse the international processes of class and national struggle, and to derive important new knowledge from such mistakes.

The leadership ideology of the CPGB remains fixated on Trotsky’s wooden iconisation of mere speculative guesswork by Marxism, early on, that the crucial socialist

revolutions would have to take place in the advanced West European imperialist countries for any workers states to have a chance of survival and success, – in short the world socialist revolution, or nothing worthwhile at all. Trotsky repeatedly insisted that the Soviet Union must collapse if the revolution did not spread successfully to Germany immediately.

Last week’s *Review* reproduced Lenin’s writing clearly disagreeing with Trotsky’s perspective, and insisting on the excellent opportunities for making a start to building a new socialist society inside the Soviet workers state while waiting for the rest of the world to reach its revolutionary

crisis.

One particular piece quoted from is worth reproducing in extended form because of its intriguing references to revolutionary socialist progress making further and decisive advances via the Asiatic East rather than via the European West, – a matter of particular interest in the light of current CPGB lightmindedness about developments of anti-imperialism in the East, – either saying that they are nonexistent and that only defeats are being imposed by imperialism, or else dismissing America’s stumble as of still being no great interest to the working class.

Lenin wrote in March 1923 in his article *Better Fewer, But Better:*

The system of international relationships which has now taken shape is one in which a European state, Germany, is enslaved by the victor countries. Furthermore, owing to their victory, a number of states, the oldest states in the West, are in a position to make some insignificant concessions to their oppressed classes, concessions which, insignificant though they are, nevertheless retard the revolutionary movement in those countries and create some semblance of “class truce”.

At the same time, as a result of the last imperialist war, a number of countries of the East, India, China, etc., have been completely jolted out of the rut. Their development has definitely shifted to general European capitalist lines. The general European ferment has begun to affect them, and it is now clear to the whole world that they have been drawn into a process of development, that must lead to a crisis in the whole of world capitalism.

Thus, at the present time we are confronted with the question shall we be able to hold on with our small and very small peasant production, and in our present state of ruin, until the West European capitalist countries consummate their development towards socialism? But they are consummating it not as we formerly expected. They are not consummating it through the gradual “maturing” of socialism, but through the exploitation of some countries by others, through the exploitation of the first of the countries vanquished in the imperialist war combined with the exploitation of the whole of the East. On the other hand, precisely as a result of the first imperialist war, the East has been definitely drawn into the revolutionary movement, has been definitely drawn into the general maelstrom of the world revolutionary movement.

What tactics does this situation prescribe for our country? Obviously the following. We must display extreme caution so as to preserve our workers’ government and to retain our small and very small peasantry under its leadership and authority. We have the advantage that the whole world is now passing to a movement that must give rise to a world socialist revolution. But we are labouring under the disadvantage that the imperialists have succeeded in splitting the world into two camps; and this split is made more complicated by the fact, that it is extremely difficult for Germany, which is really a land of advanced, cultured, capitalist development, to rise to her feet. All the capitalist powers of what is called the West are pecking at her and preventing her from rising. On the other hand, the entire East, with its hundreds of millions of exploited working people, reduced to the last degree of human suffering, has been forced into a position where its physical and material strength cannot possibly be compared with the physical, material and military strength of any of the much smaller West-European states.

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

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

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

But what interests us is not the inevitability of this complete victory of socialism, but the tactics which we, the Russian Communist Party, we, the Russian Soviet Government, should pursue to prevent the West-European counter-revolutionary states from crushing us. To ensure our existence until the next military conflict

between the counter-revolutionary imperialist West and the revolutionary and nationalist East, between the most civilised countries of the world and the Orientally backward countries which, however, comprise the majority, this majority must become civilised. We, too, lack enough civilisation to enable us to pass straight on to socialism, although we do have the political requisites for it. We should adopt the following tactics, or pursue the following policy, to save ourselves.

We must strive to build up a state in which the workers retain the leadership of the peasants, in which they retain the confidence of the peasants, and by exercising the greatest economy remove every trace of extravagance from our social relations.

We must reduce our state apparatus to the utmost degree of economy. We must banish from it all traces of extravagance, of which so much has been left over from tsarist Russia, from its bureaucratic capitalist state machine.

Will not this be a reign of peasant limitations?

No. If we see to it that the working class retains its leadership over the peasantry, we shall be able, by exercising the greatest possible thrift in the economic life of our state, to use every saving we make to develop our large-scale machine industry, to develop electrification, the hydraulic extraction of peat, to complete the Volkhov Power Project,¹⁶² etc.

In this, and in this alone, lies our hope. Only when we have done this shall we, speaking figuratively, be able to change horses, to change from the peasant, muzhik horse of poverty, from the horse of an economy designed for a ruined peasant country, to the horse which the proletariat is seeking and must seek—the horse of large-scale machine industry, of electrification, of the Volkhov Power Station.

Lenin's thinking could not be clearer. This does not prove Lenin was right in these thoughts, but it ought to put paid to the revisionist distortions of Lenin that he also held to the view: 'The West European revolution or nothing', – Trotsky's self-serving subjectivism (because of having been comprehensively defeated in his bid to take over the Bolshevik Party, of having repeatedly been defeated on his policy proposals, and of finally having been voted out of the leadership altogether).

Lenin clearly states that it is the drawing of the populous East into the process of the imperialist world market which will now "lead to a crisis in the whole of world capitalism", i.e. to the world socialist revolution.

Lenin then spells it out even more precisely in its great implications for the USSR's survival and for its importance as the world's first workers state building socialism:

"the East has been definitely drawn into the general maelstrom of the world revolutionary movement....We have the advantage that the whole world is now passing to a movement that must give rise to a world socialist revolution."

Lenin repeats this for yet a third time in another form when he adds that the possibility for Soviet socialism surviving (as far as direct imperialist counter-revolutionary action was concerned) would be decided positively because

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

In this sense, the complete victory of socialism is fully and absolutely assured."

And that, in reality, is how history has already shown that things will turn out. The spread of the socialist revolution to Vietnam and the rest of Indochina, to Korea, to China, etc, allied to the 'civilising' of the largely Asiatic USSR itself in terms of modern technology, – made the defeat of the Soviet workers state by direct imperialist counter-revolutionary action eventually generally impossible. And in general this remains a correct understanding of reality. If China and the other workers states in the region do not bureaucratically degenerate into self-liquidation for lack of confidence in, and understanding of, the socialist future of the world, more plagued by imperialist crisis than ever – then imperialist reaction cannot possibly impose counter-revolution on them unwillingly.

And this notion can be extended still further. If imperialism ever dreamed of physically killing off everyone connected with serious socialist ideas worldwide (as happened in Indonesia and Chile during counter-revolutions there), taking advantage of the CPSU's self-liquidation and the USA's temporary appearance as the solitary superpower, – then the reality of the remaining workers states, – particularly massive China, plus Vietnam and Korea where imperialist destruction has already tried and failed to wipe out the revolution, – would indicate that it is already too late for such an extermination.

The CPGB defeatists see nothing of interest in all this. They declare categorically in their 'new' programme:

"The working class can come to power in backward or medium developed countries. But such gains will prove short-lived unless revolution follows in the advanced capitalist countries. The decisive battles will be fought in the heartlands of imperialism, not its periphery."

This is exactly the opposite of Lenin's understanding, quoted above.

"Such gains will prove short-lived",

say the CPGB defeatists dismissively. Partly depending on what exactly is meant by this, such a statement is either very largely misleading crap, or else it is total crap.

Last week's *Review* (which the CPGB defeatists refuse to read because such a newspaper does not fit in with their rapprochement perspectives, apparently) spelled out at great length the epoch-making and never quenchable influence of the world's first workers state and its colossal achievements, many of which still live on in the equally history-shattering gains of the Chinese workers state, or in Cuba which has had such a tremendous impact on all Latin-American development that US imperialism is almost at its wits-end to know what to do about it.

It is stretching the meaning of words to call the marvellous triumphs of the 70 years of the Soviet workers state "shortlived"; but even now can it be said that those gains have stopped having an influence on all the former Soviet territory?

So why did the 'communist' label officially get 40% of the vote as officially counted, clearly defeat Yeltsin's restoration of 'freedom' in reality, and cause the already-strained imperialist banking system to pump out record new loans (to add to unrepayable trillions already in circulation) to try to keep the socialist influence from making an immediate comeback?

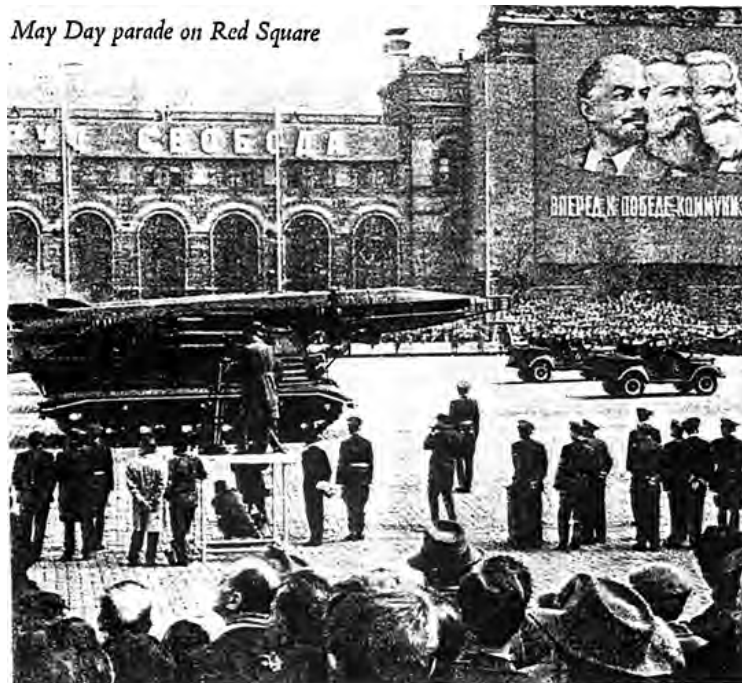
"The workers state in backward Russia was fatally left isolated,"

the CPGB programme 'explains', adding that the USSR's eventual self-liquidation

"confirms that there are no national roads to communism nor any sustainable alternative

The Trotskyist sneering that the Soviet Union could not keep up was disproved by its super-power development into the second most powerful country on the planet

May Day parade on Red Square



between capitalism and genuine socialism. Socialism is international and democratic or it is nothing."

The clear implication of all this is that the whole history of the Soviet Union was a tyrannical waste of time. For these petty-bourgeois defeatists, the dictatorship of the proletariat was a sordid mess, best soon forgotten.

This is not the perspective Lenin outlined, and it relegates the astonishing transformation in the lives of one quarter of mankind in China to nothing more than a meaningless vacuum, not even mentioned once in a programme of more than 12,000 words about the perspectives for socialist transformation for the whole world.

Lenin said look to the Asiatic masses of the Third World for the key to the future. The CPGB defeatists say look to West Europe.

Defeatism will no doubt claim that the Soviet economy did eventually collapse, proving that without advanced Western Europe, only the unviable 'socialism' of poverty can be built, which cannot last.

But the defeatists' facts are simply wrong; and their argument is not credible anyway.

As last week's *Review* analysis explained, in enormous detail, what was undermined in the USSR was its revolutionary socialist philosophy, without which a workers state becomes lost and motiveless. For a variety of philistine opportunist reasons, the revisionist bureaucracy under the suave international careerist Gorbachev abandoned all understanding of the role of the dictatorship of the proletariat in alone making socialist development possible, and opted for free-market parliamentary democracy cretinism in a stream of public relations gimmicks in the

place of re-galvanising the Soviet workers state with total Marxist-Leninist scientific dedication to the revolutionary socialist future of all mankind and all of the implications of that. There was no economic collapse at all. And there was no way in which any 'technological backwardness' suddenly, after 70 years, caught up with Soviet workers-state struggles to pull themselves out of the incredible devastated backwardness of 1921 by their own bootstraps.

With every year that passed, the dangers of grinding back to a halt because of sheer lack of development and poverty in such a vast country diminished. After 1923, it was never again an issue. By 1990, the Soviet Union was one of the most advanced countries on earth. Which particular bit of 'technological backwardness' is supposed to have suddenly caused the Soviet economy to "collapse"? It is sheer fantastic nonsense.

The Soviet workers state was sabotaged by the long revisionist philosophical degeneration in its CPSU leadership, a decay fortified by the very success and complacency that had developed in the USSR, widespread in the whole population because of the rotten leadership they had been fed for so long.

But using any excuse to write off any socialist revolutionary advances which do not happen in West Europe, no wonder the CPGB defeatists think so little of the struggles of the peoples of the East, dismissing Iraq's upheavals as being "steadily brought to book by dominant US imperialism" just at the very moment when the unending mass turmoil of the region had pushed the corrupt Saddam regime back into new defiance of the West which the NATO gangsters simply cannot deal with.

The defeatists then try to explain away their wretched gaffe instead of trying to educate themselves from their mistakes. Saddam's antics, it is stated, represent nothing but junior-thug proto-imperialism anyway, and have no effect on or for the working class either.

Which misses the whole significance of everything that is going on in the Middle East, – and by extension, in the whole world too.

The issue is precisely that of the US imperialist 'world order' and the obvious crisis of the entire imperialist system. The catastrophic depths of this insoluble crisis have been rumbling for ages. Now they burst into chaotic frenzied activity and dramatic new perspectives. But the defeatist party of 'world revolution' slumbers on, seeing nothing but "a thorn in imperialism's flesh being steadily brought to book", and then dismissing the aftermath as

just a minor "proto-imperialist thug getting a bit out of hand, but meaning nothing for the working class".

The splits in the imperialist camp, and the out-of-its-depth helplessness of the chief imperialist gangster regime, obviously mean an enormous amount to the masses of the Third World even if they register so little with the mentality of armchair-socialist defeatism in comfortable Islington.

These masses would enjoy being reminded of the profound wisdom of Lenin's above-quoted remarks about "the internal antagonisms and conflicts between the thriving imperialist countries" which meant that "support of the Russian counter-revolution broke down", thereby saving the Bolshevik Revolution from destruction.

The Third World masses, the future of the socialist revolution for all genuine students of Marxism-Leninism, would be delighted to hear the capitalist press itself admitting that US imperialism has shot itself in the foot again with its mindless vengeful brutality of indiscriminate rocket blitzes on defenceless Iraq to add to the vicious starvation and suffering the West's inhuman blockade of Iraq has already caused its population:

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton last night appeared to be pursuing his fight against Saddam Hussein with one hand tied behind his back as the United States' Arab allies began to show less stomach for a confrontation with Baghdad, and were instead edging towards repairing their rift with Iraq.

State department officials in Washington are increasingly concerned that the meeting of Arab foreign ministers in Cairo this Saturday will drive a further wedge in the international alliance against President Saddam.

The recent US cruise missile strikes against Iraq were loudly and unambiguously condemned by the Arab League, prompting the Iraqi information minister, Abdel Ghani Abdel Ghafoor, to praise his Arab "brothers" this week for their solidarity. Some members of the league are now inclining towards resumption of diplomatic relations with Baghdad, although full restoration is unlikely because Saudi Arabia and Kuwait, bolstered by US pressure and tempered by their recent experiences of the Iraqi regime, will resist such a move.

Qatar and Oman have already reopened their embassies in Baghdad. But most worrying for Washington are diplomatic rumblings from Cairo, where President Hosni Mubarak believes the time is fast approaching to improve links with Baghdad.

Syria and Jordan will remain neutral at the Arab League gathering. But no Arab leader will have failed to notice the open support for the Iraqi leader and the condemnation of the US on the streets of Arab capitals. Saddam supporters have held demonstrations in Jordan, Syria, Egypt and the Palestinian-controlled Gaza Strip.

The Arab masses are not fools. They are hardly convinced by Saddam's posturing who was too long a stooge of US imperialist reaction himself, – overthrowing the Iraqi revolutionary officer regime and then waging war against Tehran's 'revolutionary-fundamentalist' pose on Washington's behalf.

But they also know how necessary it is for former stooges to occasionally play upon their 'nationalist integrity' in order to try to hang onto power themselves in the endless crisis chaos of uneven development on the lower rungs of the imperialist pecking order, and how effectively such nationalist posturing can ruffle imperialist feathers, – from the long history of such bourgeois 'revolutionary' posing in the Middle East.

The masses can grasp that, overwhelmingly, the main enemy is US imperialism and its various gangster coalitions, not the local tinpot dictators. So anything which disturbs that imperialist control and unity must be good for the anti-imperialist struggle against the rotten capitalist system as a whole.

Reading capitalist press admissions that the nationalist-posturing Arab Saddam had outwitted the CIA's replacement stooge cadres in Iraq, – and that there is nothing which Western imperialism can do about it, especially because of its splits, – will justifiably bring some of the masses out onto the streets to cheer:

[Cutting on anti-Saddam Arabs fading] and

MORE than 100 Iraqi dissidents and military officers associated with a CIA-financed effort to topple the Iraqi president, Saddam Hussein, were arrested and executed this summer by Iraqi security agents who had penetrated the group, according to United States officials, dissidents and members of the targeted organisation.

The group, based in Jordan, is known as the Iraqi National Accord (INA). The CIA identified it last winter as the organisation with the greatest potential to unseat President Saddam. But it was successfully penetrated by Iraqi security in June, a government official said.

The CIA backed the INA after Washington had become disenchanted with the CIA-funded Iraqi National Congress (INC), based in Irbil, northern Iraq. With Iraq's recent capture of Irbil, the INC has been virtually shut down and some of its members executed.

The setbacks to the two dissident groups represent a significant defeat for longstanding US hopes of destabilising President Saddam's regime.

US policy-makers made it clear on Monday that they had no intention of helping to rescue or evacuate about 200 INC members who remain trapped in northern Iraq.

The INC is, primarily a Kurdish organisation, with little influence outside the northern areas inhabited by Kurds, while the INA is led by Sunni

Muslims, the majority ethnic group in Iraq.

The CIA gave millions of dollars to both groups.

The official cited the hands-off policy in defending the US decision not to rescue the INC members trapped in the north.

He said it would be hard to maintain that, because the CIA spent millions funding INC activities, the agency "now has some special responsibility" for the welfare of its members.

The official said CIA officers secretly stationed in Salahud din, north of Irbil, had given advance warning to the INC of the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) assault on Irbil, giving members time to flee.

The official rejected criticism of the CIA's stance by Republican politicians, saying President Bill Clinton's administration had warned the KDP leader, Massoud Barzani, that "he must take care of these people" in the INC.

The official said Mr Barzani "knows he may want to broker a deal with the United States at some point" if his alliance with President Saddam breaks down.

A statement by the INA confirmed that, during the summer, the Iraqi government had arrested and executed dissidents linked to it. The group claimed that "in addition to civilian elements, brothers in the Army's Air Force were arrested as well as elements from special security [forces], and other heroes from the armed forces."

A senior US official said the INA had evidently been betrayed from within. Another US official attributed the setback to a failure to maintain security.

According to several dissident sources. President Saddam was able to penetrate the group in part by monitoring the activities of a courier who carried information between its sympathisers in Iraq and its headquarters in the Jordanian capital Amman.

The arrests started on June 26, three days after the Washington Post published an article, partly based on interviews in Jordan with INA leaders, stating that it had received funds from the CIA and was working "feverishly" to topple President Saddam. – *Washington Post*.

These images of such a treacherous, irresponsible, and incompetent imperialist system will be of enormous interest to the Arab working class, indirectly made available courtesy of Saddam's latest posturing. Writing Saddam off as a proto-imperialist ridiculously misses the whole point, which is that the splits in the imperialist camp, between gangsters of whatever size and description, are the guarantee of the future triumph of the world socialist revolution. There may still be an enormous distance to go, who really knows? But the incurable crisis of the imperialist system is all the encouragement necessary for genuine revolutionaries to renew the struggle with redoubled energy and understanding every time these sick anxious Western splits manifest themselves.

A leadership party of far-sight-

ed revolutionary perspectives would certainly not come amiss as the crucial ingredient for eventually turning these revolutionary possibilities towards a real Bolshevik revival worldwide. But such perspectives will never arise out of the dismal petty-bourgeois defeatism of those dominated by the fictions of an all-powerful US imperialist 'new world order' which can supposedly 'impose pacification on all the world's hot spots simultaneously' and has 'just been bringing Iraq to book', plus the utter historic distortion about a nonexistent 'Soviet economic collapse', and who most of all cannot see the crucial role of the Third World in the eventual triumph of the international socialist revolution. Ivory-tower petty-bourgeois subjectivism of this ultra-left extreme has rarely postured so embarrassingly, bringing to mind the SWP's notorious 'downturn' gaffe in 1984 when this most 'revolutionary' of sects dismissed the spontaneously erupting miners strike as of little importance or interest because the working class was in no mood to fight due to conditions being all against it, etc. It turned out to

be the most significant strike in trade-union history, preparing the ground for the working class to break from Labourite reformism eventually.

This philosophical idealism of middle-class dilettantes invariably produces analyses of the world dominated by the sect's own subjectivism. Equally invariably, the dominant mentality is petty-bourgeois defeatism, camouflaged by ultra-leftism.

And in reply to this exposure by the *EPSR*, this CPGB posturing will possibly try some more 'revolutionary' bluster about the 'dangers of fascism' from Saddam or the equally theatrical Muslim fundamentalism which is also making anti-imperialist gestures in the Middle East in an attempt to head off the communist revolution which is undoubtedly coming up the line at some stage.

Saddam's voluntarist savagery is no fascism, a term best kept for the specific historical role fascism played in defence of the slum-shattered imperialist system when a major monopoly-capitalist power, Germany, was deliberately built up (towards unprecedented colonial aggression) by the rest

of the West as their only hope of halting the progress of the Soviet workers state and communist revolution.

Saddam and other bourgeois-nationalist tyrants have certainly been picked out by imperialism to perform a similar role in the Middle East and elsewhere, but such stooges can never become much more than tinpot local dictators. The advent of Nazi German imperialism on the scene of the 1930s slump was a desperate gamble for the capitalist system to take, one which cost the rest of the West an enormous amount in forfeited credibility as the bastions of the 'free world' system, and which cost them tragically in real material losses too, especially France and Britain, and the rest of West Europe, who never recovered their lost positions vis-a-vis US imperialism in the aftermath of the second bout of inter-imperialist war on a worldwide scale.

The West is not over-keen on another such experience anywhere, and always tries to cut down to size any local dictator stooge (such as Saddam, Noriega, Amin, Marcos, Galtieri, Mobutu) who gets too big for his boots,

and on top of which there are very few powers anyway which could effectively play the role of a Nazi German imperialism.

For the moment, the 'fascist danger' is just a diversion to enable ultra-left posturing to avoid facing up to its own inability to analyse the world correctly.

The imperialist crisis roars on, scarcely observed by the CPGB defeatists. Last week's US threats to bluster their way through their confusion with some more mindless zapping to 'make Saddam pay' have not even fooled the capitalist press into believing that Washington's "might is right" thuggery has been or will be a solution:

[cutting]

To suggest that all this upheaval "does not affect the working class" is just insular sectarianism of the most blinkered kind, and to still insist in the Sept 5th *Weekly Worker* coverage of the Middle East turmoil on a headline loudly proclaiming "*US Calls The Tune*" is just stubborn obtuseness of near certifiable proportions. The CPGB needs a serious re-education programme. Build Leninism. Spread the *EPS Review*. Adam Carr

How the CPGB took the wrong aim regarding the SLP, and therefore adopted the wrong tactics. Inflexible idealist self-righteousness prevents the correct tactics from being pursued. CPGB not what it thinks it is. Petty-bourgeois defeatist philosophy of the 'Left Opposition' plays into FISC hands. Rightwing influences do not have to triumph in the SLP. Good SLP developments are streets ahead of failed Socialist Alliance muddles. SLP constitutional wrangle more trouble than it is worth. Political maturity is the best protection from blood-sucking.

[*EPSR* No877 29-10-96]

Much of the difficulty which 'left' groups have had with the launch of Scargill's Socialist Labour Party has been of their own making. An idealist way of thinking, – the traditional paralysing weakness of the anti-theory British labour movement, – has again banished realism.

The central problem was how the SLP's conservative and self-damaging constitution, banning affiliation or individual membership for the usual swarm of tiny 'revolutionary' sects and persuasions attracted towards the new larger-scale activity likely around Scargill's political break from Labour, – was to be dealt with. The main mistake by the 'lefts' was in deciding to treat the SLP's negative stance as an issue of 'principle' which was regarded as

infringing workers' basic democratic 'rights' in such matters, and as breaching all sorts of other 'fundamental essentials', allegedly, for the 'successful socialist revolution', etc.

What in effect the 'lefts' were saying was that when Scargill announced he was going to launch a new party, their response was "No, not that kind of party, Arthur, but this kind."

Now, such an approach would have been one thing if it was from very close colleagues or political allies of Scargill's taking up his idea in a friendly way with alternative ideas of their own. But the way this challenge has seemed to come across in practice, it has been something else entirely, – completely unrealistic, so hostile as to be immediately doomed,

and almost totally irrelevant.

Parties bear personal characteristics. All parties do, even revolutionary parties. Mao's party was very Maoist, in more ways than one. Lenin's party was very Leninist. The character and political profile of Castro's party strongly reflected Fidel. The politics of the Sandinista leaders were basically responsible for how that party movement turned out. Most British 'left' parties and 'revolutionary' sects have been powerfully influenced by the personalities and politics of their leaders. Scargill's party is bound to be Scargillist. If this proscriptive constitutional style is really a deep part of Scargill's political outlook, then the bans and the restricted membership are certainly likely to prevail initially, – (until the SLP's own political development might persuade Scargill to begin to see that there are far better ways of ensuring unity and loyalty by developing an ever-clearer and more accurate analysis of the world, leading to an ever more successful longterm programme, strategy, and tactics, rather than relying on crude witchhunts to try to inspire political cohesiveness and party dedication).

It makes no sense at all, therefore, to seek to help build the SLP towards such political maturity by immediately challenging its founder and inspiration head-on about what he has given birth to before the ink was even dry on the launch statement. It is just inept, inappropriate nonsense.

Fanciful phrases like "it's our

working-class movement, it belongs to all of us", etc, might be said to mean something in certain high-flown contexts, but they are missing the point here. Scargill & Co have launched what they want to build. Certainly it can only be built in the workers movement to which all belong, and where all ideas must contend. And it remains to be seen how responsive the SLP's decision-making structures and conferences, etc, and its party newspaper, are to democratic challenge about what policy the SLP should adopt on all national and international matters, i.e. its world view, – and about its programme, strategy, and tactics, and its rules and constitution too. It might be that the SLP turns into a bureaucratic demagogic mess, and that all efforts to build it from where it started, become a waste of time.

But it is not yet obvious that this was necessarily so from the beginning, nor is it yet certain that this will become clear in due course. The founding conference was reasonably fair and democratic. The conduct of the party's affairs since has bureaucratically suffered from lack of resources and personnel, doubtless revealing a lack of proper confidence in the abilities among ordinary members, or a failure to understand how they could be used; but the exclusions question apart, and the witchhunting farces this gave rise to, – there is little evidence that the SLP is completely off the rails and plunging into some pointless bureaucratic sectarian dead-end, and continu-

ing signs that the party will turn out to be a workable-in, left, mass movement which is all that might have been anticipated from the start. In other words, Scargill's SLP looks like turning out to be almost exactly what should have been predicted for a Scargillist party.

Thus the notion that the SLP was somehow stolen away from the working class, and diverted from what it 'ought to have been' is doubly stupid. No party has ever "belonged to the working class" in history, in that fanciful sense, in the first place; and secondly, the SLP is much what rational analysis might have anticipated.

The worst part of all this confusion was that the 'revolutionary left' misunderstandings of what the SLP might become, or ought to be, only ended up helping certain right bureaucratic circles who went in on the ground floor with Scargill and who have been labelled FISC entryists (by their opponents), – the remnants of ancient IMG/USEC Trotskyism, apparently, who subsequently burrowed their way into the Labour Party, and from there into Scargill's movement.

Whether they exist as a shadowy entryist sect or not, these right-bureaucratic circles certainly have had a field day damaging the SLP in their demented witch-hunt of suspected "revolutionary-party entryists". One clique brought the entire work of launching the SLP in the whole Manchester region to a grinding halt by their paranoid and infantile antics, incomparably more sectarian than the conduct of some supposed 'revolutionary entryists' which these rightists were determined to see thwarted. As a result, any number of potentially good SLP members were immediately driven away from the party again, totally disillusioned by this farcical witch-hunting bureaucracy which instantly made the SLP look as pathetic as the Labour Party in its declining years.

At the same time, it has to be said that the misguided aims and tactics of some of the 'revolutionary left' looked as if they played straight into the hands of these rightists, making it easy for them to manufacture some farcical bureaucratic scenes, and that way, temporarily, to exclude almost all political development for the SLP, at least around Manchester.

The initial analysis of the SLP by some of the 'revolutionary left' was wrong; the aims they set themselves were wrong; and therefore the main ways they tried to play it tactically were mostly wrong too.

The intention simply to refuse to accept the SLP's proscription constitution does not seem to have worked, as the *EPSR* sug-

gested would be the case. And if it does prove to be the case, then the 'revolutionary left' needs to think again about the whole position.

Frequently, attempts have been made to deny that anyone on the 'revolutionary left' had ever adopted the position that the SLP could and should be turned into **the** revolutionary party. These denials came even faster once this misguided aim had begun to run into predictable difficulties.

But the record is clear. A CPGB aggregate in February urged all its supporters to join the SLP

"in order to further the fight for communist rapprochement and a reformed Communist Party".

The report of its proceedings went on:

If handled correctly, our work in the SLP will make partisans of the working class into actual communists, not 'downgrade' communists into 'ordinary' partisans of the class.

The majority argued that the line advocated by the FPPPC comrades would relegate the CPGB to near eternal irrelevancy, making it just a comfortable home for isolated individuals who like to call themselves 'Marxist-Leninist'. The CPGB has to be a mass party, otherwise it will never be able to make revolution and contribute to the liberation of humanity. The comrades in FPPPC faction were viewing the movement around the SLP in a static, mechanistic manner, rather than trying to grasp the living dynamic unfolding before their eyes.

That same Feb 29 issue of *Weekly Worker* carried a party leader's statement on the front page which declared in part:

Scargill has proposed a monstrously bureaucratic constitution which would ban and proscribe tendencies and factions and establish a Bonapartist internal regime. Yes, Scargill and most of the SLP steering committee are left reformist. Nevertheless the SLP will at the end of the day be made by its membership; the majority of whom are probably well to the left and will be open to serious revolutionary ideas. If they decide to be passive, if all they want is a Labour Party mark II, if they allow themselves to be dazzled by a Scargill personality cult or intimidated by threats, then the SLP will prove stillborn or will become one more barrier to those who really want socialism.

On the other hand those in the Socialist Alliances, Militant Labour, SWP, etc, can reinforce the left majority in the SLP and make it an overwhelming force and an irresistible body of opinion. We communists are of the decided view that all partisans of the working class should join the SLP. Not, it should be emphasised, in order to get some more accommodating Labourite party nor some intermediate revolutionary-reformist alliance. To overthrow the capitalist state, to bring about the rule of the working class, a democratic centralist party organised on the basis of a revolutionary programme is required. That must be undeviatingly argued and worked for.

Neither would it serve the interests of our great cause if all that was aimed for was an SLP constitution that allowed for affiliation, or autonomy for Scotland and Wales. What is needed is not some British version of the United Left in Spain or Communist Refoundation in Italy. Our class needs a Communist Party – that is what we must singlemindedly fight for.

The aim, clearly, is to turn the SLP into **the** Communist party, the same one which the CPGB itself had been intending to build on

its own (with a bit of selective rapprochement here and there) before Scargill's initiative came along. A week earlier, another party leader had stated in the published *Weekly Worker*:

"Is the situation still characterised by fluidity, or is the SLP already an anti-democratic, social democratised *fait accompli*?...."

"We are fighting for a reformed communist party through our work with the SLP, not a left social democratic organisation with the facility of affiliation for communists."

Two weeks earlier, a front-page statement in the *Weekly Worker* stated the general position that there was no future for the SLP if it did not allow itself to be taken over by already-organised 'revolutionaries':

Some expressed concern about the SLP becoming a Scargill party, since he put across his own politics to the press and at the same time tried to run the campaign itself.

Most members of the steering committee seem determined to exclude existing left organisations from the formation of the party our class so desperately needs, even though it is clear that the constitution, as Scargill emphasised, can only be passed and therefore implemented by the members. Neither the party nor the constitution is yet formed.

Revolutionary cadres exist who can take a lead in organising and building the revolutionary party, but at the moment these cadres are being excluded from that process.

The SLP cannot survive without the cadres capable of digging firm roots in the working class throughout Britain.

Given such sentiments, it is hardly surprising that from the very beginning, the aims and tactics of this 'revolutionary left' position would be virtually to launch a head-on collision against the Scargill constitution and virtually try to batter it down, or effectively have it ignored by having it held in contempt.

By this point, this whole approach could be predicted as going more and more badly wrong, – a completely incorrect aim and analysis to start with, and therefore a misguided tactical attitude thereafter.

If this has been a wrong policy, is it not time for the 'revolutionary left' to reconsider its whole position?

At this point, more subjective idealism gets in the way. Self-deluding arguments are still being heard that the CPGB tactics are in fact winning; that this struggle has educated the entire SLP to the rightwing bureaucracy dangers; and that any SLP activity which was not guided by this CPGB fight will have done little good; etc.

All of which is looking more and more like pure fantasy, and hopelessly wrong. The 'lefts' who refuse to accommodate sufficiently to the Scargill constitution continue to get picked off one by one; the all-out conflict with the supposed FISC entryists has tended to obscure or sidetrack the fight in general inside the SLP for more and better progressive policies and actions and against any dilatoriness or conservatism

in pronouncements and deeds initiated by the leadership of the party – (the dangers of rightwing bureaucratism being self-evident to any experienced communists, and not remotely only laid bare by the sectarian manoeuvres over the constitution); and branch struggles at local and regional level are showing signs of making progress without a constant harping on the constitutional question.

Is it not time for the 'revolutionary left' to consider a new approach?

What would be lost if the *Weekly Worker*, for example, suspended all its publicised recruitment and fund-raising drives directed blatantly at all workers (who presumably should be now being recruited into the SLP by all ex-CPGB members)?

Naturally, this is a matter for the CPGB itself to decide, but the problem would appear to be more one of pride and subjective prestige rather than any insurmountable or unutterable practical difficulty. The *Weekly Worker* would continue being the same weapon of political influence that it was before, clearly educating readers into a political way of thinking most in line with ex-CPGB members of the SLP. How would that be dramatically divorced from the influence the paper has now on readers with the 'Join the CPGB' column still intact? And if recruitment drives continued but with a broader SLP mass movement the aim rather than the much tinier and hardly expanding CPGB, how would that damage the *Weekly Worker's* influence?

Formal membership matters, and publicly organised party activities would all be henceforth channelled through the SLP branches where ex-GPGBers were active, with the added bonus that all their political initiatives could also now properly be broadcast throughout the SLP itself, all branches, a much bigger arena for spreading political activity and influence.

The *Weekly Worker* could continue to host and sponsor as much pro-SLP activity, open to all SLP members and all workers gravitating towards the SLP, as it wanted. If recruitment to the SLP were the aim, it would be sectarian bureaucracy gone mad if there were still attempts to proscribe such pro-SLP activities, one worthy of an even bigger constitutional fight than the present one, and much more likely to be successful.

Given a completely new pro-SLP orientation, nothing could stop the *Weekly Worker* comrades from supporting that particular pro-SLP paper as a special interest, provided that they remained fully-paid-up supporters of all SLP activities simultaneously.

As things stand at the moment, with the constitution as it is, the activities of the *Weekly Worker* around the SLP are just an endless provocation, plainly campaigning among workers, attracted towards the SLP, for recruitment to the CPGB in order to seriously build that party as the most important thing of all.

What prevents the CPGB comrades from adopting this changed course of action looks like their problem from looking at the world in an idealist way of thinking.

The argument seems to go something like this:

‘The decision has been taken to reforge **the** Communist Party. It must proclaim its revolutionary determination. It must be organised in a particular democratic-centralist way (which the CPGB comrades have convinced themselves (erroneously, as it happens) is the only “Marxist-Leninist” way) of eclectic rapprochement, and which they have set their hearts on, – affiliation and democratic rights for all. In this way, whatever Scargill and the SLP do or don’t do, – **the** mass revolutionary party of the working class will eventually be built, with or without the currently self-destructing witch-hunting SLPers.’

There are a host of things wrong with this. In theory it could presumably just be possible that the CPGB nucleus might turn out to be the Marx, Engels, and Lenin of the 21st century. But that would not necessarily make the present CPGB tactics correct at all. Marxism-Leninism was for endless flexibility in tactics.

If the CPGB nucleus has a tiny base at the moment, what would be lost for such high-destined leaders to temporarily seek to expand their base (of deeply thought-out political and philosophical agreement with closely-aligned comrades) from inside the much broader membership of the SLP, provided that they can keep the *Weekly Worker* educator and organiser of a particular understanding of the world, spreading the true gospel, at the same time as it expands the catchment area of SLP membership?

What gets in the way of such flexibility on tactics is the completely skewed idea the CPGB comrades have to start with of just what makes their party **the** communist party.

For the *Weekly Worker*, this holy grail is concentrated on partyism and programme to which every last loony sect on earth is invited to make a representational contribution to what is turning into the most chaotic eclectic morass ever dreamed up by the anti-Leninist ‘left’. Nothing ever gets resolved. All manner of bollocks arguments go on circulating

endlessly. The Tower of Babel had nothing on the CPGB’s rapprochement.

Marx and Lenin were all for uniting the workers of the whole world, but only on the basis of the relentless split with all the idealistic, impressionistic, anti-theory nonsense of the world as expressed in anarchism, reformism, Proudhonism, Bernsteinism, Kautskyism, Trotskyism, etc. etc. Bolshevism only related to Menshevism and other anti-Leninism in order to destroy it, especially via the rich creativity of the split.

What the CPGB needs in order to build **the** revolutionary party is a correct understanding of the world, all of the national and international class-struggle forces in all of their endlessly varied dialectical developments. It is hopelessly bad at it, as the *EPSR* continues to point out in the most comradely spirit of rapprochement.

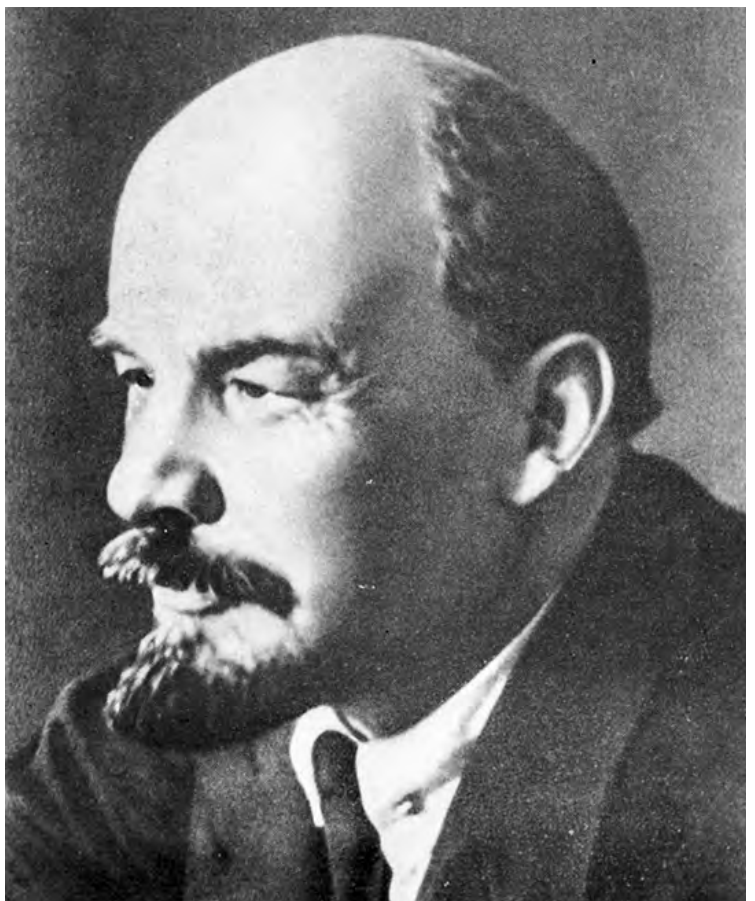
Not only does the *Weekly Worker* fail to get the point by continuing to refuse to study the *Economic and Philosophic Science Review*; it is also now going very slow on allowing further contributions by *EPSR* comrades to the crucial and formerly prominent polemic on the New World Order, the imperialist crisis, and the real route and state of development of the world socialist revolution, etc. – so slow in fact that censorship of the *Weekly Worker*’s rapprochement columns is now suspected. Being omitted is all the most decisive criticism of the CPGB’s incorrect policies and understanding.

Thus a smarter tactic for successful work in the SLP area is being rejected by the CPGB for completely spurious reasons anyway. These comrades are not building the revolutionary party at all. They are making a muddle.

Now there is nothing wrong with making mistakes and learning from them.

The real problems begin when idealism and self-righteousness start to cloud the judgment, allowing faulty decisions to keep piling on top of each other. There are times when some of the sectarianism and petty-bourgeois anti-communism of the ‘revolutionary left’ becomes so obnoxious that it is almost possible to sympathise with Scargill’s wish to not welcome all 57 varieties of Trotskyite cuckoo into his SLP nest.

The tactics of the ‘revolutionary left’ since the expulsions began from the SLP, only add to the sorry mess. The issue is that organised party-building activities cannot continue for other parties once comrades become members of the SLP. Protestations about having “left the CPGB” are quite pointless and just a bit silly when the CPGB’s party-building line can



Leninist tactics were always flexible

be publicly seen to be continuing full blast.

The closeness of the connection of ‘former’ CPGB comrades with each other is just not worth investigating. The sympathy, the support, the continuing friendship between ‘former’ comrades of the CPGB is naturally assumed, especially where no split has been declared or has been remotely suspected.

The whole question revolves around whether or not the CPGB’s independent party-building activities can be clearly seen to be continuing. Not only is that obviously so, but the CPGB’s line on its **right** to continue its own party-building activities (while its ‘former’ members join in with SLP building) has been loudly proclaimed to the whole world.

What is going on with these ‘defence’ tactics is just a continuation of the wrong strategy the CPGB decided upon from the start, – for the SLP to be turned into **the** revolutionary party (CPGB vintage) or nothing, – backed by the wrong tactics of challenging the SLP constitution head-on in order to defeat it in hostile oppositional confrontation.

And the whole mode of writing about the SLP’s affairs which the *Weekly Worker* has pursued since, has been to instantly adopt the pose of a ‘left opposition’ within the SLP, much after the style of Trotsky’s ‘left opposition’ to the CPSU leadership of the Soviet workers state in the 1920s, – which is just about the worst possible model that could

be followed, – a catastrophe of “everything is rotten” idealism which in reality had nothing but petty-bourgeois class hostility to the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR.

There is a huge difference between fighting against rightist bureaucratism and anti-theory trade unionism which has automatically plagued the new SLP organisation but which might be defeated if good party-building politics and tactics are pursued, – and the sour mechanical assumptions by the more posturing of the ‘revolutionary left’ that the whole SLP development has been taken over by a witch-hunting anti-communist conspiracy of shady FISC entryists who have to be publicly smashed with maximum hostility in turning over the entire constitutional stance of the SLP immediately, or else the SLP will be doomed.

All of this goes back to the ingrained defeatism of petty-bourgeois self-righteousness, the essential philosophy of Trotskyism, to which the CPGB in class orientation is inseparably aligned. Victories over reaction are not unwelcome, but the basic pose in life fits Lenin’s devastating summary of Trotsky’s isolated sectarian oppositional mentality as “everything is rotten”. Rightist bureaucracy can be pushed back here and there, but still the general mood of the ‘revolutionary left’ is “Be warned. Us today, you tomorrow”.

Of course it may turn out that way on this occasion, and maybe the SLP will try to hack out a centrist path without any communist

participation at all, and presumably would end up a feeble failure.

But plainly the right wing are not getting it all their own way; communists are currently able to fight to build a very progressive SLP; and Marxist-Leninist history would suggest that a powerful centrist movement, obviously with strong communist participation, might well be on the cards at this stage of development in the international class struggle for the world socialist revolution.

These arguments have been put before to the 'revolutionary left', explaining that with a temporary end to any worldwide revolutionary party authority, and nothing but tiny 'revolutionary' grouplets remaining, most of them hopelessly sectarian, or philistine anti-theory, or incorrigibly anti-communist, – then a route back towards more largescale Marxist-Leninist developments via a resurgent centrist movement initially, might well be a useful way forward.

If it is so, then it is just pedantic fantasising and crass idealism to try insisting that this centrist movement, such as Scargill's SLP, should be made to perform strictly according to some sectarian view or other of 'indispensable revolutionary development' or format, or whatever.

A look at the Socialist Alliances should help to prove the point. They remain exactly what they started out as, a festering eclectic ragbag of dispirited sectarianism, with no challenge whatever to the anti-communist backwardness of *Militant*, and a culture which does not believe in any such challenges either, and is a million miles from Lenin's Bolshevism.

All these sad types of 'revolutionary' nucleus all still soothe themselves with Napoleonic dreams of challenging Scargill – for the 'right' to lead any serious socialist revival in Britain. Not only do they not ask themselves the sobering question of "do we really want to chase Scargill and the right wing out of the Socialist Labour Party" (which would obviously automatically prevent it from being a centrist development at all). They do ask the question, and actually answer it by saying: 'Yes, let's chase him out by all means', etc.

These are crass idealist fantasies, allied to the most abysmally philistine ignorance of the true content and role of revolutionary theory. In this 'left' swamp lurks the most appalling anti-communist individualism and eclecticism, the philosophy of the petty bourgeoisie. Many of these sects have the most laughably autocratic internal regimes, yet they will in all seriousness denounce the SLP for being undemocratic authoritarian witch-hunters.

Some have past allegiances

with bigger parties where they themselves took advantage of big-party arrogance to deny minorities their rights, – in exactly the same way that today they claim the SLP is doing to them.

In contradistinction to all this subjective dilettantism, Scargill on the other hand, will build a workers party. And communist workers will be able to fight for political understanding therein, – provided, of course, that everything is done in the interests of building the SLP and not a different party-within-a-party.

The "everything is rotten" school of 'left opposition' is back in full cry currently over the Goss affair in South London. Goss's violent reactionary record speaks for itself, and there is no way that the SLP should have anything to do with such a nasty individualist. But all that some of the paranoid criticism by the 'revolutionary left' achieves is to condemn the whole SLP initiative while condemning Goss's thuggery, almost revelling in the discovery of this very rotten apple so as to feel justified in all their previous misguided confrontational tactics.

Once again it is the wrong response. Goss's crooked history and unsavoury reputation needs taking up quietly with the SLP leadership to ask them if they know what they are doing with such a bad egg in the SLP's ranks. Any attempt to promote Goss in the SLP hierarchy should be taken up via a democratic challenge when elections are held, or via no-confidence motions about any appointment by the NEC.

The saddest thing about all this suspicion of anti-revolutionary intrigues emanating from the SLP bureaucracy is that 'left opposition' activity might be stimulating and justifying more rightist reaction than might otherwise have been tolerated or encouraged by the leadership. The clamour against bureaucratic mismanagement and conservatism in Manchester and South London might have been even more effective if there had been not the slightest suggestion that the anti-rightist stand was being taken in the name of a hostile refusal to accept the SLP constitution, or abide by it.

The SLP's self-damaging constitutional paranoia is tragic enough. It would be even worse if it emerges with hindsight that part of this fear of an entryist takeover was only created by the way the 'revolutionary left' adopted positions of 'left-opposition' hostility from the start.

A more appropriate response to the ban on affiliations, which has caused far more trouble than it was worth, harming the SLP, – would have been to run a straightforward political-persua-

sion campaign inside the party on better ways to achieve SLP loyalty and to prevent blood-sucking by parties-within-parties who are basically out of sympathy with the SLP's real character and don't really want to build it as such, – ways other than proscriptions and witch-hunts.

The politics of most of the 'revolutionary left' are just infantile. Behind the sectarian posturing and 'perfect revolution' dilettantism is hidden the most crass petty-bourgeois anti-communism and a more philistine ignorance of Marxism-Leninism than can be imagined.

In time, a combination of sound communist understanding plus the basic working-class good sense of the SLP's origins which have always instinctively tended to be pro-Soviet rather than anti-Soviet, could easily have routed politically the nerdiest Fourth International sectarians, the barmiest "everything is rotten" Trots from all traditions, the ones who in a million years of gesticulating still could not tell a revolution from a counter-revolution, – scornful of the communist Castro while having orgasms over the CIA and Vatican-sponsored little fascist Walesa and his dollar-bribed 'union' racket, the counter-revolutionary Solidarnosc (which Stalinist revisionist stupefaction eventually allowed to undermine the Polish workers state, as the ignorant and complacent Moscow bureaucracy self-liquidated likewise.)

In putting up with a bit of 'revolutionary left' bumptiousness from anti-communist sects who have in practice in history always ended up stabbing any proletarian dictatorship in the back while still in words mouthing support for Marxism-Leninism and workers states, – the SLP would have gained valuable political experience in battling for a proper communist understanding of the real history of anti-imperialist struggle this century, and for a real understanding of Marxist-Leninist science. All such understanding in the ranks of the SLP would only make the party very much stronger. Any persistent sabotage by any anti-SLP 'revolutionary lefts' who entered but refused to eventually accept majority decisions and to work within them, could then be administratively dealt with but without causing the sort of paralysing turmoil that has damaged the SLP in some areas this year. The present constitutional guillotine to cut out suspected blood-suckers has been an oversized sledgehammer trying to crack an undersized nut in a very cramped china shop, causing a very silly and unnecessary mess.

Labour Party precedents are ludicrous to cite for all sorts of reasons, but principally because

Labour Party politics never had the slightest intention to take a seriously anti-imperialist stance on anything, and never the slightest possibility of ever doing any serious longterm good for the working class, – believing and benefiting from bourgeois parliamentary capitalism so much as Labour's hierarchy has always done.

Any disruptive trouble that Labourism pulled down on its own head was the least it deserved.

But even in this sick case of rotten Labour history which no one should even dream of comparing to the role the SLP ought to be going to perform, the entryist disruption was nevertheless manageable in the end, as far as what Labour leaders wanted from their party was concerned, and also was always politically stupid, doomed to fail because of its reactionary anti-communist compromises with Labour's imperialism. A good case could even be made out that entryist burrowing inside the Labour Party helped the reactionary Labour leaders and Labourism to survive longer than might have been likely if the Trots had not provided a phony 'left' face to parliamentary capitalism for so long. In other words, while blood-sucking on the SLP by posturing idealist sects is always to be totally discouraged where it appears and becomes a nuisance, in reality there is no great historical record where entryism has ever been able to do much harm anyway. The whole problem has been blown up out of all proportion, and to the detriment of the SLP in another way in that it is now possible that the affiliation restrictions may have to be revised anyway because certain ethnic organisations, for example, may be being prevented from giving valuable support to the SLP because of the way the constitution is drafted at the moment.

Nevertheless, even though the SLP's own course has not been the best, the 'revolutionary left' has hardly been helping to put things right, or help its own cause, by its impractical sectarian idealism. Even when writing positive reports of SLP activities such as a recent article about events in the Manchester region, the *Weekly Worker* manages to make it all sound purely confrontational and as though a reproach to the SLP mainstream, – which is just not how events are developing in Manchester. If it is worthwhile, it is for communists to show the proper spirit of cooperation in building the SLP as a broad-front centrist movement embracing all-comers. An automatic 'left opposition' sectarian mentality is not going to help.

Build the SLP. Build Leninism. Stop building posturing idealist sects. JH

Fake-'left' attacks on SLP begin in earnest. The petty-bourgeois Trot individualists hate the thought of a disciplined mass workers party in Britain developing in sympathy with the socialist states. Many of these middle-class dilettantes disliked the raw proletarian power of the 1984-85 miners strike and tried to sabotage it, backing calls for a ballot. Anti-communism remains the greatest weakness and tragedy of the workers movement in Britain and elsewhere, fed by the disruptive Trot petty bourgeoisie. All 'left' Labour opportunists join the 'Stalinist' smears against the SLP. 'Unity' stunts against the SLP have done more harm than good.

[EPSR No880 19-11-96]

The anti-SLP 'left' are rapidly getting back to their most disruptive and provocative anti-communist traditions with their puddled politics, their rank-and-file posturing, and their spoiling tactics.

A Trot from *Militant* Labour, prematurely labelling himself 'The Socialist Party' in advance of the ML conference which is supposed to 'democratically' decide on a name-change at the end of the month, is standing against the SLP which is challenging the Labour Party in another Leicester City council by-election on December 5. *Militant* are promising to put in a big effort at disruption, bringing down their 'star performer' Tommy Sheridan from Scotland to canvass for them.

At the same time, the *Militant* influenced Socialist Alliances have begun to launch snide attacks on the SLP as "Arthur Scargill's party", describing it as "the next haven for the desperate and the entryists", and pontificating that "the Left needs a broader base than to be anyone's party".

Simultaneously, the *Weekly Worker* publication of the anti-communist Communist Party of Great Britain has stepped up its campaign of sneering at the SLP by association, highlighting the 'Stalinist' defects (some real, some imagined) of labour movement sections which are gravitating towards the SLP.

None of these 'left' sects bear the slightest goodwill for developing the prospect that the launch of the SLP holds out for the historical fate of the working class, to rebuild a major labour movement party with the very clear aim of abolishing capitalism and fighting through extra-parliamentary struggles as well as electoral politics in order to achieve this.

All declare that they sympathise in words. But it is the sectarian deeds of their ultra-left

petty-bourgeois individualist posturing which speak loudest.

This is not the chance behaviour of a few odd groups and collectives. This sniping, bogus 'rank-and-file' posturing represents an entire historic class outlook which has plagued the 'left' of the socialist movement since it began in the 19th century.

It reflects all the rotten individualism and subjectivism which bourgeois ideology (idealism as opposed to dialectical materialism) infects better-off sections of workers with as well as isolated individuals, giving them a middle-class outlook on many crucial questions of mass political struggle.

Its tell-tale signal is bogus demands for 'democratic rights' and for 'rank-and-file democracy', plus its inevitable anti-Sovietism and anti-communism once the superficial 'communist' pretences are dug beneath.

The classic exposure of these fake-'lefts' was their perpetual support throughout the 20th century of every wretched anti-communist stunt that Western imperialism's intelligence agencies could manufacture, cheering on every Soviet and East European 'dissident' and such CIA and Vatican-financed rackets as the Solidarnosc 'trade-union', a counter-revolutionary movement which ended up putting in the near-fascist Walesa as president; destroying the Polish workers state and all its tremendous social services and welfare reforms; and handing the country over to mass unemployment, capitalist exploitation, mafia- and corruption- domination, and Catholic obscurantism which has even abolished a woman's right to abortion if it is needed.

Having rubbished the socialist achievements of the USSR and East Europe nonstop since the early 1920s, these phony 'com-

munist' Trotskyites then washed their hands of their part in Western subversion's responsibility for using the idiot Gorbachev regime for bringing down the entire achievements of the Soviet workers state.

Nothing is heard anymore about the famous 'political revolution' of Trotskyite fantasy which was supposedly going to bring 'perfect socialism' provided that the 'Stalinist' USSR was slandered, sabotaged, and ridiculed enough to bring it down.

Now this travelling circus of 'socialist' mountebanks is turning its attention against Scargill and the SLP along with sneers at the few remaining workers states on earth, significantly so because one of Scargill's most principled political achievements in his life has been his refusal to be dragged into anti-Soviet and anti-communist stunts inflated by the Western intelligence agencies, notably refusing to fall for the Solidarnosc 'trade-union' hoax, or to blackguard the Polish workers state in its difficulties.

These 'revolutionary' Trot 'perfectionists' at once see in Scargill and the SLP the potential for a mass movement which can make serious progress towards a workers state in Britain, which will be bound to have some of the same proletarian-power attributes of Cuba, Vietnam, China, the former Soviet bloc, and also of the great miners strike of 1984-85, plus the earlier struggles which brought down Heath's government.

This Trotskyite individualism really hates such a perspective, and it is no accident that a main source of anti-SLP derision, the *Weekly Worker* CPGB, was among the Trot groupies who gave support to the counter-revolutionary MI5 campaign in 1984-85 that "the miners should have balloted" – disliking and fearing the raw power of the proletariat which refused to fall for this bogus 'democratic' stunt.

These 'left' dilettantes see Scar-

gill as representing now, in current British political categories, the raw power of the proletarian-dictatorship state-structure which was the backbone of all past and present workers states building socialism, which is the great hate target in history of the Trotskyite petty-bourgeoisie.

Scargill and the SLP are at once derided for their 'Stalinist' connections, for their supposed trampling of 'democratic rights of the individual', and for an alleged cult-of-the-personality around Scargill (just like Stalin), thanks to which, it is slanderously alleged, the SLP can only have a narrow (and useless) base.

The *Weekly Worker* report of the southeast London, Bolshevik Revolution anniversary rally was just one long sneer at Scargill's supposedly fraudulent claims to political kinship with 1917. Scargill is described as "playing to his audience – ("a whole array of British and Indian Stalinists"), as trying to "strengthen his credentials as a hardened revolutionary", and as responding to a standing ovation "with clenched fist salutes".

The hostile ridicule spewed on:

Earlier the audience was treated to speech after speech extolling the virtues of the Soviet Union and North Korea. Martin Gray of the 'Communist Party of Britain (Marxist-Leninist)' reminded us how the USSR "under the leadership of Stalin held off the worse that imperialism could throw at it". Adding a new twist to the theory of 'socialism in one country', he outlined the 'benefits' of self-dependence: "We don't need foreign investment; we don't need the import and export of capital."

A speaker from Red Youth spoke of "the delight of imperialism that Nikita Khrushchev came to power". Surreally, he recalled how the 1936 Soviet constitution outlawed immigration controls and racism.

Ella Rule of the Communist Workers Association reported on her recent trip as member of a delegation to North Korea: "The Democratic Peoples Republic of North Korea is a haven of common sense, calm and practicality," she informed us, explaining how socialism meant that people were always nice to each other. Harpal Brar attacked all who did not support the "Soviet experience" as "enemies of the working class", while Jim Hillier of the Communist Action Group went further: "The attack on Marxism begins with the attack on Stalin."

1984 Paris
Newstour



Delighted US bourgeois publisher Meyers meets
with Poland's Solidarnosc leader Lech Walesa

After two hours of such 'inspiring' rhetoric, elements in the audience began to display some impatience and one person could restrain himself no longer. As comrade Hillier spoke of "the October Revolution, led by Lenin..." he heckled "... and betrayed by Stalin". Hillier, who is renowned for his sparkling repartee, instantly retorted: "Fuck off."

Other Stalin fans to speak were Trevor Rayne of the Revolutionary Communist Group and a representative of the Communist Party of Turkey (Marxist-Leninist).

Now this is obviously a good laugh at the expense of the remnants of the Third International who still cannot dialectically grasp the ability to remain in unconditional solidarity with the Soviet socialist camp while correctly criticising the Stalinist theoretical mistakes which paved the way to its degeneration and ultimate self-liquidation, and to the collapse and disintegration of the Third International parties.

But it is the most grotesque hypocrisy, of course, coming from the petty-bourgeois Trotskyite mentality (of the 'new' CPGB) which historically suffered dialectical bankruptcy in an even more damaging direction, being incapable of developing any movement of sincere solidarity with the Soviet workers state in the face of endless bourgeois-imperialist subversion and provocations, bequeathing to the world only increasingly embittered and defeatist Trot sects whose whole aim in life was solely anti-Sovietism and anti-communism.

And it is anti-communist hysteria which is the real catastrophe for the working class in the 20th century, – (not the Soviet-camp states of proletarian dictatorship), – playing into the hands of imperialist counter-revolution all over the world since 1945, finally forcing the Labour Party to even ditch Clause IV and the welfare state.

But such grand epochal setbacks are naturally only the springboard for an even more successful leap forward by the forces of the socialist revolution subsequently. The SLP shows every sign of becoming a new mass socialist party in Britain better than Labour ever was or could have been because it was always a bourgeois party, fundamentally tied by its history to class-collaboration and pro-imperialism.

The SLP can take over Labour's former mass appeal, and also replace the largescale left-reformist trade-union agitation and political-propaganda organisation provided by the old Communist party.

Contempt wells up from the petty-bourgeois 'left' swamp because every posturing 'revolutionary' there basically thinks he or she should be the new Lenin or Trotsky, replacing Scargill (really regarded as reformist or Stalinist.)

The Socialist Alliance in Man-

chester is currently peddling the appeal of one Michael Hindley, MEP, presumably a Labour Party opportunist on the European Union parliamentary gravy train (average income, plus 'expenses', about £130,000 a year just for spouting hot air in Strasbourg to cover up for the monopoly-imperialist exploitation of the workers of Europe by German and French finance capital, etc).

This 'honourable gentleman' and 'socialist' starts off his blast against the SLP with the observation:

"The poor showing of the Socialist Labour Party in the Hemsforth by-election".

So what is Hindley's challenge to Blairism's total and permanent betrayal of the working class worth? – better than the 5% of the votes that the SLP has started with (equal to 35 Commons seats under proportional representation)?

It takes some working out from the very cautious wording to be expected from someone used to being snug inside the Blair tent, pissing out on the working class. The Labourite says that a successor to the Labour Party "will surely come", but such a "Socialist Party will never succeed under first-past-the-post".

So the first thing about this Hindley & Co 'challenge' to Labour (which is so heroically 'superior' to the SLP's 5% at Hemsforth) is that it is not even going to get off the ground until Britain has a Proportional Representation system in place.

This piece of Socialist Alliance venom then goes on:

The circumstances of the setting up of the SLP, without wide consultation with the labour movement, have meant that it would be and will remain "Arthur Scargill's Party"; and while many have nothing but admiration for Arthur's bravery and integrity, the Left needs a broader base than to be anyone's party or the next haven for the desperate and the entryists.

Ah, so by not consulting the bold Blair-"challenger" Mr Hindley, Scargill and the SLP have apparently made a mess of things.

"Not only is the timing wrong, but so too are the tactics and method."

Clearly, for this amazing 'Socialist' Alliance, the working class suffering under Blairite treachery, and getting more angry and frustrated by the day, are not a factor to be considered at all.

"Challenge Blairism? Of course, old chap, – as soon as it can be done comfortably under leisurely Proportional Representation," etc. And when is that likely to happen? Oh, only when Blair himself brings it in as the price of a coalition government deal with the Lib-Dems but also because Blair himself "will want and be forced to break with the remnants of 'old' Labour which are stronger still in the country than in the PLP", etc, etc. "Then there is

firmer ground for making real advances", this superior 'challenger' to Blairism concludes.

So how long will all this take? Mr Hindley is not yet steeled enough to commit himself to a firm bold timetable for this never-never perspective, but five years would seem to be the minimum.

But even then, the 'challenge' to Blairist betrayal will remain very vague and tentative, just like the local Socialist Alliances around the country now:

Then, and again the situation will echo that at the time of the emergence of the Labour Party, the situation will depend very much on local conditions: some coalitions will be possible here, but not there, among these groups here and not there.

This could indeed lead to electoral challenges, but not necessarily in the name of the SLP. Any attempt to impose at this stage a national character will not suit the variety which is emerging locally throughout the country.

Never, never land is rapidly receding into never, never, never land.

This pompous twat, consulting with whom would have been so 'important', and should have been the SLP's 'priority', not surprisingly concludes like something out of *Pseud's Corner*:

"For the time being, as Hamlet says, 'The readiness is all!'"

In other words, just carry on posturing, exactly like a typical Labour 'left' or Trotskyite. Change nothing.

The Manchester Socialist Alliance big noise John Nicholson was even more pathetic in his introduction to Hindley MEP, revealing how childishy envious these subjectivists are of the SLP initiative, too proud to simply join in and make it a success.

Describing the SA's own tortuous developments, he declares:

[the meeting agreed to develop possibilities of common newsletters and information between Alliances, to set out common campaigning, so that campaign issues can be taken up across the whole country at the same time and highlighted in the same way, and to begin to develop a common programme for all Alliances.

They need a party! It goes on:

This meeting showed how we need a programme of our own, an agenda we set for ourselves, rather than that which may appear to be simply dissident Labour.

They need a party! It goes on:

Instead we need new ways of working, which include uniting together to take up issues regardless of who thought of them first or whose name goes on the leaflet.

They need a party! But they will wait until hell freezes over rather than admit that they need to join the SLP.

Former *Militant* entry-ist Dave Nellist, who managed to keep his head down (and stick strictly to his natural anti-communist political philosophy) long enough to become Labour MP for Coventry Southeast but then got expelled, pushes the same 'left' rank-and-file posturing in his explana-

tion for giving the SLP the cold shoulder:

So I think the SAs in the areas where they have been established can be useful vehicles. I think what we need is some kind of a national coalition: a framework, a federation – something to bring people together.

This is what I hoped Arthur Scargill would do with the Socialist Labour Party at the end of last year. If he had called a conference of that character he would have filled the Albert Hall, but he didn't. He wanted something more exclusive, organised from the top down rather than blossoming from the bottom up. That is why the SLP will only be a component, a player in negotiations for a new party, but it won't be the important force it could have been, given its political direction.

But *Militant* is apparently less keen on the coalition or federation idea, to bring people together nationally, when they feel that the SLP has been encroaching onto 'their' patch in Leicester.

So the Labour MEP, the Labour councillor, and the Labour MP all sing the same chorus: "Primadonnas of the world unite; you have nothing to lose but the feeling of being 'important' little cogs in the corrupt Labour bigger wheel."

Another bogus appeal for 'unity in one party' has just been put out by the CPGB after having operated a policy of half-heartedly concealed entryism hitherto, their members having claimed to have 'left' the CPGB while continuing to push their *Weekly Worker* publication openly (at SLP meetings) which still maintained recruiting and party-building campaigns for the CPGB.

Much CPGB agitation towards the SLP has concerned the fight to change the SLP constitution to allow separate parties like the CPGB to affiliate to the SLP but maintain their own party structures and party propaganda.

Their new phony 'unity' stunt repeats this provocation. It tells the SLP that it should

"facilitate the coming together of all trends and groups in the workers movement",

demanding that affiliation to the SLP

"must be open to every organisation committed to securing working class control over the means of production and exchange",

and making it clear that the CPGB intends to maintain its own distinct and separate organisation within the SLP, telling the SLP it will be necessary to alter its constitution to suit the CPGB's entry on its own terms.

Pretending to remind the SLP of its "intention of becoming a federal party of the working class" when the SLP has made no such claim in its constitution, – is just deliberate antagonism, – a joke, and not serious politics. The SLP has made its attitude to parties within parties abundantly clear. They are adamantly opposed to any such structure.

It is pointless for these outsiders to keep on telling the SLP how to go about its business. The SLP has been founded now, and

is already gaining 5% in general election contests. The people who launched it obviously did so when they were happy that they had consulted and organised widely enough to get the project off the ground. Thereafter, it is up to those socialists who wish to join the SLP as genuine individual members of the SLP, not another party, to work for its development as a party in whatever direction they think would be best. After some settling down, the party is likely to reflect majority opinion inside the SLP, obviously heavily influenced by its leadership, as all parties are.

Most of the bleats so far against the SLP's constitution have been by rival 'leaderships' who would obviously like to be where Scargill and his close associates are today. In other words, the bleats are just ridiculous sour grapes. More genuine hopes that the SLP might encourage more diversity for longer in its initial inaugural moves in order to increase its own strength and experience in handling controversial political questions (rather than to

allow more hostile cuckoos to become entrenched in the SLP's nest as some diversifiers intended, it is now clear) were quickly drowned out by such increasingly anti-SLP sentiments as analysed above.

In some areas, the deliberately factionalising sectarianism of some would-be SLP 'tendencies' actually contributed to more bureaucratic shortening of the inaugural activities than might otherwise have been the case.

The rebuilding of Marxist-Leninist science in Britain remains the ultimate key to the socialist emancipation of the working class. It is nonsense for the Trotskyite 'left', who never understood anything about Leninism and the workers states anyway, to pretend that the SLP's chosen development now makes the struggle for revolutionary theory impossible therein. A real grasp of Marxism-Leninism, as opposed to the Trots' distorted version, suggests that the SLP can continue to be built while the fight for scientific socialist understanding continues.

Build Leninism. Adam Carr

Ultra-left poseurs turn nasty as their conspiracy to undermine the Socialist Labour Party runs into difficulty. These make-believe 'revolutionaries' hate the working class strength of the SLP. The CPGB's middle-class fantasies about uniting all the sad Trot sects into one bilious faction is an anti-Marxist nightmare doomed to futile sterility. It is the SLP which will flourish. It is the Trot swamp which will stagnate. Poisonous mis-reporting of SLP meetings will not aid the libellous *Weekly Worker's* sagging credibility. Its incurable anti-communist defeatism will get left behind.

[EPSR No881 26-11-96]

The CPGB is continuing its negative and undercover campaign against the Socialist Labour Party while continuing in its *Weekly Worker* publication to boast about this Trotskyite sect's supposed "openness on all political matters".

This self-glorification for "openness" is, believe it or not, "the key strength of our organisation", an editorial claims.

Even more incredibly, this manifests itself in "an intensely practical approach, particularly in relation to the struggle in and around the Socialist Labour party".

Perhaps these middle-class phony 'revolutionaries' would care to announce which members of this anti-communist sect have gone into which branches of the SLP, and why they either pretend to have 'left' the CPGB, or just keep quiet about their continuing

membership of it.

No? So what is all this "openness," posturing about?

It is about petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' fantasising based on a Toys-R-US version of Bolshevik tactics.

Insanely, the CPGB claims that their 'rapprochement' swamp of tiny sects, all swilling around together in the columns of the *Weekly Worker* without ever resolving a single question or reaching agreement, is how Bolshevism was built.

These Trots want to impose this same menagerie onto the SLP whether the SLP wants it or not.

The SLP insists that it wants no separate entryist organisations recruiting parasitically inside it, the way the *Militant* Trots used to leech off the Labour Party. It has banned parties-within-parties and has approved no factional rights.

Most Trots have accepted this, and have begun hurling mud at the SLP from outside (see last week's *Review*), sneering at it as 'Arthur Scargill's party', 'undemocratic', 'rightwing', and 'Stalinist'.

The CPGB, which specialises in such abuse of the SLP as

"loathsome little life forms in the SLP", "the slimy invertebrates of the SLP right" and "like flies unto shit, witch hunters attract all manner of embittered failures, would-be sadists, and sectarian misfits,"

claims the right to conduct its anti-SLP activities from inside the SLP, regardless of its constitution.

"We recruit uninterruptedly in the SLP"

boasts its latest editorial defiantly, dismissing as "a little conservative" an accusation that the CPGB has

"mobilised three waves of its supporters to fight for democracy and revolutionary politics in the SLP".

It never seems to occur to these self-righteous sectarians that others may have contempt for the CPGB's childish version of 'revolutionary politics'.

The CPGB's scorn for the SLP and any rights it might have in the question of whether it should be 'entered' or not, is epitomised in that arrogant bombast. 'You have formed the SLP, but we the CPGB know what politics it should have, so stand aside'.

This deranged fantasy continues:

At its core, the significance of the SLP is that it is a manifestation of the Party project, the fight for a revolutionary organisation organic to the class. It has brought together a layer of workers breaking from Labour and revolutionaries from a wide variety of political backgrounds. Many of these comrades have said previously – and even in clumsy moments still do – that they "could never be in the same organisation" as each other. The project of a genuine Party of the class – the chink of light offered by the SLP – has brought them together in practice. This is a vital lesson for the whole left.

The Communist Party and its leadership, the Provisional Central Committee, believes that the key weakness of the revolutionary left is precisely its lack of understanding of Party. We urge those comrades in and around the SLP to join us in the fight for this key link. An understanding of this basic task will set in context all our work around the SLP and will ensure that the engagement of revolutionaries with this process will be a constant one, whatever the membership status of this or that individual.

This is just mumbo-jumbo saying nothing more than that the CPGB thinks it is closer to providing the socialist lead the working class requires than the SLP is. Any basis for this fantasy?

Clearly not, for if the CPGB really believed this, it would simply get on and build its own organisation, and leave the SLP to the "loathsome little life forms", to the "slimy invertebrates", and to the "sadists, misfits, and sectarian failures who are attracted to the SLP like flies unto shit".

It cannot do this because it is the actual nature of the SLP which has drawn in all these workers

that the sterile CPGB sect can only dream about.

Instead of learning from this and responding to this objective reality in the evolution of working-class politics in Britain, these narrow-minded dogmatists insist on trying to impose their own 'reality' on the SLP, namely their self-appointed genius-destiny to unite the whole class behind CPGB 'revolutionary' politics.

With infantile triviality, they play on the historic name "the Communist Party", which this tiny Trot sect has ludicrously laid claim to, to try to build up some weird mystique around "the Party project".

A party represents a specific understanding of the world broken down into programme, organisation, strategy and tactics with its own internal discipline, nothing peculiarly magical in itself. What matters is whether the 'party' interprets the world correctly or not, what leadership it gives, and whether workers follow it or not, based on their experience of how correct the party has been, or otherwise.

In postwar Britain, Scargillism has an outstanding record of leadership and achievement to its name compared to everything else.

Trotskyism has the sort of stinking ludicrous record that would attract flies to it. And the bureaucratic revisionism, and the Eurocommunism, from which the CPGB slithered before it piddled its way into Trotskyism, looks little better.

It might make sense for revolutionaries and socialists from a wide range of backgrounds to join with the layer of SLP workers breaking from Labour. But it would also make sense for these 'revolutionary' parasites is the CPGB to realise who is joining who.

The CPGB's conceit about its own importance and achievements is particularly farcical in the light of their own repeatedly hopeless and lame *Weekly Worker* policies (see scores of previous *Review* critiques).

On crucial world historic issues like the causes and significance of the CPSU's self-liquidation and the subsequent collapse of the Soviet workers state, they are clueless and lost like *Babes in the Wood*. They completely misunderstand the actual weakness of US imperialism's supposed 'New World Order' and they cannot even see the crisis of the imperialist system right in front of their eyes. On Ireland, they have not the faintest understanding of what is going on, wallowing in despairing confused defeatism, in spite of having Sinn Féin's anti-imperialist triumph explained to them hundreds of times by the EPSR.

So exposed are the CPGB in their useless middle-class defeatism that they have had to abandon polemicising with the *EPSR* (not for the first time, either) over their pathetic, dishonest, and far from 'open' covering up of their ridiculous analysis about imperialism 'imposing defeat' on all anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world, – exploded as nonsense by recent Middle East and Ireland developments, etc.

What is left is the CPGB's greatest barminess, – its delusion that by opening its columns to all 57 varieties of Trotskyite crankiness simultaneously, it will achieve the grand "party project, the revolutionary organisation organic to the class".

The laughable truth is that they have not even grasped the A,B,C of the historic building of the Bolshevik Party, properly regarded as the Holy Grail.

The quotes from Lenin below demonstrate that not a shred of unification is remotely possible unless the class issues which divide parties and factions are first of all resolved one way or the other. For Leninism, the split from and destruction of anti-communist 'left' nonsense was the only possible way to build the Bolshevik Party.

Particularly ridiculed were the 'conciliators' and 'unifiers' who could not even grasp the major class differences between Leninism and 57 varieties of other 'leftism', Trotsky in particular getting hammered for his 'unifying' drivel and for his anti-Bolshevik policies.

The Trots haven't changed much.

The insolent CPGB intention to rebuild the SLP in their own Trot-dilettante image, with no internal discipline and a dustbin of half-arsed 'left' policies, is even more stupid than it looks because on some issues, SLP policies are already far more 'progressive' or 'revolutionary' than CPGB policies, – on Ireland, on nationalism, on the socialist camp, and on immigration controls, for example.

The SLP itself still has a long way to go to round out some of its policies, and to struggle with a few contentious questions a bit longer.

But the outstanding thing about the SLP is the impact it has immediately made, fulfilling exactly the historical role that serious Marxism-Leninism had grasped it could play to the enormous benefit of the working class, – raising once again, at last, on a broad front the flag of socialism and the abolition of capitalism.

Scargill's leadership has undoubtedly played a key role in this achievement. Only imbeciles, – and the CPGB of course, – seek to deny or ignore this.

The *Weekly Worker* report of the SLP's impressive Manchester rally was just sour carping and cynicism from start to finish.

No stable or serious-minded worker can still believe the CPGB's lies that it wishes nothing but success to the SLP's current development. It clearly hates the fact that the SLP is succeeding with its present form and leadership, and cannot wait to sneer and throw some more mud.

Its praise was reserved for a boring 'left' windbag from the CWU postworkers union, and a 14-year-old reading out his first socialist speech.

For Scargill, who lifted the rally, the *Weekly Worker* sniggered at a supposedly "po-faced response from Arthur" to the union bore's comments about his leader's salary; sneered at the supposed "mere ripple of applause" for mention of the SLP's European Union policy against the 'capitalist club'; and then launched a tirade of destructive abuse on the question of the SLP's constitution, challenging that it had even been adopted by the SLP.

"It is deeply worrying that the SLP president can make such false statements in front of so many party members,"

it postured with poisonous hypocrisy, ignoring the routine deceit of its own SLP members who falsely claim to have "left the CPGB".

It went on:

But it also showed the fetters that are being placed on the party's growth - in both quantitative and, more crucially, qualitative terms – by a bureaucratic defensiveness in the leadership.

The sleight of hand on the constitution was one instance. Another came after the meeting when an SLP comrade was heavily 'leaned on' by national executive member John Hendy, flanked by comrades Scargill and Sikorski, for distributing a Manchester SLP Revolutionary Caucus leaflet, giving details of future meetings and the Revolutionary Platform position statement.

This is just shameless drivel. The Revolutionary Platform was put up at the first SLP conference in May, failing to get adopted or its NEC candidates elected.

Far from any factional rights being subsequently agreed for the Revolutionary Platform by the SLP, the opposite has happened. The CPGB core of the RP has been pursued non-stop for expulsion from the SLP, for building a party within a party, exactly as the *Weekly Worker* is still boasting that it is doing, and will continue to do regardless of the SLP's constitution forbidding this.

Once the SLP's attitude to separate organisational factionalising had become clear beyond all further doubt, it has become contemptuously disruptive to continue openly publicising separate policy platforms under the 'Manchester SLP' label, daring the SLP to expel those responsible. To do so under a telephone and

internet number of a prominently expelled CPGB member who revels in flouting the SLP's authority and credibility kamikaze-fashion, is just asking for trouble.

This leaflet distribution at the huge Manchester rally was nothing but a provocative stunt.

The argument that the SLP has no constitution, and that it has never been adopted, is just specious trouble-making. The SLP leadership won on every issue at its first conference, and it is just fantasy to suggest that it would have failed to get its constitution through at some stage.

It was not reached on the agenda, and conference understood that all items not reached would be remitted to the NEC for decision.

The workers who founded the SLP have the constitution which they wanted. Nothing could be more expected. Only ludicrous Trotskyite provocateurs could want to carry on trying to pretend that the SLP is illegitimate, or just a fraud.

The believability of the CPGB's pretence that it only wants to make SLP policies even more progressive and even more successful, is best tested against their performance in the 1984-85 miners strike when they were among the Trot middle-class groupies who gave support to the counter-revolutionary MI5 campaign that "the miners should have balloted".

There is a world of class differences between the political understanding of the CPGB petty-bourgeois dilettantes, and the far more revolutionary proletarian instincts of the mineworkers and their history, at their best, which is a major ingredient in the foundation of the SLP.

But all that these armchair 'revolutionaries' can now do is keep up their completely fatuous campaign that it is the SLP's existence and success which is in doubt, while they continue trying to convince themselves and the world of their own all-conquering 'reality' of revolutionary fantasy:

The fact that the NEC is itself unconstitutional according to the provisions of the Scargill 'constitution' is of course never mentioned by such people.

These Trots have the same difficulty in focussing correctly on the rest of the outside world too.

It is always their own intensely subjective **fake** 'rank-and-file' posturing which predominates, not the external reality.

Thus lip service might ↗

Trotsky, however, has never had any "physiognomy" at all; the only thing he does have is a habit of changing sides, of skipping from the liberals to the Marxists and back again, of mouthing scraps of catchwords and bombastic parrot phrases.

In *Borba* you will not find a *single* live word on any controversial issue.

This is incredible, but it is a fact.

The question of the "underground"? *Not a word.*

Does Trotsky share the views of Axelrod, Zasulich, F. D., L. S. (*Luch* No. 101) and so forth? *Not a murmur.*

occasionally be paid grudgingly to Cuba for some of its progressive measures, but they would not dream of calling it socialism, or taking it as a model to be followed by anyone, or having any bearing on 'the revolution' (meaning world socialism, which they of course will lead), and always it must be accompanied by such remarks as "But Castro is a bureaucrat who is ruining the revolution", etc.

Stalin's weaknesses and bad theoretical mistakes is essentially all that 70 years of Soviet workers-state socialist construction now means to these bitter anti-communists, and the same applies to China, Vietnam, Korea, etc.

And yet these products of the Cold War propaganda era of anti-communism and "everything is rotten" cynicism, irresponsibly recommend the SLP to open its doors not only to their own hostility to Leninism and the workers states, but to the counter-revolutionary opportunism of the SWP and *Militant* as well who both hate the Marxist history of proletarian-dictatorship states worse than anyone.

They all say they want the workers in power. They would all hate it in reality. They like the discipline of their own little sects. They hate the idea of the discipline of a mass workers movement.

It has always been thus. Leninism had to fight the 57 varieties of primadonna politics for endlessly putting on a 'unity' act, endlessly bitching at each other, endlessly accusing the Bolsheviks of heavy-handed authoritarianism.

But it was Bolshevism which rewrote history.

It was the fake-'left' spite of the middle-class exhibitionists and adventurers which just left a slight nasty stain on the record books, just as the CPGB and its conciliationist swamp are doing now.

The following excerpts from Lenin against Trotsky & Co are almost amazingly like the present situation where the CPGB Trots spout 'unity' or 'rapprochement' but refuse to accept majority SLP decisions; and fill their paper with endless formal drivel, disputing 'leader centralism' or 'democratic centralism', but deliberately drop controversy about living political struggles such as Ireland and the crisis of imperialism which they cannot answer.

(The 'liquidation', opposed by Lenin, was of underground work):

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The slogan of fighting for an open party? *Not a single word.*
 The liberal utterances of the Yezhovs and other Luchists on strikes? The annulment of the programme on the national question? *Not a murmur.*
 The utterances of L. Sedov and other Luchists against two of the “pillars”? *Not a murmur.* Trotsky assures us that he is in favour of combining immediate demands with ultimate aims, but there is not a word as to his attitude towards the liquidator method of effecting this “combination”!

Actually, under cover of high-sounding, empty, and obscure phrases that confuse the non-class-conscious workers, Trotsky is defending the liquidators by passing over in silence the question of the “underground”, by asserting that there is no liberal-labour policy in Russia, and the like.

And these near-Party people, who are unable to unite on their own “August” platform, try to deceive the workers with their shouts about “unity”! Vain efforts!

Unity means recognising the “old” and combating those who repudiate it. Unity means rallying the majority of the workers in Russia about decisions which have long been known, and which condemn liquidationism.

But the liquidators and Trotsky, the Seven and Trotsky, who tore up their own August bloc, who flouted all the decisions of the Party and dissociated themselves from the “underground” as well as from the organised workers, are the worst splitters. Fortunately, the workers have already realised this, and all class-conscious workers are creating their own real unity against the liquidator disruptors of unity.
Break-up of the August Bloc Put Pravdy No37 March 15, 1916

That is exactly what they are—sterile! The “unity” of the varied intellectualist little groups is bought by the Narodniks at the price of their utter political impotence among the masses. And with us Marxists, too, it is the Trotskyists, the liquidators, the “conciliators” and the “Tyszka-ites,”⁴¹ those who shout loudest about group unity, who display the same intellectualist impotence.

This conclusion is that attempts to create “unity” by means of “agreements” or “alliances” among intellectualist groups, which in fact express tendencies that are injurious to the working-class movement (Narodism, liquidationism, etc.), lead only to complete disintegration and impotence.

Both Narodism and liquidationism have proved this by their lamentable example.

Only in opposition to these groups and grouplets (in a strenuous struggle, which is inevitable under bourgeois conditions and amidst a host of petty-bourgeois vacillations) is real unity building up among the working-class masses led by the majority of the class-conscious proletarians.

Naïve people will ask: How are we to distinguish the intellectualist groups which are causing damage to the working-class movement by disintegrating it and condemning it to impotence, from that group or groups which ideologically express the working-class movement, rally, unite and strengthen it? There are only two ways of distinguishing one from the other: theory and practical experience. It is necessary seriously to examine the theoretical content of such trends of thought as Narodism and liquidationism (the principal petty-bourgeois trends that are disintegrating the working-class movement). It is necessary to carefully study the practical experience of the mass working-class movement as a means of rallying the majority of class-conscious workers around integral and considered decisions.

He who gives close thought to the theory of Marxism and close attention to the practical experience of the last few years will realise that the elements of a genuine workers’ party are rallying in Russia in spite of the motley, noisy, and vociferous (but essentially futile and harmful) groups of Narodniks, liquidators, and so forth. Unity of the working class is emerging from the disintegration of these groups and their isolation from the proletariat.

Narodism and Liquidationism Proletarskaya No 12 December 20, 1913

But—and this is the whole point—no task is more unpleasant, undesirable, and unacceptable to the liquidators than that of ascertaining our main differences on questions of theory, programme, tactics and organisation. All their subterfuges, distortions and abuse in connection with the Bureau’s resolution are solely designed to obscure its demand for a preliminary clarification of differences.

We say: the organisation to be created as a result of unity should be based on such and such principles—acceptance of the old programme, a definite form of organisation, uncurtailed slogans, resolute tactics, etc. But you immediately declare that this formulation of the programme, tactics and tasks of the organisation, is nothing but a “complete list of liquidators’ sins”. We are sorry for you, but neither we nor the Bureau know of any method of building new organisations other than by clarifying their programme, their tactics, and so forth.

We are guilty of a still more grievous sin, however. Not only have we proposed the conditions for the creation of an organisation, i. e., clarified the terms of peace, but we have moreover, submitted these terms to the bar of the workers’ opinion. But the liquidators, of course, will to the very last shun this path, for the simple reason that neither a precise formulation of their political views nor the submission of these views to the bar of the broad circles of the workers is in the interests of their group.

Under these circumstances they will inevitably strive to substitute for the definite “clarification of differences” demanded by the Bureau, petty personal squabbles, distortions, and wilful misrepresentations.

Once more about I.S.B. and liquidators Proletarskaya Pravda December 19, 1913
 The publicists’ alliance that we see today among the leaders of Narodism (Chernov, Rakitnikov and Sukhanov) and various Social-Democratic intellectualist factions

that are either openly opposed to the “underground”, i.e., the workers’ party (the liquidators* Dan, Martov and Cherevanin) or else help these liquidationist workerless groups (Trotsky and Slier, Bararov, Lunacharsky and Plekhanov), is in fact nothing more nor less than an alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers.

We regard Pravdism as the expression of the workers’ unity on the basis of genuine recognition of the “underground” and of definite decisions that co-ordinate and guide tactics in the old spirit (the decisions of January 1912 and of February and the summer of 1913).

It is a fact that this workers’ unity is built on the firm basis of integral, complete and, in principle, consistent decisions on all questions affecting the lives of the Marxist workers.

Bourgeois intelligentsia’s methods of struggle June 1914

In a petty-bourgeois country which is passing through a historical period of bourgeois reconstruction, it is inevitable that a motley assortment of intellectuals should join the workers, and that these intellectuals should attempt to form all kinds of groups, adventurist in character in the sense referred to above.

Proof is provided by the history of the last decade (1904-14), which is most eventful and significant. During these ten years members of these groups have displayed the most helpless, most pitiful, most ludicrous vacillation on serious questions of tactics and organisation, and have shown their utter inability to create trends with roots among the masses.

Now Plekhanov has begun to repeat—with the liquidators, with Bogdanov and the rest—phrases about the unity of “all trends”. We emphatically condemn this line, which should be relentlessly combated.

Nowhere in the world do the workers’ parties unite groups of intellectuals and “trends”; they unite workers on the following terms: (1) recognition and application of definite Marxist decisions on questions of tactics and organisation; (2) submission of the minority of class-conscious workers to the majority.

Witless people may abuse the Pravdists and call them factionalists, splitters, and so forth, but these phrases and abuse will not wipe out the unity of the workers...
Adventurism Rabochy No. 7, June 9, 1914

The above Lenin quotes apply exactly to the CPGB Trot middle-class, and the phony ‘unity of trends’ in its paper. Workers are uniting in the SLP. The dilettantes refuse to accept its majority decisions, and snipe from outside.

The adventurist character of their ultra-left posturing was clear in the CPGB’s “arm the working class” response to the Dunblane tragedy.

“Workers need to be armed to destroy the violence wreaked by capitalism”.

Sound for armed revolution. Over the top as a political response to Thomas Hamilton.

Endless vacillation, – running away from wild remarks that IRA ‘peace bombs’ were selling out to British imperialism. And that ‘revolutionary’ support for MI5’s ballot! What a nasty joke they are. JH

Workers’ confidence in Labour has vanished. Incessant pro-Blair propaganda will confuse things for a while, but a powerful SLP workers party is now on the cards. Trotskyite diversions become more bankrupt and foolishly irrelevant by the day. CPGB admits own goal. Anti-communism remains the same old brain-numbing poison for the political class forces of petty-bourgeois individualism. The Militant Labour vote is sterile
 [EPSR No883 10-12-96]

The Leicester City council by-election result, and canvassing in the Barnsley parliamentary contest, both confirm a key fact of the contemporary political struggle, – that the working class no longer looks firmly to Labour to represent it.

Support for Blair & Co is fragile to non-existent. Only the power of media repetition, plus the blatant advertising gimmickry of New Labour, will mean that contempt for the Tory Government could put Blair into office next time.

But only the most gullible, plus a certain layer of self-righteous

middle-class poseurs, can even pretend the remotest enthusiasm for Labour’s calculated electoral posture.

Now openly supporting the corrupt capitalist system out of the imbecile belief that ‘socialism is dead’, New Labour only dares commit itself to shallow spin-doctored sound-bites about the major issues for fear that a new lurch in the political & economic crisis could catch them out, either in the workers’ eyes or the bosses’ eyes.

But such crass and meaningless opportunism makes Labour’s electoral support hopelessly vola-

tile. Although never deserved, the working class used to trust Labour. Now no-one does, or can.

Trivial opinion-poll verdicts can show Labour soaring out of sight, but then come a string of by-election results where Tory unpopularity is almost matched by the decline in Labour's vote, and where anti-Labour working-class votes swell to more than half New Labour's total.

In Leicester, the anti-Labour agitation on the doorstep for a socialist alternative scored two-thirds of the Labour vote, 20% to 30%, and lost Labour this safe seat to the Lib-Dems who scraped in with 33%.

This is the measure of working-class discontent with Blair's show-business cavortings which now replace solid policy statements, and which no longer hide the potential threats in them to working class interests.

With every new capitalist media excitation, – whether against the long-term unemployed, pensioners, the chronically sick, young offenders, immigrants, single mums, school drop-outs, strong trade-union struggles, etc, etc, – no one but the wilfully blind can fail to see New Labour striking a pose only in accordance with how it thinks it will affect the next opinion surveys in the Tory press.

No matter which minority or unfortunate section of the population might be threatened by the latest media campaign or stunt, Labour immediately hops onto any bourgeois opinion-poll bandwagon that is moving.

This is going down catastrophically with workers, – hence the loss of another Labour safe-seat in a by-election.

But all this superficial nonsense of Blair & Co shooting themselves in the foot as often as soaring high with their carefully-tailored media posturing, – also hides deeper developments which are even more interesting.

The eventual complete collapse of the Labour Party's previously dominant position in working-class politics is coinciding with the collapse of British imperialism's previously powerful positions in world economic trade and diplomatic influence.

Labour has always been a bourgeois party by virtue of its always compromised relationship with British imperialism.

The clever trick of parliamentary reformism, and local government reformism, was to concede these 'democratic rights' in an epoch when the triumphant British ruling class could guarantee that enough national prestige, and enough super-profits from colonial empire, would be available for spiritually and economically corrupting the 'labour aristocracy' layer of the trade-union

movement and its subsequent Labour Party federation.

Only the eventual historic collapse of British imperialist power could finally free the working class from this ideological domination by the essential class compromising of the Labour and Trade Union aristocracy.

The game of always selling out to capitalist-imperialist interests is already rapidly falling apart, – which is what the remarkable rise of the Socialist Labour Party represents.

Sections of the traditional accepted labour and trade-union movement have themselves, in the form of the SLP, begun to break away from the old sacrosanct 'unity' of the Labour and TUC federation. The majority of the working class will follow in due course.

Labour will almost certainly win more by-elections, General Elections, and local government elections before the crisis of British imperialism (and of world imperialism in general) fully matures.

But the trends in the complete softening of the class vote for Labour are unmistakable, and the significance of this historic shift is beyond question. British imperialism's former world position is on its last legs. British imperialism's 'shadow', – the Labour Party, – is on its last legs too.

The Socialist Labour Party is nothing like "just another left group". The 57 varieties of petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' posturing in Britain could not be more wrong in their silly subjective assessment of the SLP.

The *EPS Review* has already analysed (see *EPSR* 880, 881, 882, for example) the subjectivism of these idealist sects in deludedly wanting to substitute their own importance for the essential role the SLP alone can perform of turning the masses back towards socialism.

A mixture of personal vanity, group self-righteousness, and insane schematicism has pushed this basically petty-bourgeois-minded bureaucratic swamp into the most ridiculous hostility to the SLP. Their hostility is doomed to yet another failure which will give yet more sustenance to their lifelong defeatist philosophy.

Another head-banging group of born-again evangelising Trotskyites is currently out on the streets of Barnsley running a candidate with the sole purpose of trying to derail the SLP's progress.

These particular cranks are part of the tragic human detritus which was blasted into limbo when Healy's WRP monstrous racket of self-righteousness, brutality, and corruption exploded into smithereens of even worse sanctimoniousness and paranoia.

Now mysteriously calling



The SLP origins are in the militancy of the 1984-5 miners strike

themselves the 'Socialist Equality Party' where before they used to flaunt an in-yer-face International Communist Party title, these dreadful clones of Healy's phony ultra-left opportunism are pushing the same old specious fallacies that Trotskyism's incurable defeatism has always 'thrived' on.

Arguments are raised about some obscure point in some trade-union negotiating deal or other for which Arthur Scargill or some SLP colleague of his can supposedly be 'blamed', – all in order to make the unstated point, by implication, that Scargill's political philosophy stands for organising the working class and trade union struggles in order to sell them out rotten!

Or there's some point about the SLP constitution or its longterm policy perspective on immigration controls which, subliminally translated, aims to create the impression that Scargill is building a racist party which wants to fully back the Tory Government's racist discrimination against immigrants!

And it is so-called 'revolutionaries' who want to go out of their way (to the tune of £500 and a lot more besides) to let the working class of Barnsley know this in order to disrupt the SLP campaign to challenge Labour.

And this is no different in its blind self-righteousness from what these Trots used to aggressively challenge and insult people with, on behalf of Healy's sick fantasies, lauding Ayatollah Khomeini as a "natural revolutionary genius" when it suited the WRP bank account, likewise praising the 'revolutionary socialist genius' of Saddam Hussein, or Gaddafi, or Arafat, or even Ken Livingstone, when it suited them, – then stabbing the IRA in the back for its 'barbarism', or covering up for Healy's rapacious criminality with diseased cant

about "the leader's special needs", etc, etc (See Part One of this *EPSR Book* series on Trotskyism -ed).

All that these crazed evangelists tell about, with their holier-than-thou hypocrisy alleging 'sell-out' here and 'treachery' there, is the immature and unbalanced condition of their own minds.

Their real class-position is straightforward anti-communism.

They have a special leaflet to tell the Barnsley working class certifiable lies about history that would make even the worst fascist-imperialists blush. Fifty years of Stalinism wiped out everything remotely 'socialist' in sight, they begin, via murder, assassination, and the gulag:

"The false association of Stalinism with socialism had seriously weakened the political consciousness of the working class".

But paragraphs later, it is the 'Polish Stalinists', in league with American imperialism and Lech Walesa, who in 1989

"imposed the restoration of capitalism and the continuous undermining of workers social conditions"

thereafter, – against the wishes of the best of Solidarnos!!

This is their 'reply' to Scargill's denunciation of them as stooges for the CIA and the Solidarnosc counter-revolution which wrecked the Polish workers state.

Sane people know that it was the liquidation of the East European workers states which brought back capitalism, with catastrophic consequences for which these Trot anti-communists share full responsibility.

No hope in appealing to these Trot lunatics' sanity, but their less deranged members might ask how Stalin's destruction of any and everything 'socialist' 50 years earlier then made possible the "restoration of capitalism and the undermining of workers social conditions" in Poland in 1989?

In 1945 when the 'Stalinists' liberated Poland from imperialist colonisation, there were only slave-labour conditions and death camps in Poland, a wholly capitalist country. So what was built between 1945 and 1989, and who built it, and why, which then made "capitalist restoration and the undermining of workers social conditions", another Stalinist anti-socialist crime, possible in 1989?

All Trotskyites are just incurable congenital petty-bourgeois class-demented anti-communists, never have been anything else, and never will be.

But in this they are no different from the slightly more 'sophisticated' Trot opponents of the SLP who masquerade under the pilfered and twisted label CPGB (Communist Party of Great Britain).

Their hostile humbug against Scargill's party is launched from inside the SLP while claiming to be *bona fide* members of it.

The *EPS Review* has been exposing the CPGB's lying hypocrisy and false analysis of the Socialist Labour Party almost every week of late, and going all the way back to February when the first entryist takeover and wrong assessment of the SLP was agitated for by the *Weekly Worker*.

Its bogus *SLP News* pages regularly denounce the SLP leadership and membership for

"barefaced lying", "Scargill dictatorship", "bureaucratic manipulation", "anti-democratic straitjacket", "covering the comrades", "loathsome little life forms in the SLP", "the slimy invertebrates of the SLP right", and "like flies unto shit, witch-hunters attract all manner of embittered failures, would-be sadists, and sectarian misfits", etc.

As last week's *Review* asked, based on that week's insults, – would any genuine SLP members (as these Trot entryists pretend to be) really be able to go canvassing for the party declaring: "I want you to vote for the SLP because its president is a liar, its executive is mendacious, its constitution is Bonapartist to allow Scargill to become worker-dictator just like Joseph Stalin, and its conference is a completely undemocratic stunt of gerrymandering and manoeuvring to make sure that witch-hunting and fear prevail and nothing gets discussed that will challenge the rightwing anti-communist bureaucracy's" – which is what the CPGB really thinks of the SLP, as compiled from the *Weekly Worker's* own anti-SLP abuse.

Impossible. The CPGB's 'entry' racket is a political fraud, as are its repeated typical Trotskyite boasts about the "open organisation of ideas" as the way to appeal to workers. The whole lives of this type of 'revolutionary' dilettante, are based on subjective fantasy, and all their political dealings are

just one long dishonest political manoeuvre.

The anti-SLP campaigns are mere subjective point-scoring by these frustrated 'Marxist' posturers, and their deep-cover entryist tactics are just as individualist and devious.

Even in their occasional brushes with reality, these Trot Walter Mitties can never be straight with themselves or the working class, and can never stop adopting a posture.

The CPGB is in turmoil over its failed policy of deriding the SLP while simultaneously pretending to want to enter it as 'good comrades', yet ridiculously unwilling to accept the SLP's constitution.

This muddle-headed catastrophe has been made worse by ill-advised abusive insults by the CPGB against SLP Marxists who tried to persuade the CPGB that its tactics and its political perspective were wrong.

But even in owning up to this debacle, the *Weekly Worker* only feels comfortable in engineering an anonymous letter which merely hints at the painful lessons it is being faced with internally, indicating a tactical backing-off rather than any serious new understanding:

Unfortunately, the last few issues of the *Weekly Worker* (November 7 and November 21 in particular) seem to have become derailed. The debate and reports around the SLP are reverting to the nasty, sneering, journalistic excess of the worst sect papers – those that used to be thrust at you as you emerged from the tube into Hyde Park for a demo.

Phrases such as, "Like flies unto shit, witch hunters attract all manner of embittered failures, would-be sadists and sectarian misfits" (*Weekly Worker* November 7) – to describe SLP member Tony Goss and the Stalin Society – are unacceptable and should be confined to those who have indulged too liberally of ale, not printed as informed comment.

Likewise, the article 'Strange Alliance' (*Weekly Worker* November 21) has a sneering attitude towards the *Economic & Philosophical Science Review*. While containing legitimate comment regarding the political direction *EPSR* comrades have taken, it then attacks the *EPSR* editor in the nastiest personal terms: "Having requested and then apparently declined CPGB membership – it required disciplined work, without the cash payments he felt entitled to..."

This implies the comrade was involved in some kind of financial corruption, or at least questions his integrity as a communist.

I have known and worked with this comrade and others from the *EPSR* in the SLP. I have never had reason to question their integrity. Their politics have been somewhat interesting and their editor is no shrinking violet when it comes to putting his point across. I have always found that they have conducted themselves in a comradely manner even after fierce argument.

Comrades! It is time to stop this descent into the gutter of sectarianism. Many comrades around the *Weekly Worker* and SLP have past histories they might be glad to forget and leave behind. If the *Weekly Worker* is still serious with its rapprochement project, let us hope those responsible for writing and printing these aberrations put their house in order. Get the steam crane out and re-rail the *Weekly Worker*. A good start would be a retraction and apology. Remember: those who play with fire are likely to get seriously burnt.

This echoes *EPSR* condemnation

of the *Weekly Worker*, without acknowledgement, and poses a retraction of libellous abuse as poor politics, – and a dangerous mistake to make with the wrong people, – but without actually admitting as much.

The subjective disorientation of Trotskyite individualist spleen is certain to continue because their defeatist petty-bourgeois class alignment is incurable, as is the flawed idealist basis of the whole of Trotsky's "everything is rotten" philosophy.

The 'perfect' revolution is fantasy. As Marxism explained scientifically more than 100 years ago, there can only be the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat, nothing in between. Because of specific historic and local conditions, either can come in a variety of tolerable qualities or perceived nastiness, depending on the class point of view.

But for the future, workers states have only their own low level of culture to overcome in order to become ever brighter poles of attraction such as Cuba is today for the whole of Latin America, and China is for the whole of the East that was formerly in the Third World. The capitalist states have to overcome the impossible class contradictions of their own internal devil-take-the-hindmost anarchy, and the impossible international contradictions of their incurable trade-war conflicts, – such as is tearing Europe, and the Tory Government, and all the bourgeois political parties apart today.

Workers parties do not come perfect either. But they can stand firmly in the tradition of the workers states and their defence, – or they can posture endlessly for 'democratic rights' of various kinds within the steadily decaying comforts of capitalist society.

All Trotskyism belongs to the latter kind of sect, endlessly carping and nit-picking at serious anti-imperialist struggles for this perceived fault, or that 'betrayal', or the other 'criminal negligence', etc, but basically content with bourgeois society, and therefore never bothered about going anywhere far with any working-class fight, – 'open criticism' being its watchword (to ridicule and criticise incessantly, but to never achieve anything itself).

Militant Labour fit this description exactly. These (and the SWP) are the serious anti-theory Philistines of Trotskyism.

Abroad, no revolution has ever been good enough to win the support of these 'perfectionists'. At home, these great 'revolutionaries' have spent a lifetime bolstering up the Labour Party, giving it a fake-'left' cover long after the time has come for the working class to see through Labour's

entire 'parliamentary socialism' racket and 'local government socialism' fraud.

Militant got a bigger share than the SLP of workers votes for a socialist alternative to Labour in the Leicester by-election because of the strength of past positions in the town inside Labour, and because of a massive campaign calling on its strength nationally to try to disrupt the SLP.

But this success is only going to feed the same old illusions that Trotskyism has always suffered under.

Militant Labour was always basically a parasite on the Labour Party, and its vote in Leicester now is only a belated continuation of that tradition.

Nationally, *Militant's* strength lives on where its parasitic survival off Labour's back did best, as Labour's hoax 'left'.

Independently, such cadre forces will survive for a while, naturally, and continue to have some impact.

But *Militant* are no more, and never can be any more, than barmy Trotskyites with a particularly nasty style in subjective conceit and pro-imperialist philistinism. They are eternal "everything is rotten" parasites on the bourgeois system, just as Trotskyism itself was only able to flourish parasitically on the Soviet workers state and the Third International.

The Socialist Labour Party is a different phenomenon entirely. It is a broad workers movement which has come out of the most competent and confident mainstream of the labour and trade-union struggle in Britain, too long mesmerised by Labour's great parliamentary and local government 'socialism' deception, but now historically released from that delusion by the New Labour belief in imperialism's bogus 'new world order', and by the actual disintegration of British imperialism's world positions.

The SLP is not just another 'left' sect, as the Trots foolishly kid themselves with their shallow 'Marxist' subjective muddleheadedness; but *Militant* Labour is only this, especially now shorn of its Labour Party prop.

The SLP will become a forceful workers party nationally. *Militant* will remain just another 'left' sect.

Temporarily, the Trotskyite swamp will point to the Leicester result and claim it proves that the SLP needs to bury itself under 57 varieties of sectarianism in order to flourish. Actual Marxist understanding points in exactly the opposite direction, telling the SLP to keep on building its broad socialist project under one united workers party as the best way to allow a serious understanding of anti-capitalist revolution to thrive.

In one or two places, *Militant* Labour, – or some other Trotskyite sect, – may outscore the SLP on one or two occasions.

But nationally, the SLP will become the major workers party

in every constituency eventually, and in every extra-parliamentary struggle. The Trot 'left' swamp will remain virtually invisible, and still divided into 57 varieties of sectarian feuding rancour. J.H.

or will not voice, any broad political criticism of the SLP or Scargillism, although they dislike its mass-workers-party and workers-state character intensely. They limit their snide attacks to the sort of nitpicking tactic used against Scargill over his recent Manchester speech, trying to undermine confidence in Scargill and trying to obscure the political significance of the successful Manchester rally.

Their 'revolutionary platform' schematic drivel takes care to avoid attacking existing SLP policy. Its sly undermining of what the existing SLP leadership can do is all expressed in a few ultra-left postures about 'universal democratic principles' and the like, and in loads of utterly hypocritical 'rank-and-file-democracy' demands, which these frauds would never dream of observing within their own authoritarian sects or in their back-stabbing relations with each other.

The overall intention of these relentless disruptive activities is to create the impression that the existing SLP leadership is hopeless, that their 'left opposition' has the answer to every working-class dream, but without ever putting up a direct challenge to Scargill & Co for control of the SLP.

The 'Revolutionary Platform' leaflet, which these middle-class 'revolutionary' cuckoos insolently distribute in the SLP workers party nest, is devoid of a single scrap of Marxist-Leninist analysis of the current international balance of class forces or of the

world revolutionary perspectives, even as applied to Britain, and noticeably fails to endorse the SLP development as such.

Every reference to the SLP is a veiled hostile one, looking for trouble and a reason to oppose the leadership, and always implying that disastrous failings are all that awaits the SLP as it is at present organised and led:

"All members of the SLP who are trade union officials must be instructed to accept a wage equal to the average of that union's membership. All remaining moneys shall be given over to the movement,"

it declares provocatively against Scargill and his trade union colleagues who formed the SLP.

And how would this ultra-left 'democratic' posturing work if applied to the CPGB which the 'revolutionary platform' has been turned into a front for?

A mentally-deranged high-income factory owner decides for certifiable 'reasons of conscience' to join the CPGB. He gives them £200 a week out of his vastly bigger weekly earnings. So does the CPGB say that unless the owner gives the CPGB all his earnings bar the amount of one of his average worker's weekly wage, they will refuse to let him join or accept his offered €200 a week? Like hell they would.

This is just a stinking posture solely designed to make these no-hopers look like great 'revolutionary democrats' and to cast a slur on the SLP's integrity.

The same contemptuous tone is adopted throughout.

"All SLP MPs must be subject to the discipline of the Party,"

'Unity' with all the middle-class bogus 'revolutionaries' is a trap the SLP wants to keep on avoiding if it is serious about abolishing capitalism in Britain.

[EPSR No884 17-12-96]

The constitution of the Socialist Labour Party banning subversive entryism by Trotskyites is emerging as one of the Party's greatest strengths.

All year it has been assailed by the modern equivalent of "the alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers" identified by Lenin (see previous item quotes) when splitting the Bolshevik Party of workers away from Trotsky, Plekhanov, and Martov's groups.

The petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' sects trying to force 'unity' on the SLP only want a new mass-workers-party perch for their shallow manoeuvres, their endless bureaucratic obsessions, and 'human rights' individualism.

Now that New Labour has lost all mass class support from workers, and parasitism there is at an end, the 57 varieties of doctrinaire Trots have all tried burrowing into the SLP or browbeating the SLP into an alliance.

At the same time, fear and hostility towards the SLP, depicting

Scargill as 'Stalin', has replaced for the Trots the ideological crutch of anti-communism they depended upon all the time the Soviet workers state existed.

These middle-class sects are not just physical parasites on the broader workers movement, they are also intellectual parasites, thriving only on non-stop carping criticism and anti-leadership manoeuvres.

Their unending formal rigmaroles attacking 'undemocratic' details of the SLP constitution, or denouncing the leadership for 'mendaciously pretending' to even have a valid constitution, or insisting on their 'rights' concerning how conference voting is run, or how the Party newspaper is run, etc, – are invariably academic or bureaucratic.

Rarely will these anti-communists speak up openly about their loathing for the Cuban workers state, for example, and challenge Scargill on that or other aspects of SLP socialist internationalism which they despise.

In general, they do not have,

Trot disruptors secretly hate the dictatorship of the proletariat in communist countries like Cuba, which has allowed it to resist capitalist exploitation and build a planned socialist economy and fair society with brilliant educational, medical, and social provision despite its limited resources



it declares. In general, of course, this is a sound Bolshevik discipline. In the hands of these poseurs, it becomes just another way of saying that they intend to challenge all SLP leadership on principle, whether the Party president, the Party newspaper, or Party MPs.

On the very existence of the SLP as the greatest step forward for the politics of the working class in a generation, at least, these stooges of "an alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers" can declare no welcome at all, – only the sour snarl

"For a democratic SLP. We need the principle of free and open debate without bureaucratic restriction".

This is the notorious "freedom of criticism" opportunist slogan of the anti-communist opponents of Leninism in the RSDLP who had no political theory of the epoch or the perspectives facing Russia, but who insisted on pettifogging 'programme' demands or bureaucratic barriers to 'authoritarian leadership' (meaning Leninism), while all the time insisting on "unity of all trends" which the Bolsheviks rejected.

The CPGB stooges inside the SLP have campaigned ceaselessly to destroy the SLP constitution so as to allow 'legal' entryism to these Trots to grow parasitically on the SLP, just as *Militant* Trots used to grow parasitically on the Labour Party.

Their lifeline in the 'revolutionary platform' which they hawk around the SLP declares:

"Minority views should be given due recognition, and comrades should have the right to cooperate with co-thinkers to win support in the party",

meaning a Trot free-for-all to just use the SLP as a playground or a convenient perch.

As Lenin (see opposite page) said of the original Trotskyites, their 'unity' posturing is a substitute for their own 'impotence among the masses'. Without Scargill's SLP to piggyback on, they are reduced to going round in endless circles, rivalling each other over the claimed daring of their different 'programmes' or methods of work or organisation, but conspicuously failing to analyse the world developments remotely correctly, – or even at all, – and backstabbing each other to death in unending bureaucratic incompetence.

The struggle for Marxist-Leninist science distinguishes itself from these moralising schematic sectarians by its constant fight for the most advanced theory of where the international balance of class forces has got to, and what the perspectives are for completing the world socialist revolution, via every correct assessment of every particular

anti-imperialist conflict currently making up the sum total of historical trends.

It is also distinguished by its ability to make rapid practical adjustments to the ebb and flow of class struggle, always coming down firmly on the main point of pressure opposing imperialism.

In Britain currently, that means backing the emergence of the Socialist Labour Party as an unprecedented opportunity for a crucial rallying point for rebuilding a mass workers party of socialism to resume the class struggle against British imperialism seriously for the first time in a long time.

It also means enthusiastically backing the SLP's fight against the disruptive nonsense of Trotskyite petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' entryism which has one aim and one possibility only, – to eternally undermine the SLP and its leadership, and to eternally divert the Party from its real purposes.

Listen to the petty-bourgeois class defeatism of these permanent critics,

"Our key weakness is the lack of SLP unity with the rest of the 'left'..."

"Our key weakness is the lack of rank-and-file democracy in the SLP..."

"Our key weakness is the need for our trade union leaders to make do with an average worker's pay..."

"Our key weakness is the lack of a 'unity' constitution in the SLP..." etc, etc, etc:

Never do they add the key contribution which socialist 'intellectuals' among the workers party can assist with, – deepening the analysis of the crisis of British and world imperialism to further the working-class revolutionary understanding of what is to be done, and how it will be accomplished.

These anti-Scargill, anti-communist, fake-'lefts' are the inheritors of the most poisonous ideological weapon developed by modern imperialism, frauds demanding 'socialism' with a 'human face', or with 'rank-and-file democracy' in order to replace the class power of the workers state with the class power of the bourgeois state.

These were the CIA and Vatican stooges who paid Poles \$10 a head to become 'members' of the Solidarnosc 'trade union', a counter-revolutionary stunt which ended up destroying the Polish workers state, undermining its colossal welfare and education provisions, restoring capitalism and profiteering exploitation, giving free rein to the mafia, and eventually installing the neo-fascist Walesa as president. With a total lack of conscience or responsibility for what these dilettantes do or say, the hysterical fans in Britain of the Solidarnosc counter-revolution now try to put all the blame

on 'revisionist stupidity' alone for the collapse of the workers states in East Europe, ignoring their own part in the nonstop Cold War anti-communist crusade by which every aspect of the bourgeois ideology of the Western imperialist system, including the Trot bogus 'revolutionaries', joined in the undermining of the first socialist state ventures in Europe.

The anti-communism of these Trot petty-bourgeois sects is **not** just the 'freedom of criticism' of what they claim is 'wrong', about Cuba, or about how the East European socialist states were, or about how the SLP is developing, – as they pretend.

These fulltime 'critics' have a class mentality, – petty-bourgeois, – which actually hates and fears the historical essence of what Marxist-Leninist science

CPGB crooks creep from their libellous mess.

[EPSR No884 17-12-96]

The *Weekly Worker* practitioners of theft and deception on the working class, – raising funds for their rag under the pretence of collecting for the 'Unemployed Workers Charter', – have withdrawn their silly slanders implying that SLP members who oppose their 'left opposition' tactics only do so because they have been bribed (see EPSR No 881 26-11-96).

These petty-bourgeois criminal ponces on the working class now pretend that their gross libel, – which these scum know would land them in court in a flash if they tried it on a bourgeois politician, – was all a 'polemical trick' to provoke the EPSR comrades into scabbing on CPGB entryists into the SLP.

Such infantile 'rationalisation' of what could only be regarded as a deranged self-destructive tactic if it were true, – will just be laughed at by any sane adults.

These middle-class dilettantes cannot avoid personal abuse because they cannot answer the scientific Leninist polemics which have trounced them on issue after issue this year.

Their insulting personal slander began when they could no longer refute the EPSR exposure of their pathetic misunderstanding of the SLP and the total failure of their daft entryist and takeover programme.

That their attempted personal abuse was also libellous only shows what incompetent ignorance rules at the CPGB.

Their discomfort (at being told that their personal abuse tactics were a disgrace, by a supporter of theirs) shows in two additional 'explanations'.

One pretends that the libel was just "an aside", which was "mentioned in passing" in a "small article", a piece of individual-style "florid language" over which there

has named 'the dictatorship of the proletariat'.

At the first sight of the huge power of the working class being organised in a very disciplined way behind strong leadership, these incurable representatives of middle-class individualist philosophy, subjective idealism, start cranking up their well-worked bag of historical tricks to halt its progress, – challenges about 'human rights', about 'democracy', about the 'constitution', about 'authoritarianism', about 'bureaucratic dictatorship', etc., etc, etc.

The SLP's instincts to keep these anti-communist 'left' posturers banned from the Party, with their non-stop disruptive 'freedom of criticism' agendas, was a totally sound one.

Defend the SLP constitution.
Royston Bull

is no "sanitised, mono-tempo house style" control.

The other lame excuse for this degenerate irresponsible behaviour is that Lenin always insisted on writing in "an angry tone" to arouse contempt against what is harmful. Fine, but in class-political terms, not by personal libel-abuse.

These sordid little empty-heads are just like truculent children with their different 'excuses' for their ill-advised personal slander.

Their 'supporter' critic has suggested they apologise for their scurrilous remarks (which the CPGB clearly has no intention of doing). It would only work as part of a political recantation of totally wrong positions.

What this sad personal abuse records is a parting of the class ways over the SLP. Marxists will help build it. Petty-bourgeois 'intellectuals' (see previous story) will try to disrupt it.

The CPGB's latest 'onslaught' on the EPSR as 'rightist scabs', 'putrefied witch-hunters', 'opportunist lies', 'foul degenerative process', etc, is routine, if unimaginative and not very class-perceptive, political invective from shallow idealists. But the parting of the class ways over the SLP, – all summed up in the couldn't-careless recourse to slanderous fictions, – remains the reality.

Comradely political collaboration with such class enemies, as Lenin regarded the sectarian alliance of 'left intellectuals', is out of the question.

It is only how energetically this class war is pursued with anti-communist individualism (which is truly scabbing on the SLP) which might be affected by any further CPGB decision to "provoke by personal libel" in this truly degenerate way.

Close comradely work inside

the SLP with Trotskyite scabs responsible for shared authorship of damaging personal libels as a substitute for losing the political argument, will never be how the EPSR understands the requirements of Leninist science. How far-reaching a fight these deluded CPGB entryists want on this front is up to them.

The total political exposure of this anti-communist Trot parasitism remains an absolute. It is now clear that the CPGB is proud of its ability to rouse SLP supporters into very energetic defence of the Party's rights to be free from subversive entryism trying to destroy confidence in the SLP leadership. If these deranged fantasists are really pleased that their dirty libels have helped get them comprehensively politically slaughtered, then presumably they will continue their bizarre game.

What they will not do, of course, is ever answer the devastating political exposures by the EPSR of the *Weekly Worker's* defeatist and infantile 'political analysis'.

As opposed to their tortuous squirming over their ill-advised libel, these dilettante individualists simply shut up about their disastrous political pronouncements, and refuse to answer criticism of them.

The world is still waiting to hear the next stage in how "previous thorns in imperialism's flesh are gradually being brought to book", the CPGB's ludicrously inept characterisation on Aug 29 of the current perspectives for the international balance of class and nationalist forces; or the next

instalment of the 'sell-out' by the IRA and Gerry Adams who on June 20 became "a victim of the US-dominated New World Order, – i.e. the "negative resolution" of anti-imperialist struggles under which imperialism is "imposing" a corrupt sell-out of the Irish national-liberation struggle.

It will be a long wait.

These Trots have also failed to reply to the EPSR exposure of their dissembling over their original takeover plans for their entry into the SLP, which they subsequently attempted to deny in the course of their insincere promotion of 'revolutionary platform' and 'left opposition' posturing (as a front for the CPGB).

Their dreams of a take-over via bureaucratic formal procedural manoeuvres is so unbelievably stupid and deluded as to be certifiable.

Their incorrigible factionalism for 'constitutional rights' shows up their use of the SLP for mere sectarian mischief, and recalls their catastrophic intervention (to 'improve upon' how the NUM ran the '84-'85 strike) when they fell for the M15 campaign for a secret ballot, to undermine the picketing out of pits.

These fake-'lefts' are in the wrong era for a renewed parasitical ride such as *Militant* got out of the Labour Party. These middle-class fake 'revolutionaries' are becoming increasingly redundant historically. A far better SLP will be built out of ordinary workers and trade-unionists now breaking from New Labour's final capitulation to imperialist class-collaboration.

Build Leninism. JH

Weekly Worker propaganda blitz behind failed entryism should fool no one in the SLP. It is the CPGB Trots who are the real reactionary bureaucrats. Their shallow and pedantic 'revolutionary platform' is just a cover for their middle-class anarchic dislike of effective leadership of a mass workers party. Enough of these tedious 'rank-and-file democracy' stunts to cover up their parasitism and distortions

[EPSR No885 07-01-97]

The Trotskyite intellectual sect masquerading as the CPGB (Communist Party of Great Britain) is trying to rescue another of its exposed SLP entryists by again spreading hysterical distortions about the membership of the Socialist Labour Party.

This seeks to justify CPGB entryism on the grounds that other organisations are guilty of entryism into the SLP too.

This 'defence' ignores one huge difference between the attitude of the CPGB towards the SLP and that of the *Economic and Philosophic Science Review*, the

publication accused of comparable 'subversion'.

The CPGB is a rival political party to the SLP with its own strict rules for membership and fund-raising, and a completely worked-out agenda for attempting a disruptive challenge for the leadership of the SLP by vilifying and ridiculing the existing SLP leadership.

The EPSR is merely an academic publication with no membership, no constitution, no meetings, no fund-raising rules, and no agenda whatsoever for its political attitude and relation-

ship towards the Socialist Labour Party.

Readers of the EPSR meet informally and irregularly for a drink and a chat, – exactly as CPGB entryism has been sneering at the *Review* for doing for a long time, claiming that such loose and informal philosophical influence is remote from what Marxism-Leninism is supposed to be about.

The CPGB's *Weekly Worker*, the bible of the 'Left Opposition' inside the SLP seeking to overthrow the Scargill leadership, which is currently inventing stories of an EPSR 'takeover' of the SLP, – was on Nov 7 loudly denouncing *Review* readers it had come across precisely for their dismissal of all such 'Left Opposition' and 'Revolutionary Platform' nonsense.

Comrade Roy Bull (*Weekly Worker* October 31) berates communists within the SLP for behaving as communists, for organising themselves. And he defends the weakness of politics which has caused erstwhile communists to reduce themselves to individuals.

It is all well and good that Roy calls for a correct "Marxist-Leninist understanding". But since all he wants to do is 'have a drink and a chat' about it, he demonstrates clearly how trivial is his own. Roy is on the same liquidation trajectory as the rest of the sorry bunch he is attempting to defend.

This was part of an increasingly dirty campaign against the EPSR and its readers for that publication's conclusion that the whole politics of a 'Left Opposition' and a 'Revolutionary Platform' attacking the leadership of the SLP was going in the wrong direction entirely.

The mild personal ridicule above was soon to become much more vindictive personal slander, chronicled below, as the CPGB felt itself losing the arguments that had raged all summer around the SLP.

A foretaste of this muck-raking bile, which the CPGB entryism is currently pouring out against the EPSR, had already been noted in the very letter to the *Weekly Worker* to which the above mild ridicule was an initial response.

This letter was sent early in October as a result of it becoming clear that the broad-left coalition of SLP members that had been discussing in Manchester following the suspension of SLP branch meetings, could serve no further useful purpose.

The headline CPGB entryist tactics, which although they had been central to the suspension of the Manchester SLP branch had remained partially concealed, now emerged as unmoveable and unworkable with.

This letter tried to continue arguing, on a friendly basis, that the 'lefts' around the SLP had misunderstood the whole phenomenon of the Socialist Labour Party's emergence, thus confirming the basic analysis which the

EPSR Review had been making since December 1995.

This letter declared in part (of which only a fraction was published in the *Weekly Worker*):

‘The SLP is the opening of a new centrist arena of struggle where the best ideas and practice can prove themselves to the working class.

The struggle to build a larger-scale workers party for socialism than has been open to communists hitherto will be its own reward, even if the SLP does end up being swamped by TUC Labourism mark II due to the historical situation being less advanced than has been anticipated*.

None of this potential broad-front SLP activity should involve revolutionary socialists in the slightest retreat from Marxist-Leninist understanding of imperialist crisis and the further developments of the international class struggle. Having views on the eventual revolutionary nature of the conflict, and the organisation expressions that will make necessary, is no barrier to the most genuine fight to take the working class forward at this stage of SLP-type development. The phenomenon is an aspect of the working-class movement itself, and although it would be pointless to deny the enormous influence and role that Scargill himself will play in SLP development, there is no requirement to praise any particular way of putting things or style of leadership.

Equally there is no point in trying to win the battle for a Marxist-Leninist understanding of socialism within a broad front organisation by manoeuvring for the exclusion of rightwing tendencies.

The more elements that abandon TUC/Labour reformism, to take up the SLP's challenge to abolish capitalism, the better, – no matter how class-collaboratively conservative or anti-communist their thinking initially.

Some self-proclaimed revolutionary socialists insist that the SLP's constitutional ban on the affiliation of other parties within the SLP makes a struggle for Marxist ideas to prevail in the broad-front party impossible.

What they really mean, of course, is that they think the revolutionary takeover of the SLP is now impossible.

They were wrong to start with, – on two counts. First it was a completely silly idea that Scargillism would be launched and would immediately allow itself to be taken over by sectarian entryists. What the Scargill tradition stands for in the workers movement pulls far more weight than arty 'revolutionary' sect, and will continue to do so for some time yet. Secondly, any such frustrated affiliates would have been kidding themselves about their 'Leninist' revolutionary credentials anyway in the light of such a poor piece of analysis.

There could be any number of phony 'communists' or 'Marxists' inside the SLP. There need be no reason for there to be any good communists outside the SLP who want to be in it, and active in it.

All would-be Marxist-Leninist cadres could easily work within the SLP by simply abandoning any attempt to build a party within a party. Secret sectarian entryism owes more to *Walter Mitty* than Karl Marx, and it is hard to discern what is lost to Marxist-Leninist circles that is gained by a tiny sect posturing as a revo-

*As proved to be the case eventually, but only after the EPSR's battle for understanding had necessarily made the experiences which tested the SLP to the limit (see EPSRS after No 990 and Trotskyism series book Part 3 – ed)

lutionary party, especially posturing as **the** revolutionary party.

In the absence of established factional rights within the SLP, it is senseless to conduct public propaganda and agitation for an anti-leadership platform at such an early stage of the party's development.

It would make nonsense of all the above considerations, and it would be especially clumsy sectarianism in the light of the fraught initial history of the SLP, driven frantic by witch-hunting hysteria and entryist fears. By all means let like-minded SLP communists have a drink and chat together as often as is valuable for developing the strength and achievements of the SLP, but all public posturing as an alternative platform is just more self-delusion from the same *Walter Mitty* stable which envisaged taking over the SLP as **the** revolutionary party to start with. It is all the wrong game, and all at the wrong time.

It makes no sense for now to insist on building the SLP in only one direction and down only one narrow path. All such approaches are just sectarian revolutionary fantasy, and have missed the point of the SLP's development entirely.

Contemptuous dismissals of 'liquidationism' provide no answer to the foregoing arguments. The CPGB has just attacked the IBT Spartists breakaway for "their deep entryist opportunist burrowing" into the SLP, and for "being drawn to the right in pursuit of power in the SLP", and for "the crass hypocrisy of this sterile little sect" for publicly liquidating in order to join the SLP "under instruction from North America", and for it remaining

"crystal clear from the behaviour of their comrades in the SLP and from clumsy designation of these people as IBT 'supporters', that the IBT continues to exist as an organised group in Britain".

This is a monstrous deliberate fingering of the IBT, every bit as bad as the McCarthyite informing and witch-hunting which the CPGB accuse the SLP of.

It looks as if the CPGB's hurt pride at being challenged over its SLP policy has caused the *Weekly Worker* to turn stool-pigeon.

This is a truly alarming development for all who have attempted a comradely polemical relationship with the *Weekly Worker*. What is really "WRETCHED" (the *WW* headline) is not the IBT's arguments for liquidation into the SLP but the CPGB's treacherous reply.

And all of this would seem to confirm that the CPGB was confused from the start about the SLP and got its tactics in a muddle. It would seem to confirm that there really was an illusion that the SLP could be taken over to become **the** revolutionary party, a daft analysis. [see issue 875 – in *EPSR Book Vol 31 on Party Building and Theory Part 2*].⁹

The bile against the IBT (whoever they are, and wherever they hang out) was disturbing. The *Weekly Worker* 'Left opposition' game was beginning to confirm itself as a major historical trend of petty-bourgeois fake-'revolutionary' politics, in the exposure and destruction of which most of Leninist science had been created (see Lenin quotes against Martov, Plekhanov, and Trotsky's "alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers".)

Worse was to come.

The previous *Review* (884) briefly examined the essential

manipulativeness of Trotskyism and its natural petty-bourgeois hostility to any strong party leadership, noting in passing the SLP's naïve wisdom in making preparations against such subversive infiltration.

As was noted then, every aspect of the Trots' ultra-formalised and pedantic 'revolutionary platform' had been slyly worked out solely with the aim of providing material with which to trip up the SLP leadership on various bureaucratic grounds, – such as membership qualifications; the conduct of SLP trade union officials; the constitution itself and the claimed 'democratic' right to build a rival party structure inside the SLP; the conduct of SLP MPs; and various trivial proposals making the formation of a strong workers state in Britain impossible; etc.

There was no welcome at all for the actual existing SLP and its leadership. On Ireland, this bogus 'revolutionary platform' was positively reactionary, refusing to demand that British imperialism should dismantle its police-military dictatorship in the Occupied Zone of Ireland before leaving, – preferring instead to strike the empty 'ultra-left' pose of demanding that British imperialism should just 'leave', – and let the Irish get on with it!

But the organised and disruptive character of this 'left opposition' in embryo took a while to establish itself clearly, and initially masqueraded under the banner of a very broad left front of *bona fide* SLP members agitating against what looked like arbitrary and bureaucratic constitutional proscriptions.

The signs were there in the *Weekly Worker* supporters' hostility to advocating Marxist perspectives on the international class and national struggle as the best contribution possible to helping the SLP development.

Their insistence on this formal bureaucratic 'Revolutionary Platform' which had no political analysis of the world at all and consisted largely of empty ultra-left 'principled' traps with which to try to trip up the SLP leadership, was a further clue.

However in that period of confusion, especially around the Manchester SLP, the consolidation of the petty-bourgeois class politics of a 'Left Opposition' had not yet been identified.

But against serious entryism with its own Trotskyite anti-leadership agenda, the *EPSR*'s philosophical understanding has always been clear. Having to continuously combat such persistent relentless disruption in the actual building of the SLP is simply a complete waste of everyone's time.

Recent actions of the Stockport

branch of the SLP, currently being vilified by the *Weekly Worker* and its CPGB entryist stooges, flowed precisely out of this situation of the branch being endlessly taken for a ride by the CPGB's secret entryist agenda.

An early attack was on the constitution of the SLP to try to legitimise wholesale Trotskyite entryism for the takeover.

The CPGB's model amendment (*Weekly Worker* 169) urges that Clause II (5) (banning dual membership) "be deleted", and that Clause II (4) (banning dual political loyalties) "be replaced with" the words: "All working class and progressive organisations are eligible to affiliate to the party".

Stockport SLP branch was motioned that Clause II (5) "be deleted", and that Clause II (4) "be replaced with" the words; "All working class and progressive organisations are eligible to affiliate to the party".

The next surprise was the unannounced and unexplained attendance at a Stockport SLP branch meeting of Steve Smethurst, the leading CPGB cadre in Manchester who had long since been very publicly banned from SLP membership, gaining speaking rights from the temporary chairman of the meeting who was not aware of what was going on.

The same combination of the CPGB's entryist agenda and stooges for it still within the SLP produced the next shock for the Stockport branch of finding its secretary deeply involved in some scandalous provocations around Scargill's Manchester public meeting in November 1996, about which no hint had been given to the Stockport SLP branch about what was to go on, and certainly not the slightest opportunity for any discussion about how the branch members might contribute to the meeting.

Again the CPGB's *Weekly Worker* was crucial to this provocative stunt.

It arose from the handing out of a leaflet inside the meeting by the CPGB's two leading expelled cadres, Smethurst and Harper, and by the Stockport SLP branch secretary. This claimed to be in the name of the "Manchester Socialist Labour Party", but consisted entirely in fact of the CPGB's entryist 'Revolutionary Platform' anti-leadership pedantry against the SLP, described above, plus the CPGB's programme of hoped-for recruitment meetings around the Manchester SLP.

The sole contact address on the leaflet was the home telephone number of Smethurst, the leading CPGB cadre expelled from the SLP, and his personal website address.

The Stockport SLP branch secretary was properly asked by Scargill, John Wendy QC, and other SLP founders, what

he thought he was doing, at the conclusion of the public rally.

The Stockport SLP branch secretary replied: "I want anything you have to say to me put in writing", and refused to make any reply.

The reply came in the very next issue of the CPGB's *Weekly Worker*, – an aggressive and lying all-out attack on the SLP and everything to do with it, – in a display of provocative and disruptive bravado designed to cause the maximum damage possible to the SLP by this doomed entryist nonsense.

The involvement of the Stockport SLP branch secretary in the production of this hypocritical diatribe of harmful slander and distortion was critical, being the only possible source for some of the lying innuendoes, as is obvious from reading this gibberish.

The style is for the CPGB to divert attention from its furtive entryist practice by aggressively proclaiming its own pretended 'honesty and openness' while accusing everyone else of dishonesty, conspiracy, and foul motives.

Six days after this Manchester rally, the CPGB entryist campaign published the following:

Curiously, Scargill had commenced his speech on the subject of the SLP's constitution. It was not "Arthur Scargill's constitution", he said. He claimed it had been adopted by the SLP's membership at the party's inaugural conference on May 4 1996.

This statement is not about a matter of purely historical importance. If it were true, then proposals to amend the constitution at future congresses would require a two thirds majority card vote. Contrarily, amendments to a draft constitution, prior to the proposal of the whole document for adoption, would require only a simple majority. It is deeply worrying that the SLP president can make such false statements in front of so many party members who were present at the inaugural congress. SLP comrades should pursue this matter through their branches.

Some 300 attended this meeting, demonstrating again the potential of the SLP to become a mass party, and an important gain for the working class. But it also showed the fetters that are being placed on the party's growth – in both quantitative and, more crucially, qualitative terms – by a bureaucratic defensiveness in the leadership. The sleight of hand on the constitution was one instance. Another came after the meeting when an SLP comrade was heavily 'leaned on' by national executive member John Wendy, flanked by comrades Scargill and Sikorski, for distributing a Manchester SLP Revolutionary Caucus leaflet, giving details of future meetings and the Revolutionary Platform position statement.

The *Weekly Worker* is characterised by openness on all political matters. While this has entailed a price, we believe that it is actually the key strength of our organisation. The strength it bestows on us is not some detached moral superiority, or a saintly feeling of other-worldly virtue. It is actually an intensely practical approach, particularly in relation to the struggle in and around the Socialist Labour Party.

For instance, take recruitment – one of the key questions our organisation will be discussing in formulating its *Perspectives '97* document over the next few weeks. The right wing of the SLP has put forward the idea that the Communist Party has mobilised "three waves" of its supporters to fight for democracy and revolutionary politics in the SLP. They may or may not be correct, but this misses the point.

As an open political organisation with a paper characterised by its honesty, we recruit uninterruptedly both in the SLP and outside it. New sympathisers, supporters and informal 'stringers' for the *Weekly Worker* appear out of thin air and – as a result of our organisation's candour about the nature of the fight it is involved in – as partisans of the Party's approach. "Three waves" is therefore a little conservative, comrade witch hunters.

Our position as an independent political organisation also helps explain many of the tensions between comrades in the SLP who support the approach of our Party and those who have adopted a 'heads-down', deep entryist strategy. For these comrades, formal membership of the SLP is everything. Their party card is the only thing standing between them and the 'wilderness'. The *Weekly Worker's* openness is therefore viewed as a provocation, almost as if we are responsible for stoking up the witch hunt by reporting the shenanigans of the right wing.

These tensions may increase over the coming period. The witch hunt in the SLP seems to have been ratcheted up a notch or two over the past few weeks. A series of attacks by the Fourth International Supporters Caucus have been reported from around the country as the right attempts to purge the revolutionaries.

Of course, our organisation will pay a price. In the short term we will probably pay the heaviest. Comrades who are accused of supporting or even sympathising with the *Weekly Worker* are going to be targeted for the bureaucratic guillotine.

However, the 'wilderness' does not beckon either for these individual comrades or our organisation as a whole.

Days later, on cue, the Stockport branch of the SLP was duly confronted with this CPGB instruction that its "comrades should pursue this matter through their "branches". The branch secretary had placed on the agenda for the next meeting a letter he had sent on his own initiative to the General Secretary of the SLP complaining about Scargill's rally reference to the constitution, in identical terms to the CPGB's published instructions.

The CPGB's comment on Scargill's alleged "false statements" and "sleight of hand" began:

"This statement is not about a matter of purely historical importance".

The letter of complaint on the Stockport SLP branch agenda began:

"This is not just a matter of interest to historians. It has crucial importance".

The CPGB challenge alleged deception so as to cheat on democratic rules at the next "congress", meaning SLP conference.

The letter of complaint on the Stockport SLP branch agenda implied deception so as to cheat on democratic rules at the next "congress", meaning SLP conference.

The CPGB's claimed "openness and honesty" is just brazen bravado to cover up the bits of their entryist agenda which they cannot conceal, such as their leaf-letting at the Manchester rally.

But their insolent boast that

"As an open political organisation with a paper characterised by its honesty, we recruit uninterruptedly in the SLP"

conceals a whole programme of lying foul deception.

Previous entryists expelled from the SLP have aggressively insisted that they had "left" the CPGB, or not been members, – just as is happening now to try and disrupt and confuse the SLP.

And to protect and defend their secret entryist agenda, the CPGB and its stooges will unleash even dirtier tactics to try to disorient everybody, – as in the current combined propaganda blitzkrieg published in the CPGB's *Weekly Worker* and sent round SLP branches to try to rescue their position in the Stockport SLP branch.

But the lying allegations to discredit other members of Stockport SLP had begun even before the branch had voted to put an end to being subverted by the CPGB's hidden agenda.

That same issue of the CPGB publication accusing the SLP leadership of fraudulently misleading the working class and the membership, also took a swipe at Stockport SLP members who had been taking an increasingly public stand against the formation of a 'left opposition' inside the SLP.

These slanderous fabrications were presumably a CPGB precaution to "get some dirty retaliation in first", or some other such manipulative stunt.

Again, these lying innuendoes could only have been cobbled together by the CPGB with the help and childish tittle-tattle of their stooge entryists around the SLP in Stockport & Manchester.

This total fiction and obscene defamation declared:

The fact that the NEC is itself unconstitutional according to the provisions of the Scargill 'constitution' is of course never mentioned by such people. I will not mention names, time, place or branch – the witch hunt dictates circumspection. But mention the politics I must. For we see before us a strange alliance cohort.

The International Bolshevik Tendency, *Workers Power* and supporters of the wondrously misnamed *Economic and Philosophical Science Review* recently united in a solid voting bloc. What brought these comrades together? Paradoxical though it may appear, it is a determination not to support any united and organised left opposition in the SLP.

The IBT wants to be the next Fisc and is committed to a strategy of deep entryism. *Workers Power*, as usual, is at sixes and sevens: outside the SLP it calls for a blanket Labour vote; inside it is not sure what to do. As to the *EPSR*, its founder-editor now espouses the full blown liquidationism immanent in any mechanical, rose-tinted world view.

Having requested and then apparently declined CPGB membership – it required disciplined work, without the cash payments he felt entitled to – he told his little band of followers that the best way to promote their politics is to chat informally in pubs. Your round, IBT and *Workers Power* •

The same mentality responsible for this pure invention and actionable libel is currently behind the blitz of lying propaganda sent to all Manchester region SLP branches to try to rescue the CPGB entryist position in the Stockport SLP branch.

It was the same mentality which saw the CPGB's three prin-

cipal stooges in the Manchester region, – Smethurst, Harper, and the Stockport SLP branch secretary, – engage in their infamous theft and confidence trick against the working class to help finance their *Weekly Worker* scandal sheet:

So how do the CPGB crooks finance their great 'fund-raising' exploits at the expense of poor deluded workers? The trick, believe it or not, is carried out on the public in broad daylight.

First these conspirators arm themselves with a clip-board and collecting sheets attached to something called the Unemployed Workers Charter.

The pretence is that this is a petition to end unemployment.

On the collecting sheets for names underneath the wording of the 'Charter' is a column marked 'donations'. A false name and an imaginary £1 donation is put down first. Armfuls of *Weekly Worker* add colour to the attraction.

A citizen comes by, – a worker, a pensioner, a young mum, – and the worthy 'revolutionary' tries to negotiate a newspaper sale, and get a signature.

The 'donations' column yawns invitingly. Who wants to seem mean where the unfortunate unemployed are concerned.

Large or small, the donation is made. Where does the money go? Every single penny is kept, stolen, by the CPGB for their own funds.

This is straightforward theft, – off the working class.

The above was a detailed description of a recent 'fund-raising' given directly to an *EPSR* supporter by three stooges of the CPGB in Manchester.

How much can get 'raised' on such outings? £50 to £60 an hour is the smirking boast.

And where did these great Manchester 'revolutionaries' go to achieve their miraculous fund-raising?

They met at 9.00 a.m at Piccadilly Station, Central Manchester, on a Saturday morning, and went.....to Leeds for the sting!

Now why was that, with Manchester's wealthy and generous public and fabulous shopping centre on the doorstep? To avoid being spotted, of course, by anyone in Manchester who might recognise this trio on the streets or who might actually be connected to the Unemployed Workers Charter work in the city.

The exposure of this sordid CPGB fund-raising by its three SLP stooges in Manchester (Smethurst, Harper, and the Stockport SLP branch secretary) was part of the *EPS Review's* own reply to having its name dragged in the mud by the CPGB.

As an independent journal, the *EPSR* has never commented on or even mentioned Stockport SLP branch affairs prior to this issue, and has never published any Stockport SLP branch business, – unlike the CPGB's *Weekly Worker* which has carried regular biased 'reports' of Stockport SLP branch activities, and is currently giving huge publicity to the Stockport SLP branch secretary's bilious and totally misleading 'account' of the serious, and widely significant, political conflict taking place there.

The Stockport branch meeting

of the SLP debated its response to the CPGB's entryist agenda entirely independently of any *EPSR* interest in these very revealing and far-reaching political phenomena.

Fascinatingly, *Weekly Worker* readers made their own independent reply too to the CPGB's contemptible and infantile mud-throwing (see page 22 column):

Far from these matters being part of some internal or personal sectarian squabble, as is being alleged, they raise issues of enormous importance for the whole future of working-class politics in Britain (and beyond).

The SLP is potentially a legitimate broad workers movement which can help revive the socialist orientation of labour and trade-union struggles in a battle for working-class political leadership following the bourgeois Labour Party's open and total capitulation to the nonsense of the capitalist-imperialist 'new world order' (which crazily pretends that the insane anarchy of the free market is the only possible future, and the best that civilisation could ever aspire to).

The middle-class Trotskyite posture for 'revolutionary leadership' of the struggle for socialism, on the other hand, only represents a notorious historical obstacle to successful anti-imperialist fights, treacherously betraying workers state after workers state in their totally subjective pursuit of 'the perfect revolution'.

It is the same petty-bourgeois defeatism and dilettantism which says Castro is the problem with the Cuban Revolution; which blamed the 1930s triumphs of fascist-imperialist aggression on the Soviet workers state (in Spain, e.g.) rather than on the 'free' world; which backed Solidarnosc clerical-fascism against the Polish workers state; and which likens Arthur Scargill to "Joseph Stalin" because "he seems to entertain the ambition of becoming a worker-dictator" (*Weekly Worker*).

The sectarian conceit of Trotskyite delusions are what Leninist science denounced as "an alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers" in 1914 when guiding the Bolshevik Party to utterly reject all notions of party 'unity' with the ultra-left sects directed by Martov, Plekhanov, and Trotsky, which would have totally wrecked the Bolshevik Party and made the revolution impossible.

The idiotic nonsense and manoeuvring of such middle-class 'revolutionaries' is an even bigger menace today to the working-class fight for socialism.

The self-righteous tone of this latest onslaught, – denouncing the SLP leadership for "barefaced lying", "Scargill dictatorship", "bureaucratic manipulation",

“anti-democratic straitjacket”, “covering the comrades”, etc., – reveals its petty-bourgeois class hostility to the SLP’s success.

The same note was struck when the CPGB Trots, typical of this anti-SLP swamp, sided with the MI5 provocation against the 1984 NUM strike, declaring “the miners should have balloted”.

The correct instinct of using working-class strength to picket out the rest of the coalfields in a class war against the Tory state and bourgeoisie, was incomprehensible to these middle-class day-tripper ‘lefts’.

The individual ballot paper, to be filled in isolation, surrounded by all the influences of bourgeois society from TV, radio, press, pulpit, and the individual struggle for survival, – automatically seems natural to these fake-‘lefts’ class instincts.

There is no hint of class solidarity with the SLP workers movement by this petty-bourgeois ‘left opposition’, and all talk of ‘unity’ and ‘openness’ is a hoax.

When a CPGB member of this ‘left opposition’ was asked by Scargill about its shallow ‘alternative revolutionary platform’, the response was

“I demand that anything you have to say to me be put in writing”.

When a ‘left oppositionist’ was asked by his branch to explain his campaigning on behalf of the CPGB agenda for the SLP, he could only reply with evasions and abuse.

This is the real conspiracy, – minds racing to think of something to say, – anything, – to avoid getting caught out.

No ‘open’ and frank political discussion about the CPGB’s agenda for the SLP because the one thing it clearly cannot be, and is not meant to be, is ‘open’ despite all the *Weekly Worker’s* fatuous claims.

With the maximum hypocrisy expected of middle-class self-righteousness, the latest onslaught is headlined “*Constitutional Conspiracy*” (by these complete conspirators who boast about defying the SLP constitution in order to organise the CPGB secretly within the SLP, but who always deny CPGB membership when challenged), and contains the following destructive abuse:

President Arthur Scargill coolly informs public rallies that his draft constitution is no draft, but binding law. It was “adopted” by the membership at the inaugural conference of May 4, he maintains. The Fiscites make exactly, the same mendacious claim.

For the SLP this is a matter of the greatest significance. The draft constitution is being used to straitjacket the SLP politically and organisationally. Nevertheless the ham-fisted way in which it is being done shows how fragile the leadership considers its hold over the SLP. Bureaucratic manipulation and barefaced lying are not signs of strength, but profound weakness.

Scargill’s draft constitution – both the

December 1995 and the May 1996 version – plagiarises the Labour Party electoralist-reformist model. Perhaps the main distinguishing feature between the Scargill draft and ‘old’ Labour is the Bonapartist powers it enshrines for the president. Comrade Scargill as a personality is a big asset for the SLP. However, like Ferdinand Lassalle and Joseph Stalin, he seems to entertain the ambition of becoming a worker-dictator.

Expect gerrymandering and underhand manoeuvring. Correspondence will be lost in the post or mislaid. Branches will be closed, forgotten or not recognised. Resolutions will be ruled out of order or referred to the NEC. Two dozen different constitutional ‘amendments’ from two dozen different branches will allow the NEC to divide and rule by arranging it that what they find most detestable be talked off the agenda. In all likelihood the NEC will have in reserve their own batch of amendments and will encourage others to submit their own amendments to soak up time.

On these two short subsections pivots the whole system of witch hunting and fear. They have been used to void and cower comrades. They are used to justify anti-communism and the imposition of a bureaucratic regime.

The pretence that these CPGB stooges sincerely wish to support the SLP is so laughable that none but the most naive and backward workers could be fooled by it. At this stage, the SLP is unalterably identified with the initiative of Scargill and his closest colleagues. The notion that they built this party in order than it should **not** have the sort of constitution and unity which they intended for it is so bizarre as to question the sanity of the ‘left opposition’.

In fact Trots are not mad, they are just inveterate parasites on the international workers movement, growing fat in the decades after 1917 in the more affluent Western countries by enabling petty-bourgeois ‘lefts’ to posture their ‘revolutionary’ determination (hammer & sickle symbols, singing the Internationale, etc) but without the need to defend, or argue for the difficult decisions the Soviet workers state had to take, or declare unconditional solidarity with the Soviet workers state still, when things went wrong or mistakes were made.

Trotskyism’s own record of achievement in building a workers state and socialism? Obviously perfectly unblemished, – because they have never won the support of the working class ever, anywhere on earth, for building a workers state and socialism.

And the record of the ‘alternative leaderships’ they have put up everywhere as ‘left oppositions’ to genuine workers parties? Wrong analysis after wrong analysis, mistaken perspective after mistaken perspective, organisational catastrophe after organisational catastrophe, personal scandal after personal scandal, – for decades, in country after country.

But it is all unrecorded, of course, – for who cares what the political record is of these 57 varieties of petty-bourgeois ‘left’ sectarianism?

It is the history of the develop-

ment of the Soviet workers state, of Peoples China, of the Vietnam Revolution, of Socialist Cuba, etc, which occupies the history books.

The ludicrous mistakes made by ‘left opposition’ pronouncements from 57 varieties of anti-communist ‘left’ posturing since 1917, falling for every imperialist stunt going against the workers states, are all conveniently forgotten.

The problem is that mistake after mistake does not make the slightest difference to a petty-bourgeois class position which is subjectively dominated entirely by its own individual self-righteousness, and which, if it can see the SLP as a serious workers party at all, – hates what it sees.

Its self-righteousness is all-consuming. It is a ferociously defensive class position, petty bourgeois in origin but infecting many individualist-minded workers, which will not be persuaded about the incorrectness of its understanding and actions no matter how much success the genuine workers party has amongst the working class.

Lenin’s conclusion (see quotes

below (here on page 20)) was that these intellectualist sects, these self-righteous individualists and these irresponsible lightminded opportunist dilettantes were poison to the workers movement and should not be united with, or given factional rights, at any price.

It is Leninist politics, therefore, to not only rout this “alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers” politically, but to rout them organisationally too, – right out of the SLP.

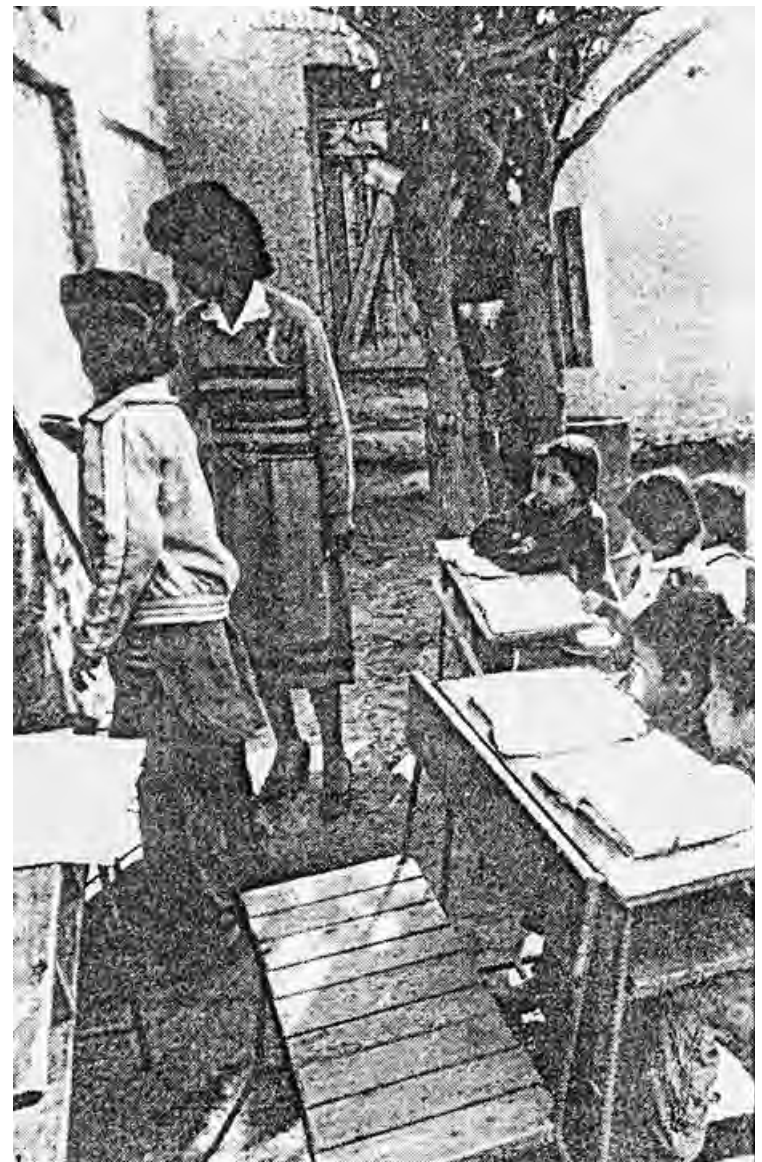
Their non-stop conspiratorial undermining of the SLP makes working hard to build up the SLP’s influence a complete mockery, a waste of time.

No serious workers party should entertain such fakers in its ranks.

Consider the latest disruption campaign against the SLP, launched by these lightminded hypocrites.

Not content with charging the SLP leadership with “constitutional conspiracy” for applying its own constitution forbidding the organisation of any other party within the ranks of the SLP, yet

The history of Soviet development and other workers states occupies the history books, not Trotskyism’s sniping and non-existent record building socialism anywhere. Here vital aid training women is given to the socialist regime in Afghanistan before imperialist subversion and revisionist retreats brought it to an end – a demise aided by Trot hostility



secretly manoeuvring themselves precisely to create the only 'constitutional conspiracy', – these illegitimate and bad-faith entryists then have the cheek to openly advertise their new disruptive campaign against the SLP:

The Scargill constitution must be challenged lock, stock and barrel at the May 1997 congress. There must certainly be a fight to ensure that all votes at this first constitutional congress are by a simple majority.

Nevertheless if that fails then the left must be ready to concentrate its fire at a single strategic point. Remember, for Constituency Socialist Labour Parties of 1,000 members or less it is one amendment to the constitution and nothing more (see clause six, subsections six and 11).

Therefore as many Constituency Socialist Labour Parties as possible must be won to submit a standard constitutional amendment to replace the MacDonaldite clause two, subsections four and five.

Subsection four needs to be replaced with the simple formulation: "All working class and progressive organisations are eligible to affiliate to the party".

The left needs to coordinate its plans, actions and forces at the highest level. We are a minority. But we are an influential and large minority that on certain issues is surely capable of winning a majority, perhaps even the two-thirds majority which is necessary under the Scargill constitution in order to overturn a chair's ruling.

The maximum number of delegates must be secured. That means carefully marshalling our supporters into "constitutionally recognised" CSLPs. Leave in place ad hoc regional bodies to oversee the general election campaign and for joint discussion and mutual aid.

Take the initiative. Move quickly. Come together above; regroup below.

The dishonesty is truly amazing. Countless times, CPGB stooges have been challenged that their mistaken tactics towards the SLP flowed from their weird fantasy that the SLP could be turned into **the** revolutionary party, i.e. a larger version of their own opportunist sect. It has always been disingenuously denied. But the anxious urgency of the above campaign is clearly inspired by one ambition only, – to take over and control as much of the SLP as possible as quickly as possible.

The claimed wish to "build the SLP" is even further exposed for the fraud it is by a final rallying call to the forces of 'left opposition' light against the forces of SLP darkness:

Of course such a victory is only possible if we overcome petty sectarianism, factional exclusiveness and localist heads-down timidity. Unity is urgently needed. Division is reactionary and serves only the right.

Not unity with the SLP, of course, and certainly not the overcoming of CPGB factionalism, exclusive or otherwise.

This is unity against the SLP, which is recognised as the majority but is insolently called "the right" by these shallow middle-class parasites.

And this is to overcome the "factional exclusiveness" of the SLP majority itself, somehow now regarded as a trouble-making faction against itself.

These destructive entryists clearly hate everything that the

actual Socialist Labour Party itself stands for, the party as everyone knows it as founded by Arthur Scargill and his close colleagues.

But no individualist stooge of the CPGB is ever going to admit this. The SLP must fight for clarity about the 'left opposition's' real aims and class sentiments, instinctively hostile to the disciplined workers-state implications about a new mass workers party launched on the basis of the 1984-85 class-war struggle of the miners and their working-class support groups.

The SLP is not the Bolshevik Party and cannot become the Bolshevik Party. It is a centrist movement which can play a useful historical role in preparing the way for revolutionary situations some years ahead.

Leninist science must concentrate on the main task of the fight for revolutionary theory, – which is not the SLP's fight.

Individual Marxists who join the SLP to help its struggles and make closer experience with the centrist developments spreading through the working class, do not want to lose sight of what remains the main battle, the fight for revolutionary understanding of the international crisis of the imperialist system and of the endless obstacles to that understanding thrown up by a thousand strands of petty-bourgeois ideology from ultra-left to ultra-right.

Except for reasons of personal security or very temporary tactics, it will never make sense for Marxist-Leninist understanding not to make itself clear to all workers in all situations, regardless of the consequences.

There is nothing to be gained and everything to be lost from failing to denounce the ridiculous manoeuvres of disruptive Trotskyism around the SLP, whether the SLP likes it or not.

The eventual triumph of dialectical-materialist philosophical science will always depend on the quality of the struggle to continuously build Marxist-Leninist understanding around every event in the international class and national struggle. It will never depend on good relations with a centrist party bureaucracy.

If the SLP ever decides to squeeze out or ban Leninist communists* as well as Trotskyite entryists, a casual shrug is the only appropriate response. All the really serious work for the Marxist-Leninist struggle still lies ahead.

Without correct revolutionary theory, there can be no lasting revolutionary socialist success in practice.

The Bolshevik Revolution transformed history at the climax

*As happened later - see footnote page 25

of a decades-long revolt in Russia by building the world's first workers state on the greatest scientific understanding ever developed of the conflict of social/class forces, – Leninism. The Soviet workers state ultimately self-liquidated and disintegrated because of Stalinism's hopelessly muddled historical perspectives.

The British workers movement looks ripe for a centrist phase of development to revive the ideas of socialism as the alternative to capitalist crisis.

Marxists can therefore constructively support this development as being in the interests of the working class's eventual destiny of building the socialist revolution in society.

Some longstanding subscribers to the *EPS Review* raised doubts initially about the need for Marxists to support centrism, and about support for the Socialist Labour Party version of centrism in particular.

It was correctly argued that centrism will develop as a phenomenon whether Marxists consider it a sign of progress or not.

Now the question is being asked whether internal difficulties in the SLP's development can be seen as potentially robbing Marxist science of valuable experiences.

Both extremes miss the point. The final battle for correct revolutionary understanding, – without which nothing worthwhile can be achieved in the end, – will have to be won, and will be won, with or without a helpful centrist phase of mass mobilisation, with or without communist direct participation in such a mobilisation.

The independent scientific elaboration and dissemination and assimilation of Marxist-Leninist understanding must remain paramount and cannot become dependent on the bureaucratic hazards of centrist development.

If communists find opportunities for political development for themselves and the working class within or around a trade-union struggle or some other broad-front advance, it would be pointless to ignore them, – commenting, directly participating to the extent allowed or available, or the usual mixture of both.

The *EPSR's* involvement in arguing the SLP's cause has already been of enormous benefit.

Of all the claimants to 'Marxist' wisdom, the *Review* alone correctly explained the value of Scargill's initiative from the start.

The *REVIEW's* very first comments on the Socialist Labour Party on Dec 12, 1995, ridiculed the fake-'left' SWP for its middle-class sectarian inability to see beyond its own subjective pique at such powerful new competition for workers support, or grasp the historic role that Scargillism

alone could play.

The first exposure of the CPGB's fraudulent 'support' for the SLP was published on Feb 6 1996.

The *Review* subsequently denounced all the petty-bourgeois bogus 'revolutionary' sects in turn for their inability to understand the importance of Scargillism's break from the main labour & trade-union movement federation which had always hitherto resisted splits in its ranks, – and for their own subjective conceit which prevented them from accepting Scargill's invitation to join the SLP.

As the conclusion to all these polemics, the *EPSR* was able to re-establish independently the profound truth of Leninism's experiences in having to oppose the fake-'left' sects of Martov, Plekhanov, and Trotsky in the build-up to the Russian Revolution as

"an alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers".

Obviously, theory as condensed historical experience could hardly exist and be of value if every generation had to go anew through every swamp of confusion and misleadership that had been thrown up to block workers' revolutionary consciousness in earlier periods.

But 20 years Bolshevik struggle against Menshevism, for example, to finally expose its subjective-idealist philosophical hostility to Marxist-Leninist science, is now repeatable in just a few months conflict with the Trotskyite opponents of, and entryists into, the SLP.

The novel circumstances of the SLP's foundation in the same period as the self-liquidation by the CPSU bureaucracy and the retreat from any mention of socialism by the Labour Party, – made room for enough genuine political movement to warrant putting all such 'changed perspectives' to some kind of test.

And in the course of doing this in and around the SLP phenomenon, the *EPS Review's* own position of participatory support for this centrist development got worked out in practice.

The difficulty of understanding the historical role of the SLP constitution banning 'left' affiliations, and the character of the Trot-entryist opposition to these bans, was already well-established by the time the *EPSR* began to place SLP developments regularly at the centre of its weekly analysis of world events from a class-struggle point of view in Britain. The *EPSR* had so little connection with these ongoing manoeuvres that its readers questioned the wisdom of getting involved at all, – either with the practical struggles of the SLP or even more dubiously with the stunts of the SLP's emergent 'left

opposition’.

But the critique of these phenomena has proved to be a most interesting and valuable experience.

For a while in Manchester, this genuine broad front’s discussions were the only SLP meetings taking place.

In the strange circumstances of the SLP’s foundation and consolidation in Manchester, there did seem to be a case for joining the protests against what looked like arbitrary bureaucratism.

And the exhaustive discussion of the SLP phenomenon in the *EPSR Review* covered just about every attitude possible to just about every aspect, potential or already existing, of this centrist development.

The CPGB’s *Weekly Worker* continues publishing slanderous distortions of these facts in defence of its stooge entryists into the SLP.

Particularly misleading is the notion that the SLP, or any branch of it, ever faces some kind of planned agenda worked out by the *Economic and Philosophic Science Review*.

No such agendas have ever existed, – as the *Weekly Worker* itself inadvertently admitted in its post-Manchester-rally issue, giving this garbled version of the discussion on constitution amendments, betraying all sorts of daft assumptions about the branch, much as characterises the latest “EPSR takeover” hysterical nonsense:

A setback for the campaign to remove the membership bans and proscriptions from the SLP draft constitution took place when Stockport branch reversed its previous deci-

sion to submit a motion to the next party congress proposing their deletion.

Revolutionaries numerically dominate this branch, and the reverse came when these comrades split on the issue. Supporters of the previous resolution continued to argue on the basis of working class unity – the need to include all sections of the class, to be debated and tested within one united party, in order to thrash out the correct way forward for the working class.

They condemned the use of the banning clause, by the SLP leadership, to ‘void’ the membership of two comrades who had been amongst the best fighters building the SLP in the early days of the now disbanded Greater Manchester branch. Such witch hunting was a shameful spectacle, which was no way to overcome left sectarianism.

The major argument used by those revolutionary comrades opposed to a challenge on the bans went as follows. The Party leadership will not accept the challenge. Therefore, to press the matter will set revolutionaries apart from the SLP project itself. For the revolutionary message to be heard, its proponents had to remain within the mainstream of the SLP.

This apparent equation between the SLP’s founding leadership, and the party itself, appeared to be endorsed by one comrade, who stated that his previous support for the removal of bans and proscriptions had been weakened by “the increasingly anti-SLP attitude being expressed by the *Weekly Worker*”. When challenged, however, he said he was not suggesting that it was impermissible for revolutionaries to challenge for leadership in the SLP, but that the anti-party attitude was reflected in *Weekly Worker*’s suggestions that, without the organised intervention of revolutionaries, the SLP could become “a Labour Party mark II”. Such an assertion was ridiculous, in this comrade’s view, and displayed a complete failure to grasp the nature of the SLP, which was a classical centrist party.

There is a much simpler explanation for the confused head-scratching in this ‘report’.

Stockport SLP worked to no agendas, – apart from the anti-leadership ‘Left Opposition’ one which CPGB entryism tried to foist upon it.

JH.

Fresh effort by middle-class Trots to hold back the SLP. Only the insufferable individualist conceit of these psychotic armchair ‘revolutionaries’ allows their conspiratorial entryism to denounce the SLP as ‘undemocratic’. Their real petty-bourgeois obsession is to ensure a workers state is never built in Britain. Their non-Marxist illusions in ‘democracy’ are pure CIA-fed anti-communism, continuing their counter-revolutionary anti-Soviet traditions, & now helping imperialism dominate Serbia
[EPSR No887 21-01-97]

The modern Trot equivalents of the “alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers” that Lenin overcame to build the Bolshevik Party, – sects led by Martov, Plekhanov, and Trotsky, – (see *Review* 885 [page 25 – ed]), – are trying new entryist stunts to subvert the SLP.

Where the ludicrously misnamed ‘Revolutionary Platform’ and ‘Revolutionary Caucasus’ left off largely defeated, a new-sounding ‘Left Network’ has taken up

the provocations.

Almost word for word, it is the same old fraudulent ‘grass-roots democracy’ gimmick that petty-bourgeois individualism has campaigned for against Marxist philosophy (of proletarian dictatorship) since its foundation.

Insultingly, these fake ‘lefts’ begin:

“The main focus for the Left Network will be the struggle for democracy in our (!) new Party.

It was unanimously agreed to organise a

campaign for democracy in the SLP.

Without an urgent injection of democracy, we are in danger of creating a lifeless body.

We agreed that the most pressing matter for comrades is to form Constituency SLPs within the next two to three weeks, and comrades are urged to pass Resolution II to amend the constitution’s membership clauses...which prevent the organisation of tendencies and factions, and prevent the membership/affiliation of other socialist organisations.

The coordinating committee also urges comrades to move for their branches/CSLPs to sponsor the campaign for a democratic SLP. This will help in the promotion of the Feb 15th ‘Left Network’ conference in London.”

It is vital that the campaign for a democratic SLP stand a single slate for the national executive committee at the forthcoming May Congress.”

The hate-filled treachery to the SLP by these ‘members’ in branding the party before all the world as “undemocratic”, is equalled in unpleasantness only by their farcical conceit that allows them to posture as “revolutionaries”.

They are, in fact, the most obnoxious self-righteous charlatans with a middle-class individualist mentality that the workers movement could ever fall foul of. Their shallow posturing around ‘democratic rights’ and ‘rank-and-file democracy’ is just a sour echo of decades of anti-communism drummed into Western workers’ heads by the international monopoly-imperialist system, exploiting every bogus ‘democracy’ racket that has ever been invented. The Socialist Labour Party would be making a suicidal mistake if it went soft on its original intention to keep Trotskyite entryist cuckoos out of its nest.

They could cause havoc, not because they might do well as members of the SLP as such, but because they represent a class ideology which is entirely hostile to the real interests of the working class.

The petty-bourgeoisie suffers under monopoly-capitalist imperialism, or imagines it does, – and thinks it wants to get rid of the ‘free market’ dominated by finance capital, and replace it with socialism.

Unscientifically, however, and eternally deluded by the philistine opportunism of its class position, always seeking immediate advantage for itself in alliance with the working class or, mostly, with the big bourgeoisie, – these essentially middle-class individualists never fully reckon with capitalism as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie.

This is the only actual power structure of any free-market system, and can never possibly be challenged by parliamentary democracy which was invented by the bourgeoisie.

Capital’s dictatorship can only be challenged by a workers state abolishing capitalism.

Scientifically, – and historically, to confirm it, – that then means the dictatorship of the

proletariat. No capitalist ruling class has ever been overthrown anywhere by anything else, and never will be.

At this point, the mentality of all petty-bourgeois individualism, in all its millions of different disguises, experiences unshakable and incurable fear and dread.

These different Trotskyite sects who have wormed their way into the SLP like dry rot, have identified themselves instantly in their anti-communist instincts by campaigning against Arthur Scargill as “Stalin-dictator”, as the *Weekly Worker* termed him, the bible of the Left Opposition.

The Socialist Labour Party is a million miles from remotely addressing any such subject as a possible workers state, and still further removed from even mentioning such a culture shock as the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a centrist party, currently proclaiming only its intention to “abolish capitalism”.

But it is a very determined workers party with a real desire to fight for socialism, come what may.

And it already has a healthy instinct to distrust sectarian Trotskyite entryism, – the “alliance of bourgeois intellectuals directed against the workers” that Lenin fought against to build the Bolshevik Party.

Even at such an early point of the SLP’s development, the Stalinophobia of decades of relentless anti-communism drummed into petty-bourgeois minds by imperialism’s all-powerful ubiquitous propaganda machinery, takes over.

The automatic posture of every reactionary Trotskyite sect that has ever lived is “where are my democratic rights?”.

The moment that the SLP showed some serious form to build a real workers party to fight for the abolition of capitalism, these petty-bourgeois Trots began their disruptive capers.

They will invent the most astonishing subterfuges, and tell any lies to anybody, to blackguard all those who launched the SLP and all those who support its further development along the same lines.

Their great game is to pose as “the only real socialists”, or “the only real democrats”, or “the only real revolutionaries”, – depending on who is the audience they wish to put off from having confidence and trust in the present course of the SLP.

Hence the ‘Left Network’ slyly emerges out of the messy mistakes of the ‘Revolutionary Platform’, with no kinship recognised. All things to all men.

The first thing they like doing is kidding themselves and others about how influential they are, and how brilliantly they pretend

to be triumphing over the SLP's defences against Trot entryism.

Their pretence is pure fantasy. These hoax 'revolutionaries' with middle-class mentalities are all born losers. Their incurable philosophy is defeatism (see endless past *Reviews* on the subject, and see below).

Their next trick is the thinly-disguised stunts that will get them what they really want out of the SLP.

Their racket about the constitution is all too obvious. They are not interested in a 'democratic constitution' at all. All of these Trotskyite sects are appalling tyrannies in their own backyards, and all have the most dreadfully treacherous and back-stabbing histories of personal relations and betrayals.

They are built on posturing self-righteousness and hypocrisy. The CPGB, for example, decrees as one of its own rules for avoiding expulsion:

"No conducting political relations and activities without the knowledge of the Party".

But, of course, when it comes to the rules of the Socialist Labour Party, these CPGB entryists first conduct their hidden agenda activities to the maximum possible, out of sight of the SLP leadership, – and then scream blue murder whenever they are caught at it and threatened with expulsion. "What about my democratic rights" the sickeningly cynical and disruptive cry goes up.

And the only basis on which backward workers fall for this disgusting humbug, of course, is naïve anti-communism, the most damaging enemy of working-class struggle in all history.

The Trot pose for a 'democratic constitution' is, obviously, to achieve the very opposite of 'democracy'. What they want it for is to allow a completely open door for all the Trot sects under the sun, – all 57 varieties, – to pile into the SLP and turn it into the biggest swamp of self-righteous posturing, manoeuvring, and manipulation ever suffered by a workers party. To the entryist mentality which merely wants to futilely 'play' at fighting for socialism in a never-ending fantasising pretence, as Trotskyism has always done, – there is safety in numbers.

A similar hoax lies behind the entryists' wish to challenge the SLP on electoral policy, which they claim has been imposed "without discussion".

"In such circumstances"

adds the 'Left Network' pompously and deceitfully,

"it is entirely undemocratic for the NEC to have determined the policy of the new Party".

What they really mean, of course, is that they want to sabotage

the SLP's intention to eventually challenge the Labour Party in every constituency in Britain in order that a fake-'left' coalition of candidates should be put up representing the entire Trotskyite swamp, – the *Militant* challenging Labour in some seats, the CPGB in others, etc.

There is nothing "undemocratic" about the SLP's electoral policy at all. It quite simply wishes to challenge for office on as wide a front as possible. It is these entryist liars who are grotesquely subverting democracy, – joining the SLP under false pretences so that they can hold back the SLP in favour of Trotskyite sectarian posturing, – on the hustings and everywhere else.

And why should the SLP's electoral policy be particularly selected out for branding as "undemocratic" above all the other party policies which have had to be chosen by the party leadership without benefit yet of full conference approval specifically, – as was how three quarters of all current SLP policy has had to be approved temporarily, in such an early period of shortage of conference time?

Only because changing the electoral policy is of special interest to the Trot entryist disrupters, and for no other reason.

The question Marxist-Leninist science has always insisted on asking when "democratic rights" have been demanded within and around the workers movement and the general parliamentary racket, is "democracy for who?".

The bourgeois democracy which has allowed world domination by monopoly-finance capital appears to allow the freedom of the press, assembly, and political representation to workers just as much as to the ruling class.

But the reality is that the press and television, and the news agencies, are totally owned and controlled by their richest owners, investors, and state supervisory committees which are all completely ruling-class in character.

Workers are allowed "freedom of the press" only because they are never going to be able to compete on the slick sleaze-governed news stands and radio and television schedules with the monopoly-finance groups and bourgeois-minded controlling committees which finally dictate what reaches the masses in terms of propaganda. From the cradle to the grave, it amounts to total domination by anti-communist ideology.

Workers have "freedom of assembly", but it is the bourgeoisie which has the money and the ownership to guarantee themselves as plentiful and convenient assembly as their class could ever want wherever they choose to

assemble.

Workers organisations are always struggling for somewhere to meet, and always struggling to pay for it. And when workers assembly does start to get too big and threatening from capitalism's point of view, there are instantly plenty of laws on hand to decree a perceived "threat to public order", etc, if the crowds either refuse to not meet at all, or refuse to disperse when ordered.

So in the first place, it is a complete fraud for these middle-class-minded 'left opposition' Trots to demand of the Socialist Labour Party their 'democratic rights'. It is the most treacherous parasitism. It is from the ruling-class racket that any serious-minded workers or socialists will demand and fight for their "democratic rights".

The SLP is a party formed by workers who have come together precisely to demand and fight for their democratic rights in their own way against the capitalist system with a view to eventually abolishing capitalism altogether.

Any other groups of socialists or workers who do not like capitalism and who wish to go their own way about doing something to achieve their aims, are free to form parties likewise. There are at least already 57 varieties of parties or sects to choose from, and there is no ban on forming 57 more if workers do not like what is on offer already.

So what is this insane, disruptive, and treacherous behaviour for so-called 'workers and socialists' to "enter" the SLP, knowing that they do not agree with the

On the contrary, there is an objective logic in factional struggles which inevitably leads even the best of men—if they persist in their mistaken attitude—into a state which differs little if at all from unprincipled demagoguery. That is the lesson of the entire history of factional wars (for example, the alliance of the *Vperyodists* and the *Mensheviks* against the *Bolsheviks*¹⁸). That is why we must make a study not only of the nature of the disagreements in the abstract, but also of their concrete development and change at the various stages of the struggle. This development was summed up in the January 17 discussion.¹⁹ Neither the "shake-up" nor the "new production tasks" can any longer be advocated (because all the efficient and sensible ideas went into Rudzutak's theses). The alternative then is to find what Lassalle called "the physical strength of mind" (and character) to admit the mistake, rectify it and turn over this page of the history of the R.C.P., or—to cling to the remaining allies, no matter who they are, and "ignore" the principles altogether. There remain only the adherents of "democracy" ad nauseam. And Bukharin is sliding down towards them and syndicalism.

The "Sapronovites" have gone so far as to insist in the same thesis (3) on a "profound crisis" and a "bureaucratic necrosis" of the trade unions, while proposing, as being "absolutely" necessary, the "extension of the trade unions' rights in production"...probably because of their "bureaucratic necrosis"? Can this group be taken seriously? They had heard the talk about the role of the trade unions in production, and wishing to outshout the others, blurted out: "extension of rights" on the occasion of "bureaucratic necrosis".

We have now added to our platform the following: We must combat the ideological discord and the unsound elements of the opposition who talk themselves into repudiating all "militarisation of industry", and not only the "appointments method", which has been the prevailing one up to now, but all "appointments", that is, in the last analysis, repudiating the Party's leading role in relation to the non-Party masses. We must combat the syndicalist deviation, which will kill the Party unless it is entirely cured of it.

The Party Crisis January 1921

To illustrate my point, and to proceed at once to the heart of the matter, let me read you the chief of Trotsky's theses. In his pamphlet, towards the end of thesis

sort of party it wishes to become, – solely in order to challenge the SLP for their bogus "democratic rights" to change the whole nature of the SLP the minute it has been launched.?

Counter-revolutionary behaviour is what it is, – actions deliberately designed to help frustrate the declared method of operation, organisation, and purposes of the Socialist Labour Party before it has even got off the ground.

Let these 'socialists' and 'revolutionaries' of the Trotskyite 'left opposition' go and form their own swamp party of all the 57 varieties where they can manoeuvre and manipulate to poach each others members to their heart's content. Let them keep out of the SLP, or be booted out as soon as possible.

In the second place, these 'revolutionaries' tell total lies anyway about what workers democracy should be all about.

The only historical science of the overthrow of capitalism is Marxism-Leninism, and the achievements and methods of the Bolshevik Party were the great practical laboratory.

Leninism's final conclusion was that factionalism was an anti-communist, counter-revolutionary curse inflicted on the workers movement by elements hostile to the real interests of building the workers state and socialism.

Here are some of Lenin's arguments in the discussions on the workers state's trade-union policies leading up to the final ban on all factions and platforms inside the Bolshevik Party overwhelmingly voted for as its Tenth Congress in 1921:

“We observe the fact that as economic tasks move into the foreground, many trade unionists take an ever more aggressive and uncompromising stand against the prospect of ‘coalescence’ and the practical conclusions that follow from it. Among them we find Comrades Tomsy and Lozovsky.

“What is more, many trade unionists, balking at the new tasks and methods, tend to cultivate in their midst a spirit of corporative exclusiveness and hostility for the new men who are being drawn into the given branch of the economy, thereby actually fostering the survivals of craft-unionism among the organised workers.”

I could quote many similar passages from Trotsky’s pamphlet. I ask, by way of factional statement: Is it becoming for such an influential person, such a prominent leader, to attack his Party comrades in this way? I am sure that 99 per cent of the comrades, excepting those involved in the quarrel, will say that this should not be done.

The revolutionary interest is higher than formal democracy. But it is fundamentally wrong to approach the subject in such haste at the present moment. It won’t do at all. This point says that many trade unionists tend to cultivate in their midst a spirit of hostility and exclusiveness. What does that mean? What sort of talk is this? Is it the right kind of language? Is it the right approach? I had earlier said that I might succeed in acting as a “buffer” and staying out of the discussion, because it is harmful to fight with Trotsky—it does the Republic, the Party, and all of us a lot of harm—but when this pamphlet came out, I felt I had to speak up.

Trotsky writes that “many trade unionists tend to cultivate a spirit of hostility for the new men”. How so? If that is true, those who are doing so should be named. Since this is not done, it is merely a shake-up, a bureaucratic approach to the business. Even if there is a spirit of hostility for the new men, one should not say a thing like that. Trotsky accuses Lozovsky and Tomsy of bureaucratic practices. I would say the reverse is true. It is no use reading any further because the approach has spoiled everything; he has poured a spoonful of tar into the honey, and no matter how much honey he may add now, the whole is already spoiled.

Whose fault is it that many trade unionists tend to cultivate a spirit of hostility for the new men?

We must sort things out and get at the substance. And it is that a spirit of hostility has been aroused among the masses by a number of tactless actions. My opponent asserts that certain people have been cultivating a spirit of hostility. This shows that the question is seen in the wrong light. We must sort things out. The All-Russia Conference was held in November, and that is where the “shake-up” catchword was launched. Trotsky was wrong in uttering it. Politically it is clear that such an approach will cause a split and bring down the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We must understand that trade unions are not government departments, like People’s Commissariats, but comprise the whole organised proletariat: that they are a special type of institution and cannot be approached in this way. And when there arose this question of a wrong approach, latent with the danger of a split, I said: “Don’t talk about any broad discussion for the time being; go to the commission and examine the matter carefully over there.” But the comrades said: “No, we can’t do that; it is a violation of democracy.” Comrade Bukharin went so far as to talk about the “sacred slogan of workers’ democracy”. Those are his very words. When I read that I nearly crossed myself. (*Laughter.*) I insist that a mistake always has a modest beginning and then grows up. Disagreements always start from small things. A slight cut is commonplace, but if it festers, it may result in a fatal illness. And this thing here is a festering wound. In November, there was talk about a shake-up; by December, it had become a big mistake.

That is all there is to it. It will take decades to overcome the evils of bureaucracy. It is a very difficult struggle, and anyone who says we can rid ourselves of bureaucratic practices overnight by adopting anti-bureaucratic platforms is nothing but a quack with a bent for fine words.

Even the best workers make mistakes. There are excellent workers in Tsektran, and we shall appoint them, and correct their bureaucratic excesses. Comrade Trotsky says that Comrades Tomsy and Lozovsky—trade unionists both—are guilty of cultivating in their midst a spirit of hostility for the new men. But this is monstrous. Only someone in the lunatic fringe can say a thing like that.

This haste leads to arguments, platforms and accusations, and eventually creates the impression that everything is rotten.

You know when people fall out it only takes them a couple of days to start abusing each other’s relatives down to the tenth generation. You ask: “What are you quarrelling over?” “Oh, his aunt was this, and his grandfather was that.” “I don’t mean now; how did the whole thing start?” It turns out that in the course of two days a heap of disagreements has piled up.

To start a factional struggle and accuse Tomsy of cultivating among the masses a spirit of hostility for the Tsektranites is utterly to distort the facts, absolutely to spoil all the work, and entirely to damage all relations with the trade unions. But the trade unions embrace the whole proletariat. If this thing is persisted in and voted on by platforms, it will lead to the downfall of the Soviet power.

That is just why Trotsky’s whole approach is wrong. I could have analysed any one of his theses, but it would take me hours, and you would all be bored to death. Every thesis reveals the same thoroughly wrong approach!

We are not renouncing either the method of appointment, or the dictatorship. This will not be tolerated by workers with a twenty years’ schooling in Russia. If



we condone this mistake, we shall surely be brought down. It is a mistake, and that is the root of the matter.

We are not renouncing the dictatorship, or one-man management; these remain, I will support them, but I refuse to defend excesses and stupidity.

About enhancing the role of the trade unions in production, I replied on December 30 and in the press, and said that we have Comrade Rudzutak’s resolution, which was adopted at the Conference on November 5.

There’s no point, therefore, in quarrelling like children and raising factional disagreements. Has Comrade Trotsky brought up any new tasks? No, he hasn’t. The fact is that his new points are all worse than the old ones. Comrade Trotsky is campaigning to get the Party to condemn those who are balking at new tasks, and Tomsy and Lozovsky have been named as the greatest sinners.

Rudzutak’s resolution is couched in clearer and simpler language, and has nothing in it like “production atmosphere” or “industrial democracy”. It says clearly that every trade union member must be aware of the vital necessity of increasing productivity in the country. It is put in simple and intelligible language. All this is stated better than in Trotsky’s theses, and more fully, because bonuses in kind and disciplinary courts have been added. Without the latter, all this talk of getting the transport system going and improving things is humbug. Let us set up commissions and disciplinary courts. In this matter Tsektran has allowed excesses. We propose calling a spade a spade: it is no use covering up excesses with new tasks; they must be corrected. We have no intention of renouncing coercion. No sober-minded worker would go so far as to say that we could now dispense with coercion, or that we could dissolve the trade unions, or let them have the whole of industry. Marxists have been combating syndicalism all over the world. We have been fighting in the Party for over twenty years, and we have given the workers visual proof that the Party is a special kind of thing which needs forward-looking men prepared for sacrifice; that it does make mistakes, but corrects them; that it guides and selects men who know the way and the obstacles before us. It does not deceive the workers. It never makes promises that cannot be kept. And if you skip the trade unions you will make a hash of everything we have achieved over the past three years.

I take mandatory nominations to mean that they will be made under the direction of the Party’s Central Committee. But in that case, what are the rights we are giving them? There will then be no chance of having a bloc. The workers and the peasants are two distinct classes. Let us talk about vesting the rights in the trade unions when electricity has spread over the whole country—if we manage to achieve this in twenty years it will be incredibly quick work, for it cannot be done quickly. To talk about it before then will be deceiving the workers. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most stable thing in the world because it has won confidence by its deeds, and because the Party took great care to prevent diffusion.

What does that mean?

Does every worker know how to run the state? People working in the practical sphere know that this is not true, that millions of our organised workers are going through what we always said the trade unions were, namely, a school of communism

and administration. When they have attended this school for a number of years they will have learned to administer, but the going is slow. We have not even abolished illiteracy. We know that workers in touch with peasants are liable to fall for non-proletarian slogans. How many of the workers have been engaged in government? A few thousand throughout Russia and no more. If we say that it is not the Party but the trade unions that put up the candidates and administrate, it may sound very democratic and might help us to catch a few votes, but not for long. It will be fatal for the dictatorship of the proletariat.

To govern you need an army of steeled revolutionary Communists. We have it, and it is called the Party. All this syndicalist nonsense about mandatory nominations of producers must go into the wastepaper basket. To proceed on those lines would mean thrusting the Party aside and making the dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia impossible. This is the view I believe it to be my Party duty to put to you. It is, in my opinion, enunciated in the form of practical propositions in the platform called *Draft Decision of the Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.* and signed by Lenin, Zinoviev, Tomsky, Rudzutak, Kalinin, Kamenev, Lozovsky, Petrovsky, Sergeev and Stalin.

The Second all-Russia Congress of Miners January 1921

All class-conscious workers must clearly realise that factionalism of any kind is harmful and impermissible, for no matter how members of individual groups may desire to safeguard Party unity, factionalism in practice inevitably leads to the weakening of teamwork and to intensified and repeated attempts by the enemies of the governing Party, who have wormed their way into it, to widen the cleavage and to use it for counter-revolutionary purposes.

In this question, propaganda should consist, on the one hand, in a comprehensive explanation of the harmfulness and danger of factionalism from the standpoint of Party unity and of achieving unanimity of will among the vanguard of the proletariat as the fundamental condition for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat; and, on the other hand, in an explanation of the peculiar features of the latest tactical devices of the enemies of the Soviet power. These enemies, having realised the hopelessness of counter-revolution under an openly whiteguard flag, are now doing their utmost to utilise the disagreements within the Russian Communist Party and to further the counter-revolution in one way or another by transferring power to a political group which is outwardly closest to recognition of the Soviet power.

Propaganda must also teach the lessons of preceding revolutions, in which the counter-revolution made a point of supporting the opposition to the extreme revolutionary party which stood closest to the latter, in order to undermine and overthrow the revolutionary dictatorship and thus pave the way for the subsequent complete victory of the counter-revolution, of the capitalists and landowners.

In the practical struggle against factionalism, every organisation of the Party must take strict measures to prevent all factional actions.

Moreover, every critic must see to it that the form of his criticism takes account of the position of the Party, surrounded as it is by a ring of enemies, and that the content of his criticism is such that, by directly participating in Soviet and Party work, he can test the rectification of the errors of the Party or of individual Party members in practice. Analyses of the Party's general line, estimates of its practical experience, check-ups of the fulfilment of its decisions, studies of methods of rectifying errors, etc., must under no circumstances be submitted for preliminary discussion to groups formed on the basis of "platforms", etc., but must in all cases be submitted for discussion directly to all the members of the Party.

Rejecting in principle the deviation towards syndicalism and anarchism, which is examined in a special resolution,⁷⁰ and instructing the Central Committee to secure the complete elimination of all factionalism, the Congress at the same time declares that every practical proposal concerning questions to which the so-called Workers' Opposition group, for example, has devoted special attention, such as purging the Party of non-proletarian and unreliable elements, combating bureaucratic practices, developing democracy and workers' initiative, etc., must be examined with the greatest care and tested in practice. The Party must know that we have not taken all the necessary measures in regard to these questions because of various obstacles, but that, while ruthlessly rejecting impractical and factional pseudo-criticism, the Party will unceasingly continue—trying out new methods—to fight with all the means at its disposal against the evils of bureaucracy, for the extension of democracy and initiative, for detecting, exposing and expelling from the Party elements that have wormed their way into its ranks, etc.

The Congress, therefore, hereby declares dissolved and orders the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception formed on the basis of one platform or another (such as the Workers' Opposition group, the Democratic Centralism group, etc.). Non-observance of this decision of the Congress shall entail unconditional and instant expulsion from the Party.

This, I repeat, does not cut short theoretical discussion. Proposals to amend the Programme may be made; no one has suggested that this should be prohibited. We do not think that our Programme is so perfect as not to require any modification whatever; but just now we have no formal proposals, nor have we allocated any time for the examination of this question. If we read the Programme carefully we shall find the following: "The trade unions...should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration", etc. The words, "should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration", should be underlined. And a few lines above that we read: "On the strength of the laws...the trade unions participate in all the local and central organs of industrial management." We know that it took decades to build up capitalist industry, with

the assistance of all the advanced countries of the world. Are we so childish as to think that we can complete this process so quickly at this time of dire distress and impoverishment, in a country with a mass of peasants, with workers in a minority, and a proletarian vanguard bleeding and in a state of prostration? We have not even laid the main foundation, we have only begun to give an experimental definition of industrial management with the participation of the trade unions. In such a situation, when the statistics tell us that 60 per cent of the members of management boards are workers, it is quite impossible to try to interpret the words in the Programme—"The trade unions... should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration", etc.—*à la* Shlyapnikov.

An authentic interpretation of the Programme will enable us to combine the necessary tactical solidarity and unity with the necessary freedom of discussion, and this is emphasised at the end of the resolution. What does it say in essence? Point 6 reads:

"In view of all this, the Congress of the R.C.P., emphatically rejecting the said ideas, as being expressive of a syndicalist and anarchist deviation, deems it necessary, first, to wage an unswerving and systematic struggle against these ideas; secondly, to recognise the propaganda of these ideas as being incompatible with membership of the R.C.P.

Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) March 1921

In view of Lenin's alarm at Trotsky's charge that some party trade unionists were deliberately cultivating a spirit of corporative exclusiveness and hostility towards new economic tasks and manpower, anticipating that such outspoken accusations would themselves create bad feeling and make the work of the socialist revolution even more difficult, what could be said against the present-day Trotskyites factionalising inside the SLP which throws around accusations against the SLP majority of the following utterly destructive and contemptuous kind:

Expect gerrymandering and underhand manoeuvring. Correspondence will be lost in the post or mislaid. Branches will be closed, forgotten or not recognised. Resolutions will be ruled out of order or referred to the NEC. Two dozen different constitutional 'amendments' from two dozen different branches will allow the NEC to divide and rule by arranging it that what they find most detestable be talked off the agenda. In all likelihood the NEC will have in reserve their own batch of amendments and will encourage others to submit their own amendments to soak up time.

On these two short subsections pivots the whole system of witch-hunting and fear. They have been used to void and cower comrades. They are used to justify anti-communism and the imposition of a bureaucratic regime.

President Arthur Scargill coolly informs public rallies that his draft constitution is no draft, but binding law. It was "adopted" by the membership at the inaugural conference of May 4, he maintains. The Fiscites make exactly the same mendacious claim.

The draft constitution is being used to straightjacket the SLP politically and organisationally. Nevertheless the ham-fisted way in which it is being done shows how fragile the leadership considers its hold over the SLP. Bureaucratic manipulation and barefaced lying are not signs of strength, but profound weakness.

This petty-bourgeois individualism, reeking of Trotsky's "everything is rotten" defeatism, regards anything SLP beyond *Weekly Worker* or Revolutionary Platform involvement as

"anti-democratic", "anti-communist", "McCarthyite", "they wish to atomise us", "wrecking", "sectarian", "to the glory and edification (sic!) of the leadership", "loathsome little life forms in the SLP", "the slimy invertebrates of the SLP right", "little confidence in struggle and militancy", "great confidence in the scheming and manoeuvring of the various bureaucracies", "like flies unto shit, witch

hunters attract all manner of embittered failures, would-be sadists, and sectarian misfits. The Fiscites readily welcomed the Stalin Society into the SLP", "oscillation between the iron grip of bureaucratic control and the opposition emerging from advanced workers", etc etc,

– all that from just one issue (Nov 7) of the *Weekly Worker*.

Entering a workers party in order to deliberately build a 'platform' hostile to the aims and personnel of the leadership of that party, – is the work of people with the counter-revolutionary mentality of petty-bourgeois individualism.

The SLP would be foolish to tolerate such anti-party platforms itself, and it should encourage its branches to help weed out this entryist nonsense, which wants to build, not the SLP, but its own party, but via filching the name and prestige of the Socialist Labour Party.

The biggest farce about the Trotskyite petty-bourgeois mentality is its ultra-left posturing, its superficial pretence of being more Marxist than Marx, and more Leninist than Lenin.

Their quite staggering contempt for the heroic guerrilla-war raid by the Tupac Amaru liberation movement of Peruvian Indians in seizing the Japanese Embassy in Lima and the entire imperialist diplomatic corps with it, – see last week's *Review*, – is typical of the inability of the CPGB, the leading Trot entryists into the SLP, to understand the first thing about anti-imperialist revolution and its international solidarity strategies.

Lenin's scorn for his 'left' contemporaries' inability to grasp what a gigantic and significant anti-imperialist blow was the Easter Rising in Dublin 1916 by nationalists against British rule, – dismissed as an insignificant intellectualist putsch by shallow anti-Marxists, – still rings true to describe the philistine self-righteous stupidity and opportunism of the present generation of Trotskyite individualists.

The same *Weekly Worker* which poured out its defeatist drivel

against the Tupac Amaru triumphant feat, inspiring little people worldwide to rise up against imperialism, struck an even more reactionary pose in trying to explain the situation in Serbia.

Once again, it is the Trots' ignorance of the ABC of Marxism, – their basic petty-bourgeois class discord with the philosophy of the working class, – which exposes their dangerous and opportunist shallowness.

Democracy for who, Marxism always asks. (Read Lenin's brilliant demolition of the notion of 'abstract', or 'pure', or 'general' democracy in his book *[The] Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*).

The idiot CPGB Trots mindlessly declare:

It is the job of revolutionaries, in Serbia and outside, to champion the cause of democracy in an unflinching and unbending manner.

Pompous and meaningless twaddle. Democracy for who?

There is supposedly 'democracy' now in Russia. And who is it benefiting? The Mafia, monopoly-capitalist crooks of all kinds, and the international imperialist conspiracy against the socialist interests of the working class everywhere.

Who says so? Everyone says so. A new socialist revolution at some point in Russia? Inevitable. They should never have given up their workers state in the first place, – as the majority of ordinary people in Russia now agree (and they would have won the last presidential election if control of the ballot had not been in the corrupt hands of the Yeltsin gang of imperialist stooges and Mafia mobsters.)

So democracy for who in Serbia?

Even these irresponsible and reactionary Trot 'revolutionaries' admit that the anti-Milosevic protests reek of Yugoslav fascist nationalism of the 1950s:

Proletarian internationalism has withered away and any sort of *working class* agenda in the 'anti-Milosevic' movement has been hard to detect. Indeed, judging by all the accounts which have reached us, the most bitter and fervent critics of the Belgrade regime have come from *the right* - some of which has a *fascistic* character.

A closer look at the demonstrations reveals that some of the most prominent figures in it have emphatically non-leftwing credentials. As *Socialist Review*, the theoretical journal of the Socialist Workers Party, puts it, "the street protesters were not led by leftwingers", pointing the finger at Vuk Draskovic, the "most conspicuous spokesman of the Zajedno coalition" (January). The SWP is certainly correct on this point. Draskovic is the leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement, which has far right associations.

Even though he has managed with some degree of success to present his 'liberal' face to the west - he has recently been courted, gingerly no doubt, by US officials - his political orientation remains towards 'romantic' Serbian nationalism. People close to him say he is "obsessed" with rehabilitating the war time Cetnik leader Drazna Mihajlovic - not a good sign.

In December, Ljubisa Ristic, a government

member, denounced the demonstrators as a "Cetnik assault on Belgrade" (quoted in *The Guardian* December 17 1996) - a reference to the rightwing nationalist movement in Yugoslavia during World War II which vehemently opposed the Tito-led anti-fascist partisans.

Milosevic may be an unappetising nationalist-revisionist himself, and his regime an unsavoury one.

But what kind of blind anti-communist insanity is it that could make any serious 'revolutionaries' turn their back on the great gains of the Yugoslav workers state which Milosevic's uncertain 'socialism' is at least attempting to maintain in some form or other, in order to openly side with clearly fascist anti-communist demonstrators?

What foolishness, to start with, to believe all the imperialist propaganda about the supposed size of the anti-Milosevic protests.

What even greater stupidity to note US imperialism's interest in promoting Vuk Draskovic as a reliable anti-communist, but to then make excuses for Washington that his fascist inclinations might have put the Americans off a bit!

Fascism is imperialism, but called fascism and given a bad name when the older-established imperialisms (America, Britain, France, etc) can no longer tolerate competitive imperialist pressure from the new imperialist powers like Germany, Italy, and Japan, and have lost a bit of confidence in the promotion of Hitler, Mussolini, etc, as the West initially did as a "bulwark against communism".

Fascism merely makes an open virtue of its anti-communist colonial tyranny which believes in the right of one nation to dominate another, and believes in a whole hierarchy of class superiority. Imperialism believes in exactly the same reactionary nonsense, but is more discrete about it. All the supposed extra tyrannies of fascism's colonial and class-war domination, – concentration camps, blitzkrieg, apartheid, hostage-taking, brainwashing, mass hidden medical and warfare experiments, lying propaganda, etc, – were all perfected by the Western imperialist system in the genocidal subjugation of the Americas, Africa, and Asia long before the newer imperialist powers had even got going in the 20th century.

Milosevic may be a sad case, – but these 'mass protests' which the Western imperialist media have so gone overboard in promoting and advertising in recent weeks, are clearly the target of a massive conspiracy to install stooge imperialist regimes throughout ex-Yugoslavia, as have already been inflicted on Bosnia, Croatia, Slovenia, etc.

The revisionist nationalism of



Yugoslavia's Marshal Josip Broz "Tito"

Milosevic & Co in Serbia is now only a sad relic of the heroic Yugoslav communist revolution under Tito, but these Serbs do have an impressive history of independent communist struggle going all the way back to their support for Lenin in his revolutionary opposition to WWI when all the rest of the Second International (bar one or two other tiny parties) had capitulated to social chauvinism.

The dubiousness of the Milosevic regime makes it impossible for revolutionary internationalists to support the Serb government.

Tory and Labour election gimmicks all at sea as Britannia fails to rule the waves. The entire capitalist ruling-class nonsense wants sinking

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[...]In purely financial/economic terms, domination by monopoly capital is, of course, more menacingly dominant today than ever it has been in imperialist history.

And at the same time, the class-dominated elitism, freemasonry, and injustice at the head of the rat race is more obscene and offensive than ever in history.

Equally, the attempted propaganda skills of bourgeois ideology to disguise all these facts, or to make them seem no longer important, have never been better funded or more inventive.

But despite all this, the lives people lead nevertheless steadily make them more and more

unsuited ultimately to be conned permanently into supporting the capitalist system of unfairness, incompetence, waste, and routine catastrophe (political and environmental) for any longer than really pleases them.

People are potentially more outspoken, rebel inclined, and socially competent than the masses have ever been before in history. Far reaching and outspoken political and philosophical leadership is what is lacking, and which only Marxist-Leninist science can provide, such as in the Bolshevik Party tradition, or that of the Chinese Communist Party.

Certain proof of incipient

revolutionary mentality is impossible to establish. But highly significant pointers go on piling up daily.

Today's young people, for example, are turning against religion more decisively, and on a more widespread and fast-moving front than ever before. And alongside god being dead, the sillier aspects of educational authority which have continued trying to peddle the god business long after its sell-by date, have also fallen into disrespect.

Arguments continue about whether indiscipline in schools is really so different a problem now than in previous generations, but the additional phenomena of youth crime and general teenage lawlessness would seem to indicate that the rebellion is against society in general, expressing young people's dissatisfaction with the way society is run or with the fact that blight can suddenly be put on their personal individual futures by haphazard economic and political accidents such as turn-downs or trade war fallout which can unexpectedly reduce everyone's job prospects, out of the blue, and at the same time put them all in student loan debt up to their necks even before they have started looking for a job.

What can almost certainly be predicted is that the international philosophical background to the present generation is going to work powerfully in the direction of revolutionary understanding once the economic dislocation of overproduction or trade-war crisis really begins to bite.

The modern masses have been brought up virtually on an exclusive diet of anti-communist contempt and hatred for all types of economic planning, plus a no longer challengeable can-do capitalist spirit of infinitely perfectable free-market opportunities and monetary mechanisms which will mean perpetually rising life expectations for everyone everywhere, supposedly.

The reality, when it finally dawns on the new generations, will hit them like a planet-devastating avalanche.

All that they have been brought up on, – and had relentlessly hammered into them in propaganda coup after propaganda coup in every medium, films, books, television, Nobel prizes, Cold War terror, 'freedom' wars, 'freedom' flights, etc, in unending indoctrination brainwashing, – all turns out to be total lies. It is capitalism alone which exclusively dominates every single aspect of society-crushing and individual-crushing tyranny and impoverishment, – and it is communism which alone can possibly provide a way out of this purgatory for mankind.

On top of this international philosophical background which is likely to make the next revolutionary outbreak infinitely more shattering and dramatic than even 1917 and 1945 were, the present generations in Britain have been further prepared for revolt by the very mechanism of welfare-state 'reformism' which the imperialist system used in desperation in 1945 in Western Europe, for example, to try to stem the tide of communist revolution spreading from the Red-Army liberated East of Europe.

The various benefits protecting working-class families from impoverishment, from unemployment, ill-health, old-age, incapacity, too many children, other burdens or breakdowns, housing exploitation, etc, etc, so that they should not blame capitalist anarchy or unfairness for their misfortunes and turn communist, – have also created in the masses a sort of claimants' mentality which, – far from begging for hand-outs, as popularly caricatured by the gutter bourgeois press, – instead insists on its 'rights' to enjoy at least a distant hint of the 'good life' and the 'security' and 'opportunity' which the 'free market' is supposed to guarantee to everybody, – properly determined to take capitalist society at its own face value and make it live up to its promises, always maintained at the expense of a worker's more natural affinity to communism. Capitalism does all the boasting about 'opportunities for all' and the 'good life' that is promised, – so let capitalism come up with the welfare when all of its lying hypocritical cant is exposed as pure deception and humbug, with permanent mass unemployment (Marx's 'reserve army of labour') as easily the most dominantly conscious reality affecting the lives of the entire working class, without exception, – either as the immediate reality or as threatened in the not-too-distant future.

This claimants' mentality of course also has its negative aspects for the working class's overall mental condition and philosophical preparation. But there are times as well when its aggressiveness can obliquely reflect the transformed character of a worker's relation to society from the revolution in technology and its international scale, and from the altered social relations of production. At times, not tugging the forelock can be a virtue in itself, regardless of its frequently negative application in the present stinking mess of capitalist society distortions and breakdowns.

Beyond these personal and class developments tending to ensure that workers will never again allow themselves to be made unprotesting cannon-fodder to

be sacrificed for the greater good of the British ruling class and its 'national' glory, – loom other historic changes which also all point in the direction of revolutionary upheavals to come.

On the one hand, bourgeois and aristocratic decadence, – economic, political, and social, have never been more startlingly pronounced. The British establishment at times gives the impression of a doomed species like lemmings simply incapable of organising quickly enough its own destruction and oblivion.

They have learned nothing about why they are so despised and increasingly historically inept in the face of ever improving international imperialist competition; but they have forgotten nothing about their sheer graspingness and greed, and arrogant comportment of self-righteousness and infallibility.

The British ruling class simply commits blunder after blunder after blunder, and learns nothing from it. Its foolish conceit is almost total, and nearly as unpleasant as its invariably hypocritical nastiness and brutality, well inflicted on the Empire's billions decades before German and Japanese imperial barbarism had even been thought of.

On the other hand, the bogus traditional antidote to ruling class incompetence and degeneracy, – the Labour Party's 'reformism', – has simultaneously become even more sclerotic, unappetising, and on its last legs than the bourgeoisie it was supposed to be replacing.

In other words, there is no longer any formal bourgeois 'antidote' to ruling-class decline that is credible any more.

This prepares the ground for all sorts of revolutionary implications.

By going native from its constant 'loyal opposition' to British imperialism, and becoming even more pro-capitalist than the Tory free-marketeers themselves, the Blair Labourites have undoubtedly delivered such a devastating blow to the illusion of 'reformism' that it will probably never recover, and prove fatal.

The endless promise of "changing capitalism's unpleasant and harmful defects" was always dubious enough, especially after Labour itself started pushing its own welfare reforms into reverse from the late 1960s onwards, as British imperialism's fading international economic and political power began to go really sharply into decline.

But to expect it ever to be believed again, from anyone, – but especially from the Labour Party, – after Labour itself had finally announced through Blair that the whole idea of socialism and redistributive economic justice

was all total unscientific nonsense and socially backward, – is asking too much. All promises to "change capitalism to make it fairer" can hardly ever expect to be believed again, such was the savage advantage taken by Labour parliamentary opportunists of working-class faith in 'reformist justice' loyally given for more than one hundred years of waiting for a 'socialist majority in the House of Commons', etc. Never has any working class in history been so consistently and cruelly, and in the end so casually and contemptuously, – deceived as the British working class has been by generations of Labourite opportunist philistinism.

After such a bitter historical lesson, which has been almost genetically transmitted down through the workers of the modern era, – no promise to 'reform capitalism' is ever going to be looked at again other than with total scepticism.

Which only leaves the promise to abolish capitalism. Which is the historical cue for the birth of the Socialist Labour Party.

The SLP's potential task is a vast and complicated one, – to revive the broadest-possible belief in socialism as the only alternative to incurable capitalist degeneracy and dislocation, offering something to the whole of the working class and all workers of all descriptions, while at the same time not putting up obstacles to the simultaneous re-examination of all the best ideas and achievements of actually building workers states, and socialism, and the anti-imperialist revolt internationally, which urgently need clarifying in the wake of the tragic revisionist confusion and self liquidation by the governing party of the Soviet workers state.

It is already clear what the SLP does not need, and that is any 'revolutionary' infestation from the 57 varieties of Trotskyite entryists whose long proven fraudulent relationship to Marxist-Leninist science is as posturingly phoney as the nine-shilling note used to be.

Their psychotic middle-class sectarianism, muscling into the SLP in order to try to recruit for their infinitely rival versions of the "definitive revolutionary programme and organisational methods" which laughably will supposedly bring automatic "revolutionary success" in due course, – continues daily to expose its utterly bankrupt petty-bourgeois political backwardness which unflinchingly gets everything wrong. Some leadership.

The CPGB Trots have just returned to their ancient vomit of getting wrong the crucial question of the counter-revolutionary ballot stunt which the MI5-run propaganda conspiracy tried to

halt the 1984/85 miners strike with.

Indignant at being reminded by other Trotskyite charlatans how incorrect their CPGB analysis had been in 1985, the failed SLP entryists reply with yet another attempted justification of their rotten anti-strike defeatism.

"The area-by-area approach",

they reproduce from their Jan 1985 publication,

"showed that the leadership of the NUM trusted bureaucratic manoeuvre more than their arguments for solidarity, and this had its costs".

Their renewed attempted rationalisation of this reactionary nonsense works no better now than it did at the time. It is not a question of whether or not the CPGB **intended** their comment to side with the pro-ballot scabs MI5 and Fleet Street, as they now (as then) disclaim. It remains the problem of these petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' not understanding the revolutionary essence of using the mobilised, class strength of the miners as the best possible and most profound argument of all for leading the proletariat towards socialism. To dismiss mass picketing to prevent pit closures as a "bureaucratic manoeuvre" by the strike leaders could only make sense to a basically counter-revolutionary middle-class mentality, - as real Leninist science explained at the time:

"The continued obsession with holding an NUM strike ballot demonstrates how these armchair-socialist dilettantes put subjective schemes dreamed up in their heads before dealing with the real revolutionary movement on the ground. The actual revolutionary content (an ounce of which was always worth a dozen programmes, Lenin used to say) of the miners strike has evolved as it happens, in direct and deliberate conflict with all the bourgeois public opinion hysteria demanding a ballot.

The miners have correctly assessed 'ballotitis' as betraying a lack of class resolve to fight the capitalist slump. Destroying valuable industrial capacity and creating more job losses and mass unemployment is **wrong** whatever any ballot says about it; and tactics for fighting the slump must start from convincing workers of the justness of the resistance to pit closures, not from making pseudo-democratic concessions to the cowardly and opportunist rightwing scabs in the bonus-happy Notts pits by letting them have a ballot (whether it might have been won for a strike, or not). The miners' hostility to any ballot is a correct and conscious revolt against bourgeois parliamentary class-compromise (including by the Labour & TUC leadership) with the slump. It also shrewdly judges that such is the depths of class conflict now that the pro-'rule-of-law' scabs would have sold out the strike for a bribe anyway, whatever the ballot result, just as the Bershaw scabs did recently."

"The massive 'strike defeated' propaganda drive from the Tory press was always bound to find easy victims in all the

anti-communist fake-'lefts'.

Without exception the Trot-Labourite-CP sects are awash with hand-wringing despair, cowering under hysterical editorials surrendering the working class to a thousand years of Thatcherism.

Intriguingly, one of the greatest retreats was marked by the ultra-preentious 'Leninist' faction of the social-chauvinist CPGB. Already the *Bulletin* has graphically exposed how the 'big party' member of the world communist movement' conceits of this group betray a ghastly identity with everything they claim to reject in the CPGB: its rotten subservience to bourgeois democracy and Parliamentarianism; incipient anti-Sovietism and hostility to Leninist theory and the dictatorship of the proletariat, (exemplified by their painfully embarrassed non-defense of socialist Poland during the Solidarity counter-revolutionary upheavals, and their failure to call for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be the aim of their party.)

Amid the usual garbage pomposity and parading of their 'Marxist' credentials, the faction has this to say about the issue of the NUM's rejection of a national strike ballot (special supplement Jan 1985):

'...the lack of a ballot over strike action...even when opinion poll after opinion poll showed that over 60% of miners favoured the strike, - the area by area approach showed that the leadership of the NUM trusted bureaucratic manoeuvre more than their arguments for solidarity, and this had its costs.'

They then blithely declare:

'of course to have caved in to demands for a ballot from the NCB, the Right Hon. Peter Walker, and right wing elements in the NUM could have proved fatal.'

So what on earth makes it different to cave in to such demands from 'left' poseurs...?

'...undoubtedly a majority could have been gained on the basis of a concerted, imaginative Fiery Cross campaign which stressed what miners need, not what the NCB or the 'country' (i.e. the capitalist system) can afford. Those who suddenly discovered the 'unproletarian' nature of ballots, those who used the fatuous argument about 'no man having the right to vote another out of a job' threw out a potentially powerful tactical weapon because of lack of trust in the rank and file...'

The only thing being thrown out here is Leninism. The miners' contemptuous rejection of the Fleet St 'democratic' 'law of the ballot' stunt has been precisely one of the greatest achievements of rising class consciousness in the revolt against pit closures and slump destruction. The capitalist media drew a front line, resting on a 100 years of corrupt class-collaboration between the Labour movement and British imperialism; - in what possible way could it be anything other than a triumph for the strike (as it did) to march over it?

It is exactly the proletarian firmness of this revolt that has the Fleet Street lie machine railing about 'Red fascism' and 'communist tyranny', (slandering every striker towards the beginnings of an understanding of the West's Cold War vilification of the Soviet bloc). The capitalist press correctly fears what Marxist-Leninist science has consistently fought for and predicted: as the British imperialist gravy train dries up, so the working class is forced to ditch Parliamentary illusions and turn to revolutionary politics.

The 'Leninist' fakers would no doubt like to pretend that they are 'im placable Marxist opponents' of the bourgeois 'democratic' establishment and only support the moves for a national miners ballot so that their 'imaginative' 'Fiery Cross' campaign could come into play, as a strike-winning 'left' tactic.

There is not an ounce of logic in this, let alone Marxism. If the power of the campaign rests on superior arguments (as they state) - why the need for the formality of holding a ballot? Furthermore, it is utterly insulting to the heroic efforts of the NUM pickets to suggest that the rolling-strike wave struggle they've waged in the country isn't one of the highest forms of disciplined proletarian argument ever seen in Britain. Striking miners are also not likely to take too kindly to 'revolutionaries' who think it's 'fatuous' of miners to oppose giving the 'economic' areas' scab workforces a say in the closure of the 'uneconomic' areas pits.

But then, according to these CPGB hacks, all this was NUM 'bureaucratic manoeuvre' of wilful obstinacy when 'opinion poll after opinion poll showed 60% in favour'. What stupefyingly blissful petty bourgeois...naivety - to think that Fleet street does not know its very own dictatorial 'opinion poll' dirty tricks. Every fascist-minded businessman, and Tory-Labour 'democrat' would have been ecstatically gratified to see the NUM fall for the ballot stunt, not only giving them a massive chance of defeating the strike before it began, but also - crucially - it would have been a treacherous turning of a spontaneous proletarian revolt back to the decaying corruption of abstract bourgeois 'democratic' constraints. And on the same grounds in both cases: If the NUM's militant leadership is **correct** and the Tory slump-closure plans should be **opposed** and the call to fight followed, then what need for a ballot? Caving in to the vicious bourgeois press hysteria could only be taken by every waverer to mean that their more determined comrades were themselves full of doubts and uncertainty, - (thus swinging thousands to a 'no' vote, and either a slim majority

(which the Tory press hyenas would have worked away at with a vengeance, having tasted blood once) or possibly no majority, the 'fatal' outcome the CPGB 'Leninist' frauds so studiously conceded.)

More importantly, what kind of class mentality is it that craves the fulfilment of a bourgeois-democratic fetish over a robust rejection of Fleet St interference; and sees 'bureaucratic (authoritarian?' 'dictatorial?') manoeuvre' in the NUM leadership's principled determination to lead the miners out to fight pit closures and the Tory police-state (and, incidentally for the bourgeois-democratic fetishists, according to miners' own conference decisions). It is obviously a slavish anti-Leninist hostility to proletarian leadership, dictated by a middle class position dedicated to permanent compromise with rotting British imperialist 'democracy', and philistine fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The capitalist press has done nothing but heap abuse on the strike, Scargill, and the pickets - but always in the form of a storm of invective directed against Soviet communism and the Leninist science of proletarian leadership and dictatorship **precisely because** it is the only force in the world capable of transforming working class protest at capitalist slump-degeneration into successful socialist revolution.

In their capitulation to 'ballot' obsessions the CPGB-'Leninists' throw themselves firmly into the camp of reaction."

The CPGB Trots remain firmly mired in the camp of reaction, - and the priceless political lessons learned from the miners' heroic strike have at last found the opportunity for further consistent and open development in the SLP. Build Marxism. PWH



Obstacles to the SLP taking the working class forward placed by ideological casualties of Cold War anti-communism are doomed to failure. A new party spirit and inspiration is essential, and the sceptics and self-righteous individualists will be routed. Trot and Western anti-Sovietism has only left the world with even bigger problems. Anti-SLP 'Popular Front' sneers in reality expose only the accusers. Soviet mistakes can be avoided, – but not by liquidating leadership. Workers need a bolder lead in all questions to scuttle the petty-bourgeois tyranny of 'politically correct' reformism. 'Homophobia' accusations are driving good sense back into the closet.

[EPSR No891 18-02-97]

One tragic circumstance which has long hampered the fight for socialism in Britain (and elsewhere in the West) is cynicism about leadership.

Generations of rotten sell-out reformist leaders under capitalism, plus the mistakes made in the workers states building socialism which could be ascribed to arbitrariness or authoritarianism, – have created suspicion and fear of all or any leadership.

One of the most destructive aspects of this widespread general **political** cynicism, which is deliberately cultivated by certain sections of the bourgeoisie, – is that fan-worship of outstanding individuals (whether or not they have any real talent) has reached unprecedented extremes in all other walks of life such as pop music, the world of television and movie personalities, fashion, sport, etc.

People are also more susceptible to being led into cults of different bizarre kinds than ever before in modern history.

And in politics itself, if the demagogy is outrageous, intolerant, or weird enough, – quite seriously unhealthy leadership can still prevail, which is what various fascist or ultra-imperialist circles hope to rely upon.

Only to the hindrance of more rational politics does this phenomenon of petty-bourgeois cynicism about leadership have its damaging effect.

The Trotskyite hostility to the Socialist Labour Party is a prize current example, – just as the Trots' hatred of all the workers states (and their leaders) basically built up this artificial leadership fear earlier this century.

Workers building socialism, or socialist movements, certainly should tackle all mistakes frankly. Parties building socialism or socialist movements certainly must be courageous enough to

admit mistakes if things do go wrong, and above all to analyse those mistakes and how they arose so that everyone becomes much the wiser.

But Trotskyism's contribution to history has basically been to establish hysteria about all leadership questions, throughout the West, in the ranks of petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' and working-class intelligentsia.

All that this shallow philosophy of individualism and subjective-idealism has achieved has been to create widespread apathy and cynicism which invariably responds to difficulties in the anti-imperialist struggle by wanting to throw out the baby of correct leadership with the bathwater of mistakes which have been made.

The Trots are classically summed up by their insane, reactionary, and counter-revolutionary attitude to Cuba's workers state, building socialism heroically and with colossal worldwide historical significance in the teeth of unprecedented imperialist hostility and sabotage.

Some of the organised 57 varieties who have infiltrated the SLP around Vauxhall and Southwest London branches have just conducted a manifesto-writing competition to try to displace SLP policy for the coming General Election. These included the demand for a "political revolution" to overthrow Castro's Cuba.

Now apart from being totally contrary to SLP policy (as were most other things in these barmy manifestos – of which more later) which properly has taken a public stand of unconditional support for socialist Cuba against every aspect of imperialist sabotage and bourgeois criticism, – this "down with Castro" insanity is, of course, exactly the dearest wish of the most powerful and reactionary imperialism the

world has ever known, – the US international economic, military, and – domination.

So precisely what sort of 'socialist' is this 'super-socialist' infiltration into the SLP by these middle-class Trotskyite 'revolutionaries'?

It is the 'socialism' of psychotic subjective-idealist individualism which is utterly alien to the materialist philosophy of Marxism-Leninism, and which harbours a paranoid fear of all successful working-class leadership, – which is why in reality it hates Scargill's SLP.

They live in cloud-cuckoo land. Just consider the situation in Cuba where Castro is phenomenally and overwhelmingly popular.

Only a deranged mind to start with, dealing in fantasies, could imagine that workers in Cuba would respond to a British middle-class 'socialist' call to overthrow Castro with anything other than derision and a punch on the nose.

So what effect do such calls have? To allow the CIA's worldwide propaganda and disinformation agencies to set up provocations, that is all, – e.g. to allow more subversion leaflets to be dropped over Cuba (as they regularly are) saying something like "British workers' party calls for the overthrow of Castro"; or to allow maybe a question to be planted against Scargill on his next visit there, saying: "I hear your party is calling for Castro's overthrow", etc, etc.

These Trotskyite stooges (for god-knows-what) play no better role here against the Socialist Labour Party.

For months, they have been campaigning against Arthur Scargill as "Stalin-dictator" as the *Weekly Worker* termed him, the bible of the 'Left Opposition' infiltrators into the SLP.

Their hate-filled provocative contempt for the SLP is unlimited, as in the following examples:

[*WW quotes repeated here from EPSR No885 & 887 on their poisonous rubbishing and challenging of Scargill – see previous two items this book -ed*]

Scargill & Co have launched anything but a Labour Party Mark II, of course; and the SLP is anything but a failure, – as these bogus "SLP Democratic Campaign Members" viciously put it about.

The real pro-capitalist treachery by Blair's New Labour was torn apart by Scargill in his speech. The total abolition of capitalism was spelt out in graphic detail, replaced by complete public ownership without a penny compensation, – unless it was to demand compensation as well from the private owners and investors for their theft of

publicly-created services and industries. All private medicine and education would be banned, and all surplus grand homes and buildings confiscated to immediately solve the housing problem. All unemployment would be likewise instantly and permanently outlawed by immediate work redistribution through early retirement on full pay and a four-day week for everyone. The British imperialist nuclear war machinery would all be stopped at once to help finance such changes.

Meanwhile, international working-class cooperation would replace British imperialist support for the division and occupation of Ireland, Cyprus, Palestine, etc. The EU Common Market monopolisation would be opposed, and the environmental pollution and spoilage from roads and road transport and dirty power supplies would be replaced by railways and clean-fuel technologies.

No one should vote Labour ever again, and the first act of an SLP government would be to abolish the Monarchy and the House of Lords.

All this, and much more in this vein, should have, and did have, any normal worker wholeheartedly supporting it. No such prominent, credible, and respected labour movement leader has been heard saying such things for generations.

But the sour infantile SLP Trots were not remotely supportive. They naturally scowled at such an exhibition of powerful and confident working-class leadership. They hate Scargill just for being a good leader with a great reputation which the working class will follow for its principled courageousness, proved in the three mighty miners strikes which were the highest points in the class-war struggles since 1945.

The CPGB's stooges could not join in the rest of the working-class audience's delight at the SLP secretary's address because their secret agenda of deep-rooted class hostility to communism, – i.e. actual living workers states where the capitalist ruling class really has been expropriated, – dominates their petty-bourgeois individualist mentalities.

The latest *Weekly Worker* demonstrates this psychotic behaviour.

The SLP was founded as a unitary, anti-federal party with a single loyalty, its political character clearly established by Scargill and his close supporters who launched it, and confirmed by a constitution which specifically and deliberately rules out all affiliations or factionalising by rival political credos.

The CPGB's stooges and all the Trot 57 varieties have solely

'joined' the Socialist Labour Party in order to completely disrupt and undermine the SLP's intended character and direction. Their whole relationship with the SLP is on a fraudulent and dishonest basis, and they know it!

Their chosen tactic is to brazenly plant themselves like cuckoos into the SLP nest, and to defy Scargill & Co to get them out! Hence the practice of expelled CPGB stooges turning up to "their branch meetings", and refusing to leave, – a tactic deliberately selected to try to create the maximum provocations against the SLP, and to get the police and bystanders involved against the party, or get the SLP banned from using meeting rooms, etc.

This blatant and astonishing arrogance by these CPGB and other Trot sect stooges, – telling a rival party (the SLP, which they fundamentally disagree with as to the type of party it aimed to be and the constitution it wanted for itself) that they will "enter" that party (the SLP) and prevent it having what it wants for itself, – comes not by accident but from the amazing subjective conceit at the very heart of Trotskyite philosophy itself.

They have the mentality of the eternal individualist outcast just like their mentor, Trotsky, who was despised and ridiculed by Lenin throughout the 14 years it took the Bolshevik Party to prepare the Great October Socialist Revolution following the 1903 split in the ranks of the would-be revolutionaries.

As late as February 1917, Lenin was writing about this sectarian individualist:

... Trotsky arrived, and this scoundrel at once ganged up with the Right wing of Novy Mir against the Left Zimmerwaldists!! That's it!! That's Trotsky for you!! Always true to himself - twists, swindles, poses as a Left, helps the Right, so long as he can.

V.I.Lenin, *Collected Works, Vol35, p. 288*

Trotsky crept back into the Communist Party in August, just weeks prior to the Revolution, played an organising role for a couple of years while continuing to oppose Leninist scientific understanding on many issues, but then went back into his outcast's role, the incurable individualist, in the last year of Lenin's life, setting the anti-communist tone for the whole of the subsequent Cold War epoch.

His know-all contempt for mass communist party struggle is still unmistakable in his current CPGB imitators, who pontificate this week:

The SLP unites a thin, but important layer of socialists, communists and class conscious workers. And, despite left reformist liquidationism, together we stand on policies which are an anathema to every establishment party, pundit and publication - *The Guardian*,

The Sun and the *Daily Telegraph* would dearly love to see the SLP collapse amidst internecine civil war.

Needless to say there still exists a window of time for comrade Scargill to rediscover his former self and reinvent his present self as a working class politician ready for the 21st century. The comrade should take a lead in riding the SLP of its Old Labourite 'constitution' and drafting another – one firmly based on class unity and affiliation, full democracy and open debate. If this is done, comrade Scargill and the SLP will become a focal point for rallying the left and in due course re-articulating the entire working class movement.

A Martian reading this would be convinced that the SLP was anyone's idea but Scargill's, and that far from being the inspiration of the party, there might be a role for him if he behaved himself and carried out the instructions which his betters were kindly spelling out for him.

Now this is not some chance megalomaniac who just happens to have slipped into the *Weekly Worker's* ranks and fancies himself/herself as a latter-day Trotsky.

They all think and act like this, – like the unwanted expelled member declaring "I **will** attend the next branch meeting, whatever your party decisions".

The even bigger joke, of course, is that this swamp 'party' of all the 57 varieties which they propose so generously to the Scargillites (after climbing on Scargill's back to make the offer, naturally) would be the back-stabbing, paralysed, faction-ridden, hot-air farce of the century, – the ultimate disaster for the cause of socialism.

And they never answer the question: Why do not these Trots simply get on and built their great 'unity' party themselves? Why have they never done it in the past, with free affiliation for all? Why do they have to drag Scargill and his party in, who does not want to join?

The answer is obvious, as Leninism established about these bourgeois intellectual sectarians 80 years ago, – that they are incurably posturing workerless groups who only have their middle-class individualist conceit, [see *Lenin page 19 - ed*] and no appeal to the working class whatever.

The Trots were parasites on the mass Labour Party, growing fat in the process. The CPGB Trots were parasites on the small-mass Communist Party. All the Trots desperately need to be parasites on the Socialist Labour Party or they will remain sectarian outcasts on very thin pickings indeed.

And the biggest joke of all about their unchanging fear of Scargill's strong leadership of a mass workers party (such as the Bolsheviks became under Lenin, hostile to and destructive of Trotskyite splitting and factionalising) – is that they are the ones with a leadership complex,

and they are the ones who cause the internecine warfare, just as currently in the SLP. Trot entryist life revolves around the capturing of positions, – taking the chair at meetings, becoming the candidate, writing the programme or manifesto, etc.

And the most monstrously domineering regimes which have ever existed in British workers politics, of course, have all been down to Trotskyite posturing sects of middle-class 'revolutionaries'.

All that the Trots are effectively saying to Scargill & Co is that building the SLP will be fine – as long as the Trots are really in charge!

And yet it is Scargill who is accused of wanting to be the Stalin-dictator, – for giving the leadership to his own party which was always earmarked for it and which has won the overwhelming support of its membership.

And so sick is the Trots' cynicism, and so deep-rooted is their class-based psychotic individualism, – that their wish to take over the SLP, or to chair anything, is as much to ensure that other people should **not** run it, especially successfully, as to create a triumphant mass movement themselves. Which is why Trotskyism has only ever existed in never-ending splits and factions, and has never come remotely close to taking power and building a workers state.

Their modern form is a political product of Cold War anti-communism, which is why they attempt to ridicule the SLP as a dinosaur of a party, out of date, – exactly as the rest of the bourgeoisie seeks to pour scorn.

It was clearly deeply significant, and no mere accidental phrasing, that the *Weekly Worker* should liken a Scargill socialist Britain to a deprived gulag where the masses would be without their...Bordeaux wines and Brie cheese' (see *EPSR 890*).

These petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' may inflict lies, humbug, and provocations on the international workers movement, delaying the revolution and prolonging the starvation and suffering of the Third World billions by their Trot subjective-idealist illusions, – but at least their middle-class stomachs are in the right place.

If half of mankind, – three thousand million people, or ten times the population of the whole European Union, could just get reliable clean drinking water, their lives would be miraculously transformed; or a guaranteed crust or bowl of rice a day.

Is it possible that these Trots actually calculate that if their international 'revolution' did provide the Third World's billions at least with decent sanitation,

the CPGBers would be left alone to savour Sainsbury's best wines and cheese, – with only Scargill's SLP likely to spoil the fun?

These really are bizarre freaks, totally out of touch with the real world.

It is these weird people who are currently running rampant in the Vauxhall and Southwest London SLP, proposing scrappy 'election manifestos' to put to the working class in place of the SLP's policy statements, – which include such vital and 'progressive' immediate changes to working-class life as

"Homosexuality to be treated identically as heterosexuality; sexuality to be no bar in the custody of children, applications for adoption, or IVF treatment; all consensual sexual acts should be legal, – abolish the age of consent; armed workers defence groups against homophobic attacks", etc, etc..

And any criticism of this sick self-seeking nonsense, – a complete paedophile charter, – will be met with non-stop abuse in the *Weekly Worker* as 'homophobia'.

Those who cringe before the unbalanced hysteria of these 'politically correct' zealots and imbeciles, faulting the *EPSR* for its allegedly "insensitive language" on the subject, need to come out from their own closets and declare exactly where they stand on this sick stupidity reflecting the confusion, shallowness, and lack of confident social aspirations of decadent capitalist society.

Let everyone declare their positions publicly on "homosexuality to be treated identically as heterosexuality" allied to "abolish the age of consent", and then say honestly if they would invite an openly camp male neighbour or local council child-welfare-officer, notorious for their promiscuous pederasty, to baby-sit for their children.

No, they will discriminate all right, – but they will also refuse to make any statement about their discrimination. They will just make snide comments about the *EPSR* for having the courage to make such statements.

Paedophilia, pederasty, and lesbianism will never **not** be describable as emotional and sexual malfunctions, or a major disruption of natural evolution. Persecution of such abnormalities is a barbaric instinct and will die out under socialism. But differentiation and discrimination on many matters where sexual orientation remains a key factor in the outcome (child upbringing; all education; protection of minors; sensible use of resources; health concerns; acceptable public order and workplace conduct; practising and being susceptible to exploitation; counter-revolutionary agitation; etc) in societies which are yet struggling to build a stable socialist order from the varied human material inherited from degenerate capitalism, but

still sabotaged and surrounded by hostile imperialism and chaotic bourgeois ideology, – is a separate question entirely.

That these minorities have produced valued geniuses throughout history is unquestioningly accepted, as are countless individual records of enormous responsibility and good influence in personal, family, and local circumstances. It is equally obvious that the overwhelming majority of dangerous and treacherous untrustworthiness in life is caused by routine heterosexual society.

But the current controversy over permanent public identification of paedophiles only renews the still-unresolved contradiction between social responsibility and the so-called 'civil liberties rights of the individual'.

Individualism will always put the stress on personal liberty. Marxism has always insisted that a real concept of freedom is only valid if it recognises the social necessities which have governed the whole evolution of civilised mankind.

The understanding that in communist society, the free development of every individual is the condition for the free development of all, can obviously only mean that the full right to flourish for those with malfunctioning sexual and emotional orientation, (if such phenomena persist once clear of screwed-up capitalist society), cannot be at the expense of even the remotest danger or interference at all to the unhindered flourishing of everyone else from the cradle to the grave.

In other words, if malfunctioning sexual orientation persists, then it could only not be a problem if it continued in complete openness, i.e. with the known proclivities to paedophilia of male homosexuals, for example (as well as of sick heterosexuals, obviously) universally openly acknowledged, and the individuals at risk identified.

If society eventually establishes that heterosexual procreation remains the basic natural evolutionary pattern for the species, then cleverly rationalised deviations from this by emotionally-charged male or female homosexuals in a position to strongly influence the education of minors is clearly going to remain a potential problem, possibly requiring continued differentiation (or discrimination) within child care and the teaching professions. In other words, "homosexuality to be treated identically as heterosexuality" will always be nonsense. They are different. They will remain different.

To abandon all such questions to the tyranny of 'political correctness', – the last great **reformist** delusions of feminism, gay rights, equal opportunities, etc,

– is just to capitulate to the worst kind of counter-revolutionary posturing reaction, created by the petty-bourgeoisie solely to try to ensure that capitalist society does **not** have to be abolished.

This cringing before the self-righteousness of 'political correctness' is yet another expression of fear of confident working-class leadership. Shell-shocked by the Cold War and the humiliation of the CPSU revisionist bureaucracy's self-liquidation, – faint-hearted 'communists' would do anything for a quiet life.

The SLP could do with some sterner stuff. Daft accusations continue pouring on the SLP, alleging imminent capitulation to a score or so of 'left' Labour MPs who might come across to the SLP after the coming election, and capitulation to Popular Frontism thereafter.

The correct answer is to tell these discredited Trot 'revolutionary experts' to keep their nose out and put their own rotten historical house in order, stooges for every major anti-Soviet and anti-communist stunt and provocation dreamed up by the CIA and counter-revolutionary imperialism throughout 70 years of Cold War and uneasy temporary wartime alliance.

Revisionist philosophy badly misled the anti-imperialist movement for decades, spawning such monstrous nonsense as the parliamentary class-collaborating complacency of the peaceful road to socialism and eventually the Eurocommunist self-liquidation, continuing Popular Frontism to its rotten logical conclusion.

But Trotskyism throughout played an infinitely worse role with its class-collaborating entryism into the most reactionary reformist parties, internationally stabbing revolution after revolution in the back on the grounds that their socialist aspirations were not good enough (!), and ceaselessly parroting every vile anti-communist slander and provocation that the CIA's worldwide news-agency control could invent or fabricate.

As Scargill told the Wythenshawe rally, his own record denouncing publicly the mistakes and failures of the workers states is clear, but at the same time he stood out against such propaganda rackets as the counter-revolutionary stunt organised by the CIA around Lech Walesa and his bogus Solidarnosc 'trade union', where every Trot group fell for this Cold War sabotage.

Scargill correctly identified the fear of discussion as one obvious sign of the old communist movement becoming too complacent and authoritarian, and accurately described the SLP as being a completely new development in the struggle for socialism, – much

more in touch with reality and with the wishes and understanding of its members.

He explained that far from launching a sectarian initiative with the SLP, he had invited every socialist tradition to join up on the same basis of a fresh start with all previous membership allegiances abandoned. Most had refused, like the CPB, which was now losing members to the SLP.

The last thing the SLP leadership should do is hold public discussions, least of all with its Trot opponents, about any tactical negotiations with Labour MPs who might be getting ready to abandon capitalism and Blairism, and go over to the SLP.

Any change in policy, implied or threatened, which such a development might vaguely entail, can easily be discussed by the Socialist Labour Party when the right time comes. Trot sneers at such a possibility are just kite-flying exercises to throw more mud at the SLP over phoney 'democracy' demands, and give extra opportunities for anti-leadership provocations.

The SLP's problem is not having too few constituencies to fight in against pro-capitalist candidates, but in having too few resources to mount more than a limited number of electoral fights.

Defecting Labour MPs will be welcome, and will immediately be required to accommodate themselves to the SLP's clearcut 'abolish capitalism' programme, and membership disciplines. This is yet another bogus 'problem' which anti-SLP Trot hostility regularly keeps inventing to try to knock the party off course and to undermine confidence in its leadership and perspectives.



A babushka ('grandma') has to haggle for fish in the market in Moscow in the 1990s when the return of capitalism threw much of the population into poverty and despair, reviving nostalgia for the communist times

The peculiar *Militant* response to the SLP is yet another variant in empty Trotskyite posturing. Suffering publicity-starvation and membership-and influence-loss since Labour closed the doors to these parasites, these nastiest of anti-communists and opportunists have decided to pour scorn on Scargill for not letting them factionalise inside the SLP, and to change their own name into 'Socialist Party'. Why?

Yet, to the new generation who will emerge to political and industrial struggle, the word 'militant' can sometimes sound 'too aggressive'. The capitalist media have also quite consciously linked the name to 'terrorism' or 'Islamic fundamentalists'. We want nothing in our name which will prove a barrier to these workers supporting our ideas and entering our ranks.

Or in other words, the entire *Militant* Trotskyite entryist racket has turned out to be nothing but a catastrophic historical failure, – exactly as the serious Marxist-Leninist science has always explained was bound to happen.

And so now the change of brand-name and image! What another complete waste of time! The whole Trotskyite philosophy is an anti-communist fraud on the working class and socialism. It needs relentlessly routing.

The SLP's leadership can deal with reality, and can tell workers honestly that since the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe with all its faults, life there has nevertheless become a thousand times less tolerable for the ordinary people.

In other words, history has already demonstrated that the answer to the mistakes and failures of the workers states was to create much better workers states, not to overthrow them

and their planned economies and universal welfare benefits in favour of bogus capitalist 'democracy', which basically only means endless exploitation, insecurity, and corruption.

Trotskyites cannot describe the real world in this way or otherwise it would destroy the whole meaning of their entire lives which were dedicated to the destruction of the workers states via the non-existent 'political revolution' such as they quietly still call for in Cuba now, just as they called for this fantasy in East Europe.

History has now demonstrated, with no remaining doubt, what Marxist-Leninist science had already clearly explained, – that only counter-revolution lay in wait for any workers state which gave up the philosophical understanding, the perspectives, and the leadership courage to just step up the fight to improve the situation and correct mistakes when things went wrong.

Gorbachevism did not understand the first thing about the international struggle against imperialism, – the whole purpose of Marx, Engels, and Lenin's life, and the only ultimate guarantee of building socialism on earth, – or about the scientific historic requirements of socialist state structures in the epoch of surrounding hostile imperialism, – or about the role of the party of revolutionary theory as the crucial leadership for the work of building socialism, and its vital internationalist understanding of the need to overthrow imperialist and build socialism worldwide.

It was the crassly ignorant and philistine Gorbachevism which finally unleashed the 'political revolution'.

What a total counter-revolutionary catastrophe, – exactly as Leninist science has always made clear was inevitable if workers state-building under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the leadership of the party was ever lost sight of. It is to be hoped that Castro, and the comrades in China, Korea, and Vietnam, remain made of sterner stuff, and more scientifically literate about the fate of world imperialist

history, and the absolute necessity for international socialist planning under the working class to eventually replace free-market anarchy everywhere before the planet perishes.

Gorbachevism was yet another variant of an individualist petty-bourgeois mentality which was so weak and stupid that it feared to give proper leadership, and just did not know how – (from long revisionist retreat from the needed understanding about completing the world socialist revolution as soon as possible.)

Out of modesty and the ever-present possibility of giving practical example, Marxism-Leninism never wrote a lot about leadership as such, and its obviously crucial role in the history of human affairs.

Accused all his life of being a bully and a dictator, Lenin had to take up this anti-leader hypocrisy in '*Left-wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*'. Lenin explains that the historical exposure of social-chauvinist class-collaborating traitors gives no grounds at all for obsessive rank-and-file posturing which distrusts all leadership for its own sake.

Repudiation of the party principle, is how Lenin terms this bogus workerist 'democracy'. He goes on to explain (already clear in April 1920) that a very long period of proletarian dictatorship would be inevitable before a socialist society would be strong enough to stand up to surrounding imperialist sabotage and subversion without firm party leadership.

Gorbachevism ended up going in the completely opposite direction, – dismantling the leading role of the party, and dismantling the dictatorship of the proletariat entirely, – with predictable catastrophic consequences, – as the *EPSR* has never stopped explaining.

Many of these latter questions are still not even on the horizon in Britain. To pour Trot defeatist scorn on the SLP leadership for such provocative and shallow 'reasons' before the fight to abolish capitalism has even got started again, – is just an infantile disorder. Build Leninism. RB

to legality, to the free and proper election of "leaders" at regular party congresses, to the convenient method of testing the class composition of parties through parliamentary elections, mass meetings, the press, the sentiments of the trade unions and other associations, etc. When, instead of this customary procedure, it became necessary, because of the stormy development of the revolution and the development of the civil war, to go over rapidly from legality to illegality, to combine the two, and to adopt the "inconvenient" and "undemocratic" methods of selecting, or forming, or preserving "groups of leaders" — people lost their bearings and began to think up some unmitigated nonsense. Certain members of the Communist Party of Holland,* who were unlucky enough to be born in a small country with traditions and conditions of highly privileged and highly stable legality, and who had never seen a transition from legality to illegality, probably fell into confusion, lost their heads, and helped create these absurd inventions.

On the other hand, one can see simply a thoughtless and incoherent use of the now "fashionable" terms: "masses" and "leaders". These people have heard and memorised a great many attacks on "leaders", in which the latter have been contrasted with the "masses"; however, they have proved unable to think matters out and gain a clear understanding of what it was all about.

The divergence between "leaders" and "masses" was brought out with particular clarity and sharpness in all countries at the end of the imperialist war and following it. The principal reason for this was explained many times by Marx and Engels between the years 1852 and 1892, from the example of Britain. That country's exclusive position led to the emergence, from the "masses", of a semi-petty-bourgeois, opportunist "labour aristocracy". The leaders of this labour aristocracy were constantly going over to the bourgeoisie, and were directly or indirectly on its payroll. Marx earned the honour of incurring the hatred of these disreputable persons by openly branding them as traitors. Present-day (twentieth-century) imperialism has given a few advanced countries an exceptionally privileged position, which, everywhere in the Second International, has produced a certain type of traitor, opportunist, and social-chauvinist leaders, who champion the interests of their own craft, their own section of the labour aristocracy. The opportunist parties have become separated from the "masses", i.e., from the broadest strata of the working people, their majority, the lowest-paid workers. The revolutionary proletariat cannot be victorious unless this evil is combated, unless the opportunist, social-traitor leaders are exposed, discredited and expelled. That is the policy the Third International has embarked on.

To go so far, in this connection, as to contrast, *in general*, the dictatorship of the masses with a dictatorship of the leaders is ridiculously absurd, and stupid. What is particularly amusing is that, in fact, instead of the old leaders, who hold generally accepted views on simple matters, *new leaders* are brought forth (under cover of the slogan "Down with the leaders!"), who talk rank stuff and nonsense. Such are Laufenberg, Wolfheim, Homer,¹⁸ Karl Schroder, Friedrich Wendel and Karl Erler,* in Germany. Erler's attempts to give the question more "profundity" and to proclaim that in general political parties are unnecessary and "bourgeois" are so supremely absurd that one can only shrug one's shoulders. It all goes to drive home the truth that a minor error can always assume monstrous proportions if it is persisted in, if profound justifications are sought for it, and if it is carried to its logical conclusion.

Repudiation of the Party principle and of Party discipline—that is what the opposition has *arrived at*. And this is tantamount to completely disarming the proletariat *in the interests of the bourgeoisie*. It all adds up to that petty-bourgeois diffuseness and instability, that incapacity for sustained effort, unity and organised action, which, if encouraged, must inevitably destroy any proletarian revolutionary movement.

From the standpoint of communism, repudiation of the Party principle means attempting to leap from the eve of capitalism's collapse (in Germany), not to the lower or the intermediate phase of communism, but to the higher. We in Russia (in the third year since the overthrow of the bourgeoisie) are making the first steps in the transition from capitalism to socialism or the lower stage of communism. Classes still remain, and will remain everywhere *for years after* the proletariat's conquest of power. Perhaps in Britain, where there is no peasantry (but where petty proprietors exist), this period may be shorter. The abolition of classes means, not merely ousting the landowners and the capitalists—that is something we accomplished with comparative ease; it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they *cannot be ousted*, or crushed; we *must learn to live with them*. They can (and must) be transformed and re-educated only by means of very prolonged, slow, and cautious organisational work. They surround the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat, and constantly causes among the proletariat relapses into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternating 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 and victoriously. The dictatorship of the proletariat means a persistent struggle—'bloody and bloodless, violent and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative — against the forces and traditions

From: "*Left-wing*" communism — an infantile disorder

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 most incredibly and hopelessly muddled thinking. These people want to invent something quite out of the ordinary, and, in their effort to be clever, make themselves ridiculous. It is common knowledge that the masses are divided into classes; /that as a rule and in most cases—at least in present-day civilised countries—classes are led by political parties; that political parties, as a general rule, are run 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. All this is clear and simple. Why replace this with some kind of rigmarole, some new Volapuk? On the one hand, these people seem to have got muddled when they found themselves in a predicament, when the party's abrupt transition from legality to illegality upset the customary, normal and simple relations between leaders, parties and classes. In Germany, as in other European countries, people had become too accustomed

of the old society. The force of habit in millions and tens of millions is a most formidable force. Without a party of iron that has been tempered in the struggle, a party enjoying the confidence of all honest people in the class in question, a party capable of watching and influencing the mood of the masses, such a struggle cannot be waged successfully. It is a thousand times easier to vanquish the centralised big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions upon millions of petty proprietors; however, through their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive and demoralising activities, they produce the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to restore the bourgeoisie. Whoever brings about even the slightest weakening of the iron discipline of the party of the proletariat (especially during its dictatorship), is actually aiding the bourgeoisie against the proletariat.

Parallel with the question of the leaders—the party—the class—the masses, we must pose the question of the “reactionary” trade unions. But first I shall take the liberty of making a few concluding remarks based on the experience of our Party. There *have always been* attacks on the “dictatorship of leaders” in our Party. The first time I heard such attacks, I recall, was in 1895, when, officially, no party yet existed, but a central group was taking shape in St. Petersburg, which was to assume the leadership of the district groups.²⁰ At the Ninth Congress of our Party (April 1920)²¹ there was a small opposition, which also spoke against the “dictatorship of leaders”, against the “oligarchy”, and so on. There is therefore nothing surprising, new, or terrible in the “infantile disorder” of “Left-wing communism” among the Germans. The ailment involves no danger, and after it the organism even becomes more robust.

In Russia today, the connection between leaders, party, class and masses, as well as the attitude of the dictatorship of the proletariat and its party to the trade unions, are concretely as follows: the dictatorship is exercised by the proletariat organised in the Soviets; the proletariat is guided by the Communist Party of Bolsheviks, which, according to the figures of the latest Party Congress (April 1920), has a membership of 611,000. The membership varied greatly both before and after the October Revolution, and used to be much smaller, even in 1918 and 1919-22. We are apprehensive of an excessive growth of the Party, because careerists and charlatans, who deserve only to be shot, inevitably do all they can to insinuate themselves into the ranks of the ruling party. The last time we opened wide the doors of the Party—to workers and peasants only—was when (in the winter of 1919) Yudenich was within a few versts of Petrograd, and Denikin was in Orel (about 350 versts from Moscow), i.e., when the Soviet Republic was in mortal danger, and when adventurers, careerists, charlatans and unreliable persons generally could not possibly count on making a profitable career (and had more reason to expect the gallows and torture) by joining the Communists.

In its work, the Party relies directly on the *trade unions*, which, according to the data of the last congress (April 1920), now have a membership of over four million and are formally *non-Party*. Actually, all the directing bodies of the vast majority of the unions, and primarily, of course, of the all-Russia general trade union centre or bureau (the All-Russia Central Council of Trade Unions), are made up of Communists and carry out all the directives of the Party. Thus, on the whole, we have a formally non-communist, flexible and relatively wide and very powerful proletarian apparatus, by means of which the Party is closely linked up with the *class* and the *masses*, and by means of which, under the leadership of the Party, the *class dictatorship* is exercised. Without close contacts with the trade unions, and without their energetic support and devoted efforts, not only in economic, *but also in military affairs*; it would of course have been impossible for us to govern the country and to maintain the dictatorship for two and a half months, let alone two and a half years. In practice, these very close contacts naturally call for highly complex and diversified work in the form of propaganda, agitation, timely and frequent conferences, not only with the leading trade union workers, but with influential trade union workers generally; they call for a determined struggle against the Mensheviks, who still have a certain though very small following to whom they teach all kinds of counter-revolutionary machinations, ranging from an ideological defence of (*bourgeois*) democracy and the preaching that the trade unions should be “independent” (independent of proletarian state power!) to sabotage of proletarian discipline, etc., etc.

Then, of course, all the work of the Party is carried on through the Soviets, which embrace the working masses, irrespective of occupation. The district congresses of Soviets are *democratic* institutions, the like of which even the best of the democratic republics of the bourgeois world have never known; through these congresses (whose proceedings the Party endeavours to follow with the closest attention), as well as by continually appointing class-conscious workers to various posts in the rural districts, the proletariat exercises its role of leader of the peasantry, gives effect to the dictatorship of the urban proletariat, wages a systematic struggle against the rich, bourgeois, exploiting and profiteering peasantry, etc.

Such is the general mechanism of the proletarian state power viewed “from above”, from the standpoint of the practical implementation of the dictatorship. We hope that the reader will understand why the Russian Bolshevik, who has known this mechanism for twenty-five years and has seen it develop out of small, illegal and underground circles, cannot help regarding all this talk about “from above” or “from below”, about the dictatorship of leaders or the dictatorship of

the masses, etc., as ridiculous and childish nonsense, something like discussing whether a man’s left leg or right arm is of greater use to him.

We can (and must) begin to build socialism, not with abstract human material, or with human material specially prepared by us, but with the human material bequeathed to us by capitalism. True, that is no easy matter, but no other approach to this task is serious enough to warrant discussion.

The trade unions were a tremendous step forward for the working class in the early days of capitalist development, inasmuch as they marked a transition from the workers’ disunity and helplessness to the *rudiments* of class organisation. When the *revolutionary party of the proletariat*, the *highest* form of proletarian class organisation, began to take shape (and the Party will not merit the name until it learns to weld the leaders into one indivisible whole with the class and the masses) the trade unions inevitably began to reveal *certain* reactionary features, a certain craft narrow-mindedness, a certain tendency to be non-political, a certain inertness, etc. However, the development of the proletariat did not, and could not, proceed anywhere in the world otherwise than through the trade unions, through reciprocal action between them and the party of the working class. The proletariat’s conquest of political power is a gigantic step forward for the proletariat as a class, and the Party must more than ever and in a new way, not only in the old, educate and guide the trade unions, at the same time bearing in mind that they are and will long remain an indispensable “school of communism” and a preparatory school that trains proletarians to exercise their dictatorship, an indispensable organisation of the workers for the gradual transfer of the management of the whole economic life of the country to the working class (and not to the separate trades), and later to all the working people.

In the sense mentioned above, a *certain* “reactionism” in the trade unions is *inevitable* under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Not to understand this means a complete failure to understand the fundamental conditions of the transition from capitalism to socialism. It would be egregious folly to fear *this* “reactionism” or to try to *evade* or leap over it, for it would mean fearing that function of the proletarian vanguard which consists in training, educating, enlightening and drawing into the new life the most backward strata and masses of the working class and the peasantry. On the other hand, it would be a still graver error to postpone the achievement of the dictatorship of the proletariat until a time when there will not be a single worker with a narrow-minded craft outlook, or with craft and craft-union prejudices.

The art of politics (and the Communist’s correct understanding of his tasks) consists in correctly gauging the conditions and the moment when the vanguard of the proletariat can successfully assume power, when it is able—during and after the seizure of power—to win adequate support from sufficiently broad strata of the working class and of the non-proletarian working masses, and when it is able thereafter to maintain, consolidate and extend its rule by educating, training and attracting ever broader masses of the working people.

Further. In countries more advanced than Russia, a certain reactionism in the trade unions has been and was bound to be manifested in a far greater measure than in our country. Our Mensheviks found support in the trade unions (and to some extent still do so in a small number of unions), as a result of the latter’s craft narrow-mindedness, craft selfishness and opportunism. The Mensheviks of the West have acquired a much firmer footing in the trade unions; there the *craft-union, narrow-minded, selfish, case-hardened, covetous, and petty-bourgeois “labour aristocracy”, imperialist-minded, and imperialist-corrupted*, has developed into a much stronger section than in our country. That is incontestable.

We are waging a struggle against the “labour aristocracy” in the name of the masses of the workers and in order to win them over to our side; we are waging the struggle against the opportunist and social-chauvinist leaders in order to win the working class over to our side. It would be absurd to forget this most elementary and most self-evident truth. Yet it is this very absurdity that the German “Left” Communists perpetrate when, because of the reactionary and counter-revolutionary character of the trade union *top leadership*, they jump to the conclusion that... we must withdraw from the trade unions, refuse to work in them, and create new and *artificial* forms of labour organisation! This is so unpardonable a blunder that it is tantamount to the greatest service Communists could render the bourgeoisie. Like all the opportunist, social-chauvinist, and Kautskyite trade union leaders, our Mensheviks are nothing but “agents of the bourgeoisie in the working-class movement” (as we have always said the Mensheviks are), or “labour lieutenants of the capitalist class”, to use the splendid and profoundly true expression of the followers of Daniel De Leon in America. To refuse to work in the reactionary trade unions means leaving the insufficiently developed or backward masses of workers under the influence of the reactionary leaders, the agents of the bourgeoisie, the labour aristocrats, or “workers who have become completely bourgeois” (cf. Engels’s letter to Marx in 1858 about the British workers²⁸).

This ridiculous “theory” that Communists should not work in reactionary trade unions reveals with the utmost clarity the frivolous attitude of the “Left” Communists towards the question of influencing the “masses”, and their misuse of

clamour about the “masses”. If you want to help the “masses” and win the sympathy and support of the “masses”, you should not fear difficulties, or pinpricks, chicanery, insults and persecution from the “leaders” (who, being opportunists and social-chauvinists, are in most cases directly or indirectly connected with the bourgeoisie and the police), but must absolutely work *wherever the masses are to be found*. You must be capable of any sacrifice, of overcoming the greatest obstacles, in order to carry on agitation and propaganda systematically, perseveringly, persistently and patiently in those institutions, societies and associations—even the most reactionary—in which proletarian or semi-proletarian masses are to be found.

It is sad to see people who no doubt consider themselves Marxists, and want to be Marxists, forget the fundamental truths of Marxism. This is what Engels — who, like Marx, was one of those rarest of authors whose every sentence in every one of their fundamental works contains a remarkably profound content — wrote in 1874, against the manifesto of the thirty-three Blanquist Communards: “We are Communists’ [the Blanquist Communards wrote in their manifesto], ‘because we want to attain our goal without stopping at intermediate stations, without any compromises, which only postpone the day of victory and prolong the period of slavery.’

“The German Communists are Communists because, through all the intermediate stations and all compromises created, not by them but by the course of historical development, they clearly perceive and constantly pursue the final aim—the abolition of classes and the creation of a society in which there will no longer be private ownership of land or of the means of production. The thirty-three Blanquists are Communists just because they imagine that, merely because they want to skip the intermediate stations and compromises, the matter is settled, and if ‘it begins’ in the next few days—which they take for granted—and they take over power, ‘communism will be introduced’ the day after tomorrow. If that is not immediately possible, they are not Communists.

“What childish innocence it is to present one’s own impatience as a theoretically convincing argument!” (Frederick Engels, Programme of the Blanquist Communards).

New Trot stunts denouncing SLP ‘violence’ are a well worked-out artificial provocation, of a kind with bourgeois ‘democracy’ swindles used permanently to malign socialism and confuse workers. It is the anti-communism of the fake-‘left’ like the CPGB which really threatens the labour movement with physical destruction, – nationally, and internationally as in China and Cuba. Socialist Labour will leap ahead once provocative disruptions against healthy SLP elements are routed completely.

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The most powerful weapons against socialism are the distortions and clever tricks of bourgeois ideology.

These alone keep the workers movement forever divided and confused, unable to unite behind the firm and clear-thinking socialist leadership which will be necessary to complete the abolition of capitalism.

The endless frauds around ‘democracy’ are the favourite ploy.

Under capitalism, periodic elections, dominated by bourgeois-financed powerful propaganda machinery, pretend to be ‘government by the people’.

Against socialism, a few dissident voices who do not like what the majority wants, are blown up out of all proportion to imply ‘socialist tyranny’ or ‘leadership tyranny’.

In these cynical deceptions about ‘democracy’, the ultra-left of petty-bourgeois individualism plays its part just as viciously as the right wing.

The CPGB Trots are currently posturing their middle-class ‘democratic’ souls for all they are worth to help bourgeois ideology do its job against Socialist Labour.

At the same time, these armchair ‘revolutionaries’ have been adding their vomit to the rightwing bile pouring out against the Chinese workers state in the wake of Deng’s death.

All they end up with is deep rotten confusion on everything, utterly poisonous to the working class.

Socialist Labour is again being sniped at down the ‘Scargill dictatorship’ path. Expelled CPGB

Of course, to very young and inexperienced revolutionaries, as well as to petty-bourgeois revolutionaries of even very respectable age and great experience, it seems extremely “dangerous”, incomprehensible and wrong to “permit compromises”. Many sophists (being unusually or excessively “experienced” politicians) reason exactly in the same way as the British leaders of opportunism mentioned by Comrade Lansbury: “If the Bolsheviks are permitted a certain compromise, why should we not be permitted any kind of compromise?” However, proletarians schooled in numerous strikes (to take only this manifestation of the class struggle) usually assimilate in admirable fashion the very profound truth (philosophical, historical, political and psychological) expounded by Engels. Every proletarian has been through strikes and has experienced “compromises” with the hated oppressors and exploiters, when the workers have had to return to work either without having achieved anything or else agreeing to only a partial satisfaction of their demands. Every proletarian—as a result of the conditions of the mass struggle and the acute intensification of class antagonisms he lives among—sees the difference between a compromise enforced by objective conditions (such as lack of strike funds, no outside support, starvation and exhaustion)—a compromise which in no way minimises the revolutionary devotion and readiness to carry on the struggle on the part of the workers who have agreed to such a compromise — and on the other hand, a compromise by traitors who try to ascribe to objective causes their self-interest (strike-breakers also enter into “compromises”!), their cowardice, desire to toady to the capitalists, and readiness to yield to intimidation, sometimes to persuasion, sometimes to sops, and sometimes to flattery from the capitalists. (The history of the British labour movement provides a very large number of instances of such treacherous compromises by British trade union leaders, but, in one form or another, almost all workers in all countries have witnessed the same sort of thing.)

Of course, in politics, where it is sometimes a matter of extremely complex relations—national and international— between classes and parties, very many cases will arise that will be much more difficult than the question of a legitimate “compromise” in a strike or a treacherous “compromise” by a strike-breaker, treacherous leader, etc. It would be absurd to formulate a recipe or general rule (“No compromises!”) to suit all cases. One must use one’s own brains and be able to find one’s bearings in each particular instance.

entryist parasites are once more pretending they are being ‘victimised’ by the ‘arbitrary autocracy’ of Scargill & Co.

An additional slander now being thrown in also alleges that this ‘bureaucratic tyranny’ has begun to be accompanied by systematic ‘violence’.

In an editorial headlined “Thumping people”, the *Weekly Worker*, bible of the Trotskyite saboteurs, claims that:

“The witch hunt in the SLP calls forth its own shabby cadre, - misfits whose modus operandi is threats, abuse, and intimidation.

Clearly, as the cull in the organisation gathers pace, these elements feel increasingly confident about throwing their weight around.

The worry should surely be for the SLPers themselves, particularly those on the left. We have reported that the practice of autocratic diktat is growing in the party. Combine this with a Tony Goss let loose to discipline the ranks in his own inimitable fashion, and a not particularly edifying picture is conjured up.”

Those in fact on the left of the SLP have an entirely different memory of the labour movement from this utterly obscene and false picture which these CPGB Trots are deliberately trying to deceive workers with against Socialist Labour.

And this is that the Trot sects, of all 57 varieties, have always, ever since this anti-communist petty-bourgeois ultra-leftism began, been the first to resort to fisticuffs when the argument against their paranoid individualism and their self-righteous subjectivism begins to go too well.

Workers from the *EPSR* tradition could fill several books with the record of violent threats to

them, and actual physical ejections, by Trot sects incensed at having their own meetings harassed by Leninists in the way that the Trots always enjoy harassing other people’s meetings.

Such threatening aggression has not been unknown at Stalinist tradition meetings either. Is it really the case that not a single member of the CPGB, especially with their complacent cocky record, has ever been caught up in a confident majority at a labour-movement meeting which has bayed “Sit down” or “Throw them out” at some irritating sabotage or other?

But in any case, so what?

What lunatic hypocritical nonsense are these CPGB Trots trying to put across now?

It is the most ludicrous and fatuous humbug to first of all pretend that angry scuffles are totally alien to British labour movement meetings (or those of any other country); they are completely routine, if a bit sad or even unpleasant.

Secondly, it is the most grotesque attempted deception for these Trots to try to claim special credit for their own side of the dispute against the SLP on the grounds that their case is argued in a ‘principled’ manner whereas the SLP case is ‘imposed with violence’.

No such thing. If anything, and if things were worth measuring that way, the unprincipled aggressiveness is all on the side of the CPGB Trots.

They have deliberately falsified

their way into the SLP knowingly, pretending to accept its leadership and abide by its constitution when they knew from the start that they had no intention of doing any such thing.

Their 'democratic' bleating against the perfectly normal constitutional requirements of Socialist Labour and the absolutely routine executive decisions of its leadership, are just a giant fraud.

This whole racket against the SLP's supposed 'violent arbitrary tyranny' is just a big smelly stunt, typical of 'left' anti-communist provocateurs throughout the history of the labour movement.

And these monstrous provocations are the only serious threatened violence in this whole business.

These CPGB liars, putting perjured signatures to a stated willingness to "abide by the SLP Constitution" to gain entry to Socialist Labour for disruptive purposes, are however, guilty of far worse threatened violence than even this treacherous entry-ist racket implies (falsifying their membership application forms), – worse even than their loathsome confidence-trick theft practised on the working class to raise their *Weekly Worker* fund (permanently in deficit) by a crooked 'Collection for the Unemployed Workers Charter' which goes straight into their own pockets so they can continue publishing their fake-'left' provocateur rag.

And this is their endless glib call for so-called 'political revolutions' against the workers states which can only have one outcome, as history has now demonstrated, – bloody counter-revolution.

Fascist imperialist intervention will gladly go along with any non-existent 'political revolution' against existing workers states which this fake-'left' wing of bourgeois individualist ideology can get going, – especially against Castro in Cuba whom US imperialism would love to topple more than anything.

And where do these CPGB Trots direct their infantile 'political revolution' chatter? Mostly against Castro in Cuba, – thus playing right into the hands of US imperialism's non-stop provocations against the Cuban workers state.

Now this is all just childish armchair-'revolutionary' posturing by these isolated Trotskyite middle-class sects who will never ever build or lead mass workers movements which will end up having any decisive influence on world politics.

But for irresponsible moun-tebanks who like to make such a hypocritical fuss about some doorway scuffles at an angrily-argued workers meeting, the very violent implications of their call

to topple Fidel Castro are most revealing.

If Castro is toppled, the workers of Cuba will have, in the counter-revolutionary chaos that would ensue, much more to worry about than a few mistimed or threatened punches around a disrupted meeting hall.

The working class of Cuba will be facing total military blitzkrieg and bloody annihilation if imperialism's anti-communist propaganda once gets the chance to mount provocative interventions around such an epoch-shattering development as the toppling of Castro, the overwhelmingly acknowledged and supported leader of the Cuban socialist revolution.

This counter-revolutionary Trotskyite nonsense of 'Down with Castro' is just idiocy as far as practical political programme is concerned; even worse ignorance as far as Marxist-Leninist science is concerned where no such historical category as the 'political revolution' under the dictatorship of the proletariat has ever been remotely hinted at; and is in fact just pure threatened violence as far as reality is concerned, such a demand being nothing but a stooge for US imperialist intervention in Cuba.

And it is obviously no accident that these bogus 'revolutionary' Trots come up with the one fake 'socialist' slogan that the Cuban counter-revolutionary mafia in Miami could only dream about, 'Down with Castro'. "If only CIA could get such explosive nonsense on the move inside Cuba itself." Counter-revolutionary, or what? Leading to an unimaginable bloodbath and violence, or what? So much for the CPGB entryist political thugs who spread such vile distortions and posture so deceitfully, trying to slander the SLP with 'violence against the labour movement'.

Is not the Cuban socialist revolution led by Castro, in the front line against US imperialist domination, an even more integral part of the international labour movement? But no CPGB or other Trot hesitancy about unleashing violence in that direction, the only possible way to overthrow Castro, the overwhelmingly popular leader of the revolution.

No accident at all because the very same issue of the *Weekly Worker* unleashes a torrent of abuse, – playing right into US imperialism's counter-revolutionary hands, – against the Chinese workers state.

Mixed in with their obvious middle-class hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China (the only alternative, as anywhere on earth, being the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as Marxist science has conclusively explained and demonstrated for more than 100 years), – is just a

tinge of petty-bourgeois Western racism against the 'Yellow Peril' for not being civilised European 'socialists' (what, like these CPGB parasites on the capitalist system?):

"The party/state elite in China, is certainly enriching itself, even if it is in a most inglorious manner. The web of nepotism and corruption envelops all of China and chokes the very political air itself.

The introduction and acceleration of capitalist social relations has seen elements of the bureaucracy, particularly their 'sons and daughters', struggle to transform themselves into a *bourgeois* ruling class, as opposed to a bureaucratic caste – a phenomenon common to all the ex-'socialist' states in Eastern Europe. There is now a blurring of distinctions between 'free enterprise' and state control. The army has especially benefited from this economic meltdown, with at least 20,000 army companies now in operation.

In other words, in China we are seeing the creation of a proto-bourgeoisie, whose power over political resources is matched by its power over economic ones – often gained through the direct appropriation of state assets.

The fate of Chinese 'official communism' is, without doubt, a grim and depressing one. Under the banner of the 'Four Basic Principles' which Deng always claimed allegiance to – "the socialist road; the people's democratic dictatorship; the leadership of the party; and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought" – the peasants and workers of China are being opened up to pitiless capitalistic exploitation and political oppression.

Unlike Lenin and the Bolsheviks, the communist cadre in China did not have the shoulders of previous generations of revolutionaries, and of many decades of intense theoretical debate, to stand upon. It was born in a monolithic and *bureaucratic* centralist mould, without the air of European philosophy and socialism to breathe on.

This lack of "native Marxist ancestry" led the CPC to be dependent on the Soviet bureaucracy and the Stalinised Comintern.

The Long March, however heroic, reinforced the increasingly de-proletarianised world outlook of Mao and his comrades, who now aimed at surrounding the cities. It is open to a debate whether the Long March and the flight to the countryside at this time was a correct tactic, but when it became a programmatic strategy it is not an exaggeration to say that Mao and Deng became in effect petty bourgeois revolutionaries rather than proletarian ones.

The CPC turned its back on the working class, dismissed out of hand the prospect of any revolutionary revival in the countryside and banked on the 'agrarian revolution', in a Utopian Narodnik schema alien to Marxism/communism.

Obscenely, the horrors of the Cultural Revolution became the model of 'communism' for the genocidal forces of Pol Pot and the Khmer Rouge in Kampuchea. A truly democratic China, one which was casting off the stultifying and parasitical clutches of the Communist Party of China and its brand of 'market Leninism' would symbolise an awesome threat and challenge to international capitalism and imperialism.

These last two observations are truly foul counter-revolutionary confusion-mongering.

What is a 'truly democratic' China supposed to be? As Lenin spent several volumes explaining, democracy is either for the working class and against the bourgeoisie under the dictatorship of the proletariat, or it is for the capitalists and against the workers under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. Modern society, as long understood by Marxist

science, allows of no other possibilities.

So what is a 'truly democratic China' which is going to 'challenge' the most ruthless and efficient imperialist exploitation systems? Capitalist? Socialist? This appallingly irresponsible slovenly dilettantism cannot even say anything coherent on such a basic point.

How could a socialist China, or a socialist anything, redistributing wealth like mad in order to begin equalising social conditions for all, both domestically and with its international trading partners, – possibly 'challenge' the super-exploitation productivity based on permanent mass unemployment (as the scourge for keeping the proletariat working at starvation-level wages on a worldwide 'free market' basis), – the very cornerstone of the high living standards in the favoured few Western powers.?

And if they mean a 'democratic' capitalist China could challenge the West, then what would be the point of that? The whole thing is a meaningless muddle, dashed together solely to provide these philistine Trotskyites with some more 'plausible' anti-communist biliousness.

Their contemptuous and racist dismissal of any achievements at all by the mightiest socialist revolution of all, probably, – in volume terms, and in terms of a historic example of what downtrodden Third World masses can achieve under Communist leadership, – so distorts the actual reality of 20th century world history that one is astonished at such biased viciousness and at such blind stupidity which simply refuses to acknowledge what is seen and admitted by everybody, friend and foe alike of the Chinese socialist revolution, – namely that it has irrevocably altered the whole of world history by seeing the great mass of downtrodden humanity finally rise up, throw out the imperialists, and now force world imperialism to shift uneasily and respectfully while the Chinese socialist revolution decides what to do next.

Even such bitter enemies of Marxism-Leninism and of socialism as *The Economist* have had to pay due tribute to the colossal influence and significance of the Chinese Revolution in this comment on Deng (who kept it going, revisionist as he was):

The Economist described him as "one of the greatest political leaders of the 20th century, a man who set under way the biggest improvement in the living standards and personal freedoms of the largest number of people in all of human history" (February 22).

Such is the magnificent power and sweep of the Chinese socialist revolution, – the greatest

advance in the most human lives in all history, – in the words of one of its bitterest opponents, the voice of the British imperialist bourgeoisie, speaking through

the *Economist*.

Lenin had an interesting perspective on this phenomenon by the end of his life, declaring in his last work *Better Fewer, But Better* (Mar 1923):

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

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

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

The CPGB's European orientation for 'real socialism' and a 'real advance against imperialism' is pure racist, pure philistine ignorance, and a century out of date. The Eastern Third World billions hold the key to the final triumph of the world socialist revolution, not the workers in the thoroughly imperialist-corrupted West in spite of the CPGB's ill-disguised racist chauvinism which is so obviously enamoured of its own self-importance, and so obviously dismissive of Third World anti-imperialist revolutions which do not have "the air of European philosophy and socialism to breathe on".

Deng's death brought an avalanche of abuse down on Sir Edward Heath's head for his maverick insistence that British imperialism should get what business deals it can out of the Chinese workers state and not keep making such an artificial fuss about the CIA's propaganda blockbuster against the Beijing regime, the so-called 'Tiananmen massacre'. The CPGB, of course, joined in the anti-Heath abuse along with the most rabid anti-communist rightwing of bourgeois ideology.

Reactionary *Guardian* correspondents in particular kept up their traditional vilification of the legitimate security interests of the Chinese workers state in routing the 1989 bogus 'democracy' movement which was allowed to posture for weeks, camped out on Beijing's main square, toting US imperialism's most obscene and phony emblem, the Statue of Liberty.

Arrogantly pulling Heath up for some alleged indifference to the victims of that 1989 class conflict in China (which Heath denied was indifference, but rather a mis-elocution which his TV and press critics had deliberately misinterpreted), the *Guardian* (and others) ranted on once more about "that terrible Tiananmen

massacre".

There was, in reality, no one killed at all on Tiananmen Square, and no massacre, either there or anywhere else, – as the *EPSR's* Leninist science established at the time from capitalist press sources and admissions.

It was after more than two months of worldwide hysterical CIA propaganda about the 'massacre', systematically denounced and exposed for the lie it was by *EPSR* Leninism, that the rightwing *Spectator* magazine, impeccably anti-communist and socialism-hating, published the following:

By the early morning of 4 June, Tiananmen was encircled by the army, which set up the traditional theatre of cymbals and drums. A call to arms rang out over the government-controlled loudspeakers, as monotonous and sinister as a drum roll. 'Tiananmen is the centre of a counter-revolutionary sedition. The army has the authority to use every means necessary to clear the square.' Meanwhile a small armoured invasion force formed up before the Gate of Heavenly Peace as thousands more fully armed troops poured into the south entrance of the Great Hall from the south and, on the opposite side of the square, onto the steps of the Museum of the History of China and the Revolution. 'Now is the time to crush the counter-revolutionary rebellion.'

It now seems clear that the military had orders to use minimum force once inside Tiananmen itself, but no one would have guessed it at the time. Deng Xiaoping had taken a page from the military classic of Sun Tze. Light a thousand camp fires to strike fear into the night.

At four a.m. the boulevard lights were cut off, sending a ripple of fear through the scattered crowds. But the panic subsided when the student loudspeaker broke the silence in a voice as authoritative and steady as if it were announcing a railway schedule: 'All citizens and students remain calm,' said 'command centre' summoning those few in the tents near the goddess of democracy to gather around the monument to Mao's

'People's Heroes', a squat obelisk on a two-tiered plinth. 'We will now sing the "Internationale" to heighten our spirit of resistance.'

I was about 25 yards to the east of the monument, watching this scene with Robin Munro of Asia Watch, the New York-based human rights organisation. Behind us were 3,000 soldiers squatting on the steps of the History Museum and some several hundreds more behind the mausoleum to our left. Close by was a young Chinese woman wearing a white sun-bonnet and holding hands with her boyfriend. 'Aren't you frightened?' I asked her. 'Oh, we're frightened to death,' she said in bright classroom tones. She was a school teacher. 'They'll start shooting at any moment.' But I could not detect the slightest trace of fear about her. And when I asked why they didn't go, she replied for the several hundreds of others caught in the charmed circle of the obelisk. 'Oh, we can't leave until it's over.'

At that moment a Frenchman walked over from the monument and came up to us. 'You must come and see it,' he said. 'They've taken their oaths and are writing their last wills. It's absolutely serene.' We followed him up stairs packed densely with student and worker 'Dare to Die' brigades. It was dark on the upper tier except for distant floodlights from above the Forbidden City, which cast a harsh light onto the obelisk. These were intended to sharpen the feeling of fear and isolation. But they only increased the courage that seemed to radiate from the monument like a peculiar sort of grace. Some of the students chatted quietly while others, incredibly, were sound asleep. Most simply sat there looking exhausted or bored, as though waiting for a bus.

One girl with gold-rimmed glasses and plastic shoes smiled cheerfully and asked, 'What do you think of our struggle?' I was at a complete loss. Another student gave me his t-shirt to autograph. 'We must show the world', continued command centre, 'that we are prepared to pay the highest possible price for what we believe in.' Had they resolved to die, or were they indeed so supremely confident that none of the old comrades they had humiliated so utterly would dare to give the order to fire on them?

I have no answer, but standing on the plinth gave me some sense of the power of non-violent politics in a society like China ruled by fear and humiliation. The students ridicule 'struggle' and 'revolution'. They regard Mao as a simple native too thick to understand civil society. They eschew charisma and have no 'programmatic links to the masses'.

As we left the obelisk, a man in blue denim overalls came out of the dark, swinging a Molotov cocktail as casually as a tea thermos. He urged us to go immediately 'because everyone here will soon be killed'. 'But if it is so dangerous,' Robin asked, 'why don't you leave?' 'Because,' came the matter-of-fact reply, 'I have nothing to live for except to take revenge on these pigs.'

But just then the situation became fluid and ugly. At 4.15 the fairy lights inside the Great Hall of the People suddenly came on as thousands upon thousands of troops poured from the cavernous doorways through the violent floodlights onto the street. The menacing clatter excited the crowds,

who immediately set fire to heaps of sodden bedding marinated in petrol. A long file of elite paratroopers locking and loading their rifles jogged in close formation along the edge of the square. Our friend gathered up stones. But we just stared absently at this scene.

And it was at this moment, 4.25 a.m., that the 'four hunger strikers' on the monument chose to bring reason to bear in order to break the primitive spell of the night.

'Students, workers and all citizens, I am Hou Dejian,' announced the Taiwanese rock star who was leading the hunger strike of four Chinese intellectuals. 'We have won a great victory, but I must tell you that without the approval of the student leaders I have negotiated a retreat with the soldiers.' The news was stunning, and it was later learned that Hou had made overtures to the military at 3.15 a.m. and secured agreement for an orderly evacuation from the south-east corner. But the student leaders and the leaders of the independent labour unions were divided over whether to accept the agreement. Now the hunger strikers addressed the square directly.

'They have deadly orders from above to clear the square by dawn and they will do it at all costs,' said the Peking University lecturer, Zhou Tou. 'We must save our blood, we must evacuate immediately.' But appealing to self-preservation only hardened resolve. 'Stand fast!' came the roar from the plinth. 'No evacuation!' The speeches grew more impatient as the soldiers moved in from the west. The leadership was split along the lines dividing the movement at every turn. On the one hand was the appeal to blood symbolism – the hunger strikes, the threats of self-immolation, the sacrifice to 'save China' – which stir all Chinese. But on the other was the simple rationality of liberal ideas. Democracy supposedly provided solutions to practical problems. And so the slogan, 'Die for Democracy', seemed absurd. Nevertheless, 'Stand fast!' came the roar a second time. 'No evacuation!'

It was not the moment to sort out the confusion, but it was the only moment there was. Either the ideas which brought the students into the crisis would strengthen them in the middle of it or they would be lost. And it was the literary critic Liu Xiaopo – later arrested as the 'black hand of the counter-revolution' – who forged the link between the ideas and the moment to master the situation.

'Now students, the principle on which we take our stand is peace and nonviolence. We hope to exchange the highest degree of democracy for the minimum cost of blood.' He paused, and I could not tell at the moment which was more surreal, the lurid violence of the Nuremberg-like setting or the delineation of first principles in its midst.

'Now, students, the principle on which we must start with each one of us right here, right now. The minority must obey the majority, that is our highest principle! The citizens are about to riot,' he said, 'the soldiers to charge. If we believe in non-violence we must find a way out of this impasse.' Slowly he turned the question of democracy from a test of courage in some fantasy world of moral absolutes into a practical problem in the immediate present. 'We must calm

the citizens and evacuate them in an orderly and safe manner. The minority must obey the majority.'

When he finished, command centre announced a vote 'to resolve the matter democratically'. 'Those wishing to stay will shout "Stand fast!" Those wishing to leave, "Live another day!"' It seemed a fair summary. And from where we stood the 'Stand fasts' were louder. Journalists elsewhere had the same impression. And so again we prepared for the final assault.

'It has been decided democratically,' said the deputy commander and the husband of the student leader Chai Lin. 'Each college will form up under banners and march to the south-east in orderly fashion. We will live another day.'

The student leaders had apparently interpreted the shouting differently. The Chinese maxim to cover this situation is 'suppressing the details to seize the moment'. But when at 4.55 a.m. the students began to file off slowly in a long column five abreast. Robin and I also 'suppressed the details'. We broke out in applause. Robin saw a dumpy middle-aged woman with a bowl haircut and one of the timeless Chinese faces with tears in her eyes. He ran up to her and said in Chinese, 'You've done the right thing, there is no shame in it. You have won a great victory!'

They looked like refugees. Many had no shoes and some were wrapped in blankets or dirty plastic sheets. But those who watched this ragged parade will long remember it. 'I shall remember those banners at dawn and the vision of their faces, so serious, so innocent, for the rest of my life' said Juan Restrepo of Television Española who stood nearby. And I shall remember how nonchalantly they turned their backs on the troops and walked away. The students had not won democracy for China. No one had illusions they would. But there is great beauty in retreats. They had seen through the weakness of the regime and walked away from Tiananmen by the same democratic principles that brought them there originally.

BLOOD sanctifies whether it is spilled over the altar or runs through the streets. 'So what does it matter,' asked the sinologist Ross Terrill, addressing the Foreign Co-respondents Club in Hong Kong, 'whether the massacre occurred in Tiananmen Square or just a few blocks away?'

Ordinarily this might be a delicate question to put to a roomful of journalists who make a living, after all, pursuing the truth in detail. But there is a magic to the word 'massacre' which captured the mood precisely. Something about it encourages journalists to reverse their routine, grasp the truth first and let the facts fall where they may. Thus the 'Tiananmen massacre' has become the latest truth on China. And when the truth is known, as Terrill implied, asking questions is simply bad taste.

But the fact is that there was no large-scale killing in Tiananmen Square itself. And the massacre lore which has sprung around Tiananmen is not only inaccurate but, worse, blots out the extraordinary drama that did unfold there. For three tense hours the students stared into the teeth of overwhelming deadly force and then got up and, well, walked away?'

What this left out was the record

of the brutal counter-revolutionary pogrom which had been unleashed on the state authorities (police, army, and officials) by these petty-bourgeois anarchists and opportunists behind the Tiananmen camp-out, prior to their eviction from the square and the record of Chai Ling's determination for blood to be shed at all costs so as to establish 'democracy' martyrdom.

But it was the first frank admission by a reactionary bourgeois account that no massacre at all had taken place, and that no one was even killed on Tiananmen when it was finally cleared of its insurrection, – and it at last confirmed what *EPSR* Leninism had established two months earlier from the initial factual reports of the Western bourgeois press observers, and before the CIA international propaganda domination had been able to put a spin on things, – namely that there were no attacks by the authorities on anyone anywhere, just a murderous pogrom by reactionaries on the state authorities.

This one-sided bloodshed raged for 12 hours before the order was finally given to clear the square of its six-week occupation, – yet still in the entirely peaceful way described by the *Spectator*. Compare that admirable restraint by the Chinese workers state to these accounts of savage violence by petty-bourgeois individualists despising socialism, and hating the revolution's still overwhelming popularity among the Chinese masses:

But even on Saturday afternoon there were ominous signs.....Tiananmen Square was the usual spectacle of red flags blowing gaily, but behind the Great Hall of the People 1,000 troops were surrounded by a jeering crowd and the mood was ugly. Occasionally a student emerged holding aloft a captured helmet or showing off a bloody wound.

Littering the street towards Fuxingmen were half a dozen smashed-up army trucks or buses. Troops were trapped in one. Another was crammed full of gear and an AK-47 machine gun had been erected on top as an exhibition. The stream of cyclists drifting up and down were in high spirits, but there was an air of hysteria.

At around 2pm police loudspeakers had warned the crowd it was illegal to steal equipment from the People's Liberation Army.

Later, by the square, more troops were hemmed in a crowd by the Revolutionary History museum.... They were surrounded by a crowd of 500 and several were almost beaten to death as they tried to escape. Unaware of this, diplomats brought their families out to watch the troops.

All of this had failed to give us an intimation of what was in store..... we began to run back in fear as the crowd began to set fire to the buses.

A tyre on our jeep had been slashed, but we rumbled down the street dodging in and out of the road bar-



The counter-revolutionary student movement in Tiananmen chose the obscene and cynical US imperialist "democracy" symbol of the Stature of Liberty as the provocative quasi-religious Goddess symbol for their violent protests

riers until we arrived at the Minzu Hotel where an angry band of youths stormed our jeep, hurling stones and rocking us until we established our identity.

We dashed across to the hotel entrance, where a crowd was savagely beating a soldier. Another had found safety in the hotel and the crowd was trying to smash the doors. A police car was burning nearby.

The road was littered with broken glass and bricks. Just before, a detachment of riot police had been attacked, and the air was thick with tear gas and smoke.

From a window we could see shadowy figures flitting through the dark hurling stones, and after an hour the last trucks moved down. One man siphoned off petrol from our jeep and hurled a Molotov cocktail, setting himself on fire. Others smashed open the cars, including ours.

When the last truck had vanished towards the square, the crowd emerged clutching stones and sticks

and moved off in pursuit.

Gradually the chants of "Tu Fei, Tu Fei" – the old nationalist cry of "Communist bandit" – grew louder and louder. People tore down the red pro-government banners draped down the sides of the hotel and burned them.

More and more wounded were being taken to hospital nearby. We went to the small People's Hospital and it looked like an abattoir. There were bodies on benches and beds or on blood-soaked mattresses on the floor. Many had.... badly beaten soldiers and we saw one covered in blood who was clearly not going to live.

It was the same story at the nearby post office hospital.

At the central post office, a journalist from the state news agency had been beaten to death, a family had died in their homes by stray gunfire, another man in his bathroom, a girl by a tear gas shell as she looked out of her window; four police had been dragged out of their car and beaten to death.



One of multiple lynching victims of the counter-revolutionary fascist violence was Second Lieutenant Liu Guogeng of the marshall law troops who was beaten to death, set alight and then disembowelled in the killings started by the demonstrators, in advance of the clearing of the square (which itself involved no deaths at all, as the rightwing Spectator magazine article makes clear (see page 44)).

Students set on fire two armoured personnel carriers and soldiers who clambered out were beaten to death.

On the other side of the square, people were wreaking a terrible vengeance among the burning vehicles and rubble. An army officer had been burned and hanged. His naked corpse dangled in a charred bus.

At around 10.30 last night normal television programmes were interrupted to transmit pictures of the rioting, taken by the traffic monitors. They showed hundreds of citizens attacking and defeating heavily armed riot police and dragging and punching troops.

Bob Gannon, a 30-year-old freelance photographer sent to Beijing two weeks ago by the Guardian, was in the city on Saturday night when the soldiers and students clashed. This is what he saw.

Gannon and other journalists ran up the Avenue of Eternal Peace, along which more soldiers carrying riot shields were advancing towards Tiananmen Square. It was a little before midnight and the soldiers were met by students.

There were about 70 or 80 soldiers. Everyone was throwing bicycles, rocks, sticks — anything they could get their hands on — at the soldiers. After about 20 minutes of this, the soldiers fired teargas. There was hardly any wind and the gas hung in the air.

The soldiers retreated towards the Minzu Hotel pursued by students, now an angry mob.

In front of me there was a soldier, screaming and crying — he was completely freaked out. They were all around him arms coming in at him holding rocks. They started to drop

rocks on his head.

I and a student tried to push people back from him — it was an automatic response. He went to the ground and they just dropped rocks, huge rocks, on to the middle of his face. It was continuous and I got blood spattered all over me. He was virtually decapitated by the time he was dragged away.

Another soldier who was trying to crawl through a hedge towards the hotel was descended upon.

I ran into the hotel. On the foyer floor there was a group of soldiers laid out. I only saw one breathing. I took just one photograph and was jumped on by four or five men, thrust up against the wall, punched and had all my gear ripped off and film taken.

These unchallengeable accounts by the anti-communist Western press who were in Beijing in literally their thousands to whip up the biggest propaganda blitz against the Chinese workers state ever but who could not avoid reporting what they were seeing, — later on were an embarrassment to some on Fleet Street as they dutifully fell in line with His Masters Voice from the CIA, instructing every Western bourgeois regime to spread the ‘Tiananmen massacre’ nonsense.

Some with a ‘conscience’(!) got round it by snarling “What does it matter if it was not actually on Tiananmen. There was still a massacre”. Well, no, as it happens. Just 100 civilians dead over the whole of China over the seven-week confrontation, and slightly more than 100 soldiers, officials,

and police.

Other hacks who knew the truth, stumbled even more:

Government propaganda has argued consistently that no one was killed in the square during the crucial hour and a half when the students were evacuating. That may well be true. Most people died that night, either because they were in the way or by accident.

“That may well be true”! Imagine the reaction if Heath last week had actually denied there ever was any Tiananmen ‘massacre’ at all!

Such is the insane hysteria into which the anti-communist bourgeoisie has whipped itself, the CPGB well to the fore, — just as all the Trots, without exception, capitulated to the ‘massacre’ hysteria at the time.

The CPGB, pretending as usual to be ‘defending’ the Chinese workers state ‘on principle’, nevertheless managed to row in with the general hysteria with such phrases as

“the horrific sight of the Peoples Liberation Army turning on the people has proved the bankruptcy of the leadership of the Communist Party of China”;

and

“the slaughter we have seen in Beijing could well be repeated in Moscow, Leningrad, and Kiev”, etc.

No thought, there, of utterly denouncing the completely insane media hysteria throughout the ‘free’ world, effectively distorting the whole of history in the minds



of everyone in the West for a brief while, all on account of quite a minor little class-war skirmish, easily and humanely won by the Chinese workers state. Just more fuel on the fires of anti-Chinese race hatred.

And how this hatred was piled up, just like the mysteriously disappearing mountains of dead bodies.

The ‘free’ press, the ‘only guarantee of maintaining the truth’, variously reported:

According to one diplomat, units of the 27th Army which blasted their way across the square on Saturday night broke through lines of soldiers attached to other army groups, causing many casualties. Troops under separate orders, to evacuate thousands of students safely from the square were also mown down as dawn broke on Sunday. About 1,000 soldiers are said to have been killed.

“They had orders that nobody be spared, and children and young girls were slaughtered as mercilessly as the many wounded soldiers from other

units," another diplomat said.

27th armoured units thundered in from the north, the diplomat quoted witnesses as saying that tanks and armoured troop carriers pulped bodies in the square, and then incinerated them with flame-throwers.

Many bodies were ferried away by helicopter, according to the sources[...]

Up to 3,000 people were said to have been killed when Chinese soldiers and tanks attacked the square, occupied since 15 April by the protesters.

No one knows how many have been killed but one Chinese source claimed that a senior officer on the square has said 10,000 bodies had been collected and were being burnt or lifted out by helicopters which flew in and out all day.

The soldiers piled the corpses up and set fire to them. They did so in order to remove the evidence and witnesses. It is estimated that 2,000 were killed.

Exposing all this nonsense at the time, EPSR Leninism asked why, with more than 2,000 Western TV and newsmen in Beijing for no other purpose than to follow the fate of the Tiananmen occupation, there was never one single photograph, report, or TV footage produced showing one single protester's body being either burned, or airlifted away from this central vast city square which was the object of everyone's unceasing attention.

The clearance took place between 4 and 7 a.m. on the morning of June 4. There were no restrictions on the Western press whatsoever. Why did no one see a thing?

As EPSR challenged then (see EPSR Books Vol16 China):

'At the time of this imaginary 'massacre', the *Bulletin* asked: How were so many bodies disposed of in the middle of this city which was swamped by literally hundreds if not thousands of Western propaganda manufacturers. The BBC alone had a staff of more than 30 out there. Duplicate this for the other major Western television propaganda agencies and it comes to nearly 300. Add another few hundred for commercial television and the other 150 countries in the 'free' world, and then treble or quadruple that sum for all of the capitalist press and news agency propagandists out there, and the total comes to at least two thousand so-called 'newsmen'. But not a single one saw any bodies being disposed of.

To burn one body successfully without trace between 5 and 7 a.m. on an open square without special equipment and without anyone being able to sneak a single picture of it or convincing eye-witness account in the middle of a massive city which up to that point the Western media was proudly proclaiming to be totally 'in the hands of the people', - and partially so still for many days after that, - would be miraculous. To dispose of 10,000 bodies that way puts the parting of the Red Sea and the feeding of the 5,000 with a tin of sardines in the amateur conjuring class.

Despite the presence of the entire-world's 'free' press for weeks before and after the incident and their intimate participation with the counter-revolu-

tionary organisation, plus their all-night activity and film-making on that night with masses of photographs and film footage, - not one single frame or recording exists of this incredible event in the heart of Peking on Tiananmen Square, the centre of the world's attention, - the destruction by flame-thrower of thousands of dead bodies (an impossibility no matter how long they tried), and/or the removal next day of 10,000 mangled remains (leaving nothing behind) by helicopters "in and out all day". And they would need to have been. With a generous ten bodies per helicopter, and a hard-to-achieve (from a loading and air traffic-control point of view) departure of a filled helicopter every four minutes, it would in fact have taken nearly three whole days (72 hours) to clear the square of the dead. Three thousand would have taken 24 hours to clear, a thousand at least eight hours going flat out from 7 a.m. on Sunday morning with a helicopter soaring up every four minutes. But not one single photograph exists of helicopters taking off from Tiananmen with bodies on board or anything else on board, - yet the entire worlds 'free' press was right there in the heart of Peking all the time, and all the time filming clandestinely there too as we have seen from their stream of pathetically distorted and stunted-up 'reports'. Nor one single photograph of the 'alternative' method of disposal either, - the burning of bodies with flamethrowers, - or even with a box of matches. Remarkable.

With hindsight, the problem of disposing of the 'massacred' thousands looks like even more fiendish oriental magic than ever before.

For consider the task facing British agriculture recently when just 4,700 pigs

carcasses (less than half the bodies that the Chinese workers state allegedly had to dispose of) had to be burned in reality.

An entire quarry had to be commandeered, and despite vast quantities of fuel used for the bonfire (more than 50 lorryloads), the job still took five days, and the smoke and, smell could be detected more than 15 miles away:

Government vets on a North Wales farm began destroying 4,700 pigs infected by Britain's worst outbreak of anthrax.

Government vets began shooting farmer Geoffrey Priestley's herd at midday yesterday. About 1,000 of the pigs at the North Wales farm were due to be killed by the end of the day and their carcasses burnt on a huge pyre built of 300 bales of hay, scores of railway sleepers and 50 tonnes of coal, all soaked in diesel. It was estimated that the process would take three or four days to complete.

So how could 10,000 human bodies have been burned in the middle of Peking in just a few hours surrounded by over two thousand Western newsmen hot on the trail of communist atrocities yet not one single picture or one single paragraph of eye-witness account has appeared anywhere about this miraculous burning??? The answer is simple. There was no 'massacre', and there was no mass of bodies to be disposed of at all.'

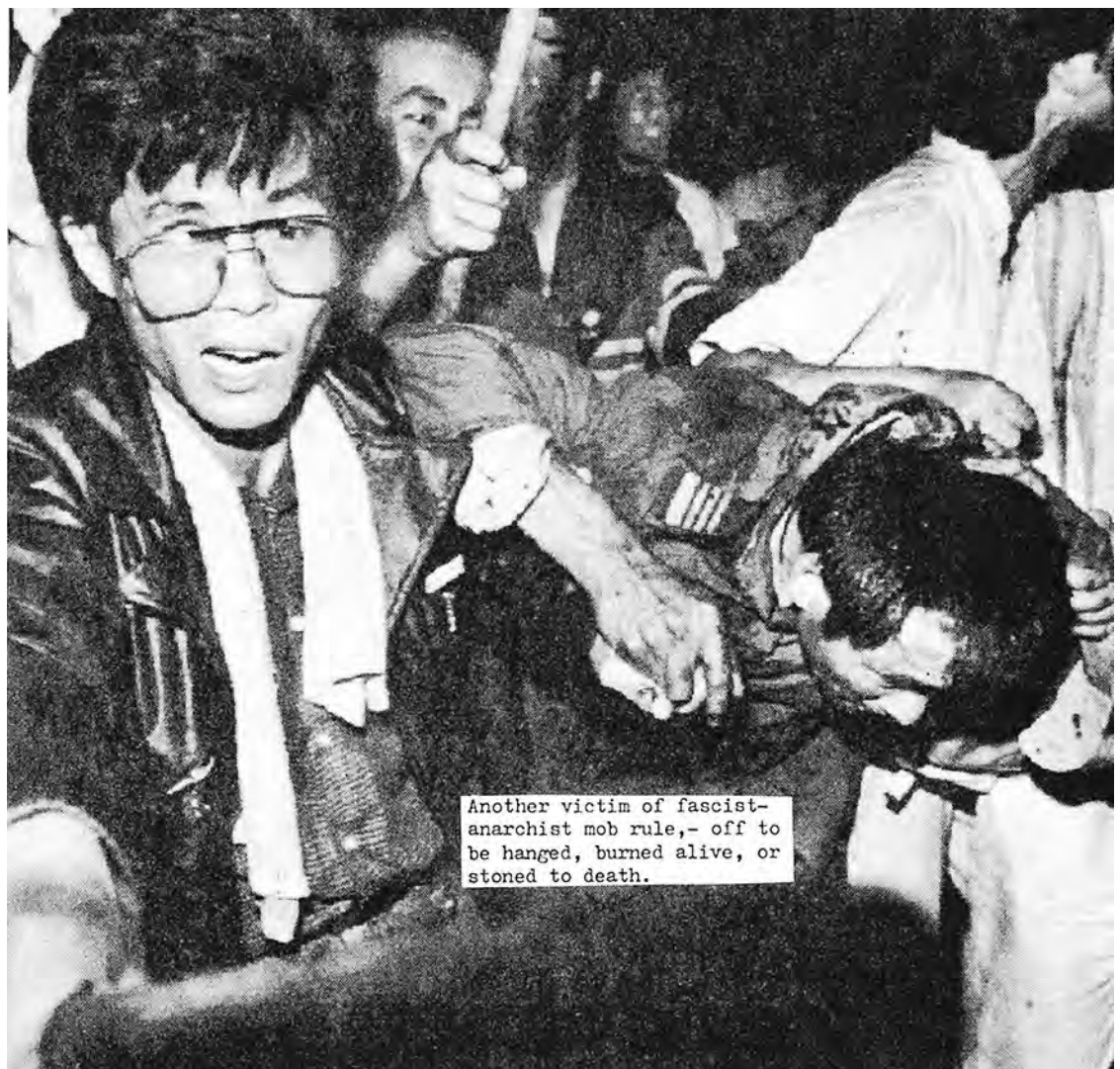
Not that such facts will stop the anti-communist hysteria, of course, once petty-bourgeois confusion-mongering has made up its mind to it.

Which returns the story full circle to the CPGB Trots and their deliberate 'violence' falsifica-

tions against Socialist Labour, in circumstances where many eye-witnesses swear that it was the expelled CPGB/Trot disrupters who started the scuffling anyway at London's Conway Hall, including punches at peace-making NEC members, and who, non-stop, threaten violence to the pro-SLP-constitution minority at Vauxhall branch meetings. In-your-face Trot provocative shouts of 'Fascist', 'Corrupt', or 'Thug', accompanied by actual blows, threats, or aggressive body language, all of which are now routine for these expelled entryists and their supporters, - all demonstrate where the real violence is coming from, - the 'entry' stunt itself.

That would make sense too, of course, of a very sordid kind. For one of the most notorious tactics of all provocateurs and infiltrators is to get inside an organisation to be disrupted, and just start trouble, - any kind of trouble at all, even if its cause can be traced back to deliberate disruption, - on the grounds that any 'violence' allegations, however silly or flimsy, will be propaganda mud that will forever stick to that organisation. It is a subversion tactic that was widely used by the CIA against the international anti-imperialist movement, as detailed in Philip Agee's writings.

Fortunately for anti-communism, the Trot individualist



Another victim of fascist-anarchist mob rule,- off to be hanged, burned alive, or stoned to death.

self-righteous mentality has always been willing for disruptive martyrdom with or without CIA encouragement. Such subjective-idealism just loves scenes of 'principled' provocative defiance, like sabotaging meetings by refusing to accept expulsion from the SLP; or, in their imagination, infiltrating Cuba to start provocatively shouting 'Down with Castro'; or joining in the phony reactionary 'heroics' of the rotten anarchist

elements and gilded youth at Tiananmen.

To build a healthy mass workers party, Socialist Labour would be well advised to step up constitutional disciplines against the poison of Trotskyite individualism, which will use any propaganda nonsense it can lay hands on to fire off false accusations against healthy SLP elements as a cover-up for its subversion.

Build Leninism. RB

Trot sabotage of Socialist Labour right in line with the imperialist establishment's need as the economic and political crises deepen. The CPGB's anti-leadership anti-communism takes its cue from the 'New World Order' delusion. But the defeatist Trots get it wrong again. It is imperialism which is getting beaten, not anti-imperialism, in Occupied Palestine as in Occupied Ireland. Inter-imperialist conflict is king. Blairism will be irrelevant.

[EPSR No897 01-04-97]

As the economic and political crisis of the imperialist system grows daily more rancid, Socialist Labour is increasingly having its challenge to capitalism sabotaged not by the Establishment but by so-called 'lefts'.

The Trotskyite petty-bourgeoisie, with all the arrogance of their class, persist in ordering the SLP workers party about from their entryist perch on the party's fringes.

A coven of individualist libertarian loonies had installed itself in Vauxhall, southwest London, under the opportunist cover of Socialist Labour's inevitably spontaneous and disorganised launch.

But with nearly 18 months experience now of Trotskyite parasitism, seeking to use the SLP purely as a vehicle for their own sectarian recruiting, – Socialist Labour has now begun to sort the wheat from the chaff, and has disbanded the anti-SLP antics of the Vauxhall posturers.

"The NEC's decision must be vigorously opposed by all members of the party",

predictably reply these hostile class forces from their ambush site, the *Weekly Worker* propaganda sheet of the CPGB Trots, a medium under the strict authoritarian control of the CPGB gurus.

So why have an NEC of the Socialist Labour Party at all in that case? What is the point of an NEC but to take executive decisions in defence of the party's policy and constitution? If every decision is routinely to be rejected, why have an NEC at all?

The remaining tiny group of bogus 'lefts' in the SLP, still too stupid to see through this middle-class Trotskyite sabotage racket, cannot answer.

Labour anyway, either booted out for earlier wrecking activities, or else who never bothered leaving their CPGB ambush site in the first place.

This insolent CPGB 'announcement' of what these middle-class saboteurs dictate should happen next inside Socialist Labour is slyly worded to say "Vauxhall members agreed..." etc. In other words, the undercover sect of illicit Trot entryists, hostile to the SLP, had their own private meeting to "agree" these things without opposition from the remaining tiny handful of healthy SLP members not yet driven off completely by these insane destructive activities, in Vauxhall.

The regular Trot hypocrisy against the leadership of the SLP workers party, sneering that

"such a situation is not acceptable in a democratic workers party",

reaches its disgusting crescendo in another provocative affront, entirely designed to cause a violent response from SLP members so that the police can involve themselves against Socialist Labour, – of a CPGB Trot, not a member of the SLP, continuing to pose as the "SLP candidate for Brent East", and continuing to turn up to Brent East candidates' debates (the seat Ken Livingstone is defending for New Labour) and taking part as the "SLP representative", contemptuously disregarding all Socialist Labour's many public pronouncements that this despicable petty-bourgeois charlatan is not a member and is nothing to do with the SLP.

The basis for this demented disruption of Socialist Labour is, of course, the arrogance bred by the apparent triumph of anti-communism in modern developments.

These bourgeois class elements, utterly hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat of the Soviet workers state, now feel supremely confident that counter-revolutionary actions of almost any kind can now be got away with against anything that can be labelled 'Stalinist'.

These types are the complete creatures of bully-boy imperialism which believes it has "won the battle of history" and has "vanquished communism for ever".

The pretence of these creeps is that they are "only against Stalinism"; but the reality of the international class forces which succeeded in undermining the CPSU revisionist leadership, causing it to self-liquidate in its philistine Gorbachevite confusion, is that all communist revolt will now be mercilessly persecuted wherever possible. The pipsqueak voices of these Trots and ex-revisionists who join in this sneering witch-hunt while still pretending to be

"in favour of the socialist revolution" do not bother the imperialist ringmasters of this red-baiting circus.

The statistical evidence explains why. There are 57 Trot parties, at least. They have been around in various guises for 70 years. They have never come remotely close to building a mass workers movement.

Socialist Labour, on the other hand, already has workers pouring in although it has only been going for five minutes, and is already able to put up 50 candidates or more in the coming election to signal a real socialist-movement challenge at long last to the corruption of bourgeois parliament.

The same pattern is regularly repeated on the propaganda/censorship front where the Trots get various mentions from time to time, but news of the SLP is a suspicious rarity.

The assault on Socialist Labour by these bourgeois-Trot forces tells the same story. It is unthinkable that these posturing middle-class 'revolutionaries' would dream of feeling comfortable and confident about just disrupting the activities of a rival political party, the SLP, unless they felt that society at large would generally approve of them putting the boot into these "worrying Stalinist tendencies" as they began to smear Scargill & Co months ago.

These CPGB Trots and their *Weekly Worker* adherents know damn well that chanting the witch-hunting drumbeat of "Stalinism" will be right in tune with the brainwashing propaganda deluge that the whole of Europe has been steeped in (by the CIA's masterly control of the world's news agencies since the self-liquidating collapse of the Soviet workers state), completely distorting all of 20th century history.

And it shows that the Trots know what a good wicket they think they are batting on when they deliberately throw in other good, politically-correct, witch-hunting words as well, such as 'homophobic' with which to try to slander the anti-Trot political development of the SLP, (discouraging sects and factions from turning the SLP into just a faction-ridden anti-leadership recruiting ground for Trotskyite anti-communism).

Socialist Labour is almost certainly the most democratically-minded and least unconstitutionally-manipulated mass workers party ever to have developed in Britain, but that still makes no difference at all to these pre-programmed disrupters (who in reality could not give a damn about any kind of democracy and least of all about that for workers, – as their own behaviour shows by telling lies in signing up to

abide by the SLP constitution and decision-making in the first place; then refusing to accept all decisions they don't like; and finally announcing completely undemocratic 'decisions' about what the 'SLP' is going to do next!).

It is the SLP's very determination to organise a properly-disciplined mass workers party, as united behind correct and agreed leadership decisions as possible, – that had already decided these Trots ("bourgeois intellectuals hostile to the workers movement" as Lenin described Martov, Plekhanov, and Trotsky) to disrupt Socialist Labour from the start.

This modern McCarthyite witchhunt against the SLP thus serves the whole of the bourgeoisie well who wish, above all else, for the destruction of any possibility of any good memory surviving of the great achievements of the Soviet workers state or of the disciplined way in which mass workers parties used to be organised which made those achievements, – in Russia, Cuba, etc, and in their worldwide support.

Sabotaging the SLP is of interest to the spontaneous interconnections of all bourgeois ideology, right and 'left', because the world imperialist system is deep in trouble, and there is not a bourgeois subconsciousness on the planet which does not then think in terms of 'Oh, no, not a return to the Soviet workers state and all that discipline', etc, meaning a properly-organised workman-like society where serious and rational study, and the professional achievements of a labour culture, become society's highest good, – not social climbing and consumerist posturing, achieved only at the expense of exploiting the poorest masses all round the globe, which is the 'Western way of life'.

How serious the SLP is about reorganising a proper communist work ethic around the Socialist Labour Party and the future society in Britain, to be organised by an SLP government, remains to be seen; but the signs are sufficient to appal the Trot dilettantes; and the time for such thinking is made absolutely right by the wholesale mess into which the imperialist international economy and political straitjacket is rapidly sinking.

Revolution is back on the agenda in a big way, and workers in Britain need to start thinking about exactly what is involved.

The British ruling class, for instance, is in unprecedented turmoil. Never in history has the bourgeoisie's major ruling party, the Tories, been in such disarray, and at such a crucially difficult time of imperialist economic weakness for Britain while facing an imminent international trade

war of unheard-of proportions, and at the same time as a dramatic switch has been attempted to a new style of phony 'opposition', – New Labour.

Blairism is receiving massive Establishment encouragement because the old Labour Clause IV 'socialism', – joke that it always was in practice under such a relentlessly bourgeois party, – nevertheless has been considered too great a potential danger to be leaving around in the crisis-conditions the planet will shortly be plunged into, as the entire ruling class (and not only of Britain) knows full well, – the greatest upheaval of markets-crash, ferocious trade war, ruinous slump, and strutting chauvinism that the world has ever seen.

Opportunity was taken of the "socialism is dead" atmosphere in the world since 1990 to kill off Clause IV. No wonder all the bourgeois are so appalled that Socialist Labour has risen back up again like a phoenix so rapidly.

But all this has only served to undermine the self-confidence of the ruling-class party, the Tories, even more. Knowing what a weak hand they have to play internationally, and knowing how potentially volatile a revived workers movement could be in Britain, the Tories seem to have lost their nerve and their know-how completely.

But Blairism will not save British capitalism, that is for certain. All it is likely to do is to alienate the working class even more, eventually, with its contemptible shallow opportunism and public-relations gimmickry trying to patch up imperialist economic contradictions of which the philistine Blairites have not the slightest understanding.

Deep down, the Tories must know this too. Hence the even greater alarm about what is going to happen to the country next, and hence the even louder noise of disgraced operators falling on their swords where too flagrantly caught out, or even more noisily not falling on their swords as in Tatton when they think they can still get away with it because the general leadership of the great bourgeois Establishment is in such disarray itself.

But even this ruling-class mess, as great as it is, does not of itself yet tell quite the full picture of imperialism's difficulties as is told in France.

There, anyone who fails to see that all-out class war is virtually next on the agenda, just is not looking.

The weekend's astonishing confrontations in Strasbourg where tens of thousands turned out in effect to insist on a future for France which does not continue the present 'free world' course of inter-imperialist contradictions

which is bound to lead the world back to fascism, – tell the whole story.

The huge demonstration of agitated slogans simply said 'no to racism' in an attempt to face down the strutting National Front congress there.

This, however, is just a well-meaning but hopeless farce. Free-market competition has been designated to rule the planet for the next infinite period of years; and free-market competition is just inter-imperialist conflict spelt differently; and inter-imperialist contradictions have no other resolution but inter-imperialist war eventually, which is where Le Pen and the National Front come storming in.

"Three million unemployed; three million immigrants. Too many" scream Le Pen's slogans archly. One of Hitler's reported slogans was: "500,000 unemployed; 400,000 Jews. The answer is simple".

Good luck to the magnificent Strasbourg demonstrators in facing down the National Front chauvinist strut temporarily, if that is what they achieved.

However, the inter-imperialist economic crisis roars on totally out of anyone's control. Marxist economic science, which no one has ever refuted, clearly explains how a destructive crash or slump must intervene periodically to destroy the relative capital 'surpluses' which the anarchic system of profiteering and credit-creation has created, especially in the globalisation era of uninhibited monopoly takeovers of giant multinationals by giant multinationals.

Such market crashes have invariably been accompanied by inter-imperialist wars in the modern era, or by the war-mongering threats of war, the arms race.

Now is no different. And how big a crash must be anticipated in the light of the postwar boom stretched to unprecedented lengths by the deliberate anti-communist counter-revolutionary actions of US dollar imperialism, to keep the world from going Red.? It will be the mother and father of all slumps, to coin a phrase.

And all the signs of conflict are already in place, quite regardless of all the indirect indications such as can be deduced by the relentless rise of National Front fascism in France.

What does Le Pen go on about? The 'unfair' way France is tricked inside the European Union by Germany, and in the world as a whole by US imperialism.

What is the reality? Let the capitalist press tell its own story of inter-imperialist conflict, with much skulduggery, treachery, and deep worries about who is win-

ning and who is losing, and what fearful consequences will ensue from such defeats in the international trade war and unspoken war for political domination:

[cutting – on US/UK skulduggery blocking France's interventions in Zaire]

But imperialist powers undermining each other to damage a rival's international economic and political relations, – and eventually to result in sharpening class war at home as this week has been demonstrated in Strasbourg, – is by no means the end of the story either.

For what is supposed to happen in these exploited colonial areas when one imperialist profiteering tyranny tries to muscle in on another? In theory, the dominant imperialist power might be expected to buy off any incipient revolt with a new relationship of bribery and corruption, – and that may well be what is intended in Zaire, and what indeed may happen.

But that corroding strategy has not always worked so successfully since 1945, as the anti-imperialist revolutions showed in China, Vietnam, Cuba, and elsewhere.

And the fear that a new round of capitalist slump-crisis similar to that which pushed the Western world into warmongering crisis in the first place, causing such anti-imperialist revolt around 1945 and just after, – is never far from the monopoly bourgeoisie's mind, as indicated in this nervous capitalist press report:

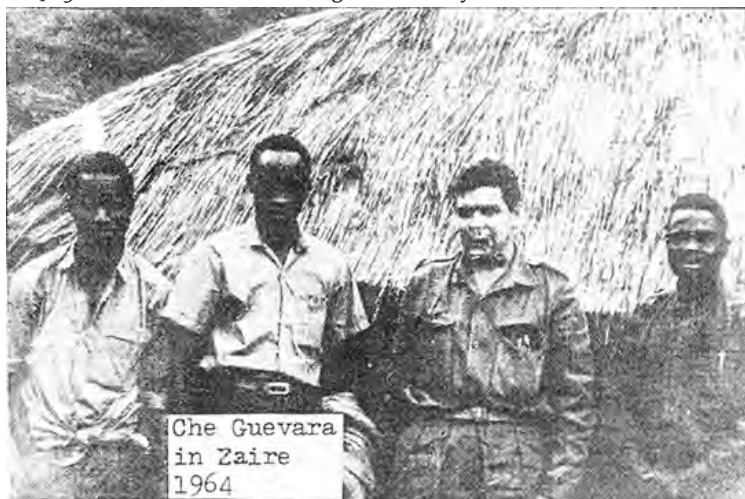
Among Kabila's allies at that time was Che Guevara, the Argentinian-born revolutionary leader, who visited Africa in 1964. Che, a hero to a generation of left-wing students in the West, wrote approvingly of his contacts with Kabila, saying that the rebel leader "understood perfectly that the principal enemy was North American imperialism".

Kabila, a short, jolly man, has carefully failed to spell out his recent political philosophy, but the rhetoric of his followers is still all about the class struggle, the dominance of the imperialist Americans, the state as oppressor and the freedom of the masses.

Western powers, who for years saw support for the anti-communist Mobutu as vital at a time when Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe were leaning towards Moscow, have largely deserted him. His standing at home has plummeted amid rampant poverty and appalling corruption.

"Mobutu's return means nothing for Zaire or his retreating army," said Seth Sendashonga, a former Rwandan minister and now a regional political analyst. 'It is too late for him to save the nation from the rebel advance."

Nor is the problem linked just to outdated French colonialism, as some complacent Western propaganda might want to imply. The trade war conflict is gripping all of the contestants, big and small alike, and it is impossible to over-



exaggerate just how seriously they are taking it. This capitalist press report tries to treat it lightheartedly, but it still ends up with the question: Why are these 'allies' doing this to each other at all, and what does it all mean?

[cutting: US Cold War spies in Germany now spying on Germans]

To describe inter-imperialist rivalry in the 20th century as "not much fun" could be the understatement of all time.

And to the further objection that such conflict all still seems a long way off, the endlessly explosive situation in the Middle East should correct that misunderstanding.

The colonisation of Palestine by Zionist-Western colonialism, a throwback to the imperialist scramble for Africa and Asia of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, has not always impressed itself on people's minds as an open festering sore of potential international conflagration because the Zionists have usually always been winning so easily, backed as they unchangingly have been by the almighty fire power and financial clout of US imperialism, always using the Zionists as its tame hired gun in the region to put down Arab nationalist revolt whenever Washington felt that a Nasser, or an Assad, or a Saddam Hussein, or an Arafat, etc, was getting too big for his boots, and threatening US oil interests potentially via a dramatic spread of Arab or Muslim national-liberation fever for a true equality with the Western oil exploiters for these Middle Eastern states.

But as the *EPSR* has never tired of pointing out, one day the relentless capitalist exploitation of the Arab masses is going to start producing what Marxism explained the capitalist system must always eventually produce, – a proletariat which begins to acquire such skills, social know-how, and political awareness that it begins to be transformed into a class which will no longer want to put up with being exploited and dominated any longer, and which

will start to develop the political understanding and organisational talent and discipline to do something effective about it, at long last.

In other words, to put it bluntly, the Arab masses will eventually learn to fight just as effectively or even better than their Zionist colonising tormentors.

As even capitalist press reports are beginning to indicate here or there, obliquely or indirectly, that time may be approaching now:

[Cutting on Zionist losses in south Lebanon]

Add in the Palestinians themselves, a far bigger population than the poor of South Lebanon or the Islamic fundamentalists of the whole area combined, – and with ultimately the most unbeatable need and will to fight of all, – and the days of Zionism's easy victories look more numbered than ever.

And the Palestinians themselves have already done plenty of very skilled and heroic fighting of all kinds over the years.

And they are getting better and better at it very quickly now. And the very latest twist in the long-drawn-out national-liberation struggle against Zionist colonialism has been to concede armed Palestinian statehood, of a sort, right in the territory of Palestine itself.

There is colossal distrust of what use Arafat will be putting this to, of course, but the real point is that once again, it is the very advancement that the logic of Western exploitation is itself forced to take things to, that is the essence of the question. An armed Palestinian state, on its own territory, and with more than 5 million Palestinians in existence altogether, the vast majority of them burning with inextinguishable hatred of the whole Zionist colonisation of their land, and thirsting for revenge, – will potentially soon be lined up against 4½ million colonising Jews, many of whom have no real appetite for continuing the imperialist repression or who have simply bloated them-

selves beyond much use in that department any more.

The Western imperialist press, always criminally biased against the Arabs and in favour of the Zionist colonisation out of the imperialist system's huge sense of guilt towards the Jews as a consequence of the tyranny which inter-imperialist World War II and its slump-fascist precursor inflicted on such minorities, – is itself beginning to reflect even this, however unwillingly or unconsciously:

Friday's atrocity illustrates Israel's dangerous dependence on Palestinian help to keep its own citizens safe.

Israeli sources admit freely that since the withdrawal from the Gaza Strip and parts of the West Bank, the ability of the Shin Bet secret service to gather intelligence and forestall attacks has been badly weakened.

During the long years of Israeli rule, the structure of occupation helped maintain control: licences and permits were granted and prison terms shortened in return for intelligence. But when Col Rajoub took over, one of his first acts was to arrest and then "turn" Israeli agents.

Yesterday, sources on both sides agreed that co-operation between the secret services had been limited since the March 9 meeting: routine contacts had been cancelled by the Palestinians and information supplied by the Shin Bet had not been acted on.

No one doubts that the Palestinian Authority can keep the peace if it chooses.

The Tel Aviv attack was the first suicide bomb in a year. Now Israeli officials predict that more may be on the way.

The hopeless injustice, intolerable tyranny, and sheer anarchic mismanagement of the international imperialist 'market' system is a perspective not greatly in fashion with any section of the bourgeoisie, including its middle-class Trot 'revolutionary' posturers.

While posing as such 'socialist' tearaways that they cannot bear to see Scargillism (which they pretend is reactionary Labour Party Mark II-ism) imposed on the working class, even by Scargill's own party, – the reality is that their real mentality is unrelieved petty-bourgeois defeatism. What they really think is that imperialism is unbeatable everywhere. Their 'revolutionary' posturing is just a dilettante's game.

They have particular contempt for the ability of the smaller national liberation struggles to achieve much on the anti-imperialist front.

Regular *EPSR* readers will be aware of how throughout 1996, the *Review* relentlessly exposed the ignorant fearfulness of these born individualist pessimists. In unguarded moments, they declared how the IRA had capitulated completely to irresistible US imperialist 'imposition of a peace

process' which was simply going to disarm the IRA and leave the national-liberation struggle with nothing, and the British imperialist colony of the Occupied Zone (so-called 'Northern Ireland') completely intact.

When the IRA exploded this ignorant philistine defeatism, the CPGB Trots still sneered "peace bombs". Only later did they drop this nonsense, without a word of explanation, of course, as to what was the meaning of all this slanderous disinformation in favour of the imperialist propaganda machine, which for decades has been reassuring British public opinion that 'terrorism' was bound to be defeated, that there was no way in which it could ever win anything, and that it was on the very verge of surrendering at that very moment, etc, etc, etc.

So how does Labour's offer of immediate peace-settlement talks involving Sinn Féin fully at the table at once if a ceasefire is in place, reflect on this defeatist Trot perspective?

It further blows it right out of the water. At this historic juncture, the IRA are unbeatable, and well the British Establishment knows it, as Blair will already have been told.

Britain's imperialist 'allies', to gather international goodwill and credibility where they can, also continue to advise the UK to create a completely new settlement for the whole of Ireland, finally ending the hated and infamous colonial partition of that cruelly maltreated country, imposed at bayonet point in 1921.

In detail, any foreign policy of imperialism can always change dramatically overnight.

But what CPGB petty-bourgeois defeatism always gets completely wrong is the general trend of history. All their posturing is in the end completely anti-Marxist, as well as being completely futile.

Bourgeois propaganda is their only true sustenance. They are anti-communist and counter-revolutionary in the deepest possible way, always easy prey to big bourgeois propaganda, whether for 70 years against the workers states; or against Scargill's tactics in the 1984-85 strike, demanding a ballot along with the Establishment; or ridiculing the SLP now; or belittling the Irish national-liberation struggle, falling for such hokum as the following, unusually exposed in one of the capitalist press's own reports:

IT IS dangerous to read newspapers casually. That's how the germ of a myth is planted. Next thing you know, it has grown into a fact. A glance at a headline, a swift scan of the introduction, a note of the picture caption, and you are on your way to a firmly held misconception.

Take the stories which informed us to prepare for a new American ambassador to Ireland. President Clinton,

the *Times* pronounced 10 days ago, "is about to make a decisive shift in his policy on Northern Ireland ... while at the same time slapping down Jean Kennedy Smith."

Two days later the *Daily Telegraph* told us that Kennedy Smith "is expected to be recalled by President Clinton because her strongly pro-nationalist views are now at odds with White House policy on Ireland."

But, significantly, there were no sources.

And there was also a rash of likelies, said-to-bes and expecteds, and a succession of tell-tale weasel phrases: "likely to be recalled" ... "tenure appears to be ending" ... "Clinton poised to recall".

There was all sorts of important supporting evidence. For instance, Kennedy Smith's recall hinged on the appointment of Madeleine Albright as Secretary of State. *The Times* said she had asked for talks with Northern Ireland Secretary Sir Patrick Mayhew during a visit to London later this week, something her predecessor never did during his years in office.

With great authority, the paper's diplomatic editor, Michael Binyon, wrote: "Her decision is a clear signal that during the second Clinton Administration policy on Ireland will

revert to the State Department... The second signal... is that Mrs Kennedy Smith has decisively lost influence, both in the White House and in the formulation of US policy on Ireland."

These signals were picked up by the *Telegraph*. Its page one story paraphrased Binyon, telling us that the "pro-Adams ambassador" was losing her job because "the policy of aligning America with Gerry Adams and John Hume, the SDLP leader, while maintaining a distance from London, has failed."

Then a picture of Kennedy Smith in the *Times* with an interesting caption: "Stays as Dublin ambassador."

In a strikingly bald-faced climb-down, the story rescinded every claim in its previous report. Albright would not be meeting Mayhew. Kennedy Smith was not being recalled. Clinton was not changing his stance. The State Department was not taking primary responsibility for Irish policy, which would remain with the National Security Council.

But this factual reverse was not reported straight. It was fatuously suggested that the reason for these reverses was entirely due to the *Times*'s previous story. "The 'green lobby' swung into action," it said, after "the *Times* reported that President Clinton

was planning to replace her."

Is the *Times* seriously asking us to believe a US president's policy can be switched in six days because of a report in a foreign newspaper? In fact, Clinton must have responded even faster to the *Times* because Albright was able to tell a congressional hearing as early as Tuesday, only three days later, that Kennedy Smith was staying at her post.

SINCE neither the *New York Times* nor the *Washington Post* carried any story about the Dublin ambassador's future, we are asked to believe that the American president now responds to the agenda set by the *Times*. The *Daily Telegraph* didn't even have the grace to mention the complete reversal of its story.

So what are we to make of this episode? I turned to the *Irish Times* for some enlightenment. Its excellent Washington correspondent Joe Carroll tried to trace the source of the *Times* and *Telegraph* reports, an easier task in a political world which is far more open than Britain's.

He concluded that the alleged US briefing was more likely to be "an attempt to cover up the real sources, which could be nearer Whitehall."

Carroll also said that the vindictive reports about Kennedy Smith

easily saved from cuts in the defence budget... cleaning up pollution would cost £6 billion, from savings on defence."

That defence budget seems to be a bottomless pit. We'll have to double it, just to give Arthur something to spend when he takes over.

People who earned £1 million a year should have no difficulty seeing a top rate of 80 per cent as reasonable. People would say: "I wish I paid that amount of tax, because I'd be earning a lot."

"Dead right, Arthur!" shouted the claue.

When Arthur had abolished the Queen, would he hope to become our elected president? asked the man from the *Telegraph*. "I would certainly want a say in who became president," Mr Scargill declared, in the manner of an old union baron telling the prime minister what's what. "And it wouldn't be you." This sally made the claue delirious.

A radio reporter said: "But this is revolutionary." "Yes," roared Arthur, "it is revolutionary. It's called socialism!" I thought the claue would die of collective pleasure and go to live on the comet.

So far, so hilarious, jeering at the working class just for wanting to oust the ruling class; ridiculing the very idea that a planned economy would make better sense (an idea as old and respectable as philosophy itself, and still as popular); getting a laugh out of the notion that production surpluses should be used to meet real human needs rather than for inter-imperialist destruction in colonial trade-war policies, or for sheer profiteering; humiliating an 80-year-old woman for being bucked up at the thought of a major new party on the scene dedicated to community and class solidarity, and sympathy with the elderly in particular; similar scorn for SLP supporters who

"spring more from an anti-Kennedy bias in some of the British rightwing press than from the facts." What a strange, almost juvenile, way to deal with a problem as important as that of Northern Ireland.

The capitalist press, of course, has got nothing to boast about, any section of it, in its coverage of British imperialism's humiliation at the hands of the IRA's armed and revolutionary national-liberation struggle, which all the bourgeois, including the petty-bourgeois Trots, would love to kid themselves was not happening.

A completely new deal for the whole of Ireland, dismantling the hated and infamous partition, may yet still not be reached for one reason or another, by way of historical hold-ups looming everywhere to render British imperialism paralysed from achieving anything any more.

But the trend of the future is unmistakable. Imperialism is falling ever deeper into unsustainable and intolerable crisis for everyone. Abolish capitalism. Build the SLP. Build Leninism. RB

went along to cheer on Arthur's presumably very successful press conference (or otherwise this Guardian arsehole would not be emitting quite so biliously); sour abuse at Arthur's gentle treatment of the *Telegraph*'s insolent question/jibe about only wanting to become President Scargill; and a gratuitous philistine swipe at all film-making committed to an anti-imperialist view of history.

Similar contempt was poured out in other capitalist newspapers. But such rather thin, silly, and unpleasant banter is not much to feel comfortable with for the giant anti-communist guns of the big bourgeois press.

More serious defamatory mud was needed, a more sinister side to socialist aspirations had somehow to be injected-onto this derision.

Enter the petty bourgeoisie, in the person of the even more bitter anti-communists of the various defeatist and individualist persuasions, - Trotskyites of different varieties, - attempting a rare show of harmony temporarily under the CPGB's distrusted baton.

But to put the boot into what is seen as signs of real working-class determination and of serious communist discipline emerging within Socialist Labour, these Trot subjectivists will play any dirty game.

By prior agreement, their role at the SLP's national election press conference was to try attempted provocation and sabotage for the capitalist press to pick up on, to hurl as much slanderous filth as possible so that even the dimmest bourgeois hack would have enough to feast on.

Hoggart & Co were in their

Attempted press-conference wrecking by Trot entryists warns the SLP to stay on its guard against all disruption by these class enemies of a strong workers movement. More distorted abuse against the EPSR only demonstrates once more the complete fraudulence of this Trot 'Marxist' posturing. New CPGB threat to fink for the state authorities against Socialist Labour.

[EPSR No899 15-04-97]

The more successfully Socialist Labour builds towards a mass party for the socialist revolution, the more demented become its bourgeois opponents of every description.

The London press conference launch of the SLP election manifesto was met with vicious sneering from the fake 'liberal' press, - and even more disruptive hostility from middle-class fake-'lefts' orchestrated by the *Weekly Worker*.

The *Guardian* briefly reported on a couple of policies straightforwardly enough, but its real venom was reserved for a much longer 'sketch' piece by its leading cynical humorist, Hoggart. This began:

"READ my lips! Loads of new taxes!" said Arthur Scargill. He didn't use those actual words, but it's what he meant. An 80% per cent tax band for the richest, and a 70 per cent rise on gas and oil. Plus a two-thirds cut in defence spending, abolition of all union laws, an end to VAT, the whole of British industry back in public ownership, and mass executions of landlords. (I made that bit up, but only just.)

The leader of such miners as there are left to lead was launching the

manifesto for his Socialist Labour Party, which plans to run 65 candidates. It might as well be named the Fantasy Labour Party. The combination of wild aspiration with improbable detail (apparently withdrawal from the EU will save the country £4 billion a year) gives the document the air of having been dreamed up by a teenager in his bedroom.

We arrived in a hot conference room in Westminster. Most of the seats had already been taken by Mr Scargill's claue, who applauded, cheered and laughed wildly, occasionally bursting forth with testimony to his saintliness. In the old Tory press conferences this part was taken by Denis Thatcher.

One woman stood up and said: "Arthur, I'm nearly 80 years of age, but when you said 'our people', there was a warmth in my heart. The claue cheered her sheer guts.

He announced that Ken Loach would direct their TV broadcast. Expect slow motion black-and-white shots of miners being felled by the rifles of the Thatcher Gestapo, screaming widows smearing their menfolk's blood on their faces, and a long speech by Arthur.

He rattled off a series of statistics. Defence cuts would save £16 million a year. "Only a £9 billion investment programme can restore the NHS, part of the savings from defence cuts ... we will spend £4 billion on education,

element:

A young woman at the back demanded to know why the entire membership of the Vauxhall SLP, all 43 of them, had been suspended along with their candidate. Mr Scargill gave her a beady look.

In fact, this is a sectarian schism. Far-left parties have schisms in the way Tony Blair has spin doctors. For it to take almost a year for the first to appear is quite an achievement. I await the news sheet: "A Message to the Workers of Britain: Arthur Scargill denies Basic Democratic Rights to Working People!"

WHAT'S LEFT OF SCARGILL?

LAST week's launch of the manifesto of the Socialist Labour Party (General Secretary: Arthur Scargill) was enlivened by a young woman named Kirsty, writes Andy McSmith. She turned up to protest that she and other members of the Vauxhall branch, in south London, had been expelled for no reason.

Kirsty claimed not to know what sin she had committed, and Mr Scargill would not say, but the *Observer* inquiries suggest that the new party—which believes in nationalising every large company, abolishing VAT, abolishing public schools, withdrawing from Europe and cutting the annual defence budget by £81 billion — is having trouble with infiltrators from the Left.

Organisers claim those they expelled are covert members of the Socialist Worker Party and the Communist Party of Great Britain. In the 1980s, Mr Scargill ferociously opposed Labour leader Neil Kinnock's efforts to drive out members of the Trotskyite *Militant* Tendency, but he takes a very strict view of any outsiders who try to gatecrash his party.

That second quotation was the entire coverage, in full, of what the 'progressive' *Observer* was prepared to report about Socialist Labour's first national election press conference and manifesto launch.

How pleased these *Weekly Worker*-organised Trots will be with themselves at such a successful undermining of the SLP as far as national publicity is concerned. Pushed right to the front of the public's mind is the idiocy that dirty scandals is what Socialist Labour is really about.

These class enemies of the socialist revolution are contemptible in their willingness to act as stooges for anti-communist propaganda hysteria against the first mass workers party to be launched against reformism's deceitful catastrophes since the 1920s.

And these despicable finks for the ruling class are just as odious in their stinking hypocrisy.

Putting on their guise of being "oh-so-loyal-supporters-of-the-SLP-who-should-not-be-expelled-at-all", the CPGB rag itself, on its back page, publishes a carefully-scripted welcome for the SLP manifesto, lauding many of its good points.

But this sly stunt begins (such is the stupidity of these 'crafty operators') with the ludicrous statement:

The Socialist Labour Party, fielding 65 candidates, launched its general election manifesto this week. This is a very welcome and positive development, which ensures that the voice of the working class will not be drowned out by the bourgeois-orchestrated chorus.

It would be impossible to make up such inept clumsiness. No one would find it believable.

Having just acted in front of the whole nation as the stool-pigeons for the bourgeois-orchestrated anti-Scargill poison, these dolts then try pretending that they are not even part of this chorus, let alone its only solid counter-revolutionary core.

This belated 'support', praising the *SLP Manifesto*, does not last very long, of course.

After just four paragraphs, this conceited treacherous conspiracy moves on to the "negative aspects to the SLP's manifesto" ('not been voted on or discussed'; 'Congress has still to approve most policy documents'; 'overall utopianism in pretending that all the promises can be achieved by an SLP government in the House of Commons'; 'primary flaw in costing each pledge, turning it into an accountability exercise'; 'incorrect Little Englandism to want to get out of the EU (Common Market)'; etc, etc.

And on inside pages, these Trots resort even more rapidly to their real main role in life which is as marks for the capitalist state's anti-communist propaganda and disinformation machinery.

A new torrent of abuse is hurled at the *Economic & Philosophic Science Review* in order, in reality, to unleash more savage attacks against the SLP leadership.

Clearly, the *EPSR*'s regular exposures of Trotskyism's perverse logic and vile petty-bourgeois class mentality is badly upsetting these sad, silly, conceited individuals.

But with every new stream of vomit from their foul mouths, these ridiculous middle-class diletantes make their antics even less tolerable.

Superficially, the intended target would appear to be the *EPSR*. But the real aim is against the supposed hypocrisy and stupidity of the SLP leadership.

And the stratagem is so sick and desperate that it even takes the CPGB's notoriety for disgusting opportunist stunts to an obscene new low.

This monstrous invitation to renewed anti-SLP provocations declares:

It would only take one decent bourgeois journalist, determined to do a hatchet job on the SLP, to do a little digging into the backgrounds of some of the unsavoury types our leadership seems determined to surround themselves with, for the party's public image

to suffer some real damage.

Leaving aside the obvious contradiction in the phrase: "Take one 'decent' bourgeois journalist" who would be prepared to stitch up the SLP (as Hoggart does), and there remains the naked threat: "We, the CPGB, will make sure that the SLP will remain persecuted by the bourgeois press permanently".

From the egomaniacal social misfits who tried wrecking the SLP's first national election-manifesto press conference, and then rushed immediately outside Central Hall, London, to give as many 'soundbite' interviews as they could to the 'decent' bourgeois journalists of the capitalist radio and television, believing that their dim and muddled individualist personal opinions were all that the nation was waiting to hear on the election-politics scene, — What more can be expected than relentless subjective posturing, damning the perceived 'Scargillite' enemy with anything they can lay their hands on, and via any dirty treachery imaginable.?

This is a clear attempt to threaten the SLP with more counter-revolutionary rubbish endlessly.

The basis for this reactionary menace is the supposed 'violent incident' allegedly inflicted on CPGB provocateurs at an SLP London election meeting in February at Conway Hall, supposedly by SLP apparatchiks.

The *EPSR* is dragged into this diatribe because of an analysis it made of disruptive Trotskyite provocations in general and their traditional backward role in helping the police to frame any movement heading towards the socialist revolution.

This March 11 (*EPSR* 894) piece began as follows:

'The most powerful weapons against socialism are the distortions and clever tricks of bourgeois ideology.

These alone keep the workers movement forever divided and confused, unable to unite behind the firm and clear-thinking socialist leadership which will be necessary to complete the abolition of capitalism.

The endless frauds around 'democracy' are the favourite ploy.[...]

(See page 42 for full quote which continues to paragraph...

Mixed in with their obvious middle-class hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China (the only alternative, as anywhere on earth, being the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, as Marxist science has conclusively explained and demonstrated for more than 100 years), — is just a tinge of petty-bourgeois Western racism against the 'Yellow Peril' for not being civilised European 'socialists' (what, like these CPGB parasites on the capitalist system?)

Breaking off there for a moment, the Trots use exactly the same arrogant defeatism ("It's hopeless; you cannot build any

socialism in one country"), "prior to world revolution, isolated workers states can only lead to the reactionary sharing out of worse poverty"; or "Everything is rotten", as Lenin once characterised Trotsky's permanent defeatist sabotage, (until Lenin had Trotsky's factionalising banned outright by the 10th Bolshevik Congress) v Cuba.

Cuba is permanently ridiculed by these Trots for defying the vicious US imperialist total blockade of the island, and for insisting on building a new socialist society in defiance of the whole rotten imperialist world and the treacherous revisionist tradition which spawned the CPGB defeatists.

For their own reasons of investment advantage, even sections of the capitalist press (which in general absolutely hates the revolutionary example Cuba is setting the rest of Latin America, and which every day wills it to collapse or be overthrown as useless), occasionally let slip some of the truth (against their own class interests, which makes it the one sort of bourgeois ideological outpourings which might be regarded as having some objectivity).

Compare these positive admissions from Cuba's bourgeois enemies to the usual criminal disinformation which the Trots put out, trying to encourage counter-revolution:

Cuban biotechnology is producing revolutionary drugs for treating cancer and heart attacks. Despite adverse trade conditions and some medical scepticism, Cuban drugs could be marketed in Canada and the UK by 2000.

Among the drugs Western investors are keen to market are a new version of the heart-attack drug Streptokinase and an anti-cancer drug, known as ERG r3Mab, which could revolutionise the treatment of tumours.

A new Canadian investment company, York Medical, has signed wide-ranging contracts with Havana's biotechnology institutions to market Cuban medical inventions in the West. [...]

Cuba's achievements in public health have long received international acclaim. The Cuban infant mortality rate (9.4 per thousand) is close to western standards (the UK's is 7). But Cuba's role in advanced medical research — biotechnology and new treatments — has received little international recognition. Western visitors to the vast scientific complex in Havana's La Playa district are amazed by the first-rate vaccine laboratories, the well equipped hospitals, the massive installation known as the Centre for Molecular Immunology, and the ultra-modern biotechnology labs.

While the economic contradictions breed some scepticism in the West about any claims that Cuban biotechnology ranks with the best, those western pharmaceuticals companies that have had dealings with the Caribbean acknowledge the accomplishments of Cuban doctors and

scientists.

Peter Scott, chairman of BetaCaribe, an Anglo-Spanish investment company with strong interests in Cuba, is enthusiastic: 'They have great potential, and some red-hot products, but the problem is can they be turned into commercial runners?' [...]

'Many biotech investments are based on hot air,' he says 'because their product exists only on paper. But with Cuban biotechnology, we already have a concrete, tested product that can be marketed in a far shorter time.' (see EPSR issue full cutting)

The EPSR's March 11 piece attacking the Trots for wanting to strangle the Cuban workers state with maximum violence, then went on:

Quote from 897 continues - (as above see page 42) - to paragraph:

'To build a healthy mass workers party, Socialist Labour would be well advised to step up constitutional disciplines against the poison of Trotskyite individualism, which will use any propaganda nonsense it can lay hands on to fire off false accusations against healthy SLP elements as a cover-up for its subversion.'

That prediction, based on a deep, 18-year-long EPSR study of Trotskyite individualism and its role in history, has sadly been borne out; and the disruptive antics by such alien petty-bourgeois class mentalities can only keep on getting worse.

Notice how crucial emphases are twisted and distorted in the *Weekly Worker's* 'version' of that EPSR March 11 article in order to take several more swipes (of a counter-revolutionary provocative nature) at their real target, - the increasingly strengthening Scargillite leadership of the SLP, now defending its constitution and policies more firmly than ever against deliberately provocative Trot disruption and congenital hatred of all working-class leadership:

Members of the Socialist Labour Party should feel some disquiet over the elements that their leadership are prepared not simply to tolerate, but actually to use in the service of the witch hunt.

The charming proclivities of Tony Goss and the Stalin Society have been documented in these pages (Pat Sikorski - supporter of the Trotskyist Fourth International Supporters Caucus apparently thinks it's "OK" to be a member of both the SLP and the Stalin Society, according to one of its members). The ravings of Royston Bull in his *Economic and Philosophic Science Review* are - if anything - even more worrying for SLP comrades. In the March 11 issue, journalist 'RB' (no prizes for guessing who this is), replies to the "slander" in the *Weekly Worker*, "bible of the Trotskyite saboteurs". It seems we are now guilty of being the "first to resort to fisticuffs when the argument against us... begins to go well".

Concretely, Bull claims that the physical attack on Mark Fischer of the Communist Party by leading SLP'er Tony Goss (see *Weekly Worker* February 27) was deliberately misrepresented by this paper. In fact, Bull writes,

"Many eye witnesses swear it was the expelled CPGB/Trot disrupters who started the scuffling...at London's Conway Hall, including punches at peace-making NEC members."

Of course, Bull will not be able to produce a single "witness" to independently verify this. He is an inveterate liar and pro-bureaucracy



Cuba long ago eliminated the desperate starvation poverty seen throughout rest of capitalist dominated and exploited Latin America

creep who should be treated with the contempt reserved for scabs in our movement. Yet SLPers should still take note:

- First, that Royston Bull and his little group of pro-Scargill eccentrics openly write, distribute and support the EPSR, ironically at the same time defending the restrictive constitution which is used to 'do' others merely on suspicion of sympathising with other organisations. The hypocrisy of the SLP leadership is stunning.

- Second, Bull at least has the merit of putting into print what some leading SLPers have been saying about the Fischer/Goss clash. He suggests that protests are "ludicrous" as "angry scuffles are [not] alien to British labour movement meetings...they are completely routine". What kind of organisation is being built where this sort of attitude is tolerated and even repeated by leading party members?

- Third, the image of the SLP is hardly enhanced by not only tolerating such scum, but actually given them some prominence in the party as a bulwark against the left. It would only take one decent bourgeois journalist, determined to do a hatchet job on the SLP, to do a little digging into the backgrounds of some of the unsavoury types our leadership seems determined to surround themselves with for the party's public image to suffer some real damage.

Worse, I shudder to think what a Jeremy Paxman might make of an issue of the *Economic and Philosophic Science Review*.

Every nuance is deceitfully twisted to make it seem that the EPSR article (and hence the whole SLP, - a quite insane illogical leap for which there could never be any evidence; and which in any case is such utter gibberish as to be certifiable), is advocating violence in the workers movement, and the SLP leadership is backing it!

These irresponsible intellectual hooligans, playing with their printing press, really are

demented, and actually don't care what they say now that the SLP is thoroughly trouncing their criminal entryist racket, - (trying to steal and blackguard their way into positions of trust and leadership in the workers movement parasitically on the backs of the Socialist Labour Party).

So to state the position for the record once again, the status of the EPSR is completely open, and has not the remotest connection with the conspiratorial entryist activities of various Trotskyite parties and groups who are hostile to the whole purpose of the SLP as it was envisaged by those who founded it.

The EPSR is an independent newspaper which has had not the slightest interest in party-building or factionalising, inside the SLP or anywhere else, for more than five years. It is as welcome to support Scargill's line inside the SLP as any other newspaper, and as *Tribune* or the *Morning Star*, for example, support various factions inside the Labour Party, or conceivably might even start favouring different arguments inside the SLP.

Uniquely, the Trotskyite entryists have alone insisted on translating their interest in the SLP's development into organised subversive anti-leadership factions whose sole purpose is to undermine Scargillism, and to deliberately flout all the SLP's internal discipline, just in order to create awkward public provocations for Scargill.

This is the implied endemic

violence, - to simply tell lies in order to join a party with whose constitution, policies, and leadership there is incurable hostility and disagreement, and to then deliberately create public provocation after public provocation in order purely to embarrass Socialist Labour. The EPSR's solitary 'agenda' is completely open, - to try to inspire a new interest in, and understanding of, Marxist-Leninist science as widely as possible and in all directions.

It has regularly published enormous detailed analytical articles, many of book length, on every major international class-war phenomenon since 1980, packed with extensive quotations from Marx, Engels, Lenin and others, of relevant existing scientific studies of matters similar to the current one in hand, brought up to date in their relevant application.

One such study was of the Tiananmen Square incidents in China's workers state in 1989, which consists almost exclusively of contradictory capitalist press evidence and pictures demonstrating the fictitious nonsense of the so-called 'Tiananmen Square massacre', long articles from which are regularly reproduced in current EPSRs to illustrate some point or other exposing the reactionary grip that 50 years of accumulated Cold War propaganda has on everyone's thinking, especially the Trotskyites. They are free to try to tear the EPSR's work apart, but they never do, only distort it as in the above ex-

ample falsifying the *EPSR's* March 11 piece on bogus CPGB slanders of 'violence' against the SLP. The *Weekly Worker's* own 'Marxist' ability extends only to replying to detailed analysis with crude abuse, as litter their above distortions on the 'violence' question, and as 'deal with' the *EPSR* study of the entire Tiananmen phenomenon by hissing "Creepy band of Tiananmen Square massacre fans" elsewhere in this latest *Weekly Worker* bile exhibition.

Yet more anti-*EPSR* abuse in yet another current article, takes up the defence of the Vauxhall saboteurs who demonstrated their pretend "loyal SLP members" stance by wrecking Scargill's national press conference.

This diatribe at least has the merit of admitting the petty tyranny which these Trots tried to impose on the Vauxhall SLP branch in "expelling" good SLP loyalists for defending the party's line against their Trot attacks on it.

"These two individuals had previously been told to leave the branch for constantly disrupting meetings with irrational ranting against most comrades",

is how their bureaucratic branch dictatorship is delicately expressed.

And these hypocrites are the ones screaming up and down the country against "Scargill's autocratic methods", etc, - and who point blank refuse to accept their own exclusion from the SLP for repeatedly declaring their disagreement with its constitution, its policies, and its leadership.

They add their usual misleading abuse against the supposed 'homophobia' of the SLP comrades they tried to victimise out of the Vauxhall branch, linking it to a serious *EPSR* study of the criminal nonsense which the excesses of Political Correctness have inflicted on the labour movement.

Contrary to these *Weekly Worker* distortions, the *EPSR's* analysis doesn't in the slightest conflict with SLP policy which is against the medieval barbarism of discriminating against people because of their sexual orientation. The *EPSR's* study is on the entirely separate question of the stupidities of Political Correctness in reformist hands which, for example, actually forbade any proper assessment of the personal records of applicants for work in the children's departments of Hackney and Islington Councils (to name but two) on the grounds that such questioning "could be construed as discrimination against homosexuals".

The result has been that in Hackney and Islington, and in dozens more councils, homosexual paedophiles have been taking advantage of such PC madness to spread their networks into children's homes everywhere.

But such tragic problems of real life have no interest for these grotesquely irresponsible Trots who in their subjective spleen will resort to any lies and dirty tactics to promote their own individual political interests.

To rub the SLP's face in the mire, the CPGB cockily print a photo of the Trots Vauxhall candidate Driver with the CPGB's other stooge 'candidate' Keable who insists he is representing the SLP in Brent East and even shares election platforms there with the rival party candidates, even though the SLP has announced publicly that Keable is a member of the CPGB and not of the SLP.

The aim is to humiliate the SLP because it has been stuck halfway through a campaign with a completely disloyal candidate.

Driver has played a full part in the Vauxhall bear-garden which refuses to accept the SLP's authority on who is and who isn't a member of the party, and what does and what doesn't rate as constitutional behaviour, particularly challenging the SLP leadership over a long-voiced Trotskyite whom Vauxhall 'SLP' Trots insist in keeping on as a 'member' of their branch.

The CPGB's headline on their latest disruption screams "*Victory for political boldness*", and declares the following about the reptiles who wrecked Scargill's London press conference and about the sectarian factionalising mentality which has incubated this mess in Vauxhall:

One of the comrades arbitrarily 'expelled' by Terry Dunne was the Vauxhall election candidate, Ian Driver, who had clearly voted for Barry to stay. However, Scargill is now saying Terry Dunne exceeded his authority. Apparently Ian remains a member. This is an important victory for political boldness. The active members of the branch deserve congratulating for making such a principled and audacious stand against Scargill's bureaucratic methods.

The usual mixture of snook-cocking provocation, aggressive bullshit, division-sowing, and insider boasting, although this last note has been less chirpy of late as the CPGB entryists have suffered defeat after defeat.

But in no way can such disruption by hostile petty-bourgeois class forces be treated firmly enough.

Just examine their threat (recorded earlier above) to run to the bourgeois press at every possible opportunity to dish the dirt on the SLP.

It crawls with forelock-tugging veneration for these bourgeois media creeps like Paxman, a complete reactionary and a nincompoop whose real understanding of politics, economics, and society would not fill a paragraph.

Frightened to take on the *EPSR* themselves in any serious polemics, these timid crawl-arses have the weird hope that Paxman



SLP candidates Ian Driver (left) and Stan Keable. Comrade Driver's Vauxhall constituency members have been arbitrarily expelled. Comrade Keable's Brent East branch has simply been ignored by the NEC. Arthur Scargill announced in the *Morning Star* that Stan was "not a member". SLP branches have been informed in a recent circular that "there is no Socialist Labour candidate standing in Brent East!"

Disruptive Weekly Worker nonsense trying to sabotage the SLP election campaign

might be able to do it for them! These are the most bizarre 'Marxists' to have festered in the Trot 'left' swamp in a long time.

But unpleasant as it is to have to deal with such lunatics, dealt with they must be. Their counter-revolutionary wrecking intentions against the SLP are deadly serious.

If they would spread all these lies and distortions now, when the bourgeoisie still do not think they are in much danger from a socialist revolution, imagine the provocations and disinformation middle-class Trots will get up to when the class war really gets going again.

The Bolsheviks were repeatedly betrayed to the Tsarist authorities and press by the 'left' opponents of Leninist discipline. The same will happen here, - provocateur lies about the SLP going in for 'arming itself' or preparing a 'working class revolt', or getting 'subversive funds from abroad' - etc, etc, - all the usual police-disruption tactics imposed with the help of tip-off stool-pigeons. These Trots fit the bill entirely.

Their motivation is their hatred

of the workers states such as they have existed this century, the Soviet Union first among them. They take a class, petty-bourgeois view, hating the workers' states for threatening an end to privileged existences of all kinds, and ignoring all reason and logic in order to convince themselves that the attempts to build socialism were an unmitigated horrific disaster, to be fought against with their life as they will fight to prevent the SLP ever bringing socialism to Britain.

Even when the bourgeois press which these Trots trust so much, admits that most workers now want the communist system (i.e. the workers state) back again in Russia, these inveterate CPGB counter-revolutionaries keep their Cold War anti-communist hatred going full blast:

[cutting]

The class war is beginning to get into its stride again, and so petty-bourgeois stooges for the state authorities will abound inside the labour movement. A party toughened on Marxist-Leninist theory is the best defence. Build Leninism. Joe Harper

Only Socialist Labour offers a civilised future of guaranteed lifetime employment for all, - working for the common good. New Labour will force workers to become more dominated than ever by the exploitation-driven jobs market. Sectarian Trotskyite idiocy can never stop sabotaging the SLP. Reject its reactionary petty-bourgeois individualism

[*EPSR* No901 29-04-97]

[...]To remain capitalist in a period of British imperialist decline, all bourgeois governments, - New Labour included,

- will have to relentlessly keep taking back all the boomtime conditions and welfare rights conceded to the working class when

earlier circumstances allowed and when historical developments were greatly in favour of workers' militant struggle.

A period of New Labour government ahead, or any pro-market government, will not only have to continue forcing the burdens of British imperialist decline onto the backs of the working class. It will almost certainly have to pile on the burdens of world imperialist crisis as well, – an international trade-war slump of possibly terrifying proportions.

It is an insane notion that a few tinkering reforms can put things right with Britain, – as New Labour pretends.

It has always been an insane notion that capitalism's problems can ever be turned round by tinkering reforms of any kind, or any quantity.

The evolution of British imperialist society forms a complete graph historically, – not remotely pre-determined, but next-to-impossible to alter once the specific historical circumstances had unfolded.

A peak of world supremacy was reached. A long decline then set in as the workings of the monopolisation system produced ever-more competitive rival powers.

British imperialist defeat and collapse is now the overwhelmingly likeliest agenda.

Bourgeois parties are all paralysed on specific longterm perspectives and immediate decisions on Europe, for example, because of demoralisation and the impossible difficulties facing ailing British imperialist competitiveness. Devolution rears up likewise, confusing all.

It is for all these reasons that workers in Britain, more than anything else, need a correct programme of future change. Why and how will a revolutionary socialist transformation be reached?

Socialist Labour is the first mass party to give a correct lead, – or to avoid giving an incorrect lead, to put it more precisely at this early stage of the SLP's development. It says it will build a mass party for an immediate transition to socialism and the abolition of capitalism, leading the fight both via the electoral contests which the bourgeoisie permit, and via extra-parliamentary struggles (against unjust laws and developments) which will go on whether the bourgeoisie permits them or not.

The Labour Party has not remotely given such a correct lead in modern times. The Communist Party always incorrectly told workers they could one day rely on being the 'left' wing of a successful 'socialist' Labour government. *Militant* and other Trots always incorrectly told workers

that their entryism would one day in fact provide that 'left-wing socialist' leadership of the Labour Party.

All were horribly wrong, and all these traditions horribly misled the working class, – and still do.

The *Militant* pose, and other such Trotskyite posturing by middle class 'revolutionary' sects, was and remains the worst deception on the working class.

What any individual Trots thought they believed, or pretended to be sincere about, is utterly irrelevant.

The reality of all the Trot evolutionary developments, sooner or later, has been a switch essentially to labour-movement careerism, either inside the Labour Party, or inside the trade unions, or as 'independent' voices kibbutzing in from outside.

The *Militant* fraud is typical. All that they actually achieved in history was to burrow their way up the Labour Party hierarchy, ending up with a couple of MPs and a few hundred councillors.

And then what? The whole stinking edifice collapsed about their ears, leaving their 40-year posture of "leading the working class to socialism" a complete failure and an utterly demoralising waste of time and sacrifice.

It is complete idiocy to claim that "at least all that 'left' pressure won more progressive reforms than would otherwise have been carried out by Labour". It did not need *Militant* to make Labour a reformist party. It was always a reformist party. It was never anything else.

And its greatest 'reforms' were carried out under a rightwing imperialist, – Attlee, – before *Militant* were ever heard of. (And even those 'reforms', like all 'reforms', of course could not possibly resolve any of the real problems facing the working class in history.)

The other reality about *Militant* history is their known sectarianism and the blatant careerism of many of their leading practitioners, such as Derek Hatton.

And it is these persistent indicators which point to the truth about *Militant* so-called 'sincerity'. The repeated sectarianism and the repeated careerist opportunism exactly fit the real position of '*Militant*' concerning the "international socialist revolution" which they always postured so mightily about.

In fact these subjective individualist chancers were all died-in-the-wool anti-communists.

They were born out of the between-wars anti-communism which slandered the Soviet Union as having turned counter-revolutionary and become a stooge of German imperialism, a nonsense put a stop to for serious-minded workers by the colossal achieve-

ment of the Soviet workers state in destroying German imperialist aggression in just four years (1941-45) when the whole of imperialist Europe had been overrun in mere weeks; then in abolishing capitalism from all East Europe in the postwar period; and then in chaperoning the worldwide national-liberation struggles which wiped out all the West European international empires in the same postwar period.

But these modern *Militant* Trots adopted their renewed sectarian anti-communist garb of opportunist entryism into the Labour Party precisely during this further period of phenomenal revolutionary-socialist success for the Soviet workers state.

These are doctrinaire programmed anti-communists. Their catastrophic 'Labour-entryist' world view was the pure subjective-idealism of a petty-bourgeois class outlook. Their endless sectarian careerism is the product of their incurable individualism, the other telltale signature of fake-'left' middle-class 'revolutionaries'.

Typically sectarian-opportunist, these Trots have now abandoned their failed *Militant* clothing without a word of explanation to the working class about their prolonged 40-year failed Labour-entryist strategy, or even any sensible words about the name-change, (- some nonsense about 'militant' having become a dirty word in international politics.)

Typically sectarian-opportunist, these Trots refused to join Arthur Scargill's new Socialist Labour Party, insisting on the 'importance' of their own 'individual history', – one they have never had the courage or good sense to make a full historical analysis of, and one they have even now abandoned the name of, – again without a word of sensible explanation.

Typically sectarian-opportunist, these Trots have now re-emerged as 'the Socialist Party' just when Scargill has launched 'the Socialist Labour Party'. And now they are busy running candidates against the SLP, and joining in the slandering of Scargill as a 'Stalinist dictator'. They are anti-communist to the last.

For years, these Trots pursued the 'left' option for stardom inside the Labour Party.

Now they are pursuing the same individualist option, dreaming of stardom, outside the Labour Party (because they were thrown out), but outside the main new workers development as well, the Socialist Labour Party. Good riddance. The SLP is far better off without them. Endless Trotskyite opportunist factionalising would quickly destroy the SLP. Keeping these anti-Soviet sects out has led

to a little damaging confusion in the SLP's development. Letting all the Trots in to run riot in sectarian recruitment and anti-leadership manipulation would have led to infinitely greater damaging confusion.

The sickest thing about Trotskyism is how it precisely chimes in with the interests of the more general expressions of bourgeois individualism, constantly harping on the 'individual democratic rights' of different sectarian 'members' of the permanent anti-leadership 'opposition' within the SLP.

The Trots are an exact fake-'left' mirror image of the anti-collectivist philosophy of the petty bourgeoisie for 'self-reliance'. They utterly misunderstand the essential Marxist science of freedom being the recognition of necessity, and the flourishing of every individual being the condition for the well-being of the whole of society.

The notion of "the right to be irrationally wrong about everything, but to still have the right to keep on saying it and to demand society's respect" is a phoney bourgeois idea, – nothing whatever to do with Marxism (which is only interested in the right to be rational).

It is put up as a bogus libertarian ideal under capitalist society to enable harmless cranks to create the pretence that the monopoly-bourgeois dictatorship simply does not exist, and that 'real democracy' rules, with everyone allowed to say what they like and get the rest of society to agree with them, even though they are wrong or even barmy.

In reality, of course, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie will **never** allow itself to be voted out under **any** conditions. 'Democracy' is strictly for show. All sorts of emergency reserve powers would be called into operation by the Privy Council, etc, if ever a socialist majority in Parliament was actually about to abolish capitalism.

Obviously, it is a show which genuine socialist parties are obliged to perform in too, – precisely the better to be able to denounce the entire capitalist-dominated racket and to be able to summon workers for a real struggle, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, to build a mighty class movement eventually capable of overcoming even all the Special Powers and Privy Council trickery in the world.

But all that Trotskyite posturing for "individual democratic rights" against a collective mass socialist movement can achieve is more publicity for bourgeois ideology to deride the SLP, for example, and give further life to bourgeois disinformation's ability to keep workers confused.

Some SLPers are still being fooled by the plausibility of fake-'lefts' hovering around Socialist Labour, feigning a 'joint interest' against the Tories, capitalism, and Blair. Clearly, the *EPSR*'s struggle to expose the anti-communist class roots of petty-bourgeois intellectualism, its victims, and its effects & influences, needs to strengthen, not diminish.

The whole of Trotskyite history is marked by its fetish for single-issue idealism, diametrically antagonistic to Marxism's collectivist historical perspective.

Communists will accept the Cuban socialist revolution for what it is, – clearly a workers state, with the bourgeoisie abolished, and battling right on the front line against world (mainly US) imperialism, – a magnificent historic advance, – full of flaws, faults, and imperfections, obviously, – but a breakthrough development to be enthusiastically fought for and defended by all serious-minded workers and socialists the world over, – urging the Cuban comrades wherever possible to vastly deepen their revolution's grasp of Marxist-Leninist science which is their gravest weakness.

Trotskyite petty-bourgeois individualist philosophy, on the other hand, may make the occasional opportunist gesture of one cheer for Cuba (because all the best of the working class is cheering Cuba on) but is really only concerned to sneer at Cuba for supposedly 'getting things wrong'.

Trot derision ranges from "It is doomed to give socialism a bad name, because socialism cannot be built in one country, Cuba or anywhere else" to "Castro is a Stalinist dictator" or "Such a homophobic regime does not deserve to survive". etc. In all of this ivory-tower 'socialism' from the comfort of armchairs in the affluent West, all this counter-revolutionary disinformation is the product of single-issue idealism, the philosophy of petty-

bourgeois individualism hostile to Marxism-Leninism.

Empty or downright misleading slogans such as 'permanent revolution' or 'no socialism in one country' are Trotskyism's hallmark in which some supposedly 'logical' idea or other is pursued to its absolute extreme, transformed by mere windy verbiage into a 'historical necessity', and then used as just a stupid sectarian cudgel with which to bash away at the serious collective revolutionary struggle. Deep down, the real aim is one only, – to give each individual sectarian his philosophical motivation, convincing himself he is right, and convincing himself he is correct to court martyrdom in pursuit of this 'supreme issue', etc.

But only idealist 'history' is made in this way, not real history. And Marxism is the science of real historical necessity.

The Cuban revolution goes on alone because it has no choice. Only in idealist fantasy can the Cuban socialist revolution break out of its total US-imperialist blockade-isolation by marching or sending emissaries into Haiti, Puerto Rico, Dominican Republic, Mexico, Brazil, etc, to stir up successful revolutions there in order to totally undermine and defeat US imperialism all in one go, – which is the fantasy world which the Trotskyite "no socialism in one country" armchair socialists live in.

It always remains the great mystery, of course (not really), as to why these self-proclaimed 'mighty' Trotskyite sects, all 57 varieties, never club together to go and start what they claim Cuba should go and start, – exporting revolutionary war to further undermine US imperialism, whose blitzkrieg reaction would then, theoretically, be halted by the inflamed response of still more revolutionary proletarian millions even further round the American empire, – which is supposed to be how Cuba would escape annihilation for invading Haiti, or Puerto

Rico, for example.

As it happens, the Cuban socialist revolution has in fact carried out some of the most heroic and self-sacrificing acts of generous international revolutionary assistance in the whole history of progressive civilisation, sending important troop contingents and ill-affordable economic and military resources to Namibia and Angola to wage successful war against reactionary South African apartheid-intervention against the national-liberation revolutions in those countries, and risking major imperialist intervention against Cuba itself in retaliation.

As it also happens, the Cuban workers state did in fact indulge in some revolutionary fantasy by sending its most outstanding revolutionary emissary, Che Guevara, to first Zaire and then Bolivia to try to spark off anti-imperialist revolutions in those countries, both ending in failure and eventually in the death of Guevara.

The Cuban revolution is weakest where it should be strongest, – in the mastery and further development of Marxist-Leninist theory, the one really crucial export for all revolutionaries worldwide.

Fake 'communists' deride the Cuban workers state for its 'human rights' crimes, for its 'Stalinist dictatorship', for its 'collectivisation of poverty through its counter-revolutionary policy of socialism-in-one-country, instead of the collectivisation of wealth through permanent international revolution', etc.

Real communists, on the other hand, would back Cuba with unconditional support in all of its conflicts with bourgeois ideological derision, whether from rightwing 'free world' imperialist disinformation or from fake-'left' petty-bourgeois individualist subjectivism, (which is the other side of the same counter-revolutionary 'democracy' coin.)

But real communists would also like to polemicise with the Cuban revolutionary party on disputed questions of Marxist-Leninist science which could mislead the international working class and harm the Cuban workers state itself (see countless past *EPS Reviews* on such polemics), – (incidentally giving the lie to the unserious and irresponsible Trot parroting of "totalitarian Stalinist dictatorship and cover-up" and "the denial of the freedom of criticism", etc.)

It is only out of the unconditional solidarity with the Cuban revolution against all attacks on it by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois idealist philosophy that real communists can have the standing to seriously polemicise with the Cuban revolutionary party

about crucial differences on international historical lessons, such as Allende, Grenada, Gorbachev, etc, etc.

By extension, the Trotskyite oppositional wreckers trying to infiltrate and undermine the SLP could not be more wrong when screeching that the real communists supporting Socialist Labour are only in fact doing so as clone-like yes-men stooges of Arthur Scargill.

The SLP has only got where it is by genuine debate and real democratic input, and it will face many real conflicts ahead over programme, strategy, and tactics. The fight for the correct theoretical understanding of world society's development, and the practical applications that imposes on working-class politics, is something far too vast for the SLP, or any other mass movement, even the biggest, to be able to ignore for long, and there is not the slightest indication that Socialist Labour is in any way trying to ignore such discussions.

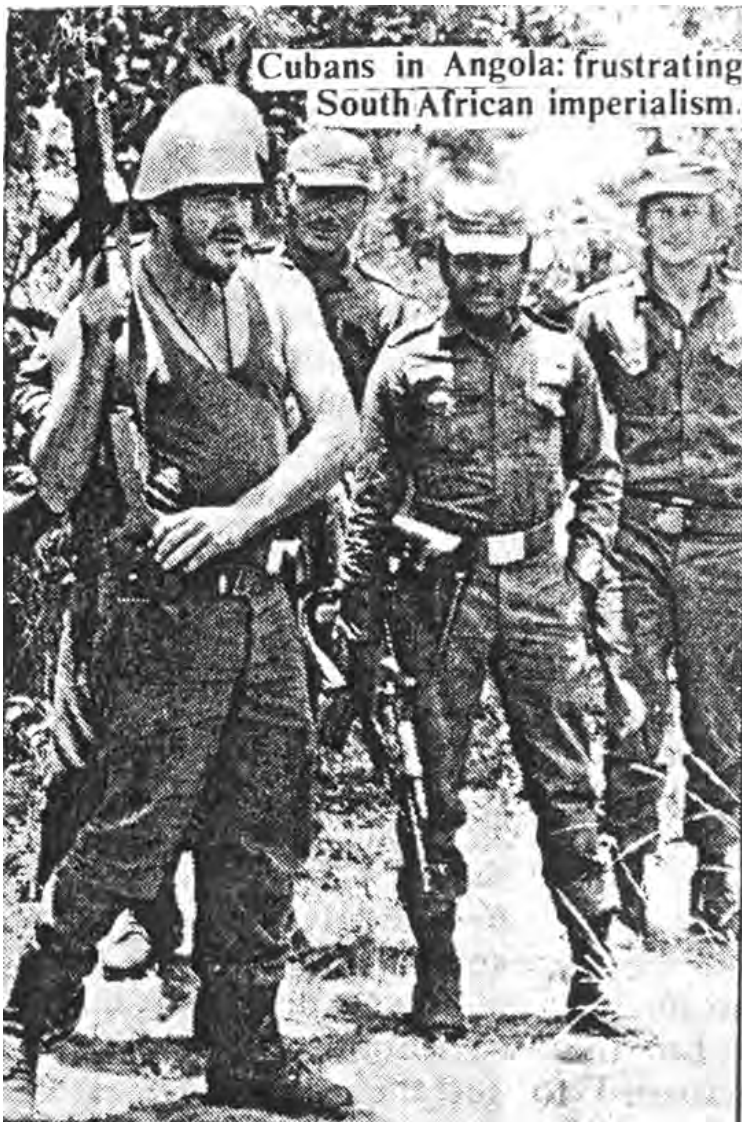
It is precisely because the SLP is advancing successfully along correct socialist channels towards a mass workers party that the middle-class Trot oppositionist venom now pours out in endless hysterical contradictory non-sense. On the one hand, the CPGB Trots and others screech (April 25) that the SLP has become an anti-communist McCarthyite Stalinist dictatorship to which the *EPSR* is supposedly exclusively dedicated.

But on the other hand, the Trots moan in the very next paragraph that "the so-called Scargill 'constitution' specifically bans SLP members from being in, or supporting, other political organisations, with their own principles and publications", so why are not *EPSR* readers banned as CPGB members are, and other Trot entryists?

The truth is much simpler and not at all contradictory. The *EPSR* is one journal among many which now enthusiastically support the SLP's development, while remaining a completely independent publication and a forum for never-ending discussion of Marxist-Leninist theory on every subject under the sun. It could have turned against Socialist Labour, as all the Trot papers have done. But it staked its view of history that the SLP will become a vital development for the revival of a mass movement for the socialist revolution in Britain. Many of its readers have wholeheartedly joined in the work of building Socialist Labour as the clear majority in the SLP want it built. All the readers of the 57 varieties of the Trot papers have joined in the petty-bourgeois opposition's attempts to infiltrate and manipulate the SLP into an

Cuba has developed its economy substantially under planned socialism, especially in the medical sector and with a high proportion of women (on an equal basis)





Cubans in Angola: frustrating South African imperialism.

opposite direction from the one it chose to go in, or to destroy it by ridicule and provocation from outside.

All the swear-words which the Trots now all routinely direct, parrot-like, against the *EPSR*, in a desperate attempt at ridicule by slander, – in fact deal with issues (of contemporary history and debate, and near-past events) which can only keep on recurring until resolved into theoretical lessons, – the real nature of the Soviet workers state; of the Chinese workers state; of the other remaining workers states; the real class nature of Trotskyism; the catastrophic effect of Political Correctness and all single-issue reformist bandwagons on rational thought and socialist cadre-training; etc.

The *EPSR* will continue to polemicise on all such matters independently of anyone and everything. The struggle for correct Marxist-Leninist theory must rule. In the very long run, the ideas which win through to predominate on the pages of the *EPSR* will succeed because they happen to be correct, or fail because they prove to be wrong.

The *EPSR* keeps worrying the Trots and other detractors sick to biliousness because it keeps getting everything right

The problem with Trotskyite

petty-bourgeois idealism is that it is congenitally incapable of pursuing any rational argument whatsoever, as the *EPSR*'s long summer polemics demonstrated exposing the crass folly of Trot defeatist subjectivism which wrote off Adams and the IRA as capitulating sell-outs, and every anti-imperialist struggle worldwide as having been pacified totally and defeated by the US imperialist New World Order (see endless past *Reviews*).

For reasons of its class-philosophical essence, Trotskyism has also always been incapable of ever offering any constructive criticism towards correcting perceived mistakes in the development of the workers states. From his book *The New Course*, (published in the Soviet Union in 1923) onwards, Trotsky was already spewing out that "everything is rotten", etc, – Lenin's famous characterisation of Trotsky's lifelong opportunist/defeatist mentality.

But serious communist polemics are needed everywhere, all the time. The SLP will become ten times the party it is when it becomes capable of digesting any amount of published internal polemicising over developments in programme, strategy, and tactics.

Cuba would be ten times stronger as a workers state if it could respond to supportive

polemics over the mistakes it makes.

A current *Granma* article illustrates the point, glowingly reporting on a newly-created Central Commission on Cadres where all of the emphasis is to be on moral exhortations and a Code of Ethics, – efficiency, self-sacrifice, serving others, modest, austere, upright, justice not material riches, etc.

All wholly admirable, but all entirely missing the point that only correct scientific understanding of the world, – and correct Cuban workers-state decisions, – can provide reliable future cadre leadership for Cuban socialist development.

Marxism had very little to do with morality. All freedom (to act 'morally' or fulfil anything) is ultimately dependent on recognising what is necessary in all historical development.

Cuban theory of successful anti-imperialist struggle was weak over Allende, Grenada, and Gorbachev, for example, which in turn gravely weakens the whole Cuban workers state. It was, after all, the crass ignorance of Gorbachevite revisionist opportunism (following on from similar theoretical backwardness earlier, and creating mass apathy and paralysis) which exclusively destroyed the Soviet workers state.

Trotskyite oppositional idiocy has nothing at all in common with constructive Marxist polemics. On the contrary, it is just the destructive bleating of a hostile class force.

A successful mass workers party will need to encourage the development of constructive Marxist theory, and completely eradicate Trotskyite sectarian disruption.

Build Leninism. JH

Important victory for Socialist Labour politics over middle-class anarchy and individualism. Good leadership of the workers' movement would be priceless. Slanderous anti-communist ideology should be exposed and demolished in mass SLP education. Scientific understanding of the historic crisis of the imperialist system is the only way to rout petty-bourgeois defeatism. Without the development of theory, socialist practice & struggle will remain limited.

[*EPSR* No908 17-06-97]

A bogus 'conference' of 'SLP' dissidents in London at the weekend was a total failure on all counts.

The laughably small attendance showed that these deceitful entryists from various Trot groups have fooled no one by their 'democratic' posturing.

Their grotesque sectarian behaviour in the agitation for, and then the conduct of, this silly farce only demonstrated their complete contempt for 'democracy'.

Pathetic attempts to evade the clear SLP warning (that attendance at this stunt would amount to declared public hostility to Socialist Labour) came to nothing.

The hope to boost the disgraceful Trotskyite campaign to wreck the SLP's unitary constitution disappeared completely.

Their contemptible effort to slander Arthur Scargill as a 'dictatorial Stalinist' (and undermine the authority of the NEC) has got nowhere and only emphasised the reactionary essence of middle-class Trotskyism.

With obviously no SLP support now for their entryist racket or their wish to turn Socialist Labour into a useless umbrella federation of every squabbling fake-'left' sect that has ever

postured against 'unfair party discipline', the full and important force of the SLP's constitution can now be reasserted.

This bedraggled bunch of 30-or-so (CPGB members, *Workers Power* stooges, and other assorted 'dissidents' from the 57 varieties of Trotskyism) have now had their bluff called about the nonexistent 'damage' that would supposedly be caused to the SLP if all the entryists were booted out.

By their own stupid actions in barring entry to their subversive conspiracy to *bona fide* SLP members who went in to observe this 'conference open to all SLP members', this gaggle of expelled and undercover agents showed only their real hatred and fear of mass SLP democracy.

The Trots posture mightily about the need for 'full and open discussion' on all issues at all times, and consistently refuse ever to accept the discipline of NEC decisions.

But just as they have always done in branch meetings they have controlled, they immediately clamped down on Saturday, including with physical threats, against any opposition to their dissidence.

So much for the 'campaign for

democracy in the SLP’.

Some of the main stooges for this unconstitutional ‘Left Opposition’ tried to conceal their presence at this insulting and tawdry cabal, such was its wretchedness. But to no avail.

The NEC issued the following printed warning to them:

“CSLPs and individual members have been receiving correspondence from organisations such as ‘Revolutionary Platform’, ‘Socialist Labour Information’, and ‘Campaign for a Democratic SLP’ together with ‘open letters’ from individuals.

“Many members and branches have been bombarded with correspondence from individuals, including John Pearson and Stan Keable, as well as correspondence sent from groupings claiming to be ‘campaign committees’ acting on behalf of people whose membership application form has been unanimously declared null and void, and one person who has never been a member of the Party.

“Conferences and meetings have been convened with the clear aim of coordinating campaigns to challenge the Party’s Constitution. A central demand of these campaigns is that Socialist Labour should become a ‘federal’ party, thus allowing other political organisations and groupings to join, – a concept which is in conflict with the central principle of our Party’s Constitution.

“Any member who attends a ‘faction’, or meeting convened by any such grouping/organisation or any individual(s) will be acting in contravention of the Socialist Labour Party’s Constitution. Members of the SLP who become involved in any of these activities with any of these groupings and individuals, or who attend meetings/conferences convened by them, are acting in violation of the Party’s Constitution (Clause II (4) & (5); Clause III (2a), (2b), (3a), (3b).)

“Such meetings will not be tolerated by the Party. Any member who attends such meetings or becomes involved with those coordinating these meetings/campaigns against the Socialist Labour Party must understand that they are acting in violation of the Party’s Constitution and will be dealt with accordingly.

Arthur Scargill, GenSec.”

The disruption has been stopped in its tracks. The SLP’s unity and standing has been thoroughly confirmed. A great opportunity has arisen to widen and deepen the political education of Socialist Labour.

The destructive abuse served up by these petty-bourgeois individualists rendered the Socialist Labour Party unrecognisable.

But surely such idiotic sabotage needs thoroughly exposing rather than hoping it will quietly die

by being denied ‘the oxygen of publicity’?

Professional organisers are behind this concerted attack on the SLP, – the paid apparatchiks of the CPGB, a party of middle-class ultra-left posturing with its own well-printed weekly-newspaper propaganda sheet.

This anti-communist sect, – among many others of the same kind giving voice to conceited circles of extreme petty-bourgeois individualism, – has targeted the SLP for infiltration-disruption from the start.

Its ridiculous ‘human rights’ agitation needs castigating in detail for its insulting hypocrisy, and the expelled lying ‘martyrs’ touring the branches with their ‘hard-done-by’ stories ought to be shown up for their total deceitful humbug.

The politics of this ‘campaign for a democratic SLP’ calumny are thoroughly reactionary and bitterly hostile to building a disciplined mass workers party for the abolition of capitalism which working-class socialists have been thirsting for.

This entire legalistic challenge to destroy the good name of the SLP has been built around the issue of expulsions which only arose in the first place because of the deliberate entryist disruption by these organised Trots.

All joined the SLP dishonestly, swearing to “abide by the constitution” when they had not the slightest intention of doing anything of the sort.

The constitution declares “ineligible to become or remain a party member” anyone who “supports a political organisation other than the party”.

The constitution empowers the NEC alone to take decisions to expel individuals, or disaffiliate CSLPs, who refuse to “accept the constitution, rules, programme, principles, and policies of the party”.

Perfectly normally for workers organisations, the appeal against any NEC decisions on such matters is via a motion to the annual congress of the party, nothing else. What could be more democratic?

But a frenzy of defamatory vilification of the SLP has nevertheless been prepared by these obsessed Trotskyites in open contempt of the party, its leadership, and the overwhelming majority of its membership.

Having knowingly joined on utterly false pretences in the first place with the deliberate aim of toppling the SLP’s constitution, not abiding by it, – these wreckers are now determined to make a mockery of the party’s disciplinary procedures and its normal democratic functioning.

This entire sabotaging operation has been worked out

in advance with preconceived maliciousness.

These members of rival Trotskyite parties like *Workers Power* and the CPGB have falsified their membership applications and joined the SLP knowing that they were heading for fairly immediate expulsion, – all in order to then try to hold Socialist Labour to ransom by kicking up a colossal artificial fuss subsequently about “being denied natural justice and basic human rights”, etc, etc, – once expelled.

It is a well-known tactic of disruption, borrowed from the CIA’s book of anti-communist stunts.

These Trots never had the remotest preparedness to be loyal SLP members working according to the SLP constitution.

They were determined to break this constitution from the beginning, and if they could not break the constitution, they were determined to wreck the Socialist Labour Party.

This is now their aim with this dissidents’ conference.

They have blatantly and openly challenged the constitution from the start by setting up “a political organisation other than the party”, variously named ‘Revolutionary Platform’, ‘Left Network’, and now ‘Campaign for a Democratic SLP’.

These originally masqueraded as being entirely willing to accept the party’s verdict on the constitution and to work within it, – provided that there was no ‘victimisation’ to keep out comrades from certain backgrounds. This pretence was an utter fraud, and it rapidly became clear that the aim was to wreck the SLP’s unitary constitution at all costs; – including the cost of deliberately courting expulsions in order the better to kick up a huge embarrassing stink for the SLP.

This was the attitude when the entryists from *Workers Power*, the CPGB, and other Trot groups cold-bloodedly sabotaged the SLP’s first-ever national press conference on a general election manifesto. Their Vauxhall branch had been closed down after repeatedly defying an NEC decision on the expulsion from the party of an active Trotskyite Revolutionary Platform agitator; continuing to meet with him present; continuing to elect him to serve on SLP branch committees such as the general election committee; excluding *bona fide* SLP members from branch meetings for objecting to this expelled person’s continued presence; inviting other Trotskyite outsiders to attend SLP branch meetings to swell their Trot numbers; and drawing up their own Trotskyite versions of the ‘SLP election manifesto’; etc.

Now one of the more plausible leading figures behind this Vaux-

hall UDI (unilateral declaration of independence) Ian Driver has agreed to act as front-man for the CPGB professional saboteurs at this dissident conference.

The rotten connections of this deceitful ‘human rights’ whine need thoroughly denouncing.

For the SLP to be seen to be afraid to meet the challenge of this specious humbug would send out all the wrong signals.

These anti-communist disrupters will not go away of their own accord.

Exactly the opposite. They thrive on being given a clear run to disrupt SLP public meetings and to organise anti-leadership activities with apparent impunity.

They represent a whole political ideology which is totally alien to the interests of a disciplined mass workers party for socialism.

Their ‘natural justice’ and ‘democratic rights’ posturing is rank hypocrisy designed to secure the precise opposite of these aims.

These are representatives of subjective opportunism in the workers movement which amounts to nothing more than indisciplined middle-class anarchy.

And even if these frauds get no further inside or around the SLP through lack of support, this type of attack on the building of a strong workers movement for socialism is bound to keep recurring as other petty-bourgeois elements become obsessed with trying to mislead the working class, or lead it into massive diversions and cul-de-sacs.

This middle-class anti-leadership phenomenon is a permanent part of the political scene and it needs to be completely explained and comprehensively demolished.

And the membership of the SLP will remain largely uneducated in such matters, or kept in the dark, or even demoralised, if the SLP policy of total silence about these anti-party wreckers is continued with.

It is longterm suicide to keep foregoing ideal opportunities to instruct the whole party membership in political wisdom and class-conflict experience.

Branches are known to have been listening to these sob-stories of expelled Trotskyites and declaring immediate sympathy with them as being ‘hard done by’.

But the opposite is the reality. It is the SLP which is being hard done by, utterly traduced by these lying Trot reptiles, and its membership deliberately confused and damaged.

These dissident lies need fully answering in *Socialist News* immediately, and this conference of sabotage against the SLP should be declared total treachery to the aims and wellbeing of the

party, and all who continue to give it support should be expelled forthwith.

A couple of leading SLP officials should make a picket line in front of such conferences so that any supposedly 'confused but honest' members of the SLP should be in no doubt what they are getting into if they cross it to enter.

The SLP should have the courage of its socialist convictions. These dissidents are incurable enemies of the type of disciplined mass workers party which alone can organise the abolition of capitalism in Britain - or anywhere else. They need to be soundly exposed and defeated, now, tomorrow, and always. They will never disappear of their own accord.

Driver's 'open letter to all SLP members' is rotten deception from start to finish.

It is a total lie that there is a "lack of any appeals procedure" against expulsions. **Any** NEC decision, - on expulsions or anything else, - can be appealed against at the next Congress, - which is a perfectly democratic and adequate procedure.

But on this **total lie**, Driver bases his entire case that "the SLP is every bit as bureaucratic and undemocratic as Tony Blair's New Labour", describing it as "the main problem".

Now Driver & Co might want to suggest to the SLP, at some future congress, an alternative way of appealing against any NEC decisions to the one, **legitimate**, and perfectly adequate **existing** means of appeal via a motion to the following party congress.

But meanwhile, Driver & Co, - and everyone else in the SLP, - is obliged, - and has pledged, - to uphold the **existing** constitutional provisions, - namely, accept the NEC's decision, and take it to appeal at the next congress.

But Driver & Co have total contempt for this SLP constitution, and openly declare their intention to defy it by organising their own unconstitutional conference to try to undermine the NEC, and pre-empt congress decisions on disputed matters, trying to stampede mass party opinion in advance through their completely unconstitutional canvassing of selected individuals and branches.

All of their agitational activities against the NEC amount to the party leadership having no authority whatever.

Leadership decisions are supposed to be **supported** until any decision is overturned at the next congress.

And at that congress should be held a **democratic** debate about the merits of any NEC decision, on expulsions or anything else.

This constant agitation against NEC decisions makes a mockery

of all idea of loyal party unity behind NEC decisions until such decisions are changed by congress.

Such carping practices deny all credibility to the SLP and its leadership.

This is not democracy but sabotage. And the organisation of this agitation is not remotely democratic but completely factional and disruptive.

Mixed up with more abuse about the SLP seeking only to create "a Labour Party Mark II with a docile subservient membership", and encouraging "intimidation, homophobia, and violence" (based on utterly slanderous anecdotes of uncorroborated trivia), Driver & Co resurrect misleading old rubbish about people being denied explanations about why they were being expelled.

An expelled co-sponsor of this conference sabotage with Driver has spread similar lies all round the North West and beyond.

But that expulsion from the Stockport branch arose quite plainly from blatant activities on behalf of "a political organisation other than the party" for which anyone is eligible for expulsion.

A public rally organised by the SLP in Manchester last November was disloyally exploited by supporters of the CPGB-organised 'Revolutionary Platform', handing out leaflets attacking the SLP while pretending to be part of the SLP.

The same slanders about "democracy, not bureaucracy", and "no Labour Party Mark II" were prominent, plus a telephone number to contact, and a website address, which both belong to the CPGB's leading member in Manchester.

Further slanders were then printed in the CPGB propaganda sheet accusing Scargill of 'leaning on' the CPGB stooge in the Stockport branch, who was in fact merely asked about the leafletting at the rally, but gave no reply.

Stockport branch was then ambushed with a CPGB-worded motion condemning Scargill for 'misleading' the working class, accusing the SLP leadership of imposing itself on the party without a valid constitution.

All these activities on behalf of "a political organisation other than the party" make the clearest possible case for expulsion, and none of these activities were ever denied or explained, despite countless opportunities for such explanations.

It is just total lies that these organisers of this sabotage conference 'do not know' why expulsions have taken place.

These people are scabbing on the SLP, representing the forces of petty-bourgeois anarchic individualism in the socialist movement, determined to destroy the SLP's wish to build a disciplined mass

workers party of leadership.

Beyond these 25 to 30 open scabs (many of whom have never actually been members of the SLP or who left or were booted out long ago), a further group of anti-leadership dilettantes put in a written appearance with a "published statement to the NEC and SLP members".

This carefully stopped short of backing this scab 'conference' but came out with just as many lies about Socialist Labour and with just as useless a middle-class political perspective, championing individualism, and against any strong party leadership.

Seven branches from petty-bourgeois heartlands signed this whingeing diatribe which is basically a manifesto from 'people who did not make it onto the NEC'.

Berkshire, Bracknell, Swindon, Exeter, Brighton, Harrow, and Ealing groups put their name to this bleat which basically demands that the NEC should never take any decisions itself but should refer every difficult question to the entire party membership for resolution.

This is not just hopelessly impracticable but is wrong in principle too.

A party leadership should always represent the best talents in a party, and should often be a far better instrument for taking timely decisions in the best interests of the party than a premature attempt to distil the collective wisdom of the entire membership might provide.

Ultimately, the mass of the party must come round to approving leadership decisions or denouncing them as a failure.

But to try to run a party on a daily basis through such plebiscitary instruments would be a recipe for perpetual confusion, stagnation, and potential disaster.

The philosophy behind this 'statement' is the destructive petty-bourgeois ideology of wannabee leaders, permanent losers, and no-hopers.

They hate all firm decisions by leaderships - unless it just happens to be themselves who are making the decisions.

It starts with the lying insult: "Discussion cannot be limited to the NEC".

So who said it was? Most sensible branches discuss things endlessly, and let the NEC know their views if they feel strongly enough about any question.

The inaugural conference and congress were about nothing but non-stop all-party discussion. Forthcoming congresses will be the same and will be longer. Regional conferences, schools, and discussions will eventually be routine as well. What are these jerks on about?

"We cannot take for granted agreement on a whole range of political questions,"

they pontificate on.

Who wants them to? All party decisions are up for questioning at any congress, and a once-a-year congress would seem a sensible aim at this stage of the party's development. The only real solution for this whingeing would be a never-ending all-year-round congress, effectively replacing the NEC entirely, which would suit dilettantes but make little sense to anyone else.

"What sort of socialism are we striving for?", it goes on.

Well, how about one which requires the abolition of capitalism to start with, and then works out over the next 1,000 years or so how best to build a completely new socialist society?

"But the NEC is acting as if it were an authoritative leadership based on a longstanding political programme,"

it whines on.

Now it is getting down to the real bone of contention.

"The methods employed by the NEC threaten the future prospects of our new party. Their approach is a top-down one, profoundly undemocratic."

And how are these gross lies backed up?

The first complaint is against the SLP seeking 100 election candidates

"when there has been no discussion of electoral strategy whatsoever."

But the 27 South West members whose views were 'ignored', according to this statement, did not want to challenge Labour at this last election.

So why did they bother joining the SLP in the first place which made it absolutely clear from its foundation that it saw itself as the total challenge to the Labour Party for the leadership of the working class?

The same applies to the next 'statement' slander about British withdrawal from the EU being decided 'undemocratically.'

But the SLP is an anti-imperialist party. Join New Labour or the LibDems for pro-imperialism. And if the objection is tactical, British withdrawal has never been seen by the SLP as any solution to British capitalism's problems, so the charge of 'national socialism' which some critics have levelled at the SLP is slanderous nonsense.

The middle-class accusations against discipline in the SLP are just monstrous lies, pretending that the voided and the expelled have had no hearing, have not known the charges, and have had no right of appeal.

All completely untrue. The parrot cry of all these entryist dissidents has been "What right do you have to try me or even question me?", and refusing all

answers about their disruptive and unconstitutional activities. (see above).

The final whinge is about the newspaper launch

“rushed through without discussion or the necessary infrastructure”, etc.

So write for it; and take up its perceived weaknesses issue by issue. What is the point of all this negative bleating six issues on, – other than to thinly disguise these posturers’ obvious belief that it should have been they who were making the executive decisions on all these matters, and not the actual elected NEC. Pathetic!

Their posturing predictable conclusion is that the SLP has become a party of

‘generals and foot soldiers’, – just ‘like the Labour Party.’

Another insult, since SLP democracy is not remotely comparable to the rigged hierarchy which controls Labour.

But is that all that was wrong with Labour anyway? Obviously, the fact that Labour is a thoroughly bourgeois party, totally dedicated to defending the capitalist-imperialist system, was not a problem for these middle-class anti-leadership whingers.

The following individuals added their names to the seven middle-class branches: Anton Angelo, Islington; Ian Driver, Vauxhall; Ian Dudley, Dulwich; Barbara Duke, Islington; Steve Freeman, South London; Alan Gibson, South London; Jack Gilbert, Ealing; Gary Henson, Hampstead; Christine Hulme, South London; Allan Jones, Hornsey; Dave Larcombe, Bristol; Christoph Lenk, Peckham; Steve Lloyd, South London; Dave Osier, Islington; Geoff Palmer, Hackney; Alan Pottage, Edinburgh; Lee Rock, East London; Dave Spencer, Coventry; Hannah Williams, Brighton; Roland Wood, South London; Janice Youngs, Bristol.

Once again, this dissident howl has been marked by the virtual absence of any serious politics in it. For apart from the slanderous disinformation about imaginary SLP ‘authoritarianism’, what are the complaints? That those expelled don’t like it, nor do their friends; that the paper launch wasn’t quite as others would have done it if they had been in charge; that endless discussion always appeals to those who don’t get their own way; that the SLP has done exactly what it was founded to do, and challenged the Labour Party; etc, etc.

This is no better than tittle-tattle gossip, – the bad-mouthing of people seen just as rivals and nothing more.

More serious political disagreements with the SLP’s performance might have concerned themselves, for example with the need for a stronger stand against

imperialism on Middle Eastern politics; the absence of active campaigning on Ireland; the unsurprising gap in the coverage of international imperialism’s gigantic economic crisis; the reluctance to comment on imperialism’s conflict with the Chinese workers state; a hesitancy to analyse European Union contradictions from the angle of trade war and inter-imperialist warmongering? etc.

These are matters on which the whole progressive world is struggling, obviously. But why are not these critics of supposed SLP/NEC ‘uselessness’ driving forward with better leadership on these themes?

Because they are festering small-minded pedants and nothing else. It is their egos they really want to talk about, that’s all, especially their bruised egos. There is nothing gives a petty-bourgeois such pleasure as a sour defeatist whinge. The still-surging SLP has little need for such posturing losers.

It is certainly correct that there is a lot of talent in the SLP beyond the limits of the current NEC, but the effective way to put that to good use is to get on and build the existing SLP as it is, – by developing the branch activities, submitting ideas, writing for the paper, raising funds, and generally being supportive of the collective effort. Whingeing from the sidelines, – or getting into bed with the destructive Trot entryists, posing as ‘revolutionaries’, – is utterly negative.

Such defeatism is one of the chief philosophical characteristics of the petty bourgeoisie.

Nor is it a phenomenon confined to just the anti-leadership dissidents who tried, and failed, to destroy the SLP and its unitary constitution.

Defeatism is not far from much of the confusion on the devolution question on which *Socialist News* has had a couple of stumbles, a highly complex political matter providing yet more opportunity for better and deeper analysis than anyone has come up with yet, another chance ignored by these ‘useless’ critics.

Defeatism has crept in on some coverage of Ireland, too.

Predictions of the peace process failing in Ireland need re-examination.

Predictions that the fall of the Tory government will make no difference to the positions of the British imperialist Establishment need re-examination.

Evidence continues piling up for a different perspective, – a reluctant but inevitable snail’s-pace retreat by a clapped-out colonial administration in the Occupied Zone of Ireland (the artificial ‘Northern Ireland’) under pressure from a steady shift in

the international balance of class forces.

The dramatic successes in parliamentary and local elections for Sinn Féin, the political party of the national-liberation struggle, are the stark reminder to everyone that indomitable popular support, which makes the IRA armed guerrilla war impossible to defeat, continues to soar relentlessly.

This is the unignorable basis for the view, – steadily growing in strength in London, as well as in Washington, Dublin, and wider around the West for more than two decades, – that “something has to be done about ‘Northern Ireland’”.

It is a long slow development, but landmarks such as the Anglo-Irish Treaty (1985) and the later Statement of Intent, Downing Street Declaration, Mitchell Commission, and the Peace Talks themselves, etc, all keep pointing in the direction of a completely new settlement for the Occupied Zone which will put an end to the old ‘Northern Ireland’ in all but name (and that will disappear too in time), and somehow allow the Irish in the OZ to live as though in part of Ireland, and those descendants of British colonialism, who wish it, to live on as though still in part of Britain.

The premier party of the British ruling class, the Tories, got bogged down in the end by their overall political weakness, divisions, and indecisiveness, – particularly stumbling, therefore, on the most difficult part of the imperialist retreat, – which was to avoid at all costs any semblance that British colonialism was finally giving up control because it was being forced out by revolutionary national-liberation struggle.

But attempts to push the IRA into symbolic ‘surrender’ gestures such as prior decommissioning or meaningful ‘renunciation for ever’ of guerrilla war, have failed miserably.

Washington, Dublin, and EU pressure will now be tremendous on the replacement government in London to get on with the peace process.

Those sectional voices inside the British Establishment, who have long wanted to get out of Ireland, will be more insistent too. And New Labour is exactly the right sort of pro-imperialist opportunism to enjoy the lime-light.

The die-hard Ulster Unionists still need reassuring to keep their potential armed backlash (against a new settlement) to a minimum, – so some old soothing words and gestures get used such as ‘no reunification in my lifetime’, and no Commons entry yet for Adams & McGuinness.

But beyond this, open negotiations start with Sinn Féin,

– a first, – to get a new ceasefire; Mowlam warns the Unionists to get on the peace train or be left behind; Adams confidently calls for proof by London of a ‘credible peace process’, naming repatriation of IRA prisoners to Ireland as a symbol, – and two go back; Róisín McAliskey is let out on bail; Mowlam goes walkabout with Sinn Féin residents associations, and then to Washington for more ‘new settlement’ collaboration; and Ireland foreign minister Dick Spring contradicts Premier Bruton, on the eve of a new government in Dublin, to declare with Sinn Féin that its dramatic vote increase means a ‘vote for peace’.

The first agenda item for Clinton in Downing Street was a new settlement for Ireland; and Mowlam flew to Dublin for further negotiations immediately after.

Enormous difficulties remain, – bourgeois nerves stretched to breaking point by the IRA’s ruthless determination to meet continued British colonial occupation with relentless and inextinguishable guerrilla war, reminding London and the rest of the West, dismayed by revolutionary struggle, to get on with the settlement, and open the closing chapter on the hated and intolerable Partition of Ireland.

Blair’s comment after this latest armed action in Lurgan that “it is a signal that Sinn Féin and the IRA are not interested in peace and democracy, and prefer violence” ranks with the classic hypocrisy and stupidity of the whole history of British imperialist tyranny over Ireland.

The British occupation of the Six torn-out counties of Ulster since the 1921 Partition (leaving three Ulster counties behind because they had too many Irish living in them!) has always survived entirely because of being armed to the teeth and ready to kill and persecute and torture and terrorise Irish nationalists, and put them in concentration camps without trial at times, bringing death and tragedy and ruin to tens of thousands of Irish families in that 76 years of infamous gerrymandered dictatorship which was the total contradiction of ‘democracy’ from first to last. So the Irish fought back to end this unjust armed tyranny, and pushed for a more just solution to Britain’s colonial problem which could bring peace to Ireland, and won worldwide support for the justice of their national-liberation fight, – only to be told by the idiot Blair that “they can’t be interested in peace and democracy”.

But fortunately, the soundbite words of a Labour prime-minister stooge for the imperialist system are frequently not to be treated too seriously. Blair will end up doing what the Establishment



wants him to do.

The general consensus in imperialist circles internationally remains that a completely new settlement to terminate British colonialism in Ireland remains the best way forward for all concerned. And 'conference-table harmony' between the Irish national-liberation movement and the local & London representatives of the British empire which has always been oppressing them, may no longer be regarded as a crucial if hard-to-stomach ingredient.

The idea is now being floated of putting an imposed new deal to a referendum as early as next spring, possibly leaving out the stage of all-party talks altogether now, which provide Unionist

die-hard colonists with such inflammatory material, insisting that they 'cannot sit down to talk with murdering terrorists', etc., - which point also rubs British imperialism's face in its own sores mess, its failure to get anywhere near to defeating the IRA.

An imposed settlement, - worked out behind the scenes by London, Dublin, Washington, and the 'Northern Ireland' Office, - could try to balance the minimum of immediate concessions to the nationalist perspective of eventual reunification of Ireland, with enough guarantees of a stable peace at last to win over a small minority of the colonial (British unionist) population to give an overall victory for a referendum in the Occupied Zone of

about 51% to 49%, agreeing a new constitutional arrangement.

With the Orange extremists now split over how far to push their intransigence, a further referendum split in the Unionist-colonialist ranks could prove to be the thin end of the wedge which could finally convince the Loyalist die-hards that their 400-year game of colonial mastery and bigotry was now nearly up.

The idea that breakaway Unionist gunmen might stage an IRA-style last-ditch rebellion against an imposed settlement, - thus continuing the Troubles for another 30 years, - is a defeatist notion reflecting only the subjective pessimism of middle-class observations.

British imperialism has no

ers party to abolish capitalism.

China's effortless humiliation of British and Western imperialism in reclaiming without a fight Hong Kong, one of the richest small states on earth, has driven Trotskyism to dramatically different attempts to give a 'correct' explanation.

Excerpt 1:

The Hong Kong hand-over - or 'the return', as the Chinese media more accurately describe it - has been an exercise in monstrous hypocrisy, and an instructive lesson in the art of disseminating the neo-imperialist message. Nobody could miss the drip-drip intimation behind all the reports: the contrast between British civilisation and Asiatic/Chinese barbarism and backwardness.

Clearly, Chris Patten's sudden conversion to the marvels of elected assemblies and legislatures was a blatant attempt to destabilise mainland China, to implant the Trojan Horse of 'democracy' and appear to be more virtuous than the Chinese bureaucrats. It was a cynical exercise, as was the farcical boycott of the official Chinese ceremonies held on Tuesday.

The US administration and the British government are so offended by the non-democratic nature of the new hand-picked legislative assembly, the Legislative Council, they cannot bring themselves to attend. Funnily enough, their conscience never stirred from its sleep during the last 150 years of British rule

future. Therefore its Orange-colonising offspring has no future either.

Irish national aspirations, on the other hand, have an endless future, and inseparably connected with a restoration of the whole of re-united Ireland to the Irish people.

One day, the colonisers who choose to remain 'Irish' will have to accept this. Once the British imperialist connection is cut at last, - at least in perspective if not totally in practice all at once, - then the game of 'never surrender' is up to all intents and purposes.

Any last-ditch putschist skirmishing would prove very short-lived if the Western powers chaperoning the new arrangement for Ireland made it their business to see that it was shortlived.

Much of such attempts to outline the next stages of imperialism's ever-worsening crisis is, of course, speculative.

But such perspectives are vital for inspiring confident anti-imperialist struggle.

Taking theory into practice is not fatal if it proves wrong, - because it is only practice which can demonstrate the truth of anything.

It is the failure to take any theory into practice, - and therefore the likely absence of any practice at all, or at best only very impressionistic, shallow, and episodic practice, - which is the real burden for the socialist movement.

Defeatism is the essence of having no real theory of world development. Build Leninism.

Jack Bradshaw

From China to the SLP, Trot misery-mongering cannot stomach the real anti-imperialist achievements of the workers movement. Its middle-class anti-leadership disruption flows inevitably from its opportunist indecision about the real meaning of 20th century history. Such reactionary agnostic philistinism makes lies indistinguishable from objective truth to such perpetual dissidents. But anti-SLP abuse is in its death throes. The serious philosophical turn represented by Socialist Labour is a too powerful reality against shallow Trot posturing. Bogus new 'SLP Marxism' plumbs fresh depths of ignorance and backwardness. Socialist Labour dissidents closer to despair. Real party building routs the distortions.

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The schizophrenic defeatism of fake petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' has gone ballistic over

recent successes for the Chinese workers state building socialism, and the SLP building a mass work-

over Hong Kong - nor does it prevent them from quite cheerfully rubbing shoulders with Saudi Arabian dictators. US imperialism was delighted to do deals, to name just one example, with general Augusto Pinochet of Chile in 1973 - who came to power by massacring the elected government of Salvador Allende. However, the Legislative Council is beyond the pale.

Excerpt 2.

China has promised to preserve Hong Kong capitalism with its 'one country, two systems' formula. There is no reason not to believe them. In China itself, the Party/state bureaucracy is introducing capitalism **from above**. It should be mentioned in passing that this is not an uncommon phenomenon: in many parts of the world, capitalism was imposed by the state apparatus - it did not emerge spontaneously from below, as some modern-day myth makers would suggest.

The capitalistic 'reforms' we witness in contemporary China bear no relation to the NEP of Lenin's Russia - a temporary concession to the peasantry, dictated by the catastrophic exigencies of war communism. Top layers of the Party/state bureaucracy are **merging** with the top layers of the new, emerging capitalist class. A good example of the new breed of "red capitalists" - as they are increasingly referred to in China - is Tung Chee-hwa, the new chief executive who takes over from Patten. He is a Liverpool-educated shipping tycoon who is the darling of the CPC. There are plenty of others just like him.

The sons and daughters of Party bureaucrats are steadily enriching themselves and

use their personal/filial ties to promote this process, and the sons and daughters of top business figures are joining the CPC. The Communist Party of China has become the vehicle for the introduction of capitalistic social relations – a capitalism that is far beyond what existed previous to the revolution.

Pre-1949, a formal or primitive capitalism operated only in small, isolated pockets of China. Hong Kong's re-absorption into the 'motherland' significantly boosts this capitalistic momentum. This city-state has massive concentrations of capital, and China overnight added somewhere in the region of 20% to its GDP. By a splendid paradox, the removal of imperialist control over Hong Kong and its re-unification with 'socialist' China has objectively aided the expansion of world capital.

The Hong Kong hand-over points to the wider tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. Its proletarian head cut off in 1927, Mao and his followers pursued a non-proletarian 'socialism' – developing a fundamentally Utopian ideology which followed the contours of Stalin's anti-socialist socialism, but located it within a rural framework. As is evidenced by the disasters of the Great Leap Forward and the Cultural Revolution, the Communist Party of China came to embody a **completely different idea** of socialism to Karl Marx and VI Lenin – a hopelessly petty-bourgeois schema which was doomed to such brutal failure.

When we look at the bright capitalist lights of Hong Kong - with its capitalist exploitation, corruption, prostitution, etc - and Guangdong Province in Southern China, which has become one massive sweatshop for its tens of millions of inhabitants, we see the **consequences** of Mao's failure.

The Chinese Revolution aimed to build 'socialism' within its national boundaries. Now it hopes to compete as an 'equal' with world imperialism.

One Trotskyite response is to express feigned solidarity with the humiliating of imperialism, seeking opportunistically to pilfer a bit of reflected glory by associating with the Chinese workers state's achievement.

But the next Trotskyite response quickly puts up the shutters so as not to let this distant 'association with Stalinist dictatorship' go too far in the eyes of other bourgeois (the dominating social circles in the West) whose savage anti-communism would shrivel the Trots if turned fully on them.

But the weirdest thing of all is that these rank opportunist attitudes from either end of the Trotskyite spectrum appear in the one same single article by the one same single Trotskyite hack, – 'Eddie Ford' a house mouthpiece for the CPGB's *Weekly Worker* (the page 5 article in issue 198).

And this contortionist position poses one great unanswered question: If excerpt 2 is true, and the Chinese Revolution is now completely integrated into the camp of world capitalist-imperialist reaction, then why is it the case (see excerpt 1) that the Western imperialists choose to treat Saudi reaction or Pinochet reaction with a completely different attitude to the one they adopt towards Chinese Communist 'reaction'?

Why the gross attempts at 'monstrous hypocrisy' (excerpt 1) to so spell out the 'neo-imperialist' message by sick implica-

tions about 'Chinese barbarism and backwardness' when no such vicious propaganda stunts have ever been noticed against the genuinely barbaric Saudi feudal dynasty or against the inhuman fascist slaughter degeneracy of the Pinochet regime, – especially when excerpt 2 insists that like the Saudis and Pinochet, the Chinese Revolution is 'hostile' to socialism and also wants to be regarded "as an equal with world imperialism".?

The glaring contradictions in this sick effort to rationalise different opportunist stances, thought to be convenient for Trotskyism's diseased perspective on world history, – do not even get noticed, let alone answered.

And any attempted 'explanation' along the lines that China is slandered, where the Saudis and Pinochet are not, because the size and potential of China makes it a possible serious competitor to US imperialism in the sphere of "the expansion of world capital" (to which China is equally now devoted alongside the USA) whereas the Saudis and Pinochet could never be considered 'rivals', – plunges this rigmarole into even more ludicrous muddle when Washington's attitude to Yeltsin's Russia is considered.

The successor state to the Soviet Union is still the other nuclear superpower on earth, and a potentially greater industrial and scientific power than the USA, as the Soviet Union was in many important fields.

And now that Russia wants "to compete as an equal with world imperialism" as well as China allegedly does, then why is Western imperialism's treatment of Yeltsin's Russia so utterly different from the vicious propaganda to which the Chinese workers state is still subjected?

There is a much simpler explanation to all this utterly confused nonsense. The Chinese workers state has not abandoned the dictatorship of the proletariat. It remains a workers state, albeit using many capitalist management methods on economic and trade & investment questions, but retaining political leadership in a communist party with a socialist outlook, still aiding many anti-imperialist struggles around the world.

The whole planet knows what China is, – apart from these sick sad Trots who hate reality, are incurably defeatist about the real world's prospects, and want to live forever in their own fantasy land of 'perfect' socialist revolutions carried out by them at the top of their ivory towers, meanwhile pouring scorn on all serious anti-imperialist struggles and achievements.

What people everywhere have to make up their minds about



is do they sympathise with the Chinese Communist Revolution, the largest-scale and most epoch-making mass political development in all history which has utterly trounced all imperialism's efforts to undermine it, black-guard it, and destroy it; or do they sympathise with the arrogant racist Western fear and hatred of the 'Yellow Peril', sneering at its "Utopian ideology", deriding its "anti-socialism", laughing at its "disasters", and condemning its "brutal failure"?

Trotskyism is anti-communism but of the most contemptible kind, – posturing as being so in favour of 'real socialist revolution', but ever-eager to go along with every dirty lie and distortion that imperialist reaction has ever poured out in order to spread the brainrot of petty-bourgeois defeatism and individualism, – permanent stooges of the 'triumph of the Western way of life'.

The Trots posture very neatly at times against imperialism.

But there is no question where they would have stood last week as the masses of Hong Kong had to decide how they felt about the arrival of a new final authority in the life of their community, – the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Chinese Communist Party. The Hong Kong masses said 'Good'. The armchair-socialist Trots would have opted out of this "massive sweatshop of Maoist failure".

Most of the Third World, – where imperialist sweatshop exploitation really takes place, – would have been cheering the Chinese Revolution's takeover of Hong Kong to the rooftops, and enjoying imperialism's humiliation. Trotskyite scorn for the

"hopelessness" of it all can only sneer sourly from the perpetual sidelines, its pose of 'anti-imperialism' utterly demolished yet again.

The leadership of the Chinese Revolution has indeed suffered greatly from voluntarism in major decisions; and the revisionist weaknesses of the present regime are equally well-known, making it difficult to predict that the aim of building socialism will stay the course.

But however confusing these huge problems are and have been, they are a world apart from the shallow reactionary lies spread by Trotskyite defeatism which tries to dismiss the entire heroic achievements of the Chinese Revolution as having gained absolutely nothing for the Chinese masses than harsher capitalist exploitation than ever before, and as having developed China only in order to establish a new imperialist superpower to rival US imperialist domination of the planet.

This fatuous evil nonsense can do nothing but create utter confusion in the minds of any workers unfortunate enough to be influenced by it.

This same reactionary Trot newspaper serves up more incoherent contradiction as 'reason' in a statement it prints from Terry Burns, an anti-leadership factionalist in the SLP.

Burns is commenting on the dissident 'conference' which CPGB entryists have just tried to pass off as a genuine SLP 'democracy' event. Burns frankly declares:

The meeting agreed that affiliation was the priority issue and to be the sole subject for resolutions to the SLP conference from CDSL-supporting branches.

This proved problematic for me, given the fact that since the day I joined the SLP I have made it clear that I do not support the concept of the SLP being a federal body. I belong to no other party – only the SLP – and I do not regard affiliation as a democratic issue. The party can be completely democratic with or without affiliations. I believe affiliation of other parties, and trade unions for that matter, to be a diversion from the main task of building a democratic, mass-based SLP.

Affiliations would create a battleground, as each little ‘party’ within the main ‘party’ seeks to build its own party, as they all posture as The Party – Bolshevik of course. No matter how it’s posed, it’s a party too many for me. Having rejected the main plank of the CDSLSP – that of affiliation – I cannot in all honesty see why I should continue my involvement.

But having denounced this crazy idea of a federated factional hell which would be permanently paralysed and could only make a laughing stock of itself in the eyes of serious-minded workers, Burns then declares astonishingly:

After 30 years in the stifling Labour Party, particularly the Kinnock years, I was looking forward to the political climate I expected in the SLP. I thought it would be open and pluralistic. I certainly expected a party, with comrade Scargill in the leadership, to be committed to fighting witch hunts, bans and proscriptions. I expected comrade Scargill and the NEC members to be the most ardent defenders of dissenting members.

Unfortunately this has proved to be a false hope.

The SLP should pursue the idea of a united left, combining with other parties, based on fusions where possible, and alliances where fusion is not a viable option.

But the ‘witch-hunt’ as Burns contemptuously calls it, has had to be conducted precisely against rival party entryists who tried to get into Socialist Labour by deception exactly so as to recruit to their own little Trotskyite sects, – as Burns himself virtually describes it correctly, – a situation he himself describes as intolerable.

But when the SLP takes action to keep out such wreckers, Burns finds that intolerable too.

His extreme condition of rank Trotskyite opportunism can create nothing but total confusion in the workers movement, and is itself intolerable.

It is yet another example of the utterly conceited individualism of these Trotskyites. Burns represents nothing but himself, but such is the egocentricity of these Trotsky figures that they will hold out indefinitely for “their right to be heard”, even though it only adds nothing but their plainly visible personal muddleheadedness, springing out of their incurable opportunism.

Covering up this chaos by shifting the ground for unprincipled confusion from parties-within-parties (‘wrong’) to “different factions and traditions within parties” (‘correct’) and “fusions with other parties for a combined united left” (‘correct’ also) should fool no one.

This is the same perpetual swamp of Trotskyite federalism by another route. No decisive

leadership will ever be accepted. ‘Dissent’ and ‘pluralism’ will be the **entire** objective, – so that posturing Trotsky figures can permanently remain in the limelight, right or wrong.

But that is not how the scientific struggle for the socialist revolution has ever proceeded or ever could proceed. Marxist-Leninist leadership, which alone has made possible the first great historic attempts since 1917 to build workers states without a capitalist ruling class and favourable to international anti-imperialist struggle, was achieved only by decisive polemical defeat of 57 varieties of petty-bourgeois ‘revolutionary’ muddleheadedness swarming all round the Bolshevik Party, all charging Lenin with ‘domineering’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘denying free speech’, etc, etc.

And Marx and Engels had just the same abuse hurled at them when earlier routing the middle-class dilettante muddleheads of their generation such as the Proudhonites, Bakuninites, Blanquists, Dühringites, and the ‘critical criticism’ of Bruno Bauer & Co, etc.

The opposition to correct leadership of the mass workers movement, voiced by petty bourgeois individualists who in reality will not accept leadership of any kind, – is always couched in terms of ‘denial of democracy’, ‘dictatorship’, ‘authoritarian leadership cult’, etc, etc.

Trying to capitalise on the undoubted mistakes and crimes of the Stalin and Mao periods, bourgeois ideology is now seizing the historic opportunity to prevent the mass workers movement from ever having firm decisive leadership ever again, and setting about it in typically the slyest and subtlest ways possible by posturing how ‘left’ and ‘revolutionary’ the critics really are, etc.

It is a massive ideological effort by an instinctive chorus (not necessarily masterminded, though it may be) of petty-bourgeois dilettantism, the creation of the temporary historic success of the ‘free-market’ spirit in the West. These individualists endlessly spout about the ‘socialism’ they want to see, but the only thing that really interests them is to never see what they regard as their own personal ‘freedom’ interfered with, their ‘freedom’ to say and do what they like, anywhere, anytime, – including in and around the SLP.

The one thing they know that they do **not** want is a party of firm, decisive **leadership** (unless it is they themselves who are the leaders, of course).

Other variations on this freewheeling dilettantism around Socialist Labour have continued down a nervous “let us not break with Labour too dramatically”

path, prolonging the doubts about challenging Labour in the elections.

But these more cautious opportunists nevertheless end up in the same indecisive swamp as Burns and the rest, looking for a coalition of all the confusions within which to lodge their own individualist idiosyncrasies undisturbed by the prospect of too much firm and disciplined leadership emanating from Socialist Labour.

This school of muddle-headed ‘thought’ has been posturing in the columns of CPGB wrecking-entryist propaganda as speaking on behalf of “the SLP”, and sharing public platforms with the CPGB and other Trots under the same guise of representing “the SLP”.

It is doing nothing of the sort in reality, and as also can be seen clearly from the following contribution, for example, to this unprincipled lash-up from Dave Osier, pretending that the interest New Labour holds for the working class is not yet extinguished, and that the SLP had better seek some supportive solid ground through an alliance with a united left swamp:

It has been almost universal Marxist practice to call for a vote for a bourgeois workers’ party where revolutionary forces are too weak to stand.

The sheer weight of working class support for New Labour and the much diminished – but still not sundered – organic links to the trade union bureaucracy indicate that Labour remains at this point in time a bourgeois workers’ party. The Socialist Party/*Militant* is therefore wrong to argue that Labour has become an outright capitalist party.

While scarcely a pithy formulation, a term such as ‘bourgeois workers’ party in transition to bourgeois party’ is needed. It would apply not only to New Labour but more generally to describe Second International outfits in Spain, New Zealand, and elsewhere. Yet Labour has promised, or already undertaken, limited progressive measures.

These include the minimum wage, a right to union recognition and the return of unions to GCHQ, job creation through the windfall tax, a human rights dimension to foreign policy, the landmines ban, a London-wide elected authority, referenda on Scottish and Welsh devolution and proportional representation, an independent food safety agency, criminalisation of racially motivated violence, abolition of the ‘primary purpose’ rule, implementation of the European working time directive, abolition of compulsory competitive tendering and reduction in school class sizes through the abolition of the assisted places scheme.

Milkshops, one and all. These reforms are limited, partial, hidebound by caveats, and a watered-down version of what even Labour’s mid-80s soft left would have seen as adequate. Yet reforms they unmistakably are. What we have is rather ‘reformism with tiny reforms’. This can only fuel, well, expectations. Just because there ain’t a crisis, doesn’t mean there ain’t expectations.

To revert to autotrot-speak, the ‘crisis of expectations’ argument is almost always accompanied by the ‘honeymoon period’ clause. Even in the crudest version of the theory, the ‘crisis’ is not expected to kick in for some time.

The bulk of the working class is so far happy with what New Labour has done in office. Blair has clocked up the highest approval ratings ever seen for a prime minister.

But if the working class does not – through a combination of spontaneity and socialist

agitation – demand more than New Labour is willing to deliver, the outlook is bleak for the far left. It will mean that the net effect of the Thatcherite project and Labour modernisation has been to bring about a prolonged period of class quiescence.

This can never be definitively excluded. Contrary to the perpetual ‘strike wave round the corner’ perspective of the SWP, periods of relative class peace can endure for decades, even where unions have a past track record of militancy. The post-war history of Japan, in the face of the most horrendous exploitation of the proletariat, is only one example.

The outing of the Tories is the most significant morale booster the labour movement has received since the seventies, as will be apparent to anyone who has attended this year’s round of trade union conferences.

Demands on Labour can be no more than abstract agitation, which is not to say that they cannot retain a certain value.

Just as entry work in the Labour Party was correct in the early 80s, the late 90s demand open socialist organisation. This has presently taken the form of a plurality of political currents, including the SLP, the Socialist Party and the Scottish Socialist Alliance.

My own hope – my own expectation, come to that – is that all three are components of a future united socialist party, alongside one or more splits from the existing Labour left, representing a qualitative deepening of the recomposition process in the British labour movement.

The SLP leadership should, at the very least, reconsider its refusal to reach an electoral understanding with the Socialist Party. Imagine Livingstone, Corbyn, Nellist, Sheridan, and Scargill on the same ticket in the 2002 general election, under a party-list PR system with a viable chance of being elected. Now there’s a thought •

The defeatism in this is self-evident. ‘Class quiescence’ is ‘not excluded’.

The scabbing opportunism consists of writing off the importance and the special character of Socialist Labour’s achievements.

The SLP is seen as just one ‘current’ among many. In the rotten future amalgam for the 2002 election, Scargill just scrapes onto the end of a list headed by Livingstone, Corbyn, Nellist, and Sheridan.

The agenda for the working class is still regarded as being set by Labour, which has not “become an outright capitalist party”.

Now not only does such a view contradict completely the entire historical reason for the SLP’s launch in the first place, which along with much else that was said makes one wonder why the author ever joined Socialist Labour in the first place (and not *Militant*, e.g., or stuck with ‘Left’ Labour). But there is also the curiosity of Osier describing ‘Labour has become an outright capitalist party’ as incorrect leadership by *Militant*! And SLP leadership??

This is all hopelessly out of touch, indicating an utterly opportunist relationship with the SLP.

The ‘outing’ (presumably outing) of the Tories can be described in some ways as the labour movement’s “most significant morale booster since the 1970s”, but the foundation of Socialist Labour is infinitely more important in the long run, and this has been

totally missed.

Completely lacking here is any sense of history at all. Socialist Labour is precisely not just another 'left current'. It is the first mainstream labour-movement break with the Labour Party/TUC federation since the 1920s, and potentially even far more important than that pioneering launch of the Communist Party in Britain. It rests on the most defining experience of the British working class in its entire history, – the 1984-85 miners strike when Labour/TUC reformism was finally understood as being incapable of breaking from class collaboration with the capitalist system, – and it is being built with a hard core of those best mining communities' fighting traditions at its heart.

Labour movement 'names' still attract great publicity, and further breakaway support for Socialist Labour from other trade-union or political sectors of the Labour Party/TUC federation will doubtless play a significant role in the period ahead.

But the very act of founding the SLP with its firm principled position on a unitary constitution and its clearcut socialist internationalist policies, making possible a unique new mass workers party development in Britain, must remain the decisive factor.

Again, this is simply not seen or remotely understood.

And it remains necessary to repeat that the 57 varieties of 'left' posturing could have 'united' at any time, but never have, – and never will, apart from in temporary chorus against any firm leadership by the SLP, to be denounced as 'dictatorship'.

Different traditions and methods have indeed come cascading into the SLP (to re-quote Burns earlier), but the achievement lies not in the existence of 57 different varieties of confusion, and even less in 157 varieties. Any fool can be a sticking-out pain-in-the-arse for 'his' special view. The achievement is precisely in establishing the correct organisational and political line which can alone form an objective basis for uniting workers on a principled and realistic course for the abolition of capitalism.

Socialist Labour has the correct potential formula for a successful mass workers party, abolishing capitalism, because Scargill and the miners' fighting traditions embody much of the best wisdom and class solidarity of the British and international workers movements, – not because a few samples of 57 varieties of eternal Trotskyite 'oppositionism' have wandered in for some temporary opportunist posturing and membership poaching.

Other representatives of the scatterbrained Trotskyite tenden-

cies surrounding the SLP have begun producing the "Socialist Labour Party Marxist Bulletin", which, of course, is once again nothing of the sort. It is nothing to do with the SLP as a party, and it has even less to do with Marxism. It utterly distorts all the facts on the disciplinary matters, and then fatuously cites the votes the SLP attracted in different areas as proof of the worth of the internal factional views of the individual candidates!! Is this a joke?

Anton Angelo, Islington; Ian Dudley, Dulwich; Barbara Duke, Islington; Gary Henson, Hampstead; Christoph Lenk, Peckham; Geoff Palmer, Hackney; Nathan Parkin, Brighton; Gill Plimmer, Dulwich; and Russell Starr, Brighton, declare themselves authors of this double fraud, which tediously declares:

The election programme of the Socialist Party was in many respects similar to the Socialist Labour manifesto, and certainly deserved the vote of Socialist Labour members who were not able to vote for one of our own candidates. It is unfortunate that there were cases where candidates from the two organisations stood against each other.

In the post-election period, it is important that we enter into discussions and joint work with the Socialist Party and other socialist organisations to build on our similarities and thrash out our differences. We need to develop the strengths of both organisations and their roots in the militant sections of the working class, and transcend the weaknesses. To the basic demands put forward in the election by both parties, we must add a clear strategy for achieving a revolutionary transition to a socialist society.

Self-inflicted Wounds

Despite the flaws of a first election campaign, the SLP is still in a potentially good position to take advantage of inevitable disillusionment with New Labour, providing we reverse the tendency towards paranoia and bureaucratism that the leadership has exhibited in the past year.

Such self-inflicted wounds as the disbandment of Vauxhall branch in South London for refusing to enforce the undemocratic 'voiding' of Barry Biddulph, who was falsely accused of breaking the constitution, have not so much led to the wiping out of these comrades as damaged the unity and political culture of the party itself. Despite their 'de-recognition' as members by the NEC, and the threat of expulsion hanging over them, the Vauxhall branch waged a creditable and energetic election campaign which produced a result very much above the national average – comrade Ian Driver, the properly selected Vauxhall candidate, received 983 votes (2.52% of the vote), which compares very favourably with several other London candidates.

The second highest percentage vote in the country, outdoing comrade Scargill himself, was achieved by Cardiff Central candidate Terry Burns, polling 5.28% of the total. Since Cardiff branch has apparently also been under attack for advocating policies within the SLP that comrade Scargill disagrees with, we will hope this result will have a sobering effect on the leadership.

Attacks on comrades such as those in Vauxhall and Cardiff involve a very big risk of damaging the party and even destroying it by means of some unclarified split over organisational issues. In the opinion of the supporters of the *Marxist Bulletin*, this would be a severe setback for the project of building a new working-class party, and would play right into the hands of the enemies of the SLP, primarily New Labour.

An Alternative Manifesto

Another candidate under attack from the SLP leadership was Stan Keable, standing in Brent East, who has had his membership terminated, again without appeal, and is not recognised as the SLP candidate by the party.

After proudly presenting old polemics and motions by Alan Gibson of Vauxhall against other Trots, this phony *SLP Marxist Bulletin* cannot wait to launch out on the really barmy Spart hobby horses of denouncing the Irish national-liberation struggle as a 'failure'; denying the right of a national-liberation struggle to wage guerrilla war against the metropolitan territory of the colonial power; and demanding that a category they describe as 'protestant workers' should not "be forced" to live in a united Ireland "against their wishes".

Opposing SLP policy (and opposing Marxism), this joke *SLP Marxist Bulletin* declares that nationalist reunification of Ireland "would not benefit the working class". This is because the epoch-making national-liberation struggle by Sinn Féin aims solely to achieve a "capitalist peace", these Spart lunatics explain.

The challenge to British imperialism's colonial domination that a successful national-liberation struggle would bring, as lauded by Marx and Lenin, has unaccountably disappeared from the perspectives completely.

And the heroic armed struggle which had not just the total sympathy of Marx, Engels, and Lenin but their enthusiastic support on many occasions, – that has now all been revised in Spart minds as merely "indiscriminate acts of terror against civilians" in a section amusingly headlined "*Do bombs have a socialist programme?*".

What this academic sectarian nonsense cannot grasp, of course, is that the final emancipation of the working class by socialist revolution cannot always be achieved immediately and directly by simply abolishing capitalism, – a point which should be obvious from Marx's famous warning to the English working class movement that "no nation which oppresses another can itself be free", telling workers in Britain that they could never get to socialism for themselves all the time that they backed their 'own' country in its repression of Ireland.

And the ending of that particular aspect of repression, opening all doors for much further developments for the workers of Britain and Ireland, – was not seen as the abolition of capitalism in Britain or Ireland, but simply as the ending of British colonial rule in Ireland.

And yes, Marx, Engels and Lenin knew all about these so-called 'protestant workers'

who do not want Irish national-liberation, and understood them as stooges for continued colonial rule, just as workers in Britain were (and are to this day).

Playing the reactionary 'Orange card' to whip up lumpen proletarian-colonial sentiments for the 'Loyalist' cause is an old trick which even the dimmest political observers well understood even in the 19th century.

It would take these nutty US-influenced modern Spart academic Trotskyite opportunists to have gone so far backward in their political understanding. The pity is that they can claim to represent the SLP.

But they are not remotely espousing SLP policy, and could not conceivably be said to be just 'discussing the issues'. These Sparts have their own insane reactionary policy on Ireland. They are now seeking to poison the SLP with it.

Some fainthearted elements in the SLP have worried that too wide or sharp an attack on entry-ists, or sectarian policy takeover bids, might lead to too great a membership haemorrhage or give rise to too much 'strife in the SLP' publicity. This is exactly the same daft calculation and threat that the Trots themselves have been boasting about and banking on, of course.

And it is all complete codswallop.

This is a case of empty kettles making the most noise. There is a temporary rash of Trotskyite defeatism because of the briefly passing mood of setback in the international anti-imperialist movement due to the final tragedy of revisionist retreat in the former Soviet workers state. But this petty-bourgeois "everything is rotten" eruption is still dwarfed by the potentially huge mass of class-conscious workers coming back into the fight, and is already dwarfed in practice inside the SLP.

Their dissident 'conference' in London was a farcical failure, as will be their attempted onslaught on national Congress in December. The anti-leadership Trots will be utterly trounced again, – as they are systematically being trounced now in all their current running attempts to disrupt the party leadership.

Total degenerate lies on a Goebels level are all they are capable of, such as all their falsifications about 'top-down leadership domination', 'denial of democracy', 'un-constitutional authoritarianism', etc, plus quite insane inventions about more trivial details, such as the fictions about Stockport SLP branch in the propaganda of the Wicks group (see *EPSR* 908), [see p57], the largest of the dissident disruption groups with their own destructive agenda.

By using 'unrestricted power'

to 'strangle democracy' and to 'create a climate of fear' throughout the SLP, the party leadership has in the case of Stockport 'delivered the branch into the hands of the *EPSR*', according to this Wicks gibberish.

But the overwhelming majority of the more than 30 members of the Stockport branch have never even seen a copy of the *EPS Review*, let alone consciously supported the line it takes.

One individual prominently associated with the magazine, its editor, has just been unanimously re-elected as secretary of the branch because of his loyalty to the SLP and to helping guide the branch work required, not because he manipulates people and the branch around his own political programme or views.

The previous branch secretary was ousted precisely for that reason, for trying to impose his own separate anti-Scargill agenda onto the branch, in the interests of a campaign organised by a rival political party, the CPGB.

The ridiculous slanderous filth is being spread by Wicks and Co without any knowledge of, or contact with, any of the more than 30 Stockport branch members at all.

But in reply to Arthur Scargill's point to Wicks about how well the sales of *Socialist News* have been organised in Stockport branch, for example, Wick' co-thinkers in the CPGB immediately reply:

As readers will know, this Stockport branch is run by the homophobic Stalin-fan weirdos of the *Economic & Philosophical Science Review*.

Not one word of that abuse is even remotely true about the *EPSR* editor who happens to be Stockport branch secretary, but it has even less relevance to the ordinary members of the Stockport branch who actually sell and distribute the *Socialist News* so well, and who have absolutely nothing to do with the *EPSR* at all.

So how is the point about Stockport newspaper sales replied to? With complete insulting

fictional shite.

And these critics of the SLP leadership expect to be taken seriously? Not the slightest chance, ever.

And they now seem to be getting the point at last, for there is now deep defeatist gloom all around.

After Scargill's outright rejection of Wicks's lying diatribe, the CPGB concluded mournfully:

Where does the SLP left go from here? Essentially, it has three options – capitulate, resign or unite to fight back. Through the pages of this paper, we have constantly argued for the opposition to overcome its divisions, many of which have been rooted in ongoing sectarian divisions belonging to the pre-SLP period. A united opposition could have some chance against the Scargill juggernaut: divided, it is defeated already.

But the endless internal feuding inside this Trotskyite swamp, regularly recorded by the *EPS Review*, has gone on getting worse. The CPGB paper is now regularly full from end to end with more and more bitter denunciations about how rival Trot disrupters have not been disrupting the SLP in quite the right way, or with quite the right emphases, or even with any sincerity at all, etc, etc, etc.

This cess pit of incurable Trotskyite individualist conceit will never overcome its "everything is rotten" defeatism; its ignorance of even the existence of objective truth, let alone the content; and its back-stabbing treachery even to its own self.

It is reduced to the hysterical crushed pessimism of its barmier headlines:

'Scargill bans democracy'; Scargill: 'Keep quiet or get out'; 'Scargill rubs it in'; 'More Scargill threats'; 'SLP militants unbowed by intimidation';

etc, etc. Trotskyite anti-leadership anarchism is routed as an obstacle to the SLP's future development.

This marks an enormously important victory for the working class and its fight to overthrow the capitalist system. Build Leninism. Joe Harper

'peace process' in Ireland (which puts an end to the misnamed and ill-begotten colony).

Non-stop harassment of nationalists in the North by the

RUC, the British Army, and the Royal Irish Regiment has been intensified, if anything, in recent months since the renewed IRA ceasefire.

Damaging leaks of secret inter-governmental papers were perpetrated to try to block the election of Mary McAleese as President of the Irish Republic on suspicion of her nationalist/Sinn Féin sympathies.

Now, artificial excitement is being fanned about supposed 'splits' in the IRA and Sinn Féin by breakaway groups who have resigned, denouncing the 'peace process' as a sell-out fraud.

There is no sell-out; there is no fraud – yet; and there are no serious splits – yet.

Exactly the opposite. Sinn Féin's national-liberation political movement is soaring higher than ever, – now becoming popular not just because of its epoch-making achievements in undermining imperialist-orchestrated political obstacles and diversions to negotiating with the undefeated armed national-liberation struggle, – but also because of its dynamic reformist threat to the corrupt and complacent capitalist status-quo in the South. Sinn Féin/IRA are revolutionary nationalists, not revolutionary socialists, but their surging popularity will currently be an acute cause of uncomfortable embarrassment for pro-imperialist reactionaries everywhere.

Part of the aim of the 'splits' publicity by reactionary propaganda is precisely to put a cloud over Sinn Féin's image so that its popularity should not swell too greatly; but it is almost certain that such tactics are doomed whatever splits develop, and however much doubt is thrown on the 'peace process'.

Sinn Féin has an outstandingly capable and mature political leadership in depth, and it is this which is encouraging such a huge surge in support, north and south of the artificial Partition border.

It has also demonstrated itself to be an extraordinarily tough, single-minded, and creative leadership.

Its rational dedication to ending the cursed and hated Partition as an intolerable and unsustainable blight on Ireland, – an unmitigated disaster and failure which must be cleared away, – is its unanswerable claim to widespread respect.

Within that capability, Sinn Féin's capacity to abandon the 'peace process' yet again if the British Establishment really does try to engineer nothing but a sell-out of nationalist aspirations and does nothing to force the colonist 'unionist' reactionaries to accept the ending of their colonial domination-tyranny, – should be taken for granted.

Only the defeatist blinkers, subjectively obscuring the vision of ultra-'left' middle-class 'revolutionary' posturing in Britain, have joined the reactionary propaganda extremists in 'seeing' Sinn Féin 'defeated' at every turn, or 'selling out'.

Typical of this demented Trotskyite ego-centrism which sees the whole world only as confirmation of its own cleverness and its own emotional impressionism, the CPGB failed 'entry-ists' into the SLP have persisted in spreading their 'Sinn Féin defeated' nonsense.

The latest hook on which to try to hang their class pessimism of the subjective-idealist petty bourgeoisie is by presenting McAleese as the 'British' candidate for the Dublin presidency.

"Her background leaves McAleese ideally placed to further British imperialist interests,"

declare these CPGB sleuths, to the surprise of the whole of Ireland who saw how she was targeted surreptitiously by imperialist intelligence circles as the 'Sinn Féin' candidate.

"McAleese, in common with the other four candidates, tried to put across her predecessor's 'caring, sharing' image during the campaign. In line with this is her backing of the simplistic call for peace – based necessarily on a version of the status quo."

So they were all 'British candidates' in other words, – i.e. because none of them was a 'revolutionary socialist' of the fantasising Trotskyite variety.

It is yet another symptom of incurable political solipsism. If these infantile poseurs in charge of a printing press are not in the picture, then the picture just does not exist.

The national-liberation struggle is meaningless to 'go-ahead Trotskyism'. If the CPGB are not leading the fight, then 'nothing will change'.

The 'status quo' will never be altered by these 'daft Irish nationalists', therefore, according to this flat-earth philosophy, – whatever the changes in Dublin, or whatever happens, in other words.

In fact, they don't have a 'story' about the Irish Presidency at all, since they would have written exactly the same empty drivel whoever had won, Dana included.

There is one dogma only; "Trotskyist-led socialist revolution is the only reality. Nothing else matters. National-liberation revolutions are non-existent."

Or as they put it in the CPGB *Weekly Worker* fraudsheet:

Another small step in the imperialist-sponsored 'peace process' was taken last week with the election of Mary McAleese.

Or with anything else that happened, of course.

The subjective pessimism of these born losers is briefly stirred by the notion that the maverick

British colonial foot-dragging, not Republican differences, are the real threat to a new settlement for Ireland. The national-liberation movement's popularity will soar, led by Sinn Féin, whether or not New Labour capitulates to Orange-colonial truculence. Trot muck-raking along hoped-for cracks in nationalism only accentuates the irrelevant uselessness of all petty-bourgeois 'revolutionary' subjectivism.

[EPSR No926 11-11-97]

Reactionary pro-imperialist interests in the 'Northern Ireland' Office, in Dublin, and in the London Establishment are still doing all they can to sabotage the

Continuity Army Council might bomb its way to mass nationalist support so as to really see IRA/Sinn Féin 'defeated'.

But no, the misery soon descends again:

Leading CAC members have previously been kidnapped and threatened with a single bullet by the IRA. No one would be surprised if that threat was carried out – while the state looked the other way. No doubt the death of two or three leaders would be put down to a 'republican feud'.

But what would this fleeting Trot fantasy about a CAC triumph be worth to them anyway? If it happened, it could only be denounced as the next useless sell-out for refusing to sing the full CPGB 'revolutionary socialist' hymnsheet, as they would be bound to do.

So in other words, even the wildest Trot fantasies are only dreamed up to help prove the Trot predictions 'correct', – namely that Sinn Féin/IRA have 'failed' and 'sold out' to the British imperialist status quo.

In the real world, of course, away from this loony armchair-socialism, the tortuous procedure continues for getting British imperialism off the hook of its 'Northern Ireland' colonial catastrophe by negotiating a completely new political arrangement for the whole of Ireland, by May 1 next year.

And the very real threat to the conclusion of this national-liberation triumph, continues, of course, in the as yet unfettered provocations of the 'unionist' diehards and the colonialist mentality of the imperialist Establishment.

The tyranny on the ground of the police-military dictatorship over Irish nationalism, – which is all that the bogus 'country' of 'Northern Ireland' has ever stood for, – grinds on sourly and futilely as the colonial twilight deepens more gloomily. The sordid wretchedness of this continuing reactionary nonsense is worth recording in detail, – as bitterly experienced by the national-liberation struggle, driving them on, – and as totally ignored by the 'free press' of the glorious Blairite 'democracy':

On a daily basis the RUC is targeting people in nationalist areas in what must be a policy backed at the highest level.

Even the talks process itself is being targeted by the RUC. In what Gerry Adams described as "a clear breach of confidentiality", the RUC held one of the party's negotiating team and scrutinised papers relating to the Stormont Talks.

Delegate Siobhán O'Hanlon was returning from Stormont on Wednesday 8 October when she was stopped by the RUC on the Monagh Bypass in West Belfast. O'Hanlon was held for over 30 minutes while confidential papers relating to the business committee, the decommissioning commission and two other subcommittees were read by the RUC.

"WHERE'S fucking Rosemary Nelson

now?... She'll not fucking get you out of this." These words were spoken by a member of the RIR as he dragged Lurgan woman Cristin McCauley from her car late at night on 7 October.

She was driving home when she was stopped at the RIR checkpoint. "It was a frenzied attack," she said. "One of the RIR dragged me from the car. He was screaming, he kept going on about my solicitor Rosemary Nelson. They made me stand at the side of the road and refused to get the RUC or give me a 'gold card' (a unit identification card) when I asked for them."

When at last the RUC did arrive Cristin was allowed to go. She has since made a statement to her solicitor and a formal complaint about her treatment.

Co-incidentally on the same night, Cristin's solicitor Rosemary Nelson was stopped at another RIR checkpoint and harassed. She was returning from a meeting in a car driven by a friend when the car was stopped.

Ms Nelson will meet with UN Special Rapporteur Param Cumaraswamy this Friday to detail incidents of threat and harassment she has faced as she represents her clients.

Since the events on Garvaghy Road on 6 July the 3rd Battalion of the RIR, stationed in the North Armagh area, has been involved in numerous incidents of harassment against the nationalist community, mainly in the Lurgan area.

One law firm alone has recorded over 30 complaints including serious assaults. One of the most serious occurred on 8 July when a man from the Kilwilkie area was set upon by members of an RIR patrol.

That same night the RIR were going around Kilwilkie shouting, "where is the wee bastard whose eye we shot out"; a reference to 13-year-old Gavin McKenna who was almost blinded when in April this year a British soldier shot him in the face with a plastic bullet.

On 20 August a car belonging to a Lurgan republican had its tyres slashed while it sat in the grounds of Craigavon Area Hospital. An RIR patrol was in the area at the time.

One man who spoke to An Phoblacht, Paul Gillespie, said that he was stopped and detained for no reason on Saturday 11 October as he drove into Charles Street. A RIR foot patrol spotted the Lurgan man who has a history of harassment from this regiment.

In February of this year during a week long curfew in Lurgan's Kilwilkie Estate Gillespie was set upon by an RIR man who headbutted the young man in the face.

"There was no checkpoint," maintained Gillespie. "One RIR man spotted me and signalled to one further up the street to stop me. They held me for about 30 minutes saying that I had not answered their questions properly. Although I had, and had complied when they searched the car."

When the RIR refused to get the RUC and refused to return his license Gillespie drove home. Shortly afterwards the RUC arrived at Gillespie's home to return his licence.

Meanwhile, both the RUC and RIR have targeted Colin Duffy since charges of killing two RIR men in Lurgan were dropped three weeks ago.

Duffy has been stopped and checked a number of times and his car searched, but the most serious incident happened on Thursday 9 October on Lurgan's main street when an RIR man spotted him and walked into the road to block the car.

The RIR searched the car and then asked to carry out a body search which went without incident until the soldier doing the search "yanked up my trousers by the belt. It was pretty sore around the testicle area," said Duffy.

Duffy's wife, daughter and a nephew who witnessed the assault were in hysterics especially as the car was surrounded by RIR, with another three manhandling Duffy.

Duffy was arrested and taken to Lurgan RUC Barracks and held for two hours before being released.

THE APPEARANCE in a Belfast courtroom of a ten year-old-boy from Ardoyne in North Belfast on Monday 20 October highlighted the level of sectarianism endured by even the youngest members of the nationalist community.

The judge was forced to dismiss the case, questioning why a ten-year-old was even there in the first place. He levelled strong criticism against the RUC for pursuing what was clearly a serious example of base sectarianism against a minor.

Ten-year-old Francis Booth's ordeal began with his arrest last spring by the RUC who described him as "a main rioter in the Ardoyne area".

Francis had been rifle-butted across the head by a British soldier from the 3rd Battalion Parachute Regiment and thrown into an armoured personnel carrier in Flax Street. He was then held illegally for over an hour, being driven around the area before being thrown out. Following the incident Francis's parents registered a complaint against the crown forces.

"A classic tactic by the RUC of issuing counter charges against anyone pursuing a complaint against them," was how local Sinn Féin Councillor Mick Conlon described the whole disturbing saga.

"The crown forces should catch themselves on. It's utter nonsense to describe a ten-year-old schoolboy as 'a main rioter'. The paras and RUC must be withdrawn immediately if the people on the ground are to have any faith in a future settlement."

DURING last week's Roslea Martyrs commemoration march the RUC took personal details from nationalist marchers which they then claimed were lost when, during a scuffle with loyalists, the information "fell out of an officer's hat".

The RUC have since visited the homes of several people in the Fermanagh area who were on last Sunday's march and

informed them that their lives could be in danger as the information had gone missing.

When challenged about the missing details by Sinn Féin Councillor Gerry McHugh the RUC told a Sunday newspaper that the details "fell out of an officer's hat" and are most certainly in the hands of loyalists.

Sinn Féin Six-County Chairperson Gerry O'Hara described the RUC excuse as "pathetic and unbelievable" and said, "it is almost laughable but for the fact that many nationalists in the past have been killed due to information passed on by the RUC." He called for the complete disbandment of "this discredited force."

A series of events to mark the bicentenary, including a ceilí, exhibition and Anniversary Mass, culminated with a re-enactment of the 22-mile-journey from courtyard to graveyard. "In the tradition of the United Irishmen," said O'Caoláin, "it is our aim, as republicans, to achieve freedom and unity for our country and our people".

The inclusive sentiments and spirit of accommodation shown by organisers and participants stood in stark contrast to the animosity and sectarian bigotry displayed by loyalists objecting to the commemoration earlier that day. In a series of furious attempts to disrupt the proceedings, loyalists staged a number of attacks along the Enniskillen to Roslea route.

Shortly after 1pm around 80 people left Enniskillen courthouse, led by a colour party displaying the flags of the United Irishmen, and pallbearers carrying three symbolic coffins.

Although the ethos of the United Irishmen was non-sectarian, commemoration organisers voluntarily re-routed the parade away from the predominantly Protestant village of Maguiresbridge.

But confrontation was the only loyalist agenda. Accompanied by Dunloy Orange Order representative John Findlay and Joel Patton of the Spirit of Drumcree faction, around a 100 loyalists had been bussed in from Ballymena and Portadown to "support" the hastily constituted 'Combined Loyalist Residents of Fermanagh'.

At the junction of Tempo and Dublin Road the parade was halted by the RUC. "We were told the road ahead had been blocked by loyalists," said Sinn Féin Councillor Brian McCaffrey, one of the event's organisers. The RUC said they were unable to clear the route."

Parade organisers decided to avoid any confrontation by leaving the area and re-assembling the parade further



along the route at Lisbellaw.

As people attending the parade boarded buses and cars to travel away from the area, loyalists outraged at being deprived of their prey, turned their anger towards the RUC. "Fenian lovers" chanted the loyalist mob as an RUC vehicle was ransacked, overturned and burnt.

But it wasn't long before the RUC revealed their true colours in what nationalist marchers have described as an attempt at "Bumtollat mark two".

A mile from Maguiresbridge, the parade was halted by the RUC. "Buses carrying loyalists were allowed to drive right into the rear of the parade," said McCafferty. "We were effectively hemmed in with the RUC blocking the route ahead." Loyalists disembarking from a bus attempted to grab a nationalist at the rear of the parade.

With a high embankment at either side of the road and loyalists already in nearby fields, parade organisers decided to avoid confrontation by travelling by bus and car to reassemble further along the route at Nutfield Crossroads.

"Vehicles were stoned, loyalists were seen noting car registration numbers while others took photographs of people attending the parade," said McCafferty. "In one of the most serious incidents a car was driven at the coffin bearers narrowly missing them."

[Plus more cuttings on RUC harassment & intimidation of nationalists]

But the longstanding Establishment majority for getting British imperialism out of this colonial disaster, now dominating via a 'Blairite government', will eventually have to make the

rearrangements for ending this particular old-colonial tyranny.

Either the 'unionists' finally negotiate sensibly, or a new deal will be imposed. Either way, this imperial state structure and its deplorable racist culture will have to go.

And that will mean a tremendous shattering of the status quo, – and an immense victory over imperialism, with worldwide significance and impact.

From early on in the current 'troubles', British imperialism was half convinced to get out of Ireland. The hated colonial regime was costly, doomed in the long run, no longer viable economically because of Britain's demise as a world colonial power, and had become strategically out-of-date as a 'guarded back door to Britain'.

But imperialist inertia ruled, – plus the potential dilemma of swapping armed nationalist revolt for even nastier armed 'loyalist' reaction to any changes in the dictatorial Orange set-up.

British imperialism, – and world public opinion, – had to be forced to recognise the undeniable insistence of the Irish national-liberation struggle for completion of Ireland's independence via ultimate reunification under a Dublin republican government.

Full reunification will not come

immediately on May 1, 1998. But the termination of 'Northern Ireland' as it has been as a colonial-dictatorship separate state, forever independent of Ireland, – as founded at British bayonet-point in 1921, – that will be guaranteed.

A more dramatic transformation of the status quo could not be imagined. And progress towards Ireland's socialist revolution could never have started without it, in the given circumstances.

Equally certainly, – as Marx established more than 100 years ago, – the real perspectives for the British socialist revolution can only begin to come into view once the government of Britain is no longer, – supported by its working-class electorate, – repressing an Irish colony. "No nation which represses another can itself be free".

The notion that all the colossal developments in Ireland are purely for the maintenance of the unchanged 'status quo' is certifiable.

For Blairism, Ireland represents the one area where some genuine 'progress' can be claimed, – thanks to the decolonisation *fait accompli* which the Sinn Féin/IRA national-liberation struggle forced, and which majority opinion in the British Establishment has long been disposed to accept.

But in the last-stage wretchedness of RUC/Army tyranny, the cowardly fundamental uselessness of the Blairite pro-Establishment posturing, – just timid stooges of the big bourgeoisie, – is fully in evidence.

Why do Blair/Mowlam & Co not put an immediate stop to this depraved police-military dictatorship? Because their puppet-masters in the permanent Establishment have not yet told them that this is what comes next in the 'government' business programme.

The mechanical brainlessness of Trotskyism dogma equates all who are not CPGB-type 'revolutionaries' as identically 'stooges of imperialism', however, all capitulating to the same unchanging 'status quo' of the imperialist 'new world order'. Thus in this Alice-in-Wonderland philosophy, the Blairite wretches who fail to challenge RUC tyranny are identically 'stoogelike' to the 'status quo' as the Irish nationalist victims of this dictatorship whose armed revolutionary struggle has in fact undermined it irrevocably. So much for sick Trot 'philosophy'. Build Leninism.

Meanwhile, the anti-imperialist struggle continues temporarily to be carried forward heroically by the national-liberation struggle led by Sinn Féin.

RB

Born losers, sabotaging the SLP, belong to the past of working-class defeats and capitalist triumphalism, all now collapsing. Decades of middle-class scepticism now completely out of touch in fearing a strong united workers party, and predicting Socialist Labour's collapse, – fingers crossed. The swamp's own arrogant leadership-pretensions fall apart dismally. Workers movement better off without this opinionated destructive pessimism, slandering working-class achievements. Opportunist (anti-communist) factionalism denounced by Lenin

[EPSR No935 27-01-98]

The fight continues against Trot entryism into the SLP which would wish to turn Socialist Labour into a meaningless swamp of competing 'left' factions.

What the working class fight for socialism needs in this country (and everywhere else) is a Bolshevik Party. What an endless variety of sectarian factions would provide is an anti-Bolshevik party, – as is clear from the Leninist science quoted below.

The foundation of the SLP has made possible a development towards a mass socialist party seriously dedicated to the abolition

of capitalism, and programmatically, strategically, and tactically capable of accomplishing this.

Sufficient evolutionary advance of policies, propaganda, and cadres is unquestionably possible, but **only** within the unitary democratic structure which was commenced with in principle, and which is already operating in practice. Debates and conflicts are taking place. Issues are being resolved.

The Trot-entryist mentality is consciously out to disrupt such an SLP, as is clear from the quotes below from the *Weekly Worker*

(CPGB remnants). The ideological driving force for this attitude is the long sad influence of petty-bourgeois defeatism on the workers movement in Britain.

So, used to never expecting anything but failure on the 'left', a self-protecting cynicism has evolved and taken deep root. Always anticipating disaster, middle-class gurus throughout the history of the socialist struggle have taken defence in subjective conceit.

Relying on the likelihood of more setbacks than successes, learned sectarianism glibly predicts failure due to this or that 'principle' of academic posturing not being complied with.

Every expression of insulting contempt imaginable has been poured out against the SLP by these entryists, many of whom have now resigned, but some of whom are determined to hang on as 'members' – blatantly threatening (see below) to carry on doing as much damage to Socialist Labour as possible.

Most of this entryist hostility is focused on the question of 'rights' for factionalism and 'local initiatives' but much of this is inseparable from a dislike of any leadership or centralised authority at all.

A 64-strong faction calling itself the "SLP Democratic Platform" put out an NEC-election-

campaign leaflet at the Party's Second Congress in December which among other things declared the following:

'In challenging such actions by the leadership –

(a list of nine complaints alleging 'authoritarianism', 'arbitrariness', 'censorship', and a 'lack of democracy', 'denying members their democratic rights'),

– we call for:

1. A membership discussion bulletin and pre-conference discussion bulletins.

2. A *Socialist News* open to political discussion and debate.

(In other words, these 64 want their own control over party publications, not the current SLP control.)

3. A disciplinary procedure incorporating the right to written charges, a hearing in which those charged can defend themselves, and the right of appeal to conference against disciplinary action. Members excluded without such rights should be reinstated.

(in other words, these 64 want their own constitution, not the SLP's.)

4. Members should have the constitutional right to organise tendencies and platforms to fight for their views and circulate them within the Party.'

(in other words, these 64 want their own party, not the SLP.)

'If we are to build an alternative, then the Party must be mobilising against the New Labour government. Our policies must be genuinely supported and understood, and not simply

imposed from above. The party must be open to the possibility that new policies may be developed from amongst the membership.'

(in other words, these 64 want their own policies, not the SLP's.)

This election platform of the 64 was followed on Congress Sunday by a further "message" from 57 "delegates and observers". This declared:

'The SLP Congress has been seen to be a complete travesty of democracy... The method of the leadership is a sectarian and profoundly undemocratic one...becoming a political sect, dominated by the General Secretary, in a way parallel with Blair and New Labour... a leadership which is destroying the possibility of the SLP growing and becoming a real alternative to New Labour....[Under our leadership] it could quickly develop into a party of some tens of thousands.'

It is possible that many of the 64 original signers have been misled in their branches by organised Trotskyite wreckers who hate mass proletarian politics and the whole history and achievements of the workers states. Many of the Trots, for example, support the overthrow of the Castro regime in Cuba.

These Trots are bogus 'revolutionaries' whose real philosophy is extreme anarchic individualism. They occasionally mouth, reluctantly, the odd phrase like 'proletarian dictatorship' in order to appear very 'left' or 'Marxist' but they hate the thought of workers-state discipline, – fighting off imperialist intervention and sabotage as Cuba has to do, – like the plague. They hate workers-party discipline just as much, as in the SLP.

These individual Trot wreckers are a total menace to the workers movement for socialism, and to the SLP. They should be expelled for these clear party-wrecking activities, and kept out for good (as well as all Trot-individualists like them). The SLP, and the working class, will be far better off without them.

Let them go and organise their party of "tens of thousands". It is a joke.

Their post-Congress 'SLP Democratic Platform' Conference (!) on Jan 10 in Reading split in two!

One half announced abandonment of the SLP in order to set up '*Socialist Perspectives*' in direct competition with the SLP.

The half that decided to stay on subverting the SLP, explained their attitude to the Party in the following words:

Obviously the split in the Democratic Platform is in reaction to the SLP's 2nd Congress of December 13-14 1997. Given the bureaucratic gerrymandering, the ruling out of order of countless resolutions and constitutional amendments, the three puppets with 3,000 votes, etc, the congress was indeed a "shambolic farce". The terse protest statement, issued by 57 delegates and observers during the congress itself, damned the "complete travesty of democracy" witnessed at congress and ridiculed the authoritarian "actions and methods" of the Scargillite leadership.

Yet in spite of all that was thrown against the left it is no exaggeration to say that it "per-

formed creditably".

The left is now able to operate semi-legally. Unlike May 4 1996 there was no Carolyn Sikorski barring unwanted delegates at the congress door. The left's leaflets, publications and slates circulated freely. Fringe meetings were not banned or subject to organised disruption. Both the Campaign for a Democratic SLP and the Democratic Platform sponsored well attended events. When it came to National Executive Committee elections the left scored well with something like 30% of the membership vote (leaving aside the mammoth block vote wielded by Lancashire NUM that is the North West, Cheshire and Cumbria Miners' Association). In other words the left has *de facto* established its right to exist, agitate and be counted.

Those elements who came into the SLP in the naïve belief that at last they had a broad and democratic working class party have been bitterly disappointed by Scargill's outrageous shenanigans. Those who blamed the anti-communist witch hunt on the victims have seen its methods crystallise into a bureaucratic system. Those who are theoretically weak – the anti-Leninists, the pro-Labourites – were always prone to petty bourgeois moralism...and that, sad to say, is all that was on display from the soft left at the Reading meeting of the Democratic Platform.

Half the meeting was pig-headedly determined to desert the SLP and thus split the SLP left no matter what. Why? Because of Scargill's "Stalinist" dictatorship and the "exodus of membership" (Martin Wicks – ex Fisc). Because the SLP "practises a form of 'English socialism' " and "makes no attempt to organise internationally" (Pete Bloomer – *Workers Action* supporter). Because they have had enough of "grovelling" (Geoff Barr – ex-WRP). Because people will not be "attracted" to the SLP in the future (Berkshire area SLP).

Here we have political squeamishness combined with clairvoyancy. There can be no denying the distasteful nature of the Scargill regime, the clumsy, top-down decision-making, the ability of Scargill to demoralise and repel as well as attract and galvanise. But that has been true since day one of the SLP. Certainly the witch hunt effectively commenced in December 1995 when Scargill issued and then enforced Bonapartist imposition of his 'draft' constitution (it contained anti-communist clauses plagiarised from the Labour Party).

The real question is whether or not the SLP is finished. As a vehicle that can facilitate the self-liberation of the working class the SLP was a non-starter. The 1st Congress established the SLP as a unique right-centrist political formation – semi-Labourite, semi-syndicalist, semi-'official communist' under the personal domination of one man. Therefore not Labourite, not Stalinite, not NUMist ... but Scargillite. The key task of revolutionaries and communists consequently became the fight to establish the democratic right to openly organise and freely propagate their views.

Pity the class that needs such a hero. A working class that turns to Scargill is a class only in itself. But a mass turn to Scargill cannot be ruled out. That is why it is wrong, irresponsible and premature to desert the positions the left has gained for itself in the SLP.

Communists and other comrades must rebuild the Democratic Platform so as to extend our salient within the SLP. While it has the potential to attract those who enter the field of class struggle, the SLP remains a site for communist intervention. Combative workers are our natural constituency and would quickly and easily be broken from the national socialist spell of Scargillism.

That is not to say we should put all our energies and hopes into the SLP – far from it. The SLP left must actively promote and support the formation of an all-Britain Socialist Alliance as well as other such united front bodies and campaigns. It should also identify and closely align itself with the CPGB. The fact that the CPGB has engaged with the SLP but at the same time maintained itself as a revolutionary pole of attraction shows that it is quite feasible to pursue a twin-track strategy.

Communists in the SLP should certainly join

the CPGB. Dual membership is against the Scargill constitution, but that is no barrier for genuine revolutionaries. The bold and honest criticism of Scargill in the pages of the *Weekly Worker* has been invaluable in defending, articulating and advancing the SLP left. More to the point, the paper has educated a whole layer of working class partisans about the living reality of Scargillism and the terminal crisis of old Labourism.

What of the ex-SLP soft left? Having walked away from the light, they have constituted themselves under the rubric Socialist Perspectives. This is a very heterogeneous grouping. In truth it is united not so much by what it stands for, rather by what it stands against – that is, Scargill on the one hand and unfortunately the CPGB on the other.

Scargill has ensured that a swathe of comrades have involuntarily been placed outside the ranks of the SLP. If Socialist Perspectives was established simply in opposition to Scargill as a personality cult then it would be a complete irrelevance. Communists would have little or no interest in a purely negative project. But if, as they insist, Socialist Perspectives has an orientation towards a mass democratic workers' party, then those who have borne the brunt of Scargill's witch hunt and who support that positive goal should be welcomed with open arms, not subjected to another anti-communist voiding.

Democratic Platform agreed to propose joint work with *Socialist Perspectives*, which would not preclude a joint publication. The Democratic Platform also proposed a joint approach to the Socialist Alliances.

It was pointed out this SLP membership need not preclude activity in the Socialist Alliances. In fact, part of the tasks of comrades in the SLP should be to involve their local party organisations in the Alliances, no matter what edicts Scargill may proclaim.

On a positive note, what remains of the SLP left seems to have finally united around a principled bloc for democracy. In addition, it has no illusions in its assessment of prospects for the SLP and will be pursuing all avenues toward building a working class alternative to New Labour.

Clearly this anti-SLP poison is keeping its Trot-entryist game going only in order to harm the SLP and to take advantage of the cover the SLP membership provides in order to damage the working-class cause of socialism with their bilious petty-bourgeois individualism.

The organisers of this reactionary 'left' posturing should be expelled immediately and for good. Any misled followers who might have signed should be invited for some serious discussions about what sort of party the working-class is likely to build and support that will take it to socialism.

No massive workers movement for socialism has ever identified with a shifting swamp of 57 varieties of sectarian posturing, **all** saying 'Follow us, we are the **real** leaders', – 57 different times.

It is the working **class**, and it will ultimately identify with its single class party which it recognises as its own.

"But the SLP is a paralysed bureaucratic shambles" say the bilious ones.

Yet what has the philosophy of Trotskyite individualism ever achieved?

Their Reading 'democratic'(!) SLP 'conference'(!)(to which most of the SLP was never invited) was typical, – split in two and para-

lysed on the very first day, with anti-communist proscriptions from the start (the very thing the SLP is falsely accused of) and subversive entryism threatened against yesterday's subversive entryists! What a bureaucratic nonsense!

Their Socialist Alliance's 'alter-native', launched by the *Militant* incurable manoeuvres two years ago (as a spoiler against the SLP) had an even more sustained record of paralysed bureaucratic non-achievement

And what is life like inside their individual 57 sects? Without exception, it is stifling authoritarianism and guru-worship, – just like the *Weekly Worker* CPGB frauds who fawned on the subsidy-offering Turkish guru Yurukoglu and his Trot-opportunist party until the great man was expelled from his own party for having his hand in the till, and secretly building Swiss villas for himself. (With such 'philosophical training', it is no wonder where the *Weekly Worker*ites get their crooked fundraising methods from, – financing their scandal-sheet by rattling a tin in front of paper-buyers, lyingly declaring: "*For the unemployed workers charter.*")

And there has never been a Trot group which was not similarly guru-oriented, – and most of them even more corrupt than the *Weekly Worker*ites.

The CPGB frauds are back to their leadership-hating stupidest this week, calling Arthur Scargill a "labour dictator" or ironically 'Great Leader' in order to liken him to Mao, or Stalin, or Kim II Sung.

And their only attempted rational point is to dispute that the SLP has a unitary constitution at all, – because it allows trade-union affiliations.

Pretending to understand the need for centralism, these Yurukogluites nevertheless claim that they should be allowed to factionally disrupt the SLP because the NUM block vote at SLP Congress amounts to 'federalism'.

How barmy can you get? The miners are affiliated SLP members, presumably fulfilling the SLP membership requirements for affiliated bodies. They are not a political party, or, if they are, they are consciously and solely part of the SLP political party. The CPGB is a politically independent sect with party aspirations of its own, unhidden. Their vicious intentions to manoeuvre as best they can to destroy the SLP, detailed above in the quotes, prove the reactionary dishonesty of their SLP involvement. For affiliated miners groups, on the other hand, Socialist Labour is the culmination of their whole political history.

These guru-worshippers' 'centralism' pretence is even more

bent; they clearly, by everything they do and say, hate **all** leadership which is not their own. Such petty-bourgeois outlooks are, and will remain, permanently sectarian, and relentlessly and unmitigably un-Leninist, in spite of all their lying posturing, (publishing the *Leninist* prior to the *Weekly Worker*).

From the start of the Trot entryist assault on the SLP, all the opportunist sects have sought in one way or another to pretend that the Bolshevik tradition was **in favour of** factions, all running their own separate policy platforms inside a 'single party'. ↗

Wrong.

On the contrary, Leninism was always for **splitting** against such non-communist behaviour, and perpetually driving revisionists out of the Bolshevik Party, declaring on hundreds of different occasions over the years that crucial party unity behind a leadership speaking with authority was **impossible** given fundamental differences of perspective.

Here are excerpts from 1909 to 1921 demonstrating Leninism's utter rejection of unresolved swamp-factionalising because it made communist leadership, – the key to the socialist revolution, – impossible:

Hence we repeat over and over again to all our Bolshevik comrades, to all workers who cherish the cause of revolutionary Social-Democracy; there is nothing more erroneous and harmful than attempts to conceal this disease. We must lay bare for all to see the causes, the nature and the significance of our difference with the supporters of otzovism, ultimatumism and god-building. The Bolshevik faction, i.e., the union of like-minded Bolsheviks, who want to *lead* the Party along the line set by *Proletary* and known to all, must be clearly separated, demarcated from the new faction which today leads its supporters inevitably to "accidental" anarchist phrases in the platforms of the Moscow and St. Petersburg otzovists, tomorrow to an "accidental" caricature of Bolshevism in Maximov's leaflet, and the day after that to an accidentally "stupid" resolution in St. Petersburg. We must understand this disease and energetically co-operate to cure it. Where it can be treated by the St. Petersburg method, i.e., by an immediate and successful appeal to the Social-Democratic consciousness of the advanced workers, such treatment is the best of all, there *no one has ever* preached splitting off and demarcation at all costs. But wherever, due to various conditions, centres and circles are being formed on anything like a permanent basis for the propagation of the ideas of the new faction, demarcation is essential. There demarcation from the new *faction* is an *earnest* of practical unity of work in the ranks of the *Party*, for in St. Petersburg the *Party* practical workers themselves have just admitted that such work is impossible under the banner of ultimatumism.

A word to the Bolsheviks of St. Petersburg October 3 (16) 1909

Dear comrades, we have received both your letters about the incipient split in the "school". These are the first comradely letters of kindred thinkers to reach us from Capri and they have made all of us very happy. We most heartily welcome the clear demarcation in the school.

It required time, of course, to lay bare the true character of the school as a new centre of the new faction. We did not doubt for a moment that sooner or later the most class-conscious Social-Democratic workers would find their bearings in this situation and select the right path. We learn from Moscow that letters have been received there from out-and-out "Bogdanovist" pupils of the school who are campaigning openly for the Capri centre and *very greatly helping* all Social-Democratic workers to understand the true significance of the Capri school.

Now to come to the matter in hand. You must, comrades, thoroughly think over the new situation that has arisen so that we can discuss it together and take the right steps, choosing the right time for them. You understand, of course, that a split in the school is now *inevitable*: you yourselves write that you cannot feel at home in such a school. You, of course, are not counting on united action with the out-and-out "Bogdanovists". And once matters have reached such a pitch that a split in the school is inevitable, it is necessary to understand clearly the significance of this split to have a clear idea of the struggle ensuing from the split, and how the Bogdanovists will try to "*disarm*" all of you (i. e., to deprive you of the possibility of making your influence felt and of telling the truth about the school) to *compromise* all of you (the nickname "agent of the Bolshevik Centre" bandied about, as you say, by Alexinsky is only a beginning; it is only the bud, *the fruit is still to come*), etc., etc.

You must think this over thoroughly and act firmly, resolutely and intelligently, as in a battle; you yourselves write that a "battle" is going on in the school over the platform. This is the beginning of *battles* against you *wherever* the Bogdanovists have penetrated.

You should begin by making an accurate count of your numbers. How many *resolute* opponents of the "Bogdanovist" platform are there? Can this number be increased or not? If yes, then how and in what period of time? If not, then what is the behaviour of the "neutrals"? You must think over what your behaviour should be during an inevitable split in the school in order as far as possible to *win over* these neutrals to *your side* or at worst to prevent them falling wholly into the hands of the Bogdanovists.

To pupils of the Capri school Oct 1909

And, now, finally, the last stage. Of the workers who came abroad to study at this mock-Party school, about half of them are in revolt against the "bad shepherds". Elsewhere we print two letters from pupils of the notorious "school" and several

reports from Moscow which completely expose Maximov, Alexinsky, Lyadov and Co. for the adventurers they are. The contents speak for themselves. It is all good stuff; the "regular battle", the "fiercest controversies every day" and the picture of schoolmaster Alexinsky putting his tongue out at the worker students, etc. In the weighty reports of the school all these things will probably be transmuted into "practical studies" of questions of agitation and propaganda, a course "on social philosophies", etc. But alas, no one will take this pitiful, shameful farce seriously now!

For two months the leaders of the new faction have been trying to persuade the workers of the superiority of otzovism and god-building over revolutionary Marxism. Then, losing patience, they began to force the otzovist-ultimatumist "platform" down their throats. And the more enlightened and independent of the workers protested of course. We do not want to serve as a screen for the new ideological centre of the otzovists and god-builders; there is no control over the school either "from below" or "from above", say the worker comrades in their letters. And this is the surest guarantee that the policy of hide-and-seek and demagogic "democratism" is doomed to bankruptcy in the eyes of the *pro-Party* workers. "The local organisations themselves will govern the school in X. —," the workers were told by Maximov and Co. Now this game has been exposed by the same workers who used to have faith in this clique.

Proletary No. 60, November 26 (December 11), 1909

"The struggle for influence in the Party." The latter group put forward a platform which, it is true, at the beginning speaks of a "struggle for restoring the unity of Bolshevism" but at the end emphatically condemns factionalism, "a party within the Party", "the isolation and exclusiveness of factions", and vigorously demands their "merging" in the Party, their "fusion", and the conversion of the factional centres into centres that are "in actual fact only ideological and literary" (pp. 18 and 19 of the pamphlet: *The Present Situation and the Tasks of the Party*).

The path clearly indicated by the majority of the Party has now been accepted unanimously—not in every detail, of course, but *in the main*—by all the factions. A year of acute factional struggle has led to a decisive step being taken in favour of abolishing *all* factions and *every kind* of factionalism, in favour of the unity of the Party.

Towards unity Feb. 1910

Golos Sotsial-Demokrata No. 19-20 and the manifesto of Comrades Axelrod, Dan, Martov and Martynov, published separately under the heading "Letter to the Comrades", are so much in the nature of a bomb intended to disrupt the Party immediately after the unity plenum that we are forced to come forward with an immediate, although brief and incomplete, warning, and to address a caution to all Social-Democrats.

We shall begin with the fact that *Golos Sotsial-Demokrata* directs its fire at us, at the editorial board of the Central Organ. It accuses us, through the mouth of Comrade Martov, of relegating his article to *Diskussionny Listok*.⁷⁸ "My article does not discuss the decisions of the plenum at all," writes Comrade Martov and he lays stress on this; the same thing is repeated word for word in the "Letter to the Comrades".

Anyone who cares to read Comrade Martov's article headed "On the Right Path", will see that it *directly discusses* the decisions of the plenum, *directly opposes* the decisions on the composition of the Central Organ, and gives a detailed justification of the theory of the equality of trends, of the "neutralisation" of trends. The glaring untruth uttered by Comrade Martov and the whole editorial board of *Golos* in alleging that this controversial article "does not discuss" the decisions of the plenum looks like a downright mockery of Party decisions.

If anyone is unclear about the difference between discussing the decisions of the plenum and conscientiously implementing the *line* of the plenum in the Central Organ itself, we invite such people, and *particularly the Mensheviks*, to reflect on Comrade Plekhanov's instructive article in the current issue of the Central Organ and on the no less instructive No. 11 of *Dnevnik Sotsial-Demokrata* by the same author. A Menshevik who does not want to flout the Party decision and Party unity cannot deny that in *Dnevnik* Comrade Plekhanov *discusses* the decisions of the plenum, whereas in the article "In Defence of Underground Activity" he defends the *Party line*. How can one fail to understand this difference unless one is pursuing the malicious aim of *disrupting* the decisions of the plenum?

But it is not enough that Comrade Martov and the whole editorial board of *Golos* utter a glaring untruth in alleging that the article "On the Right Path" does not discuss the decisions of the plenum. The article contains something far worse. It is based entirely on the *theory of equality* of the illegal Party, i.e., the R.S.D.L.P., on the one hand, and of the *legalists*, who have broken away from the Party, yet want to be called Social-Democrats, on the other.

Yet this new theory is in direct opposition to the decisions of the plenum; more than that, it is a *downright mockery* of them. The meaning of these decisions which is clear to all who are conscientiously fulfilling the decisions of the plenum, is that what has to be done away with is the split between the pro-Party Mensheviks and the pro-Party Bolsheviks, the split between these ancient *factions*, and by no means the "split" between *all* the legalists in general and our illegal R.S.D.L.P. The legalists who have broken away from the Party are not at all to be regarded as a "part of Social-Democracy" similar to the Party or on a par with the Party. On the contrary, they are being called *back to the Party* on the definitely expressed *condition* that they break with liquidationism (i.e., legalism at all costs) and come over to the



Party standpoint, to the "Party way of life." The Central Committee's letter on the conference, this *official* commentary on the resolutions of the plenum, one which is absolutely binding on the Party, says with the utmost clarity that it is the *illegal organisations** that must *judge* whether the legalists are *in actual fact pro-Party*, i.e., it specifically rejects the "theory of equality"!

Golos (Choice) of Liquidators against the Party March 1910

PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON PARTY UNITY

1. The Congress calls the attention of all members of the Party to the fact that the unity and cohesion of the ranks of the Party, the guarantee of complete mutual confidence among Party members and genuine team-work that really embodies the unanimity of will of the vanguard of the proletariat, are particularly essential at the present time, when a number of circumstances are increasing the vacillation among the petty-bourgeois population of the country.

2. Notwithstanding this, even before the general Party discussion on the trade unions, certain signs of factionalism had been apparent in the Party—the formation of groups with separate platforms, striving to a certain degree to segregate and create their own group discipline.

All class-conscious workers must clearly realise that factionalism of any kind is harmful and impermissible, for no matter how members of individual groups may desire to safeguard Party unity, factionalism in practice inevitably leads to the weakening of team-work.

3. In this question, propaganda should consist, on the one hand, in a comprehensive explanation of the harmfulness and danger of factionalism from the standpoint of Party unity and of achieving unanimity of will among the vanguard of the proletariat as the fundamental conflict condition for the success of the dictatorship of the proletariat;

Propaganda must also teach the lessons of preceding revolutions, in which the counter-revolution made a point of supporting the opposition to the extreme revolutionary party which stood closest to the latter, in order to undermine and overthrow the revolutionary dictatorship and thus pave the way for the subsequent complete victory of the counter-revolution, of the capitalists and landowners.

4. In the practical struggle against factionalism, every organisation of the Party must take strict measures to prevent all factional actions.

/Analyses of the Party's general line, estimates of its practical experience, check-ups of the fulfilment of its decisions, studies of methods of rectifying errors, etc., must under no circumstances be submitted for preliminary discussion to groups

formed on the basis of "platforms", etc., but must in all cases be submitted for discussion directly to all the members of the Party.

While ruthlessly rejecting impractical and factional pseudo-criticism, the Party will unceasingly continue—trying out new methods—to fight with all the means at its disposal against the evils of bureaucracy, for the extension of democracy and initiative, for detecting, exposing and expelling from the Party, elements that have wormed their way into its ranks, etc.

6. The Congress, therefore, hereby declares dissolved and orders the immediate dissolution of all groups without exception formed on the basis of one platform or another (such as the Workers' Opposition group, the Democratic Centralism group, etc.). Non-observance of this decision of the Congress shall entail unconditional and instant expulsion from the Party.

7. In order to ensure strict discipline within the Party and in all Soviet work and to secure the maximum unanimity in eliminating all factionalism, the Congress authorises the Central Committee, in cases of breach of discipline or of a revival or toleration of factionalism, to apply all Party penalties, including expulsion, and in regard to members of the Central Committee, reduction to the status of alternate members and, as an extreme measure, expulsion from the Party.

PRELIMINARY DRAFT RESOLUTION OF THE TENTH CONGRESS OF THE R.C.P. ON THE SYNDICALIST AND ANARCHIST DEVIATION IN OUR PARTY

1. A syndicalist and anarchist deviation has been definitely revealed in our Party in the past few months. It calls for the most resolute measures of ideological struggle and also for purging the Party and restoring its health.

2. The said deviation is due partly to the influx into the Party of former Mensheviks, and also of workers and peasants who have not yet fully assimilated the communist world outlook. Mainly, however, this deviation is due to the influence exercised upon the proletariat and on the Russian Communist Party by the petty-bourgeois element.

3. The most theoretically complete and clearly defined expression of this deviation (or one of the most complete, etc., expressions of this deviation) is the theses and other literary productions of the so-called Workers' Opposition group. Sufficiently illustrative of this is, for example, the following thesis propounded by this group: "The organisation of the management of the national economy is the function of an All-Russia Congress of Producers organised in industrial unions which shall elect a central body to run the whole of the national economy of the Republic."

The ideas at the bottom of this and numerous similar statements are radically wrong in theory, and represent a complete break with Marxism and communism, with the practical experience of all semi-proletarian revolutions and of the present proletarian revolution.

First, the concept “producer” combines proletarians with semi-proletarians and small commodity producers, thus radically departing from the fundamental concept of the class struggle and from the fundamental demand that a precise distinction be drawn between classes.

Secondly, the bidding for or flirtation with the non-Party masses, which is expressed in the above-quoted thesis, is an equally radical departure from Marxism.

Marxism teaches—and this tenet has not only been formally endorsed by the whole of the Communist International in the decisions of the Second (1920) Congress of the Comintern on the role of the political party of the proletariat, but has also been confirmed in practice by our revolution—that only the political party of the working class, i.e., the Communist Party, is capable of uniting, training and organising a vanguard of the proletariat and of the whole mass of the working people that alone will be capable of withstanding the inevitable petty-bourgeois vacillations of this mass and the inevitable traditions and relapses of narrow craft unionism or craft prejudices among the proletariat, and of guiding all the united activities of the whole of the proletariat, i.e., of leading it politically, and through it, the whole mass of the working people. Without this the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible.

The wrong understanding of the role of the Communist Party in its relation to the non-Party proletariat, and in the relation of the first and second factors to the whole mass of working people, is a radical theoretical departure from communism and a deviation towards syndicalism and anarchism, and this deviation permeates all the views of the Workers' Opposition group.

Instead of studying the practical experience of participation in administration, and instead of developing this experience further, strictly in conformity with successes achieved and mistakes rectified, the syndicalists and anarchists advance as an immediate slogan “congresses or a congress of producers” “to elect” the organs of economic management. Thus, the leading, educational and organising role of the Party in relation to the trade unions of the proletariat, and of the latter to the semi-petty-bourgeois and even wholly petty-bourgeois masses of working people, is completely evaded and eliminated, and instead of continuing and correcting the practical work of building new forms of economy already begun, by the Soviet state, we get petty-bourgeois-anarchist disruption of this work, which can only lead to the triumph of the bourgeois counter-revolution.

5. In addition to the theoretical fallacies and a radically wrong attitude towards the practical experience of economic organisation already begun by the Soviet government, the Congress of the Russian Communist Party discerns in the views of this and similar groups and persons a gross political mistake and a direct political danger to the very existence of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In a country like Russia, the overwhelming preponderance of the petty-bourgeois element and the devastation, impoverishment, epidemics, crop failures, extreme want and hardship inevitably resulting from the war, engender particularly sharp vacillations in the temper of the petty-bourgeois and semi-proletarian masses. First they incline towards a strengthening of the alliance between these masses and the proletariat, and then towards bourgeois restoration. The experience of all revolutions in the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth centuries shows most clearly and convincingly that the only possible result of these vacillations—if the unity, strength and influence of the revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat is weakened in the slightest degree—will be the restoration of the power and property of the capitalists and landowners.

Hence, the views of the Workers' Opposition and of like-minded elements are not only wrong in theory, but are an expression of petty-bourgeois and anarchist wavering in practice, and actually weaken the consistency of the leading line of the Communist Party and help the class enemies of the proletarian revolution.

6. In view of all this, the Congress of the R.C.P., emphatically rejecting the said ideas, as being expressive of a syndicalist and anarchist deviation, deems it necessary:

First, to wage an unswerving and, systematic struggle against these ideas;

Secondly, to recognise the propaganda of these ideas as being incompatible with membership of the R.C.P.

Instructing the C.C. of the Party strictly to enforce these decisions, the Congress at the same time points out that special publications, symposiums, etc., can and should provide space for a most comprehensive exchange of opinion between Party members on all the questions herein indicated.

REPORT ON PARTY UNITY AND THE ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST DEVIATION MARCH 16

We are essentially examining this thesis as the main one, so as not to go chasing after a mass of similar ideas, of which the Workers' Opposition group has a great many. We will leave our writers, and the leaders of this trend to go into the matter, for at the end of the resolution we make a point of saying that special publications and symposiums can and should give space to a more comprehensive exchange of opinion between Party members on all the questions indicated. We cannot now afford to put off the question. We are a party fighting in acute difficulties. We must say to ourselves: if our unity is to be more solid, we must condemn a definite

deviation. Since it has come to light, it should be brought out and discussed. If a comprehensive discussion is necessary, let us have it, by all means; we have the men to give chapter and verse on every point, and if we find it relevant and necessary, we shall raise this question internationally as well, for you all know and have just heard the delegate of the Communist International say in his report that there is a certain Leftist deviation in the ranks of the international revolutionary working-class movement. The deviation we are discussing is identical with the anarchist deviation of the German Communist Workers' Party, the fight against which was clearly revealed at the last Congress of the Communist International.⁸⁰ Some of the terms used there to qualify it were stronger than “deviation”. You know that this is an international question. That is why it would be wrong to have done with it by saying, “Let's have no more discussions. Full stop.” But a theoretical discussion is one thing, and the Party's political line—a political struggle—is another. We are not a debating society. Of course, we are able to publish symposiums and special publications and will continue to do so but our first duty is to carry on the fight against great odds, and that needs unity. If we are to have proposals, like organising an “All-Russia Congress of Producers”, introduced into the political discussion and struggle, we shall be unable to march forward united and in step. That is not the policy we have projected over the next few years. It is a policy that would disrupt the Party's team-work, for it is wrong not only in theory, but also in its incorrect definition of the relations between classes—the crucial element which was specified in the resolution of the Second Congress of the Communist International,⁸¹ and without which there is no Marxism. The situation today is such that the non-Party element is yielding to the petty-bourgeois vacillations which are inevitable in Russia's present economic condition. We must remember that in some respects the internal situation presents a greater danger than Denikin and Yudenich; and our unity must not be formal but must go deep down below the surface. If we are to create this unity, a resolution like the one proposed is indispensable.

The next very important thing in my opinion is Point 4 of this resolution, which gives an interpretation of our Programme. It is an authentic interpretation, that is, the author's interpretation. Its author is the Congress, and that is why it must give its interpretation in order to put a stop to all this wavering, and to the tricks that are sometimes being played with our Programme, as if what it says about the trade unions is what some people would like it to say.

We must say on behalf of the Congress, which endorses the Programme and which is the Party's supreme organ: here is what we understand the Programme to mean. This, I repeat, does not cut short theoretical discussion. Proposals to amend the Programme may be made; no one has suggested that this should be prohibited. We do not think that our Programme is so perfect as not to require any modification whatever; but just now we have no formal proposals, nor have we allocated any time for the examination of this question. If we read the Programme carefully we shall find the following: “The trade unions...should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration”, etc. The words, “should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration”, should be underlined. And a few lines above that we read: “On the strength of the laws...the trade unions participate in all the local and central organs of industrial management.” We know that it took decades to build up capitalist industry, with the assistance of all the advanced countries of the world. Are we so childish as to think that we can complete this process so quickly at this time of dire distress and impoverishment, in a country with a mass of peasants, with workers in a minority, and a proletarian vanguard bleeding and in a state of prostration? We have not even laid the main foundation, we have only begun to give an experimental definition of industrial management with the participation of the trade unions. We know that what is the principal obstacle. It is not true to say that we are not enlisting the masses; on the contrary, we give sincere support to anyone among the mass of workers with the least sign of talent, or ability. All we need is for the conditions to ease off ever so little. We need a year or two, at least, of relief from famine. This is an insignificant period of time in terms of history but in our conditions it is a long one. A year or two of relief from famine, with regular supplies of fuel to keep the factories running, and we shall receive a hundred times more assistance from the working class, and far more talent will arise from its ranks than we now have. No one has or can have any doubts about this. The assistance is not forthcoming at present, but not because we do not want it. In fact, we are doing all we can to get it. No one can say that the government, the trade unions, or the Party's Central Committee have missed a single opportunity to do so. But we know that the want in the country is desperate, that there is hunger and poverty everywhere, and that this very often leads to passivity. Let us not be afraid to call a spade a spade: it is these calamities and evils that are hindering the rise of mass energy. In such a situation, when the statistics tell us that 60 per cent of the members of management boards are workers, it is quite impossible to try to interpret the words in the Programme—“The trade unions... should eventually arrive at a *de facto* concentration”, etc.—a la Shlyapnikov.

An authentic interpretation of the Programme will enable us to combine the necessary tactical solidarity and unity with the necessary freedom of discussion, and this is emphasised at the end of the resolution. What does it say in essence? Point 6 reads:

“In view of all this, the Congress of the R.C.P., emphatically rejecting the said ideas, as being expressive of a syndicalist and anarchist deviation, deems it necessary, first, to wage an unswerving and systematic struggle against these ideas;

secondly, to recognise the propaganda of these ideas as being incompatible with membership of the R.C.P.

"Instructing the C.C. of the Party strictly to enforce these decisions, the Congress at the same time points out that special publications, symposiums, etc., can and should provide space for a most comprehensive exchange of opinion between Party members on all the questions herein indicated."

Do you not see—you all who are agitators and propagandists in one way or another—the difference between the propaganda of ideas within political parties engaged in struggle, and the exchange of opinion in special publications and symposiums? I am sure that everyone who takes the trouble to understand this resolution will see the difference.

Tenth Congress of the R.C.P.(B.) March 1921

For anyone who can read, Lenin is saying that fundamental disagreements on strategies, policies, and perspectives inside one party make it impossible for the working class to discern any united party leadership, meaning that conflict between rival

factional platforms in the course of struggle is only an obstacle to successful socialist advance. Non-factional discussion of party policy-development, on the other hand, is essential.
Build Leninism.
Royston Bull

Starved-back Liverpool dockers, – sold out by TUC leaders, – have established some crucial lessons for the whole working-class future. It is entirely misleading to describe as a 'defeat' their colossal sacrifices in the fight for jobs-justice against capitalist employers. A vital shift in working-class political allegiances has begun. Trot bile is in vain.

[EPSR No936 03-02-98]

The inability of the magnificent Liverpool dockers strike to force either the port employers or the Labour government to reinstate the 300 sacked men, victimised for their solidarity action with other casualised port workers, – could become a turning point.

The political reasons for the generally patchy support from the labour movement, the trade unions, and the working class at large, – although also often inspiring in its generosity and class sense, – deserve closer analysis.

To just talk about "yet another blow in a long line of defeats for the working class" as the Trotskyite fake-'left' is doing (*Weekly Worker*), coupled with a completely abstract demand to "raise struggles onto a higher, political plane" by "...building a Communist Party" is typically insulting and damaging, doing far more harm than good.

The working class **is** on the move, – as the CPGB is forced to admit, quoting Dockers Charter calls for

"a mobilisation against any government which continues these policies"

(of privatisation, casualisation, and anti-union laws), and the call that

"our powerful circles, – our trade unions – should be used for our advance to socialism."

But sectarian bile then obliges the Trots to dismiss without comment the notable development of leading dockers figures like Jimmy Nolan and Mick Cullen joining publicly the Socialist Labour Party in the course of the

carefully thinking about.

The contemptuous dismissal of the SLP by a majority of the Trotskyite 57 varieties (see last week's *Review* [p67]) is shared but not quite believed in by that crafty faction of them who have conspired to continue their subversive entryism to try to wreck any further Socialist Labour influence.

While pouring on still more venomous abuse and ridicule of the SLP, these *Weekly Worker*-led factionalists secretly fear that Socialist Labour may yet mushroom into a major pole of attraction for new, post-reformist-era, working class politics.

Which makes their dilettante contempt for such SLP political development as there has been infinitely more despicable, – based as it is on nothing better than their own middle-class individualist conceit as being the only 'real' future 'revolutionary' leaders of the working class possible.

This is the pits of their silly sectarian sickness, this 'infantile disorder' of ultra-leftism. There is still a massive amount of developments to take place, and of ground to be covered, first to see the working class broken from Labourism, and second to see a mass workers party emerge, seriously dedicated to the abolition of the state power (dictatorship) of the capitalist ruling class. This may not necessarily take very long in months or years, but it is nevertheless still ridiculously early days to be writing off particular possible changes yet (especially for reasons of personal vanity among ultra-left gurus).

And given Arthur Scargill's record in the workers movement, this sustained abusive vilification of the SLP by the Trots seems an outstandingly suspect tactic. Just how diseased have these Trot minds been made by this past half-century of relentless anti-communist propaganda?

This Trot trivialisation of Socialist Labour's emergence exposes two aspects of political backwardness, both of which help establish the positive potential of the SLP more clearly. First, these petty-bourgeois armchair socialists utterly fail to appreciate the value in general of any significant working-class break from the Labour party. If the Trots were listened to in any great amount, this would add up to a criminal act of disinformation, effectively playing the game of the capitalist state's non-stop propaganda confusion to put the working class off the scent of its own necessary political development.

Second, while forced to toy with the notion of independent working-class political development (in order to maintain their fake-'left' credentials), these

Trots relentlessly sneer at the idea that the SLP could provide the working class with any such leadership. Now, in certain hypothetical circumstances, such hostility might not be completely invalid **if** Socialist Labour clearly advocated no serious policies or actions against the capitalist status quo, and **if** there was an alternative mass workers party clearly dedicated to the abolition of capitalism in the offing.

Where is it? The individual Trot sects? No.31, no.43, no. 57??? All the Trot sects swamping around together??? In the Socialist Alliance?? Behind *Militant* in the Socialist Party????

Unseriously, the Trots do not like to say. From fear of backing a loser, such defeatists become totally paralysed on such questions.

But constantly slugging off the SLP is right up their cynical street.

And yet the most remarkable thing of all about the subjective ultra-'left' swamp is that on many issues, – their 'revolutionary' posturing is actually less advanced than SLP policies. On Ireland, for example, the Trots hate the thought of victory for the national-liberation struggle, sympathising with the chauvinist backward traditions of imperialist-corrupted British workers. On the workers states, the Trots join with reactionary Washington imperialism in agitating for the overthrow of the Castro regime in Cuba.

Thus, polemicising against Trotskyite defeatism makes it possible to establish that the SLP's emergence is a remarkably promising phenomenon in general. And that the actual political **reality** of Socialist Labour in particular is very encouraging.

Thus, a proper assessment of the 2-year titanic struggle around the Liverpool docks needs to look at very much more than the question of just immediately saving specific jobs as the measure of 'victory' or 'defeat' for the working class.

Everything that has happened in this two-year period must be considered; and those developments in turn have to be evaluated in the light of the hugely difficult task of breaking the working class from 100 years of loyalty to the Labour Party and 100 years of mind-rotting class-collaborationism.

In the reality of this greatest-ever economic and political crisis in imperialism's conflict-strewn history, which is basically driving forward all these momentous changes barely seen as outlines at the present in working class development, a longer-term view is a valuable asset to cultivate.

To some extent, the Liverpool dockers strike needs to be considered in the same vein as the

1984-85 miners strike.

That colossal NUM battle, backed by enormous working-class sympathy, against the peak power of Thatcherism, is still hard to think of as a victory, many workers feel. But what priceless lessons were sown the seeds of in workers' understanding by that 'defeat'!!!

Destroying the renewed post-war illusion that Labour would always come out in support of basic justice for the working class was the most bitter but important conclusion. Labourism is a bourgeois ideology, and thus will always back capitalism in any decisive class-war showdown with workers.

Such a major conclusion, while needing to be spelled out in scientific theory as the EPSR did weekly throughout the strike, both before, during, and after, – nevertheless had to become the living experience of the working class. And that was the unforgettable triumph of the heroic Great Strike by the miners in 1984-85, backed by the best of the working class. Never could the opportunist politics of 'reformism' have been more comprehensively and dramatically exposed for their heartlessness, cowardice, and class-collaborating treachery than were the wretched betrayals by the Labour and TUC leaders of that miners strike.

The full achievement of that magnificent struggle, gained through such hardship and tragedy, will not be completely realised until a mass workers party, dedicated to the abolition of the exploitative, divisive, cruel, wasteful, and ultimately destructive system of capitalism, – has been totally established. But it is no accident, of course, that the first significant moves towards the building of such a party of serious socialism have emerged from that miners-strike background, forming the SLP.

And with that lesson about needing to break with a century of misleading Labour 'reformism' should also have come the understanding that trade union mobilisation as such will never, by itself, get the working class what it wants and what it deserves, or even secure minimum justice. Political education and organisation needs to be grafted onto every strike or industrial dispute.

Class battles at the point of production over who should benefit first, the profiteering shareholders and bosses or the people who do the work, – will remain the bread-and-butter of working-class struggle, alongside civil disobedience and protests against tyrannical laws and other injustice or evils. And any strike could become the catalyst at any time to spark off the entire class revolution for socialism. But it is

essential all-round political advance for workers' understanding which needs promoting alongside every fight for jobs, wages, and conditions. No disputes will start out with that in mind, but in the coming period of enormous historical change, few disputes will not tend in that direction at some stage.

And on top of that growing political class consciousness within trade disputes needs to come in time a direct and specific identification with a new political party of the working class.

Much on-the-spot detail has yet to be revealed about the Liverpool dockers strike, but some of its observable features tell some interesting lessons, and they are not remotely negative.

The willingness to fight, which drew some remarkable expressions of solidarity both nationally and internationally, was quite stunning, coinciding as it did with the climax of six years of the most unprecedented capitalist/imperialist triumphalism worldwide following the insane self-liquidation by the Moscow bureaucracy running the Soviet workers state (of successful planned socialist development, and necessary self-defence).

And the viciousness of the employers and the capitalist state, glad to put the boot in with the acquiescence of the Labour and TUC leaders, will have been a valuable sharp reminder to the working class of just how ruthless this bourgeois 'democracy' system can be, and will increasingly become, despite Labour 'reformism' in office, as the world imperialist economic crisis forces all the ruling classes everywhere to sharpen their rates of profit or go under in the trade-war competition throat-cutting about the engulf the planet.

And the flexibility of the dockers, coming almost from a closed-shop craft-union past, in being willing to link up their dispute with wider civil and political struggles concerning workers everywhere, – was an interesting sign of the times.

But the most promise for the future, as already established, lay in the beginnings of a new political orientation for working class fight, through Socialist Labour.

It was clearly the cowardice and political backwardness of the dockers' own trade union leaders, still firmly subservient to the reactionary class-collaborating essence of Labour and the TUC, which obviously made jobs reinstatement hard to achieve in the present climate, still not done with capitalist/imperialist triumphalism here in the West.

To blame "the most repressive anti-union laws in the western world", as Bill Morris and the T&G do, simply begs the question: And

when are they to be fought?

And what if the next legislation is not to remove the anti-union laws, but to add repression of working-class political expression as well? What will you wait for then, Bill?

Such supine Labourism will take a little longer to die, but it is already possible to see the Liverpool dockers strike in more of a historical perspective, coming in the course of a major transition in working-class understanding, and heroically helping to complete it.

The dockers were effectively starved back in the end, and could hardly have contributed much more to the cause of the political enlightenment of the working class and its eventual emancipation from Labourism first and foremost, and from all capitalism eventually.

To see all this as just a 'defeat' could not be more misleading or worse disinformation. The workers movement really does need to break from the defeatism of these Trotskyite 'revolutionaries' and all other such shallow political influences.

Another line of pessimistic demoralisation suggests that the emergence of Socialist Labour will not even do as well as the partial break by militants in the past from the Labour Party to the Communist Party, which never got beyond an embryonic development due to the anti-communist resurgence of the imperialist boom, and to political misleadership by Moscow revisionism.

This line is just more bankrupt defeatism, revealing only the petty-bourgeois subjectivism of these sectarians, and completely ignoring the rapidly changing historical developments. (See also last week's *Review* [p67]). Because of its idiotic delusion of 'the peaceful road to socialism' which translated into total subservience to the Labour party's bourgeois parliamentarism, the old CP never got beyond administering the closed-shop and craft-union illusions of reformism's hayday when Labour Government 'socialist' measures of nationalisation and social welfare led workers-movement leaders to believe that they now had an unshakable partial grip on the whole fate of British society, leading relentlessly to 'ever-greater justice and fairness for the working class, and to ever greater prosperity for all'.

Now, while reformist ways of thinking may still be far too abundant around the SLP, there is no great conscious open support for such specific 'reformist' idiocies as this which doomed the old Communist Party (of which these 'new' CPGB Trots, incidentally, were an unshakable part, forever boasting about being integrated into the 'official' world commu-

nist movement, and therefore triumph-bound. Necrophiliac, or what? And when the CP corpse did finally die after decades of lingering death, these bizarre posturing individualist guru-worshippers could not bear to part company with the old CBGB name. It presumably goes with all their other designer labels, plus the Brie and the Bordeaux).

Slagging off the SLP prematurely could be the biggest mistake these middle-class sectarian groupies will ever make. These CPGB Trots are infinitely more condemned by the past, and anchored to it, than is the politics of Socialist Labour. Pro-Labour bureaucracy was what led to the **death** of these CPGBers' foundation party. But it is what has led to the **birth** of the SLP, and in turn it will eventually lead to the death of pro-Labour bureaucracy itself.

Socialist Labour has been formed solely to break from Labourite parliamentary opportunism, ditching Clause IV, etc, – not to give Labourite parliamentary opportunism a fake-'left' face as the CP's *British Road to Socialism* did. It is premature to write off the SLP as harbouring the same old illusions, under a new party label, about an eventual 'socialist majority' of 'left' Labour MPs plus SLP MPs (replacing the hoped-for CP MPs of the past). That may be the daydream of some SLPers. But many more in the SLP agitate for greater class-struggle realism about all the possible imperialist-crisis complexities of how rotting capitalism might be abolished.

The cue for more demoralised defeatism out of the absence of mass public enthusiasm to support the dockers strike, is the cheapest of all the Trot trivialisations. The mood of the working class is clearly in the balance at the moment, following the shock of imperialist triumphalism, then echoed by Blairite liquidationism and open embrace of capitalist ruthlessness and exploitation as the only sensible way to run society.

A major historical shift away from a century's devotion to Labourism means massive upheavals to generations of political habits, political institutions, and, most difficult of all, to entrenched ways of thinking. The whole transformation of working-class politics is clearly not some overnight miracle.

Massive erosions of Labourism could hardly begin until some time after Labour was at last back in office – under Blair-ism, which itself is a different-enough phenomenon from normal Labourism to cause a bit more head-scratching and hesitancy. But as the 'new' gimmicks wear off, it is this coming period, after the dockers strike had been starved

out, that is going to see more decisive moves by the working class to oppose capitalist reaction, whatever its 'new' disguises. Once again, a correct historical view of developments is being ignored by middle class Trot defeatism-spreaders merely in order to score some petty sectarian points against the SLP, and regardless of what confusion is sown among the working class in general by

such backwardness.

By comparison with this petty-bourgeois negativism, the heroic strike by the Liverpool dockers stands out as a brilliant achievement on behalf of the longterm interests of the whole working class in pointing the political way forward to break from Labourism.

Build Leninism. Build the SLP.
Roy Bull

Defeated Trots try to get back at Socialist Labour via rewriting Bolshevik history, and launching propaganda provocations against the *EPS Review*. But Alliance-swamp 'unity' can only pervade more mud and slime everywhere. Lenin exposes their traditional middle-class deceptive treachery, insisting on leadership bureaucracy against 'autonomous democracy'. The Trots factionalise because they cannot cope with healthy SLP theoretical discussion. Their "no monopoly of the truth" agnostic nonsense should secure their permanent retreat from the fray, – their capitalist-press backers permitting.

[EPSR No942 17-03-98]

Failed Trotskyite entryists are stepping up their middle-class sniping at the SLP by trying to isolate theoretical discussion of Socialist Labour issues published by the *EPSR*.

The attempt is to "prove that factionalism exists" to try to provoke some anti-*EPSR* response from the SLP leadership, and to promote the idea of a swamp of **all** the factions as the only kind of party worth having.

Trots in the Midlands have launched documents pretending that the Russian Revolution was only achieved by a swamp of many factions, but simultaneously trying to set the *EPS Review* up for ridicule and hatred, – and isolation, – because of its communist solidarity with the Chinese workers state.

Meanwhile, the *Weekly Worker* end of the Trotskyite swamp of nearly a dozen sects (already!) of "ex-SLP members" has sensibly reproduced huge chunks of an *EPSR* analysis of the class philosophy of 'black sections' but foolishly trying to pretend that theoretical discussion amounts to 'published factional attacks'.

In the Midlands, the failed petty-bourgeois entryists have launched an anti-SLP manifesto which ludicrously claims that Socialist Labour's unitary constitution, which rules out factional recruitment and 'opposition rights', is contrary to Marxism-Leninism.

"This was not actually the way of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party" they say about the SLP's insist-

ence on one leadership, and disciplined support from all members for the party's policies.

According to these frustrated individualists and careerists, the SLP without them has immediately turned into

"a bureaucratic formulation. It means party worship and leadership worship, with hacks, fanatics, and clones as members."

Modesty and logic are not their strong points. Many individuals among this shower of Trotskyite opportunists who have now left the SLP were supported by Socialist Labour as General Election candidates. One minute, that party support is good enough. The next minute, it consists of nothing but "hacks, fanatics, and clones".

Rewriting history, these Trot sectarians lyngly imply that oppositional factionalising was only reluctantly and mistakenly frowned on by Leninism

"in 1921 under the severest of economic circumstances".

Once again, they shamelessly wheel out the great bogymen of Western anti-communist propaganda, Stalin, to imply that party discipline ideas were murderous, monstrous, and inhuman, – a complete denial of 'freedom'.

This gibberish is loosely supported by propaganda from the so-called 'Socialist Alliances' to which the Trot swamp is now turning as a spoiler against the SLP. Their attempt to overcome their incurable sectarian factionalism with some 'unity', so as to collectively overshadow the SLP,

insists that if 'socialists' would settle for 80% agreement on issues, then it would be possible for all 57 varieties to work together permanently. Admitting that the Trotskyite swamp has never achieved such 'unity' before (or any unity), the Alliance make-believe declares that something 'new' has taken place, – namely,

"a growing acceptance that no single group has all the answers".

And just to confirm this triumph of the bourgeois philosophy of agnosticism, the Alliance Trots say it again:

"This has meant accepting that no one has a monopoly of the truth".

In other words, nothing has been agreed at all, – except opposition to the SLP. There is no 80% agreement on anything, which is why there are already nearly a dozen "ex-SLP" competing Trotskyite sects in existence.

In other words, it will be the 57 varieties of subjective individualism exactly as before, and each one separately thinking theirs is the **only** truth, which has always been the only possible meaning of the idiot agnostic phrase "no one has a monopoly of the truth" which has been used for centuries by reaction to try to hold back revolutionary new thinking.

The sole aim of Marxism-Leninism has always been to establish the scientific socialist truth about human civilisation and its future. What has 'monopoly' got to do with it? The only successful struggles for socialism have been led by communists who have correctly analysed the historical situation and the balance of class forces, and have **correctly** built the sort of disciplined democratic-centralist movement (party or guerrilla army) which alone can defeat **all** the wiles of bourgeois counter-revolution in **every** situation.

And the only basis for arriving at the necessary scientific socialist understanding in every case has been by the constant interchange between theory and practice, learning by mistakes or successes how right or wrong has been a party's perspectives, programme, strategy, and tactics.

For the proletariat, socialism is not the same thing as it is for middle-class academic dilettantes who can possibly afford to spend their whole lives gibbering pointlessly into their glass: "No one has a monopoly of the truth". For the proletariat, socialism is eventually a necessity requiring **revolutionary action**. The types who stand around at such crucial historical junctures muttering "no one has a monopoly of the truth" will be plainly identified at that moment as counter-revolutionaries.

The Trot pretence that the 1917 socialist revolution was carried

out by a party permanently riddled with oppositional factions is just total lying nonsense. At any one time, the Leninist party had as many differences of opinion as there were members of the leadership. But what even the flimsiest knowledge of 1917 history demonstrates is that once a firm party line was established, the Leninist party was utterly ruthless in its hostility to indisciplined behaviour by any section of the party.

So far was Lenin from any notion that "no one has the monopoly of the truth" that at one stage, when the party leadership delayed a decision about whether the time was ripe to seize power, Lenin threatened to quit and form a new party rather than remain in a minority position.

And immediately power had been seized, **all** the history books in the world confirm that an international propaganda blitzkrieg was launched at once denouncing Lenin the bloody dictator, and Bolshevik Red Terror as the greatest threat to civilisation ever. Stalin had never heard of at this stage in history.

And this Red Terror was most notorious of all for 'turning on its own kind' when the Kronstadt Soviet was drowned in blood by invading Red Army troops in 1921 to put down an armed 'opposition' mutiny engineered by anti-communists infiltrating the Soviet structure and adopting counter-revolutionary petty-bourgeois demands, masquerading as a 'socialist opposition'.

EPSR 935 [p67 - ed] recently quoted at length from the 10th Bolshevik Congress which in 1921 imposed a massive purge of factional groups and platforms which had wormed their way into the revolutionary party from the vast ranks of the petty bourgeoisie in Russia. Such factional oppositionism, proposing rival platforms to the agreed party policy, would unfailingly lead to the triumph of the counter-revolution if not purged immediately, the Congress agreed, at Lenin's insistence. This reinforced discipline alone saved the planned Soviet system from being overthrown there and then. The Soviet workers state went on to transform 20th century history, although sadly stopping short of going all the way, – ultimately being undermined by revisionist retreats from strict Leninist party and state discipline.

To take up this lying Trot pretence from the Alliance that freely-flourishing factions made the Bolshevik Party a success until the 'disastrous and mistaken' 1921 10th Congress, Leninist science from earlier periods, (declaring permanent factional opposition impossible to tolerate for a revolutionary party which meant business), has to be studied.

The first Lenin quotes from May 1904 (from *One Step Forward, Two Steps Back*) show that undisciplined petty-bourgeois individualists immediately shouted 'bureaucrat, dictator' at Lenin as soon as they failed to get their own way inside the party. The Midlands Trot manifesto does exactly the same today because of being defeated in the SLP.

In 1904, the party majority which backed Lenin were dismissed as 'mere pawns'. In 1998, they have become 'hacks and clones'. Even the sneer at the 'mechanical' majority at the Party Congress is identical, with the same bruised egos at not being invited to become leaders, and furious that their sectarian circles were being ruled out of order.

Contrast this with Lenin speaking gladly that the party had now grown far enough for constitutional organisation to be needed to replace the informally-disciplined struggles of voluntary amateurish circles.

Bluntly, Lenin insists that centralist bureaucracy must always prevail over autonomist 'democracy' in any serious workers party which intends to build socialism. He specifically champions the centre's right to appoint cadres to local committees and to have the decisive say in who should be the local candidates for parliament.

Lenin notes how, exactly as today, the capitalist press rushes to give publicity to anti-party opportunists who want to denounce 'dictatorship' and 'lack of democracy' in the party, strangely ignoring, of course, the careerists' own pretence of being 'more revolutionary' than the party they are grassing up for the benefit of the class enemy. But who are the real 'revolutionaries', – those who build a disciplined party of the working class to abolish capitalism, or those intellectual individualists who reject all party discipline and are merely in love with the sound of their own voice?

In December 1910 in his *Open letter to all Pro-Party Social-Democrats* (which was the word for communist at the time), Lenin specifically ridicules the Alliance notion that anything worthwhile can be built out of the undisciplined 'left' swamp all getting together, all with a proportional say on the leadership committees. Such a 57 varieties swamp will **not** get rid of factionalism which in time will always wreck the work a party tries to do. Lenin wanted factionalism expelled from the party, and even insisted on a clear break-up with those 'conciliators', like Trotsky, ↗

who still insisted that working with the swamp was the best plan of action. Lenin rubbished such thinking, saying the swamp could only harm the work; and it was precisely the disciplined Bolshevik Party which went on by itself to complete the abolition of capitalism, starting with the Bolshevik Revolution seven years later.

Abolish factions, Lenin insisted, and seek agreement only with those who fully accept the pro-Party principle, the need for a disciplined authoritative leadership.

Lenin deals with the fake-'left' hypocrites who shout loudest about 'Leninist' or 'communist' principles but in practice do exactly the opposite, just like today's Trots who have tried to wreck the SLP with their opportunist phrasemongering, their indiscipline, and now their abusive denunciations.

Identify the middle-class splitters, those with their own individualist culture and conceit who will never make good communists, and throw them out as soon as possible, Lenin recommends. He spells it out: Trotskyites, and Trotsky, are a disaster.

In October 1911 in *The New Faction of Conciliators*, Lenin explains the incurable class contradiction at the heart of the treacherous Trotskyite notion of 'conciliation' with the swamp of fake-'left' petty-bourgeois ideology. Trotskyism lies when it pretends that organisational questions are the problem (the block vote, the appointment of candidates, the black sections, Congress arrangements, the adopted constitution, etc around the SLP). It is irreconcilable class differences about the whole political situation which are really behind the factionalising, Lenin explains.

Out with these conciliators, Lenin adds. No false 'unity' with the petty-bourgeois swamp, he insists, neither ultra-'left' Otzovist (comparable to a position today of denouncing 'electoralism' (a sound Bolshevik tactic whenever mass revolutionary action was not immediately on the cards)) nor rightwing collaborating Liquidationism (comparable to a position today of making Vote Labour the priority).

Both deviations were incurably middle-class, Leninist science concluded.

In *Material On Conflict of October 1913*, Lenin concludes that whether it is an unbridgeable conflict of ideas or organisational indiscipline, anti-communists should not be part of a communist party:

in question was being drafted and adopted, I was on the Central Organ together with Plekhanov. Consequently, Comrade Axelrod and Co. were expressing the conviction that Plekhanov and all the members of the Central Committee 'governed the Party', not in accordance with their own views of what the interests of the work required, but in accordance with the *will* of the autocrat Lenin. This accusation of autocratic government necessarily and inevitably implies pronouncing all members of the governing body except the autocrat to be mere tools in the hands of another, mere pawns and agents of another's will.

It is clear, I think, that the cries about this celebrated bureaucracy are just a screen for dissatisfaction with the personal composition of the central bodies, a fig-leaf to cover up the violation of a pledge solemnly given at the Congress. You are a bureaucrat because you were appointed by the Congress not in accordance with my wishes, but against them; you are a formalist because you take your stand on the formal decisions of the Congress, and not on my consent; you are acting in a grossly mechanical way because you cite the "mechanical" majority at the Party Congress and pay no heed to my wish to be co-opted; you are an autocrat because you refuse to hand over the power to the old snug little band who insist on their circle "continuity" all the more because they do not like the explicit disapproval of this circle spirit by the Congress.

How many times Comrade Martov and various other "Mensheviks"* have convicted me, no less childishly, of the following "contradiction". They quote a passage from *What Is To Be Done?* or *A Letter to a Comrade* which speaks of ideological influence, a struggle for influence, etc., and contrast it to the "bureaucratic" method of influencing by means of the Rules, to the "autocratic" tendency to rely on authority, and the like. How naïve they are! They have already forgotten that *previously* our Party was not a formally organised whole, but merely a sum of separate groups, and therefore no other relations except those of ideological influence were possible between these groups. *Now* we have become an organised Party, and this implies the establishment of authority, the transformation of the power of ideas into the power of authority, the subordination of lower Party bodies to higher ones.

Inseparably connected with Gironidism and aristocratic anarchism is the last characteristic feature of the new *Iskra's** attitude towards matters of organisation, namely, its defence of autonomism as against centralism. This is the meaning in principle (if it has any such meaning) of its outcry against bureaucracy and autocracy, [*Not Lenin's *Iskra*.]

It was autonomism (if not anarchism) that Martov and Axelrod defended at the League Congress when, with amusing zeal, they tried to prove that the part need not submit to the whole, – that the part is autonomous in defining its relation to the whole, that the Rules of the League, in which that relation is formulated, are valid in defiance of the will of the Party majority, in defiance of the will of the Party centre. And it is autonomism that Comrade Martov is now openly defending in the columns of the new *Iskra* (No. 60) in the matter of the right of the Central Committee to appoint members to the local committees. I shall not speak of the puerile sophistries which Comrade Martov used to defend autonomism at the League Congress, and is still using in the new *Iskra**—the important thing here is to note the undoubted tendency to *defend autonomism against centralism*, which is a fundamental characteristic of opportunism in matters of organisation.

* In enumerating various paragraphs of the Rules, Comrade Martov omitted the one which deals with the relation of the whole to the part: the Central Committee "allocates the Party forces" (Paragraph 6). Can one allocate forces without transferring people from one committee to another? It is positively awkward to have to dwell on such elementary things.

Bureaucracy *versus* democracy is in fact centralism *versus* autonomism: it is the organisational principle of revolutionary Social-Democracy as opposed to the organisational principle of opportunist Social-Democracy. The latter strives to proceed from the bottom upward, and, therefore, wherever possible and as far as possible, upholds autonomism and "democracy", carried (by the overzealous) to the point of anarchism. The former strives to proceed from the top downward, and upholds an extension of the rights and powers of the centre in relation to the parts. In the period of disunity and separate circles, this top from which revolutionary Social-Democracy strove to proceed organisationally was inevitably one of the circles, the one enjoying most influence by virtue of its activity and its revolutionary consistency (in our case, the *Iskra* organisation). In the period of the restoration of actual Party unity and dissolution of the obsolete circles in this unity, this top is inevitably the Party Congress, as the supreme organ of the Party, the Congress as far as possible includes representatives of all the active organisations, and, by appointing the central institutions (often with a membership which satisfies the advanced elements of the Party more than the backward and is more to the taste of its revolutionary than its opportunist wing), makes them the top until the next Congress.

It is highly interesting to note that these fundamental characteristics of opportunism in matters of organisation (autonomism, aristocratic or intellectualist anarchism, tail-ism, and Gironidism) are, *mutatis mutandis* (with appropriate modifications), to be observed in all the Social-Democratic parties in the world, wherever there is a division into a revolutionary and an opportunist wing

Kautsky, too, defines the basic tendencies of orthodoxy and revisionism in this sphere with the help of the "dreadful word": bureaucracy *versus* democracy. We are told, he says, that to give the Party leadership the right to influence the selection of candidates (for parliament) by the constituencies is "a shameful encroachment on the democratic principle, which demands that all political activity proceed from the bottom upward, by the independent activity of the masses, and not from the

What is the *implication* of "autocracy" in the Party, about which the dissatisfied "editors" clamour? Autocracy means the supreme, uncontrolled, non-accountable, non-elective rule of one individual. We know very well from the literature of the "minority" that by autocrat they mean *me*, and no one else. When the resolution

top downward, in a bureaucratic way.... But if there is any democratic principle, it is that the majority must have predominance over the minority, and not the other way round...." The election of a member of parliament by any constituency is an important matter for the Party as a whole, which should influence the nomination of candidates, if only through its representatives (*Vertrauensmänner*). "Whoever considers this too bureaucratic or centralists let him suggest that candidates be nominated by the direct vote of the Party membership at large [*sämtliche Parteigenossen*]. If he thinks this is not practicable, he must not complain of a lack of democracy when this function, like many others that concern the Party as a whole, is exercised by one or several Party bodies."

Thus you have, in a different environment, the same struggle between the opportunist and the revolutionary wing of the Party on the question of organisation, the same conflict between autonomism and centralism, between democracy and "bureaucracy", between the tendency to relax and the tendency to tighten organisation and discipline, between the mentality of the unstable intellectual and that of the staunch proletarian, between intellectualist individualism and proletarian solidarity.

The *Frankfurter Zeitung*, leading organ of the German stock exchange, published a thunderous editorial (*Frankfurter Zeitung*, April 7, 1904, No. 97, evening edition) which shows that shameless plagiarising of Axelrod is becoming a veritable disease with the German press. The stern democrats of the Frankfurt stock exchange lash out furiously at the "absolutism" in the Social-Democratic Party, at the "party dictatorship", at the "autocratic rule of the Party authorities" at the insistence on "blind obedience", "deadening discipline", "servile subordination", and the transforming of Party members into "political corpses" (that is a good bit stronger than cogs and wheels!). "All 'distinctiveness of personality', the knights of the stock exchange indignantly exclaim at the sight of the undemocratic regime among the Social-Democrats, 'all individuality is to be held in opprobrium."

One step forward, two steps back

Phrase-mongering amounted to asserting that it is sufficient to obtain "promises" about the abolition of factions, to compose the central bodies out of the most heterogeneous elements, to "balance" opposed elements, and an important step towards the abolition of factions will have been made.

The year's experience showed, as it could not fail to show, that the phrase-mongers' method was a complete failure. It is impossible to build anything on promises, it is ludicrous to base anything on the union of heterogeneous elements that are incapable of uniting. On the morrow of the plenum, everything in its decisions and measures that was based on *phrase-mongering* proved to be a soap-bubble. The decisions, resolutions and artificially composed bodies were *all in fact* a dead letter, lifeless institutions.

Formal and verbal "conciliation" has become a weapon of the *Golos* liquidators and Vperyodists.

It goes without saying that we, as representatives of the Bolshevik trend, cannot play this role of dupes. Having waited a whole year, having done everything possible through the pages of the Central Organ to make clear the anti-Party character of the Vperyodists, Golosists and Trotsky, *we cannot assume responsibility* before the Party for institutions which occupy themselves with "invitations" to the liquidators and formal correspondence on "business" raised by the Vperyodists. We want not squabbles but work.

We desire to work jointly with those who want to work in the Party spirit, and have actually proved their ability to do so.

Under such conditions, to continue playing at conciliation with these factional centres, to close one's eyes hypocritically to their independence, to "invite" their representatives for a joint fight against their own policy, to shield them in the eyes of the Party by accepting their members in the centres—means dooming oneself to hopeless squabbling. It means *putting a brake* on the work of the centres abroad.

To say what the position is means acknowledging that the attempt to abolish all factions has, unfortunately, been frustrated by the Golosists and Vperyodists, *but the rapprochement* of the basic core, of the really pro-Party elements of the two main factions, their closer alignment with the pro-Party elements of the nationals and non-factional Social-Democrats, has made a step forward. If Trotsky and similar advocates of the liquidators and otzovists declare this rapprochement "devoid of political content", such speeches testify only to Trotsky's entire lack of principle, the real hostility of his policy to the policy of the *actual* (and not merely confined to promises) abolition of factions.

No one can deny that these conditions have not been fulfilled by the Golosists and Vperyodists, in spite of the resolution they signed. Our formal right to *cancel* the agreement is therefore indisputable. By cancelling the agreement we proclaim an independent fight for the Party principle, independent work on building the Party *without those* who have proved by a year's experience their unwillingness to work on this, *together with those* Mensheviks and non-factionalists who have proved the opposite. If the agreement, which was directly and explicitly dependent on the Golosists and Vperyodists coming over to the pro-Party position, has proved to have been violated by *them*, it is our full right and our *duty* to cancel the agreement with people who have flouted the Party, and to seek all possible forms of closer alignment with people who support the Party.

Much more important than the formal aspect, however, is the factual state of affairs. Especially illuminating in this respect is the hypocrisy of the Golosists and Vperyodists, who both at the plenum and after it continued to make declarations in the press about their pro-Party attitude. The hypocrisy of such asseverations,

the glaring falsity of cries about a split on the part of *such* people, is so obvious that it is not worth wasting many words on it. It was the Golosists and the Vperyodists who created an actual split immediately after the plenum—or rather, who did not cease creating it despite their promises at the plenum; it was they who during the whole year continued this split, intensified it, and supported the *independence* from the Party of the group of Potresov and Co., the group of literati, the organisers of the "Machist" school, etc., etc. To allow such splitters to remain in the Party centres means the utter ruin of the Party's cause. To let the previous position remain, where these splitters took advantage of their presence in the Party centres to put a brake on all work, to *demoralise the Party from within* for the benefit of Mr. Potresov or the leaders of the "Machist" school, means to do tremendous, irreparable damage to the cause of Party unity.

Long ago it was said that not everyone who calls out "Lord, Lord" will enter the kingdom of heaven. And, after the experience of the plenum, we must repeat: not everyone who voices cheap phrases about partyism is really pro-Party. The Golosists and Vperyodists split the Party after the plenum. That is a fact. Trotsky was their advocate in this matter. That is also a fact.

An open letter to all pro-party social-democrats

Trotsky expressed conciliationism more consistently than anyone else. He was probably the only one who attempted to give the trend a theoretical foundation, namely: factions and factionism express the struggle of the intelligentsia "for influence over the immature proletariat". For a long time now, Trotsky—who at one moment has wavered more to the side of the Bolsheviks and at another more to that of the Mensheviks—has been persistently carrying on propaganda for an agreement (or compromise) between all and sundry factions.

The opposite view (see Nos. 2 and 3 of the *Diskussionny Listok**) is that the origin of the factions is to be traced to the relations between the classes in the Russian revolution.

In every single proposition, the alleged Bolsheviks (who in reality are *inconsistent* Trotskyites) echo Trotsky's mistakes.

Indeed, look at the main ideas contained in the message, Who are its authors? They say they are Bolsheviks who "do not share the organisational views of official Bolshevism". That looks as if it were an "opposition" *only* on the question of organisation, does it not?

Trotsky has been *deceiving* the workers in a most unprincipled and shameless manner by assuring them that the obstacles to unity were principally (if not wholly) of an organisational nature. This deceit is being continued in 1911 by the Paris conciliators; for to assert now that the organisational questions occupy the first place is sheer mockery of the truth. In reality, it is by no means the organisational question that is now in the forefront, but the question of the entire programme, the entire tactics and the whole character of the Party, or rather a question of two parties—The conciliators call themselves Bolsheviks, in order to repeat, a year and a half later (and specifically stating moreover that this was done in the name of Bolshevism as a *whole!*), Trotsky's errors which the Bolsheviks had exposed. Well, is this not an abuse of established Party titles? Are we not obliged, after this, to let all and sundry know that the conciliators are not Bolsheviks at all, that they have nothing in common with Bolshevism, that they are simply inconsistent Trotskyites?

What is the reason for the existence of factions in the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party? They exist as the continuation of the split of 1903-05. They are the result of the weakness of the local organisations which are *powerless* to prevent the transformation of literary groups that express new trends, big and small, into new "factions", i.e., into organisations in which internal discipline takes first place. How can the abolition of factions really be guaranteed?

Only by completely healing the split, which dates from the time of the revolution (and this will be brought about *only* by ridding the two main factions of liquidationism and otzovism), and by creating a proletarian organisation strong enough to force the minority to submit to the majority.

Hence, both the ideological merit of the Plenary Meeting and its *conciliationist error* become clear. Its merit was the rejection of the ideas of liquidationism and otzovism; its mistake was the agreement concluded indiscriminately with persons and groups whose deeds are not in accordance with their promises ("they signed the resolution").

The very *foundation* of conciliationism is false—the wish to base the unity of the party of the proletariat on an alliance of *all* factions, including the anti-Social-Democratic, non-proletarian factions; false are its unprincipled "unity" schemes which lead to nothing.

Trotsky provides us with an abundance of instances of scheming to establish unprincipled "unity". Recall, for example (I take one of the most recent instances), how he praised the Paris *Rabochaya Zhizn*,¹³⁶ in the management of which the Paris conciliators and the Golos group had an equal share. How wonderful!—wrote Trotsky—"neither Bolshevik, nor Menshevik, but revolutionary Social-Democrat". The poor hero of phrase-mongering failed to notice a mere bagatelle—only that Social-Democrat is revolutionary who understands how *harmful* anti-revolutionary pseudo-Social-Democracy can be in a given country at a given time.

Trotsky was merely *revealing* the plan of the liquidators whom he serves faithfully—*parity* on the Central Organ implies the termination of the *struggle* against the liquidators; the liquidators actually enjoy full freedom to fight the Party; and let the Party be *tied* hand and foot by the "parity" of the Golos and Party men on the Central Organ (and on the Central Committee). This would assure

complete victory for the liquidators and only their lackeys could pursue or defend such a line of action.

Instances of unprincipled "unity" schemes that promise peace and happiness without a long, stubborn, desperate struggle against the liquidators, were provided at the Plenary Meeting by Ionov Innokentiev, and other conciliators. We saw another such instance in the message of our conciliators who justify liquidationism on the grounds of Bolshevik "factionalism".

The new faction of conciliators or the virtuous ideological unity

The liquidator newspaper writes: "Social-Democracy constitutes a definite ideologically united body and those who do not subscribe to its ideas do not belong to it."

That is the truth, but not the whole truth, for Social-Democracy is not only an ideologically but also an organisationally united body. This can be forgotten only by liquidators, i.e., by those who refuse to recognise precisely the organised body, who ignore its will, flout its decisions, etc.

The liquidators have been strongly condemned in a number of decisions adopted by this, the only existing political organisation of the workers of Russia. They have been condemned for their intolerable, disruptive and schismatic attitude towards this organisation.

That explains why the liquidation newspaper, in discussing the question of organisation, concealed from its readers the fact that Social-Democracy represents not only an ideologically but also an organisationally united body. Operating in complete isolation from the organisation, flouting its decisions, making its very existence the subject of derision, the liquidators, naturally, prefer not to remind the workers of this.

But although the liquidator writer conceals this circumstance from his readers, he has nevertheless had to admit that those who do not subscribe to the ideas of the Social-Democratic organisation cannot possibly be regarded as belonging to it.

Both in their organisational activities and in their propaganda of non-Marxist ideas, the liquidators have gone beyond the bounds of Social-Democracy.

Social-Democracy is a definite organisationally united body and those who refuse to submit to the discipline of this organisation, who ignore it and flout its decisions, do not belong to it. Such is the basic rule.

But the liquidator who let the cat out of the bag is also right. He is right when he says that those who do not subscribe to Social-Democratic ideas do not belong to Social-Democracy.

Material on conflict within S.D. Duma group

The *Weekly Worker* Trots try their latest mud-stirring against the EPSR (after weeks of another failed policy, – attempting never to mention the *Review's* theoretical polemics ever again in the ostrich-like hope that this would make them go away) by pretending that analysing the philosophy of 'black sections' politics amounted to a public pursuit of internal SLP squabbles, – a supposed factionalising activity banned by the constitution, allegedly.

This is just an extension of the Midlands Trot silliness denouncing SLP decisions as 'dictatorship' and castigating the party which takes or supports them as 'hacks and clones'. The struggle to improve political understanding goes on non-stop in the SLP, – and all the more successfully and rapidly now for being rid of the reactionary backwardness of the petty-bourgeois individualist Trots who have given up their entryist takeover or been expelled.

The debate was had on black sections (and that would have been better but for the chaotic disruption forced on Congress by the conceited subjectivism of the Trots), and it still continues, not unhealthily so far. It would only become a matter for concern about 'factional' struggle if it started to interfere with consolidating Socialist Labour's appeal as an independent working-class party, dedicated to the abolition

of capitalism, and challenging New Labour on every front, where possible, – a great task which idiot Trot entryism deliberately tried to wreck on behalf of its middle-class "there is no monopoly of the truth" comfortable complacency which is in no hurry to get rid of capitalism.

There may yet be more factional disruption of the SLP, that remains to be seen. But healthy theoretical discussion will continue and grow as it has had to do since Socialist Labour was first thought of as a mere idea of a firm project more than three years ago.

The real philistines, of course, are the Trotskyites who throughout history have always shown the most complete sectarian woodenness on questions of theory, made incapable of scientifically learning from mistakes by their incurable petty-bourgeois class vulnerability.

They are in reality terrified by the idea of proletarian revolution, – the dictatorship of the proletariat, – and spend their life ferreting away at sectarian pseudo-science or just plain factional disruption, – all totally dominated by their own subjective-individualist interests.

Trotsky's wounded pride as a rejected would-be leader (after Lenin) spawned the bogus 'Marxist science' of the non-existent and never-to-exist 'political revolution', appealing to a class revo-

lution in all but name ('caste' was the mealy-mouthed substitute to describe Lenin's bureaucracy) but one where the dictatorship over the means of production (by the proletariat in the Soviet Union's case) did not change hands.

But self-evidently, to call for a 'revolution' in the Soviet workers state, where planned socialism was being built, could only mean one thing, – counter-revolution, – or the re-establishment of a capitalist bourgeoisie, – exactly as did happen when the bureaucracy finally overthrew itself (self-liquidated out of total revisionist bankruptcy). Even more moronically, present-day Trots still agitate for what effectively could only be counter-revolution in Cuba, and counter-revolution in China, etc. Congenital sectarian imbecility, or what? Why do we hear so little about whether the Trots are pleased or not about the results of their non-stop lifelong counter-revolutionary agitation against the Soviet bureaucracy, i.e. the Soviet workers state, building planned socialism, and doing quite a bit in its time to aid Third World anti-imperialist struggles??? Are they happy with the contribution to anti-imperialism and socialist development being made by Yeltsin's Russia???

The other Trot philosophical trick is just to ignore difficult or painful theoretical polemics. Trowned over their defeatist nonsense about IRA/Sinn Féin surrendering to British imperialism in Ireland (see other story), the CPGB Trots simply gave up trying to answer EPSR criticism of the *Weekly Worker's* ongoing stubborn muddleheadedness, determined to insist against all the evidence that no mere national-liberation struggle could possibly have defeated British imperialism. Why do they need this anti-historical nonsense? Purely because of their individualist conceit that only Trotskyite guru-ism of their own variety (about No 53)

could possibly successfully lead a revolutionary anti-imperialist mass struggle of any kind.

When not pursuing sectarian pseudo-science about non-existent 'political revolution', the Trots indulge in endless factionalising rigmarole such as the continuing saga of the Reading anti-SLP festa in January when several factions of failed entryists disrupted and factionalised each other for a day to feel out the best intrigues to engage in next.

Recriminations about who did what to who, and who said what to who, are still flying around in mind-numbing profusion. The latest salvoes are spread over two pages of the current *Weekly Worker*, much to do with 'exit factions' and door-keeping (but not connected).

This jamboree of 'democrats', all offended by so-called 'SLP bureaucracy', was not all sweetness and light:

It is possible, that John and Stan were excluded because they were thought to be members of the CPGB. I say "possible" because this is conjecture not proven fact.

There is a clear difference between being excluded because you are alleged to be a communist or alleged to be a supporter of the CPGB.

The second problem is that we are presented with the very powerful imagery of Stalin's secret police henchman Yagoda. Stalin's right hand man controlled the entrances to meetings. Yagoda, Carolyn Sikorski and Lee Rock are linked together. But why limit ourselves to only these three. What about the Gestapo or the SS who stood guard at the entrances to various prisons and concentration camps. What about Mark Fischer, who guards the entrance to CPGB seminars? What about other CPGBers who take a turn on guard duty? Is it really helpful to lump all or some of them together in a rather arbitrary way?

I have yet to hear of any organisation that does not have doorkeepers or stewards. Of course under communism not only will classes have been abolished but doorkeepers too.

Anybody will be able to go to any meeting, anywhere time or place. Lee Rock and Mark Fischer are unfortunate to have been born in class society and not communism. Consequently they or their comrades may be called upon to act as stewards and doorkeepers. In case anybody believes that the CPGB practices total and absolute openness at all their meetings, let me assure you that I wit-



nessed one person being physically ejected from a CPGB seminar (not by Mark). Door keeping, like war is a continuation of policy by other means.

The agreed agenda began with a debate over staying and building the SLP versus leaving the SLP. Afterwards an indicative vote would be taken. The meeting would then split into two. Those remaining in the SLP would meet to discuss the way forward for the SLP. At the same time the 'exit faction' would meet to set up their new group. After we would reconvene as one meeting to discuss future cooperation.

This plan was known to all participants at the meeting. *Marxist Bulletin* and the CPGB were not formally part of the Democratic Platform. In the case of the CPGB, it is an independent organisation and not a faction of the SLP. There was no reason to consult with the Provisional Central Committee. This did not prevent the PCC from writing to Martin Wicks and putting forward objections. They did not do so.

The planned structure for the meeting was known and accepted by all participants. Nobody objected at the start of the meeting to the structure of the agenda. The meeting therefore implicitly endorsed the plan around which the pro- and anti-exit factions of the Democratic Platform agreed. No SLP member, voided or not, was excluded from the meeting. Everybody present was allowed to speak

and vote.

When the first part of the meeting finished, there was a break, after which it was agreed to convene the separate meetings. *Marxist Bulletin*, SLP Republicans, some independents, plus those sympathetic to the CPGB, agreed to meet in one room. The reason for this was definite policy.

The CPGB, *Marxist Bulletin* and the SLP Republicans were in favour of staying in the SLP and were totally opposed to other comrades leaving to form a group. We were not in favour of disrupting or breaking up the other meeting. This would have been wrong in principle and counter-productive in practice.

It was suggested to me in the break that Stan and John try to go to the other meeting. I mistakenly went along with that on spurious libertarian grounds - 'If they will let you in why not?'. This was an error on my part that I freely acknowledge. But this in itself should not have been a problem. A polite request to attend and an acceptance or a polite refusal should surely have been the end of the matter. I did not realise that John would present the resulting refusal publicly in the *Weekly Worker* as an anti-communist plot, masterminded by Lee Rock, the jack-booted henchman of Martin Wicks.

The reason for the exclusion of Stan and John was in line with pre-agreed policy. The 'exit faction' were more than generous. They allowed John to address the meeting as to

why they should be allowed to attend. This was despite the fact that the SLP Republicans, *Marxist Bulletin* and the CPGB were totally opposed to what they were doing. The 'exit faction' then voted unanimously to ask them to leave. As far as I know this was carried out democratically and politely on all sides.

I am well aware that some members of the 'exit faction' are anti-CPGB and possibly one is anti-communist. This may have clouded their judgement. But Lee is neither anti-communist nor anti-CPGB. He disagrees with the CPGB, holding different views on programme and tactics. Whatever the disparate motives of various individuals in the 'exit faction' they were united on a common policy to hold separate meetings. This was accepted by SLP Republicans, *Marxist Bulletin*, independent lefts, all the Democratic Platform candidates, the 'exit faction' and as far as we can tell the CPGB.

We are not trying to guess what is in heads of each individual member of the 'exit faction'. We are dealing with the policies of definite organisations. Had Lee turned up to attend our meeting, I would have had no qualms about excluding him on the grounds that he was in favour of leaving the SLP. We did not hold our 'stay in the SLP' meeting in Reading for a general chat with Tom, Dick and Harry, but for the serious business of planning future work in the SLP.

Neither the SLP Republicans nor the *Marxist*

Bulletin sought to disrupt the 'exit faction' meeting that day. Despite the fact that Martin Wicks had behaved in a provocative fashion in the run up to the meeting, it was not our intention to reply in kind. We need to ask the PCC about their policy. Did they oppose the split into two meetings? Did they intend to disrupt the 'exit faction' meeting? Was it their plan to stage a provocation, ie try to enter the meeting knowing that they would be excluded, and then make political capital out of this by singling out Lee as a Stalinist and witch hunter? We need some answers from the PCC.

The 'exit faction' now call themselves Socialist Perspectives. The acid test of whether this is a sectarian organisation is not that they wanted to hold their own meeting. It is how they relate to other organisations on an open and honest political basis or on a petty bourgeois prejudice - 'We don't like this or that group so we are ignoring them'. The real test for Socialist Perspectives is whether they can establish proper political relations with the CPGB. If I was a betting man it is a test they will fail.

The only appropriate comment is: You couldn't make it up. The new pseudo-Marxist philosophy being applied here would seem to be: If you can't be an entryist, be an exitist! Roy Bull

'NO' to Labour's 'elected mayor' stunt. Use every election to OPPOSE and EXPOSE the Blair government's ENTIRE programme, – all pro-capitalist, and all leading the working-class towards the worst slump disaster in history, and all complete treachery to what an 'anti-Tory' party is supposed to represent. The boycott tactic is a feeble nonsense, dreamed up by posturing Trot academics. Their influence is making a fool of the London SLP. The London working class, and the serious-minded SLP comrades, deserve better. New Labour's whole 'devolution' game is a vicious fraud on workers.

[EPSR No946 14-04-98]

Blair's diversionary 'constitutional reforms', - including the gimmick of a 'big city boss' elected mayor for London, – **all** need exposing, and **all** need thoroughly opposing.

The fake-'left' proposal for a boycott of the May 7 referendum in London is a hopelessly inadequate and inappropriate response to New Labour's monstrous deception of the British public, and it will leave workers cold.

Government office was captured 12 months ago because fat-cat Tory sleaze, coupled with exploitation speed-up and increasingly unstable economic perspectives, had so totally alienated the electorate.

Planned stability and sweeping measures for restored social justice, – 'New Labour, New Britain', won a huge Commons majority for the Blairites, (but without a massive popular vote.)

Sound-bite propaganda and vague empty stunts were the

main ingredients of Labour's 'programme' which made the Blairites slightly less distrusted than the Tories.

The government's performance since has been even more abysmal than the very worst expectations which Leninism accurately outlined before the vote for this new phase of imperialist crisis.

Nothing has even been attempted for changing the way that the racketeering capitalist system is run. Just the opposite. Blair & Co have forced the country to become even more subservient to the dictates and values of anarchic and irrational 'market forces' than ever before.

Worse than that, this New Labour hierarchy has brazenly taken its chance to actively **join in** this fat-cat sleaze and corruption, openly spending small fortunes on its own ministerial accommodation and office comforts, and immediately being caught out selling influence in

return for financial favours.

Blair's barmy Christian moralising hypocrites are as big a bunch of crooks and opportunists as could ever have been imagined in anyone's wildest anti-reformist dreams. It is ludicrous to wait for **all** public opinion to catch up with what a sordid fraud this New Labour regime really is.

Workers deserve and need a strong lead **now** for saying how completely intolerable is this pro-capitalist **farce** that is going on in government, which is merely lining Britain up for maximum devastation from the international trade-war crisis currently bringing bankruptcy chaos to the Far East with sudden mass unemployment, food riots, and revolutionary agitation already.

What has idiotic tinkering with demagogic electoral structures for big-city local government got to do with these deadly serious world-capitalist economic problems now threatening the whole way of life of people in Britain?

It is just a stunt to divert people's attention from what is going on in the real world, or is possibly even a fascist-demagogue preparation precisely to help cope with the massive unrest which the authorities already know is going to be unleashed by the market crashes on the way.

Either road, Blair's insulting 'constitutional reform' nonsense needs blasting aside with contempt with the hugest '**No**' vote possible. "Deal with the real issues of capitalist crisis. Stop playing irrelevant constitutional games. No to Blair's worthless referendum. No to big-city bossism. Abolish capitalism instead."

The boycott tactic is ludicrously feeble as a way of denouncing Blairism at this first great hustings opportunity to expose

the utter worthlessness and irrelevance of Labour's entire programme in such a high-profile campaign.

'**No**' to Blair's side-tracking constitutional fiddling, which in any case would be incapable of changing things much either way in the midst of the greatest imperialist economic crisis in all history, is the answer.

The Blairites have a huge majority in Parliament, in theory well capable of tackling the capitalist crisis via immediate closure of the anarchic private markets and instituting a planned socialist economy and planned social justice immediately.

So why let Blair get away with this rotten conning gimmick of possibly having a Tory reactionary like Jeffrey Archer elected as London supremo in order only to help further confuse the working class about digging out the real culprits for their growing difficulties, – namely the capitalist crisis and its facilitators with central government power who refuse to do anything about it.

'**No**' to all gimmicks and to all further confusion. Increasingly, all local government elections provide just one overwhelming opportunity, – the chance to say '**No**' to the capitalist way of doing things and to the current regime of mismanagement.

Boycott abstentions are a feeble way of saying '**No**'. An active revolutionary boycott, in revolutionary circumstances, might be a possible tactic in certain conditions, but mostly in Bolshevik and Communist history, the boycott tactic has been considered inappropriate. The general policy has been to take part in all bourgeois hustings in order to denounce the system that is running them, – and better done by

standing candidates rather than by calling for abstentions.

Workers will see the point of voting ‘No’ to Blair’s rotten gimmick-ridden regime, fronting for the capitalist dictatorship, in whatever it does. Just keep on voting ‘No’ to Blairism in **all** that it does. Workers will be less clear about what “**Don’t vote**” is telling them.

The rationalisation for the boycott is the weakest part of it of all, claiming that voting ‘No’ means ‘supporting the status quo’. What utter childish nonsense. This is the ‘logic’ of the madhouse.

Blair is in office supposedly to create a completely ‘New Britain’. To do that, he must abolish all capitalist anarchy and corruption, i.e. abolish all capitalism. His government does nothing of the sort. Instead it asks Londoners in a total diversion: ‘Would you like a directly-elected mayor?’

The answer is obvious. ‘No’. ‘Do something about the capitalist crisis instead’. Only in academic armchair-socialist fantasy land does that indicate that voting ‘No’ means satisfaction with the current capitalist status quo.

If anything, the boycott would be far more likely to convey to workers that those agitating for it are not too bothered about the existing capitalist order since the argument for a boycott runs “No to big bossism. Give us a ‘real council’ instead” – which would mean London being run by capitalism just the same.

What ‘proper choice’ could the capitalist system offer workers anyway? To boycott the referendum so as to agitate for a referendum with a ‘wider choice’, but still set up by Blair’s totally pro-capitalist regime, could not be more calculated to create illusions in workers’ minds.

What is supposed to be so ‘democratic’ or marvellous about capitalism run by a parliamentary (or council) capitalist ‘democratic’ regime as opposed to a presidential (or city boss) capitalist ‘democratic’ regime?

Exaggerating any differences all the way to agitating for a boycott of a referendum (to introduce elected mayoralities) so as to

insist on a non-elected council-leader regime, – can sow nothing but the most idiotic illusions in the entire capitalist ‘democratic’ racket.

A proposed London SLP leaflet calling for a boycott makes matters even worse by implying that a ‘real choice’ on these constitutional diversions could “put power in the hands of the people”. This is lunacy. It puts the cart before the horse in such a naive way that it is almost imbecile.

No constitutional permutations in the world will put “power in the hands of the people” under a capitalist system. And until a recruiting box at the bottom, this London SLP leaflet makes no mention of the SLP programme to abolish capitalism at all.

Even in this recruiting box, the main SLP activity is said to be “our campaign for a democratic republic”, which elsewhere is described as “the only way in which power can be returned to the people”. This is gibberish. The SLP will make a laughing stock of itself with serious-minded people in London with this sort of rubbish.

“Go to the polling booth and spoil your ballot paper”, it declares. Most workers will just scratch their heads.

But the SLP has set itself up for this problem by its equally naive line on the other bourgeois-democracy diversions of devolution for Scotland and Wales.

Certainly the **right** to self-determination can be acknowledged for almost any national or cultural entity, but in real life conditions, nothing is ever so simple. With all of the constitutional gimmickry now being played around such questions of Scots and Welsh independence and English regional autonomy, the SLP itself needs to take a class-war attitude towards various imperialist or bourgeois diversionary stunts and state its view on what would be the best policy on these matters **in the interests of the working class as a whole, as presently constituted under a centralised imperialist ‘democracy’**.

Just doing ‘what the local com-

rades want’ could be the worst mistake possible for the SLP’s national image, as could arise from this presumably ‘autonomous’ London fiasco.

A firm policy is needed against Blair’s utterly fraudulent ‘devolution’ gimmick on Scotland and Wales. A firm policy is equally needed against the SNP’s disgustingly chauvinist blather which can only make the imperialist-system control over Scotland **harder** to shift, – and **harder** to shift therefore in a ‘devolved’ or separated England.

Capitalism in Britain has been run by a multi-national bourgeois ruling class for at least 300 years. The working-class struggle to overthrow it has been integrated for nearly 200 years. History is now coming towards the climax of long-running catastrophic inter-imperialist crisis epoch. A united working class in this fight is the greatest prize. Is the SLP so naive that it cannot grasp the decadent 1998 British imperialist government’s interest in the ‘devolution’ gimmick to **split** the potentially powerfully-united working class? Are people still so naive as to believe that a totally pro-capitalist corrupted ‘reformist’ government of sick British imperialism in 1998 is seriously concerned about the ethnic sensitivities of **any** workers, even if they are not Black or Asian workers that New Labour still allows to be booted around by the police, the courts, and by racism and exploitation generally?

Blair & Co could not give a damn about Scots or Welsh workers (any more than Labour could about Irish people suffering under the temporary continuation of colonial tyranny in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, – now at last to be dismantled but for entirely other reasons than the wellbeing and nationalist sensitivities of the Irish who were monstrously trapped at bayonet point in 1921 behind the infamously artificial ‘Northern Ireland’ colonial border (see separate story)).

These Blairite stooges for ailing British imperialism need to run an entire government programme by empty propaganda stunts because **nothing can be done about the imperialist economic crisis** which is going to screw everybody shortly. Diversions and stunts of all kinds are desperately needed.

This bogus ‘devolution’ and ‘constitutional change’ programme is a perfect cover for the Blair government to do absolutely **nothing** about the inter-imperialist trade-war crisis other than to prepare the whole working class to bear **all** its coming burdens, but to be disarmed meanwhile by entirely cosmetic ‘constitutional’ gimmickry.

To allow the entire SLP to fall

into this trap without a voice, – via allowing local Scots or Welsh or London SLP members naively to swallow this completely bogus ‘devolution’ red herring, – is sad indeed.

The abstract absolute ‘right’ to self-determination remains. But the concrete reality of imperialism, on the run and needing gimmicks to survive with by disarming and diverting workers towards empty devolutionary chauvinism, needs to be met with a firm SLP policy **lead**.

The working class in Glasgow virtually boycotted spontaneously this Blairite fraudulent referendum, in spite of most of the Trots (and the SLP sadly) being ‘for’ this joke devolution, (and unconnected with a tiny minority Trot position for an ‘active boycott’).

With a decent **lead** from a serious-minded workers party, this spontaneous working-class boycott could have produced a Glasgow majority **against** Blair’s rotten gimmick.

As it is, this bogus ‘devolution’ nonsense is now hurtling firmly into the bog from whence it originated, – the deluded ‘nationalist solution’ to the increasingly intolerable imperialist crisis (in Scotland’s case, an entirely different matter from Occupied Ireland in that the integrated British ruling class, British working class, and British economy has been freely accepted in Scotland for more than 200 years, with the Scots ruling class and political leaders, and trade-union leaders, usually outperforming the English in personal terms).

What would any amount of ‘devolution’ or even full ‘independence’ give a capitalist Scotland that it has not got already? Virtually nothing. The same Scots ruling class would be in charge as now, the same Scots political leaders, the same Scots trade-union leaders. **and the same international inter-imperialist trade-war crisis** would rule too, – only this time under the useful confusing cover of mounds of utterly useless Scots ‘devolutionary’ nonsense (in the light of Blairite and SNP determination to be relentlessly pro-capitalist, and of Trot and other ‘left’ naiveness about how to fight the imperialist crisis.)

Many of the Trot petty-bourgeois are now going openly Scots Nationalist in their shallow opportunist politics (*Militant*, for example), and other sects have been totally disoriented by confused dallying with nationalist opportunism (CPGB for example), – just as the *EPS Review* explained would happen ages ago. There is now no socialist-Marxist party giving Scottish workers a lead out of this reactionary chauvinist swamp of trivial confusion



called 'devolution'.

Imperialist crisis will continue whatever happens. And the socialist revolution will remain the only possible answer to imperialist crisis. And in a temporarily continuing 'imperialist world', a British socialist revolution would have far better chances of surviving international imperialist intervention and sabotage than a Scottish socialist revolution on its own would have (assuming Scots workers, independently, could even overcome all the devolutionary chauvinist nonsense now being piled on their heads).

The SLP's constitutional confusion would seem to owe much to these sick and confused Trot influences, especially in London where the committee is still strongly CPGB-influenced.

This 'constitutional republicanism' is an obscure fetish with this *Weekly Worker* sect, arising from a completely academic fixation on 'programmatic unity' as opposed

to real-life class-political unity on current international anti-imperialist issues.

These sterile weirdos believe that once a detailed 'programme' has been adopted, then fundamentally opposed class-revolutionary positions on Cuba, say, or China, or what the Soviet Union meant historically, etc, no longer matter. Thus, the Trot nonsense about a 'political revolution' to overthrow Castro (a counter-revolution in Cuba, in other words) is compatible (within the same party) with an attitude that Cuba is a revolutionary workers state which should be **unconditionally** supported in all its dealings with imperialism and that all counter-revolutionary agitation against Castro's regime should be drummed completely out of workers political circles in Britain, or anywhere else, according to these 'programme' fetishists.

And once abstractions rule about a 'perfect programme', then

a federal republican constitution can be dreamed up in no time as the 'perfect' constitutional aim of the 'perfect' programme.

As with all subjective idealism (the philosophy of the petty bourgeoisie), agitation for these 'perfect' formulas squeezes out all living, changing materialist experience of actual political class war. Thus, the opportunity and need to blast Blair's insulting and treacherous gimmickry with a resounding '**No**' on May 7 is completely unnoticed by these dilettante academics in favour of peddling their fondest (and frequently book-published) obsessions (the money always comes in handy, and any fame or notoriety is absolute lifeblood to such gurus).

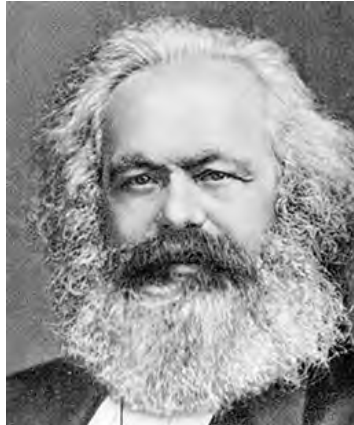
Boycotting Blair's London referendum is a particularly favourite fetish at the moment with those CPGB activists who have stayed on inside the SLP. The *Weekly Worker* is currently

swanking about how its 'boycott' posturing has now won over the London SLP, and also the London Socialist Alliance where "a comrade from the SLP, there as an unofficial observer, reinforced the view that a boycott campaign could help to unite the left".

The posturing confusion of this middle-class dilettantes 'left' swamp was summed up by ex-SLP Ian Driver's keynote contribution and summing up to the Socialist Alliance gathering (which adopted the boycott because "no" might be seen as support for the present system" in the swamp's make-believe logic.)

"The old GLC, for all its faults, did act as a redistributive mechanism," declared Driver. A plainer nostalgia for 'left' reformist delusions could not be imagined. No wonder this swamp cannot grasp the need to say '**No**' to all Blair's deceitful gimmickry as loudly as possible.

Adam Carr



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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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