

1. Labour's NATO-jingoist shambles is essential part of warmongering capitalist decline. Let Labour collapse.

2. Parliamentary farce and TUC reaction herald fascist-imperialist crisis. 'Left' Trot illusions in Labour threaten working class. Moscow revisionism just as misleading. Leninism deliberately undermined.

3. 'Left' swamp covers up for Kinnock's opportunist bankruptcy. Anti-Marxist philistines prolong monopoly-bourgeois 'democracy' fraud, - ignoring drift to inter-imperialist World War III. Dangerous degeneracy of pro-Labour 'entryism' and of CP revisionism's illusion that "Labour government better than Tory government". Especially difficult conditions now for fight for theory.

4. Labour has worse record of imperialist-colonialist reaction than the Tories. Idiot delusions about 'peaceful' road to 'socialism' and about real attitude of workers to electoral racket. Revisionist defeatism is enemy of Leninist theory. Learning lessons of 1930s revolutionary setbacks now vital. No 'downturn' for world socialist revolution, - only for petty-bourgeois pessimism.

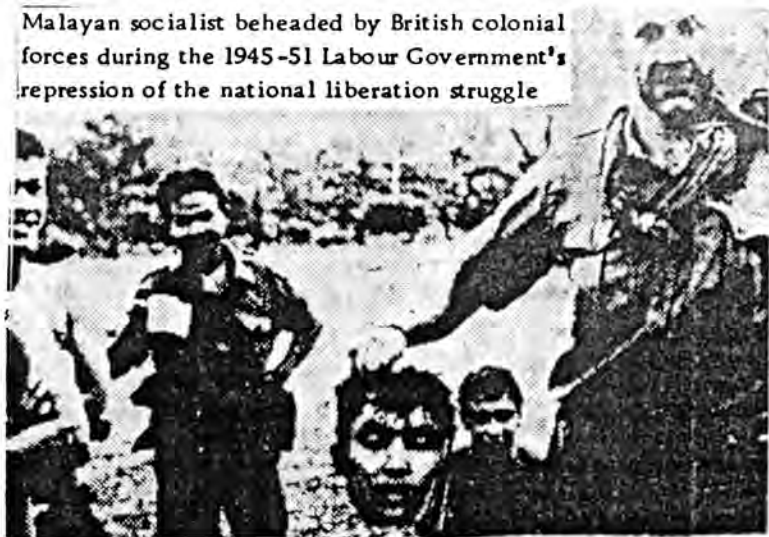
5. How the swamp misrepresents Lenin's tactics for revolutionary replacement of Labour. Labourite role far removed now from 'Menshevik' problem of the 1920s.

6. The welfare state 'reforms' changed nothing of capitalism's boom-slump degeneracy but merely let Labour join the Establishment, running imperialism. Only revolution can end the constant capitalist phenomenon of slums and all other social divisiveness & privilege, - in education, careers, social advantage, etc. The more protests against the slump & permanent mass unemployment the better, - but only with proletarian dictatorship as the aim, -and not the revival of ludicrous TU 'closed-shop' class-collaboration. Only behind a tested Leninist movement can the real fight begin against capitalist decay - a revolutionary fight. Welfare state illusions have castrated the Trot/CP swamp. 'New' reformist aggressiveness by feminists, CND, homosexuals, Greens, black nationalists, etc, is just as big a diversion from revolutionary Leninism. All reformism & 'municipal socialism' is inevitably as corrupt as the decaying capitalist society it seeks to play a leading role in.

ILWP £2  
Books  
vol 10

P&P Bulletin Publications  
PO Box 76261, London SW17 1GW  
email: contact@epsr.org.uk

Malayan socialist beheaded by British colonial forces during the 1945-51 Labour Government's repression of the national liberation struggle



Reformist 'socialism' is finished. Down with 'labour movement traditions'. For class war against anti-communism & against collaboration with imperialism. Proletarian dictatorship is the only worthwhile democracy.



British troops sent in to brutalise the Aden colony by Wilson's first Labour Government (just before ordering the military re-occupation of the colonized zone of Ireland). 1967. Aden

Introduction  
Labour Conference capitulation to rule by tele-ad committee and Chariots of Fire commercials is fitting end to 'reformism's' rotten history  
The end to the old Labour game of fooling the working class now clearly in sight

The 'reformist' Establishment left no one in doubt after the 1987 Conference that they will wreck the union-federated Labour Party, -continuing the work of Jenkins, Owen, Williams & other former leaders, -rather than allow it to be taken over by anti-imperialist policies.

The late feeble flourish by the unilateralists only confirmed rather than disputed this reality:-

(a) it was accompanied by yet another motion giving Kinnock & Co full authority to re-write defence policy (as all others); (b) Ruddock's mealy-mouth formula in fact accepted using nuclear weapons as an anti-communist threat against Soviet socialism; (c) any remaining traces of social pacifism mixed in with the obviously dominant social chauvinism of Labour will be no real embarrassment to imperialism, -especially when the old Labour movement is wrecked into still more smaller pieces like the SDP and UIM split-offs already inflicted

The Benn-Scargill social pacifism is in any case useless to the revolutionary socialist cause of the working class, as well as now standing no realistic chance of ever becoming possible even in the illusion-filled surface appearance of things which the 'left' swamp loves pretending about (apart from never having been possible in reality).

Social pacifists had nuisance value against inter-imperialist warmongering, -especially in World War I, -but Le-

press hate campaigns (i.e. BBC, ITV, Times, Telegraph, Guardian, etc) against 'Argies', Irish Republicans, Iranians, Libyans, or whatever other 'terrorist enemy' of British imperialist state interests needed fitting up, -are recent examples of how the capitalist propaganda machine easily handles the initial stages of the sought-for warmongering atmosphere.

The even more blatantly racist of the utterly gutter press (Sun-Star, Mail, Mirror, etc) against 'Arab pigs', Pakistani immigrants, black thugs, etc shows the ever-present potential of the 'parliamentary democracy' imperialist system to go even further towards open fascist dictatorship should the need arise.

It is equally obvious that the rampant social chauvinism of the Labour Party, which effortlessly stifled all anti-imperialist struggle at the 1987 Conference, will not only be no obstacle to all this reactionary rotteness oozing out of every joint of the class-collaborating imperialist system, -but will actually strive to capture the leadership of this fascist-warmongering degeneracy, -just as it has always led the way in the brutal repression of the Irish national-liberation struggle (see below); and just as it responds to Spycatcher revelations of British Gestapo wrongdoing by demands for even firmer suppression of 'traitors like Wright' and for more vigilant 'defence of our national secrets & interests'; and just as it backed the Falklands warmongering by claiming 'We would have not got into Argie invasion difficulties in the first place' etc.

Even the remaining harmless social pacifist posturers around Labour all use the well-known code language to show that they are basically 'dependable' citizens when they invariably answer 'yes' to the question: 'But does not Britain have genuine security interests which must

be kept secret?'

Only genuine revolutionaries who above all anticipate the civil-war overthrow of the British capitalist state in the course of imperialism's forthcoming warmongering degeneracy, -will gladly answer 'no' to such a question.

Every opportunist section around the Labour Party, - Black, Asian, feminist, pacifist, workerist, etc, - gives its coded signal in one way or another on this type of question to indicate that when the ultimate test of class-collaborating reliability is put - ("are you for the 'maintenance of democratic order' & public safety, or are you for 'revolutionary chaos'") - they will be found 'loyal'.

Such petty-bourgeois anti-Leninist anti-revolutionary 'loyalty expressions' can sometimes take the weirdest forms such as reactionary Asians sympathising with National Front segregation agitation around Dewsbury schools in order to secure 'proper Muslim denominational schools for ourselves', etc; or reactionary feminists letting warmongering imperialism off the hook on its arms-race anti-communist degeneracy with a sneer of 'bullying male chauvinists on either side playing with their weapons-toys'; or Black Nationalists identifying with Rambo-Fijian racism in order to write-off anti-nuclear imperialism in the South Pacific on the grounds that 'national cultural identity is the most important thing for every country' etc.

What all this coded language is telling the authorities is that when the final revolutionary class confrontations begin, -the pacifists, feminists, Muslim Fundamentalists, Black Nationalists, etc, will not be on the side of Leninism.

The 'left' swamp (Trotskyists, other entryists, CP affiliates of various kinds, etc) either directly & openly propping up this federated Labour Conference

illusion & treachery, disarming the working class, -or else living vicariously off of its false & unfulfilled promises like the SWP, -will never expose or disown this philistine anti-Leninist mess out of fear of being left stranded and having its own anti-revolutionary essence revealed. The swamp cringes from having to tell British trade-unionist philosophy to its face that it is backward & bourgeois-reactionary. It will tail-end for ever rather than let the unilateralists know that they are ultimately useless fence-sitting pacifist warmongers. It will accommodate every last scrap of reactionary feminist diversion rather than risk being called 'male chauvinist'. And the swamp will do anything rather than challenge Black Nationalism over its petty-bourgeois sectarianism and hostility to theory.

Thus the whole Labour circus and 'federated labour movement' myth will slither effortlessly ever-deeper into national-chauvinist reaction until finally confronted by a mass revolutionary upheaval which can only develop successfully out of the fight for revolutionary theory begun by the ILWP.

Either collectively dominated by Labour Establishment chauvinism, or split into even more useless unrepresentative factions, the labour & trade union movement and the 'left' swamp will capitulate completely in effect to the national warmongering-jingoist mood which the imperialist crisis will impose on every capitalist state.

The greatest retreat by Labour is not in fact on the unilateral disarmament posture as such but on much more fundamental questions of social & economic structure posed by a genuine anti-imperialist struggle.

The labour & trade union movement has now been chased away completely from any further thought of seriously challenging largescale private monopoly-financial power ever again,

This stampeding capitulation to 'yuppie' propaganda hysteria (see below, i.e. article in Bulletin 413) is capitalism's greatest triumph and sleight of hand, coming as it does just on the eve of the greatest series of market crashes in imperialist history. By which time, of course, the flag-waving, warmongering, jingoist, trade-war hysteria will have taken over from the hope-filled 'share-owning democracy' hysteria.

Imperialism needed to obliterate any serious illusions of 'reformist' socialism succeeding through 'parliamentary democracy' in time to coincide with capitalism's warmongering descent into trade-war jingoism to which unchallenged Labour social chauvinism is the acceptable echo or 'Opposition Shadow'. During 130 years of British imperialist security (relatively speaking), there was more room to manoeuvre using the seductive attractions of 'socialist' policies, passed at Conference' to keep militant workers nibbling harmlessly at Labour's 'left' carrot. There was always MI5 to make sure nothing ever actually went wrong from imperialism's point of view from any 'left' Labour government in office. But now with such dramatically high stakes to play for of the 'all-or-nothing' degeneration into World War III in which British imperialism could face extinction, nothing can be left to chance any more.

A similar process of polarisation is now widespread throughout the world imperialist crisis, - particularly striking in the Philippines where Kinnoek's like-minded posturer Cory Aquino can no longer be safely allowed to pose as a 'progressive democrat' in circumstances which have already matured towards the point of revolutionary explosion: - either communist dictatorship or fascist dictatorship must prevail over insoluble class contradictions. Aquino is being forced, to either declare herself for renewed fas-

cist-military dictatorship, - or else be branded a 'communist sympathiser' as is happening to all her cabinet & advisers under pressure of repeated military coup attempts.

Similarly, - but at an earlier stage of crisis in Britain, Labour must be safely hobbled. First split Labour via the Jenkins/Owen SDP and the UDM; then give Labour severe electoral beatings after unprecedented witch-hunting press hysteria (against Scargill & the NUM 'enemy within' etc); and then impose total obedience under an opportunist social-chauvinist reptile like Kinnoek.

It could never last long under another period of 40-year capitalist boom of free-and easy political illusions. But it does not need to. It only needs last until the unanswerable jingoist flag-waving hysteria of WWII national-chauvinism can be safely got under way, subsuming all potentially troublesome 'democratic' differences in its flood. And after the deluge of WWII, - what will the pre-deluge lies & treachery of Labour's final humiliation matter anyway?

Rubbishing Labour's 'reformist socialism' posture seems a daft thing to do from imperialism's point of view since it has been such an effective tool for disarming the working class so safely for so long. But in desperate times, even more desperate & blunt measures are called for to make absolutely certain the 'Labour Opposition' causes no real problems as the Western world degenerates into inter-imperialist WWII. Smashing Labour Conference illusions in this way is going to bear the heavy price of driving more workers towards Leninism, ultimately. But not fast enough, it is calculated, to prevent the capitalist rivals from getting real warmongering going. And once the jingoistic flags of war are waving everywhere, waves of national-chauvinist hysteria will

quickly swamp every 'left' protest raised against the mayhem. And it is hoped, more 'victory' triumphs like the Falklands will have been crowned before revolutionary Leninism has had any chance to spread real anti-war and anti-imperialist struggle.

The miscalculation which at least half of the imperialist states will make will be of their own 'victory'. At least half of them must in fact lose. And it is on the degenerate disasters of inter-imperialist war that communist revolution has principally advanced. And will do so again.

Kinnoek's fraud of a 'thoroughgoing policy review' plus opinion-poll selection of candidates (inevitably dominated by current prejudices in the mass capitalist media) puts the finishing touches to the burial of dreams of 'reformist socialism'.

It now only remains necessary to wipe out clause IV completely from the Labour constitution (committed to the ending of classes in Britain by the public ownership & planning of the entire economy) for the dying international imperialist system's warmongering counter-revolution to have made safe its British 'parliamentary' act.

The cowardly class-collaborating 'traditions' of the labour & trade-union movement have now been tamely cowed out of all remaining thought of any revolutionary challenge to the decadent & corrupt bourgeoisie (i.e. by taking their ill-gotten & ill-used property away from them).

So dictated-to now is the whole spineless 'reformist' mess by the relentless blitz of the monopoly-imperialist press & television against socialism and communism that Labourites hardly even dare mention 'nationalisation' any more, - that feeble elastoplast for sick capitalist industry which came nowhere near challenging the real monopoly-finance power of

the imperialist bourgeoisie, and was never intended to.

The tyranny of opinion-poll politics is now so all-powerful within Labourism and its Trot & CP hangers-on, entryists, & affiliates, that total brain-washing is suspected on what the capitalist 'free market' system has really meant to the 20th century in terms of inter-imperialist world wars, colonial barbarism, slump-fascism & mass unemployment, vicious arms-race intrigues & interventions against the national-liberation struggle & world socialist revolution, etc.

It is precisely to prepare the 'free West' capitalist world for degeneration back into slump, fascism, and inter-imperialist World War III that this unprecedented media brain-washing and political stunts (SDP, UDM, etc) have been unleashed to stifle every last hint of socialist revolt within the bogus game of 'parliamentary opposition'. The ruling covert war/secret police circles in the West are leaving nothing to chance in their determination to impose warmongering fascism rather than lose their international economic exploitation system to the world socialist revolution.

But from the dull wits of Labourite circles and their advertising copywriters who live only in fear of offending the latest ridiculously-shallow media 'opinion polls', it could only be concluded that the Western imperialist bourgeoisie (which has now imposed nearly a century of unparalleled holocaust in its attempts to hold onto its 400-year-rule of the planet, and in the last decades has imposed the most sickening & dangerous arms-race in history) does not even exist. Miraculously it has suddenly been 'replaced' by nothing more threatening than similar groups of advertising copywriters on the other side, - all 'harmlessly' engaged in trying to present the-

ir product as the best - just like Labour now does.

This monstrous fantasy-world in which these Labourite petty-bourgeois idealists live reaches its most blatant & abysmal expression exactly in those decisive moments (like the current conference and the recent election) when the would-be 'alternative government' of the country has all attention focused on how 'differently' it allegedly could manage things, and how much 'better' it allegedly understands things, - but always says absolutely NOTHING about the actual international class-war issues posed at that very instant, - deliberately so because the party of parliamentary posturing obviously wants to commit itself least of all on matters of real class-war conflict.

Not a person in Britain has the faintest idea of how the Labour Party analyses the Gulf War and the NATO-warmongering crisis now added to it, - both questions raging fiercely throughout the election campaign. No understanding will be presented during conference about the generous treatment given by the Western media (and the West generally) to the racist military dictator-thug Rambo uka in Fiji, - not exactly the response the West offered General Jaruzelski who had real reason to impose martial law (to thwart the fascist counter-revolutionary subversion financed & organised by the Vatican & CIA around the fanatical followers of Pilsudski, Poland's parallel of Hitler). Rambo uka is facing nothing more menacing than that a mixed-race Labour coalition has been voted into power by the island's Indian majority to continue normal bourgeois-parliamentary government. But it suits the West to encourage (secretly) his melanesian racist-fascism because the Bavandra government might join the pacifist mood in the South Pacific for a nuclear-free zone and 'no

entry' to US & NATO at-omic warships. Where does Labour stand on all this filthy Rambo-fascist culture now dominating the West? An entire conference, - supposedly the highest forum of any party, - will pass by with no outspoken commitments on this or anything else.

Western warmongering racist-jingoism, - now at its height in the Gulf with daily new 'Gulf of Tonkin'-type provocations by the NATO-imperialist forces to try to create an excuse to invade Iran, - will not even be identified by the Labour Conference farce, let alone condemned

Kinnock boasted of four new black Labour MPs as 'symbolic of our commitment to a multi-cultural society' and even boasted that Labour not only made pious statements against racism but actively campaigned against it. But not one word did Kinnock utter about the current great racist stunt being pumped up by the capitalist state in Dewsbury, - just as Labour has taken no stand locally against the fascist meddling stirring this issue, or against the whole rotten tradition of denominational schooling which gave the racists their leverage to demand a 'proper Church of England educational atmosphere' and the black nationalists the chance to reply with calls for properly Muslim denominational schools - a potential minefield of religious & cultural bigotry & divisiveness which has lasted through eight Labour governments since 1924 and unbroken decades of political power locally in most big cities.

The platform reply on the Irish question was another sample, - to take just one more example, - of the sheer disgraceful feebleness & incompetence of the Labour NEC's political backwardness, from which in reality Kinnock hardly distinguishes himself at all with his muddled windbaggy and breathtaking lying hypocrisy.

4 One longwinded pass-

age, for instance, tried to explain that Labour should not be upset by illusions of affluence under Thatcherism because if misery was needed to get to socialism, then we're better off without it!

After all Kinnock's phony tear-jerking rhetoric about the poor, the old, and the disadvantaged, - the only possible meaning of this mind-boggling eachwaybet 'logic' is that there is no real poverty or social disaster any more under capitalism, - which disgusting complacency exactly chimes in with Gould's advertising-committee wish to match the mindless 'Sid' in appealing to the allegedly coming-majority of Yuppie shareholders, or to the '£400-a-week docker with a house, a car, a micro, and a video, and a small place near Marbella' quoted by Kinnock, echoing Ron Todd, TGWU boss, as being the now 'typical' working man who could no longer be appealed to with the approach: 'Let Labour take you out of your misery'.

Not surprisingly, Kinnock was frequently heckled for this shallow drivel. Labour Conference must now be one of the most backward, narrow-minded, unrepresentative gatherings anywhere in Britain, but even these hypocritical opportunists and anti-Leninist philistines mildly revolted at the stench of Kinnock & Co complacently enjoying their Labour Establishment perks, dreaming of the continued high rewards of office, and not giving a damn, or knowing about, the real revolutionary social crisis brewing in Britain and throughout the decaying Western imperialist system.

Conditions causing the inner-city riots in Britain may not yet have reached the depths of pointlessness, exploitation, and despair fuelling revolution in the Philippines El Salvador, South Korea, South Africa, Indian sub-continent, Chile, occupied Ireland, occupied Palestine, etc, but they are part of the same international capitalist economic crisis which has yet to

begin its serious decline through Wall Street Crash, all-out trade war, doubling of international unemployment, degeneration into open fascist-jingoism and inter-imperialist warmongering (leading to World War III) in every capitalist country.

Despite Kinnock's airy gestures & promises of sustained anti-Thatcher rhetoric, Labour cannot even grasp the Spycatcher issue firmly and hammer the Tories on the government's most ludicrous stand on imperialism's most embarrassing exposure: - fascist police-state spying on its own working class, and preparations to wipe out 'democracy' on the spot by bourgeois-establishment coup if 'parliament' becomes a threat to entrenched interests (Rambouka trained at the British Gestapo schools, as did Idi Amin, Dictator Zia, etc). But Labour once again ducks this burning question too, - although Conference coincides with a peak of Tory humiliation and criminality, - because the Labour Establishment traditions are themselves as much up to their necks in past acts of barbarism & corruption by British imperialism's secret police-military dictatorship as are the Tories (see ILWP Books vols 7, 9, & 10).

Labour's nazi-Gestapo record on Ireland alone (the death squads, torture barracks, concentration camps, the initial military invasion, the police-state Prevention of Terrorism Act, the frame-up trials of the Birmingham pub bombers etc, no-jury courts, midnight terror raids on Irish communities in the occupied zone, rubber-bullet murders, supergrass fit-ups, capitulation to the MI5-run 'Ulster workers' strike', etc) - matters all close to Wright's memoirs material, - shows why the Labour Establishment dare not now take advantage of Thatcher's ridiculous catastrophe over Spycatcher because they are all as implicated in the treacherous wrongoings as any Tor-

ies ever were. It also shows why Labour can only ever be a hollow shell when it comes to really defending the proletariat in the class war, and why its Conference debates are always such stupidly pointless lacklustre affairs, as for instance on Ireland, - filled only with ignorance hypocrisy & treachery.

Kinnock & Conference were just as silent on other burning issues of Rambo-criminal Western nazi aggression; - on the widespread CIA-Pentagon death squads revealed this week by the Washington Post, at work assassinating leaders & overthrowing governments all over the world, financed by untraceable Saudi \$bn; on the illegally-funded killer Contras massacring socialist Nicaragua; on the anti-Iran provocations like the New York 'stolen shirt' and the Manchester 'stolen socks' frame-ups; on Reagan's financing of the UNITA assassins currently protected by frontline South African apartheid troops invading socialist Angola; and on other fascist death squads propped up all over the world by the 'freedom-loving NATO powers. Any serious challenge to this 'free West' fascist filth at Conference or by Kinnock, - and the creaking farcical block-vote mechanism would collapse with heart-failure at such an affront to its class-collaborating routines.

The 'left' cover for Labour is just as sterile. Hobsbawm's tame 'Marxist' support urged acceptance of 'post-Thatcherite' market disciplines just as Gorbachev had to 'disrupt old habits', - muddling up a society where revolution had to destroy the imperialist bourgeoisie with one where the imperialist bourgeoisie is still very much in power as if there were no difference between them. Tiny schoolchildren in Vietnam grasp historical materialism better than this paid-up Guardian professor of pro-Kinnock 'Marxism'. The CP's pure idealist approach pretends that the entire

world's political & economic problems are simply a matter of logically selecting the best way forward, - the same for Kinnock as for Thatcher & Gorbachev. The primacy of elemental class forces in the world, - the ABC of Marxism, - has disappeared without trace - along with the incurable warmongering-crisis essence of imperialism, etc, etc, etc. The ad-men have even vanquished materialism.

Imperialism will use this total castration of 'reformist socialism' to sow further racial, class, & ideological divisions in the working class, - building up towards all-out warmongering-fascist counter-revolutionary jingoism as the insoluble capitalist crisis deepens towards inter-imperialist World War III. At its 1987 Conference, Labour 'parliamentarism' has gone out with a suitable whimper. Far from any serious relevance (apart from any incidental electoral role they play) of Kinnock's promised 'non-policies' to avoid upsetting opinion polls in the 1990s, the future belongs solely to revolutionary struggle against the criminal slump-ridden warmongering decay of the capitalist system (-including its Labour 'shadow'). The only real guidance for the working class can come from the Marxist-Leninist science of imperialist crisis. Build Leninism; spread the ILWP Bulletin.

Bulletin 414(7/10/87) and 413 (30/9/87)

1  
Capitalist nervousness over the real crisis in the 'free' world market economy (of insoluble trade-war problems and anti-imperialist revolt) was already chronic.

The real bonus of this weedy election campaign has been the stumbling unconfident performance of the British establishment's first team, - the Tories - in what was meant to have been just a light training exercise for them.

Bankruptcy in even

the small change of parliamentary politics --election bribes, lying manifesto promises, dirty propaganda tricks, etc-- added to bankruptcy in the major national interest' matters of industrial investment, science research, military technology, etc,--shows how close to real disaster is British capitalism.

Not only is its international imperialist competitiveness now so decrepit as to be near moribund. But when its favoured political regime (Thatcherism) so loses its nerve over trying to score an open goal against the hopeless Labourites, it shows how deep the rot has set in to the bourgeoisie's entire class confidence.

Classic signs of the ultimate paralysis,--trying to change horses in mid-stream,--were in evidence by the end of the campaign with more sympathetic noises towards Labour by the capitalist press & TV monopolies than for a long time,--panicked into thoughts of a last-minute hedge against the dangers of so much obvious popular loathing of Thatcherism.

This was much less a Machiavellian "Let's get Labour in to bash the working class" gesture than real unease by vast sections of the bourgeoisie that things are just going badly wrong with British society, and with the West in general.

Because all the 'democracy' and 'freedom' crap is going so sour,--(with all the obvious nazi-warmongering tendencies throughout the West such as racism, the blitzkrieg of Grenada, the bombing of Tripoli, the murderous Contra destruction in Nicaragua, the crooked farce of the Irangate scandal, the covert NATO aid to South African and Zionist fascism, etc, etc; plus the police-state strengthening in Britain of MI6 subversion and surveillance; the MI5 death squad activities in occupied Ireland; the armed police provocations against Black Youth, the miners, and other militants, etc;)-

middle-class liberalism is seriously sickening.

The ingrained hypocrisy of the British bourgeoisie easily lets this self-doubt find expression in the nauseating jingoism of the election campaign,--with Labour, the Tories, and the Alliance all trying to wave their Union Jacks the hardest to attract the Little Englander vote.

But this turn to chauvinism tells a huge amount about the crisis for capitalism,--marking the death-throes despair of the dying bourgeois order.

Just when it might have been assumed that Thatcher's Falklands-factor nationalism was all that was needed to cater for this flag-waving frightened shudder of ruling-class insecurity,--echoed clone-like down through the pro-imperialist middle-class and working-class sections,--the assured Rule Britannia touch seemed suddenly to stumble and lose all confidence.

How mistrusted and despised is every party (of the parliamentary-capitalist circus for the system's miserable failures) is perhaps more obvious from the shoddy jingoistic performances by the main contenders than from the wild swings in shallow voting intentions in by-elections and in the General Election.

While those who refuse to register or won't vote for any of the rascals are now easily the biggest single party in Britain, the system is still geared to fooling a majority of the adult population into casting a vote of some kind,--deluded into thinking that electing between any of the three main stooge-groups promoted by the monopoly-bourgeois mass media offers a real choice.

But what the voting swings do not reveal is with what little confidence any of the ballots are cast for any of the parties.

The awful theatrical posturing of all the embarrassing party leaders,--all knowing what utter frauds they

are,-- is a far better guide to that reality.

The real contest is only over whose come-uppance is more earnestly to be desired,--that of the appalling Thatcher, the twice-appalling Davids, or the even more appalling Kinnock.

And even more interestingly & dramatically,--which come-uppance would be best for these egocentric philistines? For their bombastic 'We shall win' bluster to come an embarrassing cropper on polling day? Or even better for them to win the vote and to have to carry on the impossible burdens of British (and Western) imperialism's insoluble economic & political crisis afterwards?

A horrifying mess of trade-war damage and escalating inter-imperialist warmongering competitiveness awaits the Downing Street victors.

The near-panic collapse fears sweeping the share & money exchanges on rumours of dramatic poll changes tell far more about the uncertainty gripping the markets themselves,--with or without an election,--than about ruling class's worries about any particular election outcome.

Whoever is able to carry on governing for the British capitalist system--Tory, Labour, or Alliance,--and however they manage to achieve this,--another 1929-type Wall Street Crash is inevitable sooner or later.

Any development could spark off the crash--and not just necessarily a Labour victory. It is by no means ruled out that the establishment would actively want the Labourites back again at some stage (as opposed to widespread passive doubts at this stage of Thatcherism's fitness to continue disaster-free) as a well-known, tried, & tested alternative method of curbing the proletariat,--diverting them from revolutionary consciousness.

The ruling class is probably much more concerned by now about how it is going to get out of its internatio-

nal economic & political crisis (if at all) than with who is going to manage the shop in London for the immediate future, and how.

The actual historic questions raised by all problems of capitalist government from now on are: Which bourgeois parliamentary lash-up will be the vehicle for renewed fascism and inter-imperialist warmongering?

Far more important than who has won the British election is the fact that the entire relations of capitalist production and society are in turmoil (crime activities, drug & drink epidemics, mass unemployment, housing crisis, educational dead ends, etc),--and are declaring the entire parliamentary 'democracy' racket to be an irrelevant fraud.

And far more important than this crisis of bourgeois and labour-movement consciousness in the pro-imperialist West is the reality hanging over the 'free' world of its imminent degeneration back into its 1930s slump-crisis rut of incurable inter-imperialist warmongering.

Even more farcical than the British parliamentary election circus is the astonishing spectacle of all-powerful US imperialism first declaring that it must definitely go to war in the Gulf region; and only second deciding who it must go to war against, and why.

None of the Western imperialist alliance 'allies' being bullied by Reagan into condoning his naked aggressive threats of 'pre-emptive' strikes against Iran's political & military independence,--believes Washington's lying 'excuse' about "the need to keep the sea lanes open". Nothing was said about this seven years ago when Iran was initially on the receiving end of the Western-inspired Iraqi capitalist attack. It is only now that the more fascist-minded independently-minded capitalist counter-attack by Iran is gaining ground that

the string-pulling international gendarme, the USA, has decided to try to dictate the outcome of the Gulf war.

But the Western allies are understandably alarmed at the enormous potential implications of this latest US warmongering escalation.

Already the Gulf war has raged at World War I levels of barbarism for seven years,--inexplicably other than in the capitalist systems notorious 20th century record of inter-imperialist war to get out of crisis and to divert the proletariat by national flag-waving from socialist revolution.

The bourgeois establishments in Iraq & Iran have found their senseless conflict to be a perfect diversion from the failures of their bogus 'revolutionary nationalism' programmes. More & more capitalist states are seeing the need to degenerate towards the same depraved 'solution',--Greece & Turkey; India, Pakistan & Sri Lanka; Argentina & Britain; etc

US imperialism's determination to cash in on this existing conflict shows how desperate the international capitalist economic crisis is now becoming for the entire 'free' world.

So hair-raising are the implications of major NATO-power involvement that Japan had to be bribed with a relaxation of the trade-war measures Washington took against it,--to get Tokyo's formal 'approval' of the US warmongering 'pre-emptive' strike threats. Similar pressures will have to be applied to get the 'agreement' of the rest of the Venice summit.

Even more alarming than just the reality of the international warmongering arms-race escalation itself is the ruthless menace to the rest of the 'free' world's own economic interests from US imperialism's threatened stranglehold on the vital Gulf-route oil artery,--a trade far more crucial to the USA's monopoly-capitalist rivals than it is to the USA itself. In a

period of sharpening brutal inter-imperialist trade war, this sinister expression of Washington's 'strategic interests' will be as frightening to NATO and the rest of the 'free' world powers as it will be to Iran.

Pathetically, the rival groups of British parliamentary cretins are not even able to successfully ridicule the embarrassing contradictions in Reagan's knee-jerk reactions to the rampaging international capitalist crisis,—first secretly putting Iraq up to launching its futile war seven years ago; then secretly arming the reactionary Ayatollahs (officially denounced as 'Murder Incorporated') via the Irangate scandal; then incredibly 'making it up to' Iraq with the weird USS Stark incident; and finally balancing this humiliation out by declaring war,—not on Iraq,—but on Iran!!

With Western capitalist parliamentary 'democracy' swallowing all this nonsense without batting an eyelid,—then the competing party election stands in Britain all demanding attention for their different "only proper defence" postures for Britain can hardly expect to be taken seriously by anyone. None is 'more correct' or 'less correct'. They are all simply irrelevant to the real warmongering reality of inter-imperialist crisis.

In the epoch of capitalism's degeneration back into generalised warfare, the only possible outcome in an election dominated by the monopoly bourgeois mass media is a pro-jingoist government or coalition.

No class-conscious workers should have dignified the chauvinistic hustings with a vote for any of the Union-Jack-waving protagonists,—the pro-NATO Labour Party, the pro-NATO Tories, or the pro-NATO Alliance.

Particularly stupid and treacherous are those petty-bourgeois 'lefts' of the Trot & CP sects who urged workers actively to vote Labour,—for whatever

reason.

So long—since dead is the working class illusion that Labour will 'reform' capitalism into 'socialism' that it now makes no difference which of the bourgeois pro-capitalist parties drags Britain into the final parliamentary degradation of inter-imperialist World War III,—which is all that the future holds until altered by proletarian revolution.

Illusions in the Labour Party's bogus 'reform' plans for 'municipal socialism' or 'revolution through Parliament' have long since ceased to be a major obstacle to the spread of revolutionary socialist consciousness among the proletariat in the West.

Anti-communism and national chauvinism are the crucial ingredients for keeping workers still duped by the shallow nonsense of "freedom & democracy" propaganda in NATO (which now barely conceals the rampant monopoly-capitalist corruption of non-stop colonial-warmongering arms-race by the West.)

And in this depraved matter, the Labour Party is more loathsome—lingoistic and cretinously anti-communist than any of the petty-bourgeois hypocrites. (See ILWP Books vols 7 & 9).

The whole election farce turned on whose was the best method of "meeting the Soviet invasion threat"—a total fantasy in which Labour's role is the most vital for keeping it going.

The real issue for workers is of course nothing to do with "how unfairly" or otherwise Labour policy or Kinnock's speeches have been "pilloried" by the monopoly-bourgeois press and TV. That is precisely the essence of the Labour Party's role in this whole rotten fraud,—to make workers think they have a 'class issue' to take up on the question of Thatcher's nuclear warmongering.

The real issue for workers is: "What filthy nonsense is the warmongering capitalist system trying to

put across on us with foul lies that the socialist camp holds any threat of any kind,—of military intervention or otherwise,—to the proletariat of the entire capitalist 'free' world?"

It is only by the pretence,—non-stop since 1917,—that "communist tyranny will slaughter you all in your beds,—or enslave you in labour camps for life" that capitalism has held onto the West and the rest of the colonially-exploited 'free' world.

It is only by non-stop armed provocations against the socialist camp,—from the first mass invasion of the young Soviet Republic in 1919 by the armies of the 14 leading 'free'-world colonial empires, led by Britain,—to the latest subversions or blitzkriegs on Korea, Vietnam, Angola, Zaire, Ethiopia, Grenada, Nicaragua, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, Mozambique, etc.—that the West has been able to fool the masses under capitalism into putting up with the permanent arms-race economic stupidities,—squandering billions on endless flag-waving chest-beating national hysteria.

Far from Kinnock being 'misrepresented', 'pilloried', or 'misunderstood',—the Labour Party's conscious pro-NATO stance has played the main part in protecting Western imperialism with a 'left' 'reformist' cover,—pretending to be 'different' from the warmongering anti-communist pro-colonial Tories but in practice being worse jingoists.

Instead of distant 'Soviet threats' being 'held at bay' by Western threats of general nuclear destruction,—the Labour Party has to make the blood-chill much more vividly with wild obscene talk about "unbeatable British popular resistance" to "Soviet military occupation".

What sick outrageous humbug!!!!

It was the Labour Party which agreed to nuke Japan as a threat to the USSR (then without atomic weapons or know-how) in 1945

and to try and keep the world's first workers state from participating in the defeat of fascist Japan.

It was the Labour Party which took the leading Western role in armed imperialist intervention against communist partizan victories over fascism in Malaya, Greece, Vietnam,—and tried the same with military subversion against Albania & Yugoslavia.

It was the Labour Party which played the decisive part in settling up the NATO 'free world' fraud to sanitise US imperialist encirclement of the socialist camp post World War II,—helping to launch or cover the degenerate Western colonial/imperialist blitzkriegs on the revolutionary movements in Korea, Vietnam, Algeria, etc.—butchered millions in the process.

It was the Labour Party which sent troops or maintained military occupation in dozens of colonial bloodbaths,—in India, Kenya, Aden, Cyprus, Ireland, etc..

It was the Labour Party which re-established MI6's world-wide anti-socialist mission to subvert,—alongside the CIA,—every real anti-imperialist advance made by the proletariat in any country,—condoning scores of bloody interventions and assassinations in every corner of the world since 1945.

And now the little Rule Britannia creep Kinnock has the gall to pretend that it is the socialist camp's 'military threat' to the imperialist countries which is the real issue,—and 'how best to meet that threat' for the 'proper defence of Britain',—as a co-assassin with US nuclear aggression; as a stooge aircraft carrier for it; or merely as a 'no American nuclear bases' cowardly accomplice of it.

The actual question facing the voters in Britain is: "When are workers finally going to cease being part of Western imperialist aggression against the socialist camp and the national-liberation struggle?"

Any vote for Labour,—for any reason whatever,—not only fails to bring that question out but totally & hopelessly buries it under a swamp of anti-communist confusion,—which is the real business the 'lefts' are in around the Labour Party among the petty-bourgeois Trots and Euro revisionists.

They want workers to vote Labour because deep down these 'lefts' all completely share Kinnock's wretched anti-communist ignorance and hatred.

These 'left' sects are all petty-bourgeois individualists to a soul,—as hostile to Leninist proletarian dictatorship as it is possible to be.

In reality, they loathe the whole real history of the bitter struggle to build strong workers states against endless Western propaganda, subversion, bribery, intervention & aggression.

Some groups of the swamp still ostentatiously claim 'solidarity' with some mythical idealised version of parts of the Soviet triumph,—especially the earlier bits which they now hope have become far-enough distant to be safely plagiarised & sanitised.

But on every modern issue of Leninist politics,—backing the building of one-party proletarian dictatorships in Zimbabwe, Ethiopia, Afghanistan, Kampuchea, etc.—or in South Africa in the future,—they retreat, spewing up every last rotten illusion about parliamentary 'democracy' which Lenin demolished in his epic works from 1917 to 1923 (read Lenin's collected works vols 24 to 33).

Not one scrap of any 'left' agitation for workers to vote Labour has any basic class content in it other than the most determinedly ignorant & philistine anti-Leninism. The capitalist crisis will proceed relentlessly towards inter-imperialist World War III through Parliamentary 'democracy' without any pointless attempts by workers to arrange it to happen

in a particular way by voting for the bourgeois circus, thereby rekindling illusions in the parliamentary fraud.

The Red Front bogus 'revolutionary' alleged 'alternative' to Labour reformism is in fact nothing of the sort. It is not an advance guard of new revolutionary proletarian consciousness in Britain, but in fact just another dying-out old variant of more 'left' cover for labour movement electoral traditions, -seeking merely to 'capture' part of the existing working class attitude to parliamentary politics.

But what must come is the total collapse in bitter confused frustration of the whole 130-year illusory history of British workers' class-collaboration with the imperialist system. This can only happen in conditions of deep suffering, profound antagonism, and colossal upheaval, -the sort of circumstances of World War I degeneracy which precisely finally broke the Great-Russian masses from Russian imperialism.

There is not the slightest possibility of any smoother transition from parliamentary capitalist traditions to 'revolutionary' parliamentary activities.

For as long as the working class is naively led into approaching the electoral farce much the same way as in the past, -including the occasional chance to vote for a 'real revolutionary alternative', -then playing this bourgeois game can only cement perpetual bourgeois victory. The Red Front says absolutely nothing about the real world (of inter-imperialist war and the collapse of anti-communism) because it is itself nothing but a petty-bourgeois anti-communist fraud.

The same process is at work in the actual outcome to the election. All the time that the supposed 'alternatives' to Thatcherism show no differences whatever in the basic concerns of 'upholding Western freedom & democracy' (I.e. parlia-

mentary capitalism, and anti-communism), - then it makes things difficult in a period of profound bourgeois crisis to persuade middle-class public opinion to enthusiastically change the set-up when 'the nation' is somewhat cowedly clinging together, wrapped in the Union Jack, in fear of the future.

All the recriminatory propaganda may mean Thatcher will get an even smaller total vote than 1983, -just as 1983's total was smaller than 1979's despite the Falklands factor.

But such a mood of wretched nervousness will not make Kinnock's appalling opportunism seem any more appealing, -emptily wrapping himself in the Union Jack just like the rest of the circus.

And even in the detailed arguments against the putrid class prejudice of Thatcherism on every question, -the Labourites still end up justifying the capitalist system themselves when pressed, -approving its 'freedom', -as much playing into Thatcher's hands as effectively knocking her abysmal stupidity & arrogance.

Win or lose, Labour's shallow Chariots-of-Fire electoral opportunism will have put a few more final nails into the coffin of labour movement reformism.

Failure to defeat the grotesquely dim-witted & insensitive Thatcher, -despite the virtual collapse of British manufacturing industry and record unemployment, -will expose the hopelessness of all parliamentary illusions. A victory, and inheritance of the catastrophic economic problems piling up for capitalism, -and Labour's practical bankruptcy and servility to Western international finance-capital will be painfully in the open as never before.

And curtains for the illusory 'reformist parliamentary socialism' nonsense will also mean curtains for all its various 'left' apologists in the 57 varieties of Trot & CP swampism.

More sinister is Enoch Powell's hint that Labour is the best bet for real anti-American Union Jack waving, plus relief for British-Orange colonial fascism in the occupied zone of Ireland ('Defeating the men of violence is our first priority'-all Labour spokesmen) from the Washington/EEC-imposed Anglo-Irish Treaty (for London eventually handing over all responsibility for the colonial mess to Dublin.)

This envisages Kinnock following Labour Cabinet Minister Oswald Mosley's course of a 'New Britain', -the path ex Labour Cabinet Minister David Owen would love to follow.

Such a scenario is by no means far fetched but is in fact exactly in line with the social-chauvinist role played by the entire Second International backing the inter-imperialist slaughter of workers in World War I behind its 'own' flag in each country's case, -the predecessors of the present reformists but in a period when they were all supposedly committed Marxists, -and led by lifelong collaborators of Engels.

The widespread arts-world support for Kinnock's Chariots-of-Fire Little Englander stand is utter degeneracy, -total anti-communist philistinism, -possible only in a country whose workers have been completely corrupted by imperialism.

Far from being 'honest', Kinnock's pacifist anti-nuclear stance stinks of hypocrisy. No one but a human slug could believe the anti-communist filth Kinnock & Co believe about the Soviet Union, the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the socialist camp, -and not want to be armed to the teeth with as many atomic bombs as possible against such a desolate anti-civilisation perspective. The only rational case for ending the nuclear Cold War against the 'Soviet domination threat' is to prove that the 'threat' to 'freedom' is a complete Western

imperialist invention, and that the only real freedom possible is precisely communism.

But the defeatist Labour unilateralists would not admit this

in a thousand years. If Kinnock fudged his semi-pacifist principles' even more than he has been willing to do, the British establishment might well use the Labour scoundrels instead of the Tory scoundrels for a spell of 'government' posturing again.

But the writing is essentially on the wall now for the entire corrupt capitalist system, -especially its parliament.

Class conscious workers in Britain need to build up Leninist revolutionary understanding as never before. Future struggles may well include running genuine Bolshevik electoral campaigns just to expose the fraud of parliamentary 'democracy' from within as well as from without, a sound Leninist tactic.

But first & foremost in Britain (and throughout the West) must be built a literate Leninist movement. That is the real struggle facing workers. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

Bulletin 397 (10/6/87)  
(Election 11/6/87)

2

The catastrophic upheavals which will shortly be befalling the capitalist world, -escalating dramatically the already sizeable-enough wamwongering & civil strife erupting in South Africa, the Gulf War, the Indian sub-continent, Latin America, the Philippines & South Korea, etc across the entire 'free world, -were always inevitable anyway.

Thatcher's miserable 'success' - (the lowest share of the poll for the Tories since Bonar Law in 1922; a further narrowing of Thatcher's 'support' from 1983 which despite the Falklands factor was in turn a smaller percentage turnout than even 1979's near-record low 'winning margin'; the percentage of the total

adult population backing the government down to 29% -the lowest ever; the level of conviction or enthusiasm for Thatcher's line in any section of society reduced towards virtually zero; etc) -only makes these coming well-deserved disasters for British imperialist society more vivid.

The nervous paltry character of the so-called Tory 'triumph' puts into even sharper relief the totally bankrupt insanity & treachery of the Labourites and especially of the entire Trot & CP-revisionist 'left' who advocated a 'critical' vote for Kinnock.

Not forgetting the criminal mistake the revisionist German CP made in the 1930s in splitting the anti-Hitler sentiment by first attacking the social democrats as 'social fascists', -an actual vote for Labour in this election made about as much sense as expressing 'critical' appreciation in the 1930s for, say, the 'effective style' of one of Hitler's 'national-socialist' German Workers Party rallies at Nuremberg.

Idiotically, the mere form of a Labour election campaign is alone being 'analysed'. The content is being ignored as if it just does not exist.

But the content was: Increased NATO arms spending; Asserting that Labour resistance to a 'Soviet invasion' would be more effective than Tory policy; Confirming that the 'men of violence' (i.e. the Irish national liberation struggle) were the priority issue in the occupied zone of Ireland, -not the partition injustices which the Anglo-Irish Treaty is pretending to slowly remedy; Maintenance of British troops in Cyprus, Falklands, Ireland (and presumably any other colonial gunboat-diplomacy lair of military violence); Commitment to US imperialism's counter-revolutionary NATO alliance; Belief in the monopoly-imperialist Common Market; Guaranteed Assurance to leave the capitalist status-quo in Britain basically

unaltered (in reality completely unaltered); Promise to keep building up the police,- capitalism's first line of defence, and to leave capitalism's secret political police, MI5 & MI6,- completely uncontrolled, above the law, and beyond parliamentary scrutiny as ever; stepping up the chauvinistic trade-war hysteria as soon as possible; etc.

This was delivered in what can only be described as tatty, pseudo-Nuremberg style - with the appalling Glanda Slag stressing silly theatrical gutturals in order to belittle: "And now the man who has made all our dreams come true - Neil Kinnock".

This was pure 1930s warmongering nastiness - completely completing Thatcher's vicious 'Battle of Britain' propaganda film, - not answering it at all.

When a serious fascist movement finally gets going in Britain in the coming Depression-decade re-run of the 1930s,--then the necessary tactic of uniting the maximum hostility to fascism to drive it off the scene as rapidly as possible will obviously apply. Above all, that will mean NOT repeating the German revisionist CP's classic 1930s mistake of saying 'Beat social fascism first; after Hitler, our turn', etc.

But what all the mindless morons, - who routinely, automatically urged workers to vote for Kinnock's reactionary imperialist policies and sinister Nuremberg-rally campaigning style, have ignored----- is that imperialism's last-ditch fascist stand this time round has yet to settle on which political tradition to adapt for its purposes.

Significantly in Britain in the 1930s, it was the outstanding young Labour Cabinet Minister Oswald Mosley who was picked out to lead the 'New Britain' movement.

It is pointless at this stage to bother predicting where the 1990s fascist movement will find its "man who

has made all our dreams come true".

But for the 'left' of the labour movement to show such delight in their criminal, phillistine ignorance of history as to openly back an all-out imperialist warmongering programme as Kinnock's (detailed above) and to turn a blind eye to a campaigning style which was blatantly Nuremberg rally in intention as well as in detail, - in advance of knowing from which sector of British parliamentary politics the new fascism will spring, as Mosley sprang out of the Labour Cabinet, -- is asking for trouble.

It is futile arguing that 'the trade union traditions of the labour movement could never allow fascism to spring from it', etc; 'the majority of the movement is bound to stay healthy', etc.

None of this useless puddled traditionalism is doing a thing to alert the working class to the decade of fascist-warmongering-Depression which is rapidly approaching, - which is the crucial issue (instead of filling workers heads with outdated reformist crap about empty Labour promises.)

None of it indicates what a minority of the labour movement might get up to, - as David Owen has already viciously shown possible.

Equally, none of this warns of the fascist direction (flag-waving trade-war for British imperialism and against immigration, etc) which sections of the reformist & racist trade-union hierarchies might easily turn towards, - inspired as they are by demented anti-communism.

Furthermore, this fast-asleep 'traditional' labour movement approach completely ignores the totally new conditions, - even more complex than the German masses being won to fascism in the 1930s under the barrage of 'free world' nonsense about Bolshevism, - in which British imperialism is now collapsing in slump

where German imperialism collapsed before it.

The degenerate rot of anti-communism has gone far far deeper now than in any previous experience of the collapse of an imperialist-corrupted 'advanced' Western power.

That lethal combination had the 'advanced' German masses eagerly backing the most degenerate fascist tyranny in history. Old-fashioned glib assumptions that 'nothing like that could ever happen with the British working class' are just infantile.

The imperialist-corrupted British working class, - without the hold of fascist ideology, - has nevertheless condoned the most bloodthirsty record of savage colonial tyranny and hypocrisy of any 'advanced' nation, - by far.

There are no guarantees at all what might happen if a genuine fascist movement is imposed. It is disgusting historical light-mindedness to pretend that Cable Street, etc, drove fascism out of Britain 'for ever' in the 1930s, etc. That was an important struggle, but it is equally obvious that the imperialist powers deliberately set up a division of labour as far as the lurch to World War II was concerned, and the need to inflict destruction on the Soviet Union. One part of the 'free world' had to remain 'anti-fascist' in case the whole anti-Bolshevik exercise went disastrously wrong, - exactly as in reality happened; leaving Britain & Co to pose as 'Soviet allies' loyally 'defending 'freedom', etc.

King Edward VIII was all set for joining the axis-fascists, - as were half the ruling class. Cable Street played a part, - but it was basically an imperialist strategic decision to keep Britain & Co 'non-fascist' in form & appearance (but in colonial practice being no different from fascism).

To get out of insoluble economic crisis, imperialism needs new 'fascist-axis' candidates for its warmong-

ering escape act of the 1990s. Iran alone will not be sufficient.

Britain is not a prime candidate if only because its bourgeoisie is so decadently inefficient. Perhaps the most alarming thing about Kinnockism is its determination to at least change that, - even if reactionary imperialist policy remains exactly the same. (And it was hardly reassuring that the theme music for the posturing incompetent character 'who has made all our dreams come true' should be a triumphal anthem from a patriotic German composer of the Bismarck-Nietzsche era.)

But incessant anti-communism in the West has produced no more ignorant philistinism than that which dominates the British labour movement, - with its fake 'Marxist' wing (the Trots & Euro-revisionists) leading the reactionary clamour in favour of fascist Solidarnosc; against the Irish national liberation struggle; in favour of Ayatollah fascism early on; but refusing solidarity with the revolutionary majority of the New Jewel Movement now under hanging threat by Reagan's nazi invasion; etc, etc, - covering hundreds of reactionary policies (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 9 for exposure of the fake (anti-communist) 'left' in Britain).

And worse than anti-semitism which was used to get fascism going in the 1930s, the imperialist-corrupted British working class have anti-black race prejudice as a ready-made excuse for a fascist turn in the 1990s for those who want to follow Kinnock's flag-waving jingoism all the way to its obvious successor, - Hitlerism.

On top of all this, British slump-imperialist society is so decrepit that it will need something like fascism to have any hope of pulling things round for the capitalist system ever again.

The absence of a strong fascist movement now in Britain, - and the reverse of that picture, the absence of

a strong revolutionary movement, - is no guarantee at all that the very last stages of all-out imperialist crisis are not fast being reached. It is only a guarantee of how politically backward & comatose is the British labour movement.

The appalling phenomenon of Kinnockism, - and its equally appalling failure to lay a finger on the hated nonsense of Thatcherism, - is merely further proof of all this.

The rasping irrelevance & insincerity of Kinnock's imbecilic 'It is not my way to grieve over defeat', etc (who cares? so what? etc) is a warning of the rock-bottom bankruptcy that has been reached as far as the character of the political epoch is concerned. The 1987 election has marked a qualitative leap in cynical opportunism & philistinism by Kinnockism and by those who told workers it was worthwhile voting Labour, - which hints at enormous political changes to come.

This degenerate Nuremberg-rally nonsense is more than just the routine political stupidity & backwardness of the British labour movement. It marks the bitter, frustrated, futile end of the 'reformist epoch' like nothing else could. Reformist illusions are collapsing into pointless chaos. Nothing can be done to halt imperialist decay into another Depression-decade of fascist-warmongering. So reformism has nothing coherent to say any more. So play the Brahms; or even play Joe Loss for all the difference it would make. And stick lupins in your ears.

Not just after Thatcher the deluge. But after Kinnock the deluge in exactly the same decadent way.

Labour doesn't need attacking for 'social fascism'. But it does need totally abandoning by class-conscious workers as an incurably reactionary prop of the imperialist system which has completely destroyed any remaining illusions



the working class may have had in Labour as a 'socialist' alternative to capitalism, - (the situation in the 1920s under Labour's new (1919) 'socialist' clause 4 when tactical 'support' for the returning of a Labour government was necessary as a rope 'supports' a hanged man - to expose Labour's socialist pretensions).

It is only the Trot & Euro-revisionist anti-communist 'lefts' who are keeping alive the appearance that Labour still carries working class illusions with it as a 'socialist' alternative. If it was not for their devious anti-communist reasons for keeping the Labour Party going, - it would have collapsed even further & faster than it has already done in the eyes of class-conscious workers.

Only the utter debacle of 'parliamentary politics' of the labour movement kind (where the fake "revolutionary" left supplement the fake Labour "left") will help bring about a breakthrough for revolutionary Leninism in Britain. The farcical events of the 1987 election may have been a useful turning point in this matter.

The philistine viciousness of Thatcherism, and the comic & potentially evil stupidity of Kinnockism (and even worse of Owenism & Steelism), - is well matched in international significance by the revolting spectacle of Reaganite imperialism staggering on despite becoming a virtual living corpse.

Reagan now dozes off or else spouts just incoherent gibberish at the summit decision-making in Western affairs, whether in Venice or Washington, or wherever.

This farce continues simply because the 'free' world is in such deep crisis that it does not have the slightest alternative idea what to do instead.

Reaganism was thought to be a godsend to embattled imperialism, - finally making possible a 'sanitised' version of old-fashioned

fascist aggression, - made 'acceptable' by a super-combination of Kinnock's Chariots of Fire methods, - pure dream-quality bullshit.

But still the tide of anti-imperialist communist revolution and national-liberation struggle rolls relentlessly on, - forcing the 'free' world ever backwards, - from El Salvador to the Philippines, - from Ireland to South Africa.

Reagan is finished, - but his corpse rules on, - this week sending new arms & money to the UNITA destruction-merchants massacring socialist Angola; to the Contra-fascists butchering & wrecking socialist Nicaragua; to the Khan- and mullah-dominated feudal & tribal backwardness of the Afghan emigre circles blitzing more hospitals & schools and economic improvements; to the Pol Pot extremists-nationalists sabotaging Kampuchea's recovery; to the Renamo mercenary killers blitzing Mozambique's drought-prone difficult reconstruction; to the South Africa fascists (secretly) imposing nazi tyranny on the overwhelming black majority in Namibia & South Africa and constantly menacing all the Front Line states as well; to the Aquino usurpers reimposing military slaughter on the mass communist revolutionary movement which in reality brought down the fascist tyrant (and US stooge) Marcos; etc.

And all of this Hitlerite nazi mayhem assisted 'loyally' by NATO's set-up, to which Kinnock, of course, pledges to be the most loyal of the loyal.

But the real message still fails to get through to the anti-communist fake 'left' mesmerised by the old Labour traditions.

They may make the odd 'left' joke or two at the expense of Reagan's living-corpse twilight. But they fail to make anything of the really significant fact that the imperialist butchery & warmongering aggression goes on regardless.

And there is a simple Marxist explanation of

why this is so, and why it always must be so:

Imperialism is a ruling class system. Until that ruling class is totally expropriated worldwide, - then nothing can possibly halt the capitalist system's incurable slump back into inevitable warmongering and trade-war fascist rivalry. These are the iron laws of the capitalist-imperialist system.

But the swamp of anti-Leninism goes on ignoring these laws.

Under Moscow's continuing corrupting-revisionist influence, the Chilean communists have just declared, - astonishingly after at last being forced to take up the armed struggle for the overthrow of capitalism following their torture at the hands of Pinochet as a result of their 'peaceful road to socialism' illusory suicide under Allende, - that this armed fight-back 'is not their real political character at all; - just an unfortunate temporary necessity; and they cannot wait to get back to peaceful class-collaboration once again with the Chilean ruling capitalist establishment if only Pinochet would let them', etc.

This treacherous capitulation to the non-existent 'parliamentary road to socialism' is re-issued despite 14 years of the most barbaric fascist tyranny in human history, so brilliantly documented in the Jack Lemmon film 'Missing' and in countless brilliant books & articles.

No greater mental servility could be imagined than for the Chilean CP, - now at this late stage, - to start apologising for at last beginning armed resistance to the inevitable military dictatorship essence of Chilean capitalism (and of all other capitalist ruling classes in the world).

And it springs entirely from the ideological-philosophical confusion still emanating out of Moscow, - revising & abandoning Lenin's revolutionary understanding for the

anti-Leninist crap that imperialism could be defeated by the mere temporary tactic of peaceful coexistence (adopted by Lenin in just to tide the Soviet Union over its early vulnerable isolated period).

Moscow is still running away from the revolutionary worldwide implications of Leninism, - and still dragging the more servile revisionist stooge-parties with it, - pretending that imperialism will finally agree peacefully to 'give up' its warmongering aggressive essence. This is pure idealism, - pure anti-Marxism. Imperialism will remain true to its incurable predatory exploiting nature, - even with a corpse at its head, - imposing warmongering tyranny on the rest of the world because it knows no other way to survive.

The same for the capitalist ruling class inside Chile. They cannot change their class nature. Pinochet will go on massacring his opponents until he is forcibly overthrown. And if he gives up for any episodic reason, it will be only a temporary respite. Chilean capitalist crisis must continue. And Chilean fascist dictatorship will be reimposed as sure as night follows day.

But the Chilean CP, misled by Moscow, foolishly declare: "It is customary to present us as if we were interested in the militarisation of politics, in a military solution, in the military defeat of the dictatorship, as if we were participating in a general armed struggle and were opposed to a political solution.

"This is not our position. We are for a political solution which we are trying to build on unity and the struggle of the masses...

"We are convinced that if all democratic parties in Chile together built a powerful movement of self-defence against the aggression to which the people are subjected, and at the same time

campaigned to open the eyes of the military, we would be nearing the end of the militarisation of politics which was imposed by the regime.

"At the same time we would be facilitating a positive dialogue with the armed forces which in turn would lead to the transition from dictatorship to democracy.

"We, the Communists, are in favour of a pluralistic and multi-party democracy" - exactly the capitalist parliamentary set-up which brought Pinochet's fascist terror to power in the first place. This is criminal backward stupidity. All Marx & Lenin's titanic labours to clarify the need for the dictatorship of the proletariat to smash the capitalist state in all its forms (including parliamentary 'democracy') have been in vain as far as these idealist dupes are concerned.

The essence of this revisionist ideological problem is lack of confidence in the perspective of Leninism, - that the capitalist system must go to fascist dictatorship, - and must be overthrown by proletarian dictatorship.

And this is exactly the same dull philistine backwardness, - ignorance & fear of the Leninist revolutionary perspective, - which lies at the root of the 'left' Labour (Trot & Euro-swamp) support for Kinnock.

Despite all the Trots endless 'left' talk of 'revolution', and 'Marxism', etc, - in reality these anti-communists are complete anti-theory anti-Leninist philistines. They mouth about 'future revolutionary crisis'. They never have stopped to consider one single implication of this posturing mouthing. They are a pure petty-bourgeois fraud, - designed precisely to divert the working class into remaining in the grip of Labour Party illusions, and well away from any genuine Leninist consciousness.

Workers Power say: "The working class should not give up the

party its unions created until a revolutionary, not a tactical, alternative to it exists. Today it must force Labour to act for it through its class organisations.... A critical vote for Labour must be a critical support which places concrete demands for working class interests on Labour and organises to fight for those demands irrespective of whether Labour wins or not".

This touching naive traditionalism incorrectly & artificially divorces the class corruption of 'Labour' from the class corruption of the labour movement which accepted the Labour Party as it is. It falsely sees a 'pure' labour movement somewhere beneath the obnoxious crap of Kinnockism. This is idealist nonsense at one remove. Instead of the labour movement's party being 'essentially uncorruptible' as the softer 'lefts' say, these Jesuitical Trots have it that the party may be corruptible, - but the movement which produces that corrupt party is not.

This relies on the unstated Marxist premise that bourgeois ideology corrupts the labour movement. But as Marx also explains, this is trade union ideology. This is the essence of the imperialist-corrupted labour aristocracy in its real self, - its deliberate class stance. No amount of sophistry will alter that fact that the British labour movement, - and all its works, - must be fought against to defeat its reformist, - its 'bourgeois trade-union ideology' illusions in capitalism.

It is putting the cart before the horse in the most pedantic manner to tell the pretended 'pure' working class to not give up its own Labour Party reformist corruption until it is ready to embrace revolutionary consciousness.

First the working class must be fought to make it abandon its class-collaborating reformist nonsense. Then when all opportunism is seen to be fu-

lly biting the dust, it alone becomes possible to start to build a party of revolutionary consciousness.

These philistine anti-Leninists do not want to give up their smallscale entrist opportunism towards the Labour Party because of their fear & hatred of communism.

The old labour movement traditions were always safely anti-communist. The WP's humbugging smugness about passing 'concrete demands' through the labour movement's 'class organisations' deliberately ignores for one reason only the fact that this spontaneous, reformist, philistine, anti-Leninist process has produced Kinnockism and Glenda Slag: Namely, that it also always reliably produces anti-communism.

The fake 'tankie' Euros are even more demented in their anti-communist commitment to tail-ending class-collaborating reformist bankruptcy.

The "tide for Labour is clearly turning" it had Benn stirringly reporting to the pre-election Morning Star rally.

"And one of the factors producing this result has been the consistent support the Morning Star has given to the Labour movement" etc. Clearly the kiss of death for the living corpse of parliamentary reformism. In the same issue, a piece of trampling non-think 'journalism' had Grenwich Labour Party's dreadful Deirdre Wood "confident of reversing last February's by-election result which saw a shock success for the SDP's Rosie Barnes," etc.

A pamphlet could be written on the self-deluding ideological semantics of this idiot 'think-piece', but just concentrating on one word - 'shock' success, - will do. A shock only for those living in the political mortuary of the CP's revisionist history (with now five competing rival revisionist sects at work inside it) which has never been a Leninist party and is determined to

keep its blinkered record intact, - especially on the deadly (for the revisionists) question of the final collapse of reformist illusions and the exposure of the basic rottenness of labour movement traditional class-collaborating trade-unionist consciousness, (in a fetid corner of which the ex-Stalinist stooges were content to moulder tinily, - despised but not totally humiliated.)

Once again as with the official Chilean CP and the Workers Power Trots, the dissident 'tankie' problem is their total lack of any historical perspective. They are terrified of the only real possibility, - that of the crashing in ruins of the despised Labour reformist prop to imperialism, and the fight for revolutionary theory which will unfold around the bitter frustrations & recriminations over the utter futility of past 'parliamentary road to socialism' illusions.

Slaughter's WRP is in the same rotten boat, - agreeing with their opponent-Healyite hysteria about 'Bonapartist dictatorship or instant revolution' as far as perspectives are concerned, disagreeing only with the 'absence of transitional demands', - but in reality not considering at all what are the real implications of the 'revolutionary crisis' perspective.

These are certainly not for routinely continuing the same old distorted 'Leninism' of a critical vote for Labour because 'it still dominates the working class'. It does not. Enthusiastic Labour voting by naive workers seeking socialism is undoubtedly now a thing of the past, - a dead issue.

The 'revolutionary crisis' perspective raises the question of the breakdown in all illusions in parliamentary progress, - not just in Labour's long-since bankrupt promises. Slaughter like all the rest is merely propping up the corpse of a past historical analysis. In this ridiculousness, the Trots are far closer to Mos-

cow's revisionist phillistinism than they kid themselves as being.

Further appropriate international background to the barrenness of the Trot & CP anti-Leninist sects is the startling failure of the Pope's astonishingly blatant attempt last week to stir up a new Solidarnosc revolt in Poland while on 'official visit' there. His outrageous beatification of a 14-year-old girl 'who died being raped by a Russian soldier' could not have been more provocative, or more evident of how desperately the CIA & the Vatican are now scraping the barrel hoping to find more stick to beat the socialist camp with (and by association to beat the world communist revolution and national-liberation anti-imperialist movements with, who still get help from Moscow despite its revisionist-stupid pretence that imperialist domination and fascist-military aggression will depart this world peacefully).

It turns out that the girl was involved in a 1914 incident with an imperialist-war soldier of His Holy Father of all the Russias - the Tsar, - a key part of the international religious-ruling class establishment, - and nothing at all to do with the Soviet Union, whose proletarian dictatorship was born precisely to end the tyranny over mankind of inter-imperialist warmongering.

When is the Pope going to beatify all the thousands of little girls in Poland (and in other Catholic countries) who have suffered (and still suffer every year) resisting the rape attacks of their own priests?

But Woytjila's incandescent rabble-rousing fell on deaf ears. The only incidents, - so prized by the CIA-dominated capitalist world media, - had to be artificially manufactured by Solidarnosc detachments (all tiny) deliberately attacking the police marshals. Not once was it necessary for the Polish workers state

properly to instigate its own offensive against the illegal counter-revolutionary clamour, - so feebly unaroused was it despite all Pope John's most inflammatory efforts.

This marks the virtual closure of the most important counter-revolutionary venture ever undertaken by the 'free' West against the socialist camp. Hundreds of millions of dollars were poured into the making of Solidarnosc (nearly bankrupting the Vatican in the process when the money had to be laundered through the Banco Ambrosiano scandals with the Mafia, via Chicago 'Bishop' Marcinkus who has had to go to ground inside the Vatican to evade the clutches of the Italian state prosecutors), - plus even more resources in the personnel-training preparations of the great 'free trade union' racket-fraud. And now it is all washed up, - and despite its anti-Leninist feebleness, - the Polish workers state & party leadership is still intact.

And the Pope's embarrassing public failure to revive the fascist revolt only proves the point.

Slaughter, the Trots, the CP revisionists, & Co were all delirious devotees of the little pro-Pilsudski-fascist rabble-rouser Lech Walesa. Their political bankruptcy over Solidarnosc could not have coincided more appropriately with their equally opportunist anti-communist treachery in favour of propping up the bankrupt pro-imperialist Labour Party.

The effect of all this endless revisionist onslaught is fundamentally to make revolutionarily-conscious workers have no real confidence in the basic Leninist perspectives. All this endless defeatism about 'socialist camp crisis'; about the working class 'under the domination of Labour'; and the absence of any discussion of the ILWP's consistent Leninist analysis of the steady progress of the world socialist revolution, -

to try to make revolutionary-conscious workers perhaps not abandon their Leninist perspective (on capitalism's warmongering decline into fascism and inter-imperialist World War III and the eventual revolutionary overthrow of capitalism everywhere),—but at least to hesitate about its current relevance.

This is the essence of revisionism's role, — to destroy the possibilities of a successful development of a Leninist movement.

Every political stance the Trot & Euro sects adopt can quickly be shown to be a pointless fraud,—an empty posture. But still the overall effect of the entire swamp refusing to contemplate the ILWP's alone-correct perspective of the steady advance of the real world socialist revolution,—is to make revolutionary-minded workers hesitate about fighting wholeheartedly for this Leninist understanding of the world against every alternative explanation of what is happening on the planet,—all of which keeps proving to be incorrect.

Sticking with all these collapsed Trot & revisionist perspectives about Labour, about the 'peaceful' end to imperialism, etc,—will cost the international proletariat very dearly.

The more class-collaboration is offered instead of fighting the revolutionary fight,—the more liberties will fascist-war-mongering take. The longer Labour is propped up, the slower will be the development of Leninist understanding.

The longer US imperialism's 'strategic interests' are held to be 'legitimate' or unlikely to result in generalised World War III warmongering,—the more damaging grip will the fascist degeneracy of the Zionist occupation of Palestine & domination of the Near-East take, e.g. —and likewise in all the other centres of imperialist aggression listed above.

The more resolutely

to take place,—the collapse of the 'free world' West in a slump orgy of warmongering-fascist Depression. Projecting the defeat of Kinnockism, parliamentarism, or any part of class-collaborating trade-unionist consciousness outside of the collapse & overthrow of anti-communism,—is to just moulder in a sectarian world of pre-judiced petty-bourgeois self-delusion.

Bulletin 390(17/6/87)

### 3

A combination of subtle illusions & sheer ignorance is at the root of the unscientific attitudes to Kinnockism throughout the 'left' swamp,—from bogus Labour 'lefts' to fake 'revolutionary' petty-bourgeois sects.

A majority said: Vote Labour,—albeit 'critically' or 'without illusions'. A few said: Reject Kinnock,—but with just as confused a perspective on the future as the rest,—all utterly corrupted by anti-Soviet anti-communism of the postwar epoch's Cold War, and by the absence of revolutionary-theoretical leadership since Lenin's death in 1924.

The most widely-practised deception,—on which the whole swamp relies, from the Trots to the Euro-revisionists,—is that the eventual future arrival of socialism in Britain is an unknown chapter, a completely unopened book, a conundrum as to precisely when, how, and why. This leaves the door open for a virtually unquestioning & uncritical acceptance of the perspectives (& ways of doing things) of the 'existing labour movement'.

On the Euro-revisionist side, this rules out all notions of "another 1917-type insurrection experience" in favour of 'left' pressures on longstanding practice in "trade-union struggle",—i.e. in class collaboration and reformism.

On the Trot side, this rules out being able to project their intended 'overthrow of Kinnock & class-collaboration' within the only real perspectives in which this is obvi-

ously actually going to take place,—the collapse of the 'free world' West in a slump orgy of warmongering-fascist Depression. Projecting the defeat of Kinnockism, parliamentarism, or any part of class-collaborating trade-unionist consciousness outside of the collapse & overthrow of anti-communism,—is to just moulder in a sectarian world of pre-judiced petty-bourgeois self-delusion.

Effectively, these Trot & Euro-revisionist complacent illusions in the continuity of 'free Western democracy' merge together to form a complete philistine barrier to any serious new thinking about what historic conclusions might be drawn from (1) the obvious decadence now of the longstanding reformist illusion & practice in Britain; (2) coupled with the over-ripeness of the imminent inter-imperialist warmongering economic crisis; plus (3) the obvious signs of fundamental revolt in various sections of British society (e.g. the miners strike, the inner-city rebellions, the teachers dispute, regional disaffection, etc).

The full possible implications of all these unmistakable signs of a convergence of major historic developments are being largely ignored due to this blanket barrier of philistinism being imposed by the swamp's 57 varieties,—by the anti-revolutionary tallending conformity of the Euro-revisionist wing, and by the counter-revolutionary anti-communist posturing hysteria of the Trots.

Because of the swamp's wilful sectarian capitulation in different ways to the 'existing labour movement',—the real possible significance of Kinnockism can only get discussed in the Bulletin (see in particular ILWP Books vols 7 & 9, and last few Bulletins around the election).

The eventual future arrival of socialism in Britain, however, is not at all a closed book, or a completely unwritten chapter. The pattern of imperialist decline & collapse (&

overthrow) in the 20th century is indelibly established for all but the most insensitive philistines. Not the slightest hint of 'ambulance-watching' or 'wishing the worst doom on capitalism' is involved. The boom/Slump/war cycle of imperialism's unavoidable & incurable crises (of so-called 'over-production') is the one unmistakable historical reality. The artificial straining after pre-conceived ideas belongs entirely to those who try to see some other pattern emerging from the market economy's iron laws of periodic relative capitalist-surplus.

What strains credulity is not the unmistakable signs of impending cut-throat trade-war conflict,—but the barmy illusions of the 'democracy' cretins who pretend,—against all the historical evidence, and against all the current political evidence, worldwide,—that 'reason will prevail' and that 'peaceful negotiations will sort out all mankind's problems'.

It only needs pointing out that in the postwar period of the notorious so-called '40 years of peace' since 1945,—there have in fact been more sustained wars and more sustained relentless megadeaths than in any previous period of human history on a worldwide scale; and that currently, there is, by far, more widespread full-scale bloodshed & suffering going on than at any previous time in that illusory & non-existent '40 years of peace',—measured on a worldwide capitalist scale.

It can also hardly have escaped people's notice that the warmongering conflict is creeping closer & closer to 'Western strategic interests',—so-called,—all the time. And commensurate with that,—naturally,—the general level of arms-race war spending is only ever mounting up all the time,—never down. And even in the ludicrously illogical & irrelevant fake-pacifist nuclear disarmament unilateral-

alism of the disgusting Labourite opportunists,—there is nevertheless a much firmer proposal to spend much more on armaments in general,—and specifically on building up the NATO aggressive counter-revolutionary murder machinery.

Given the inevitable historical pattern within which capitalist 'democracy' will finally collapse in degenerate paralysed ignominy in Britain, then what conclusions must be drawn now about the rival parliamentary-imperialist posturings of the competing media-'campaign' circuses is not so difficult. They all,—especially Labour,—deserve nothing but the utter contempt & repudiation by every honest class-conscious worker.

Only where the imminent future pattern of inter-imperialist warmongering decline is deliberately obscured by the squabbling Trot or Euro-revisionist 'left'-apologists for Labour are there any doubts about denouncing Labour's sick pitch for bourgeois parliamentary support,—a system which can only once again lead to the eventual triumph one more time in the West of open aggressive-fascist warmongering in order to 'save' crisis-ridden capitalism (from revolutionary overthrow) by renewed flag-waving war in the 'national interest'.

The anti-Leninist swamp does nothing but obscure this warmongering-collapse inevitability of the capitalist system from workers by every single argument it puts forward or discusses in its quest for support for Labour.

Along one line of argument, the swamp denies in various ways that any warmongering-revolutionary crisis lies ahead at all. Along a back-up line, it argues that the 'British labour movement would never fall for fascism & warmongering again', etc.

Without any kind of revolutionary crisis in the development of Western imperialism,—naturally bourgeois propaganda will rule forever. Therefore, in-

evitably, the existing labour movement trade-unionist bourgeois consciousness will also triumph for ever. It thus 'makes sense' to creep into the Labour Party via entrism, or else to similarly tail-end existing backward 'public opinion' by 'accepting that most workers will vote Labour', etc.

It is reformism's entirely corrupt & illusory historical perspectives, - ignoring the revolutionary character of all significant class struggle, and the warmongering-revolutionary-crisis character of the bourgeoisie's degeneracy in the 20th century, - which enables the swamp to repeatedly slip back into the argument,

almost thoughtlessly, such deeply & crucially contentious matters as "It is obviously better to have a Labour Government than a Tory Government" (?); or "Voting for Labour is still the dominant political interest for the working class" (?); or "Thatcherism is a success (?), - which means there must be a downturn in working class struggle (?); - which in turn means the crucial importance of any opposition to Thatcherism - even Kinnock's"; or "It must be a period of downturn in working class struggle or else Labour would have got a much bigger vote" (?) etc, etc.

Because of all the unchallenged stifling assumptions of the traditional labour movement (and the anti-Leninist 'lefts' who tail-end it) about anti-communism being justified and a good thing; about 'freedom & democracy' having to be 'defended'; about the 'mixed economy' of the West being 'obviously superior'; about 'rank-and-file trade-unionism' being the only & sufficient 'revolutionary' weapon; about the inevitable need to graft a 'revolutionary' challenge onto parliament through a leavening of 'militant left' MPs; etc, etc, - all of which vague & abstract posturing aims to kill dialectical-revolutionary consciousness ra-

ther than to develop it, - all these simplistic 'Vote Labour' arguments have never been put under real scrutiny recently.

It is the exact opposite truths which need stressing: - That support of any kind, - 'critical' or not, - for Labour's blatantly pro-imperialist pro-capitalist manifesto can only play right into the hands of capitalism's major party, - the Tories; that Labour's own emphasis on waving the 'national interest' Union Jack can only play into the hands of the party of imperial chauvinism, - the Tories; that Labour's devotion to the NATO counter-revolutionary alliance of anti-communist hysteria can only play into the hands of traditional imperialist warmongering; that Labour's slavish support for bourgeois (parliamentary) 'democracy' can only play into the hands of the monopoly-capitalist media, TV, City, civil service, police, judicial, and military establishments whose cover 'democracy' is; that capitulation to Western imperialism's hypocritical 'anti-terror' hysteria can only result in relentless pressure against every form of extra-parliamentary struggle eventually, - virtually outlawing the only real political weapon the working class can fight back with against all-powerful bourgeois propaganda; etc.

These insuperable realities can only be stressed to the background of the one correct political perspective on the future, - that all 'left' pressure to force 'revolutionary' so-called 'reforms' on the bankrupt myth of 'parliamentary reformism' - is completely self-contradictory nonsense; and that only through the break-up of capitalist society in revolutionary conflict (as the perspective) can the necessary programme, strategy, & tactics for the working class to seize power begin to be worked out.

In general, this means the inter-imperialist trade-war degeneration back to fascism and World War III. In par-

ticular, it means bitter confrontation against illusions among British workers (born of 130-years of class-collaborating 'parliamentary' corruption by imperialism in favour of White Western supremacy; and against the dictatorship of the proletariat, and legitimate revolutionary violence of the national liberation struggle).

In practice, this is going to lead to some bitter conflicts in the trade unions (and labour movement generally) against inevitable tendencies initially towards social chauvinism on the question of the 'national interest' in all matters of trade-war, and then, even more, in all matters of shooting war.

This future pattern is properly being set now in Leninist (ILWP) confrontation against current labour movement backwardness on matters of race (the McGoldrick affair - see forthcoming ILWP volume, or past Bulletins); of illusions in 'municipal socialism' (see ILWP Books vols 7 & 9); of illusions in 'left' trade-union spontaneity which saw the miners' heroic struggle commit suicide behind the NUM's crass pro-Labour politics (see ILWP Books vol 7); of Socialist Camp retreats from Leninism (e.g. Cuba & Moscow's capitulation to Reagan's nazi blitzkrieg on Grenada; to Zionist-imperialist aggression elsewhere, etc, - see ILWP Books vol 6); and on matters of pacifist nonsense which falsely pretend that imperialist aggression can be ended 'peacefully' on the planet (ILWP Books 4).

Above all, this future pattern of confronting 'traditional' labour movement backwardness in order to defeat it & replace it by Leninist revolutionary consciousness has been set by the ILWP in one leading the challenge to working class anti-communism in the West, - particularly the shallow filthy clamour whipped up by the Trots & Euro-revisionists in favour of the fascist-minded Solidarnosc stunt organised by the CIA & the Vatican at a cost of \$ 100 million from outside & inside

Poland, to challenge the workers state there.

The ILWP alone has explained & defended the historic gains of building workers states in East Europe and the rest of the socialist camp, - consistently exposing the hysterical rackets pumped up by Western subversion which initially (in every case, no matter what second thoughts may be had later, - as in the case of Walesa's blatant fascist mentality) have always panicked the entire 'left' swamp into jumping on the West's anti-communist bandwagon.

Only the ILWP has immediately explained in every case of anti-communist propaganda and subversion the historically crucial real class conflict taking place (underneath all the hysteria) between the dictatorship of the proletariat on the progressive side of history, and the powers of Western monopoly-imperialist influence on the negative warmongering side. (see ILWP Books vols 3 to 9).

This is the only real context in which the routine election-time arguments about 'Labour will at least be better than Tory', etc, can be assessed.

The greatest danger & difficulty would be to underestimate just how grotesquely corrupted the entire labour movement in the West has become under the unprecedented onslaught of 40 years artificial postwar capitalist boom and Cold War anti-communism. On top of that, the British working class had the added stain of already being the most viciously corrupted & depraved by 'white imperialist supremacy' of any of the Western working classes, - presiding over an empire 'on which the sun never set', etc.

It is impossible to over-emphasise the degenerate bankruptcy of the fight for revolutionary theory in Britain. There was none, - until the development of the ILWP's struggle. The confused sectarian efforts of decadent 'Stalinist' tailendism and of its inevitable further decline into anti-Soviet revisioni-

sm, merging into reformism; plus the unbalanced 'everything is rotten' cynicism of Trotskyite individualism (see ILWP Books vol 5); - combined to produce the most barren philitinism of any period of proletarian history, - the inevitable prelude to rampaging fascist degeneracy unless the fight for Leninism wins more support.

It is unnervingly unfortunate that Leninism's original struggles were in circumstances where the decadent Tsarist empire led to an immediate sizeable response in the spread of revolutionary consciousness. The current unique historical circumstances of the unprecedented 40-year imperialist boom coupled with an unheard-of worldwide nonstop campaign of fabulously-funded anti-communist propaganda & intrigue, - plus the dispiriting effect of the revisionist stupour of Moscow (and later, even more disastrously, of Peking) - just has to be realistically assessed: - a bleak, potentially damaging, partial interlude in the general continuing revolutionary progress of mankind. Nor is it entirely such a historical oddity. For Leninism precisely had to be originally developed in a period of very low ebb in real revolutionary scientific ability among the large pretended 'Marxist' movement, - virtually all of which turned out to be nothing but crass revisionist opportunism & treachery by the time all the national elements were all separately supporting their 'own' national flags in the barbaric anti-revolutionary stunt of World War I in 1914.

That barrenness all around the spark of Leninism was the making of Leninism then. The current barrenness in the Western labour movement will be the re-making of Leninism now.

It is only to the actual world revolutionary socialist developments roaring ahead now that attention has to be constantly turned. (See ILWP Books vols 3 to 6). Despite not yet being able to oust the

revisionist stoupur from Moscow & Peking, the revolutionary movement is nevertheless developing irresistibly from El Salvador to the Philippines, from Ireland to South Africa. Everywhere, the turn to Leninist revolutionary struggle is steadily growing, and even more importantly, the turn to Leninist revolutionary understanding & theory is of necessity growing too.

In this context, it is obvious also why the Western pampered creditor monopoly-imperialist powers would inevitably remain a very last-ditch lagoon of anti-communist backwardness and anti-theory philistinism. (But not for much longer.)

It is not just that the potential 'revolutionary forces' in Britain, e.g., have 'lost their edge' under the confusing impact of seemingly effortless & endless capitalist boom conditions and omnipotent Cold War anti-communist propaganda & subversion.

The 'lefts' have thrown themselves into make-or-break crisis by in fact identifying themselves with the West's counter-revolutionary intrigues against the socialist camp, - whether backing the fascist putsch in Hungary in 1956; the 1968 Prague Spring revisionist capitulation to bourgeois 'democracy'; the Saudi-CIA financed & run artificial 'separatist' struggle in Eritrea against socialist Ethiopia; the khan & mullah-dominated 'freedom fighters' (i.e. those wishing to return to tribal & feudal slavery) in Afghanistan; the Pol Pot petty-bourgeois ultra-left adventurers in Kampuchea; or the feudal-capitalist Catholic-fascist reaction around Solidarnosc in Poland which bankrupted the Vatican & CIA anti-communist funds in the mafia-linked money-laundering scandals around Sindona, Calvi, Banco Ambrosiano, and the Licio Gelli P2 nazi-freemasonry rackets.

From such exposed positions in the service of fascist reaction, the 'left' swamp, - parasitic on the labour movement 'traditi-

ons' in Britain, - has landed far further up Shit Creek without a paddle than the philistine opponents the Bolsheviks were dealing with on the 'left'. Lenin's tricky revisionist-minded opponents at least had apparently honourable records (in the fight against reaction, even if their muddle-headedness was nevertheless disastrous for the proletarian revolution) until their disgrace in failing to call for the revolutionary overthrow of their 'own' side in the 1914 inter-imperialist war.

The ILWP's opponents on the 'left', however, are already all branded indelibly as stooges of warmongering fascist reaction, or as incapable of fighting against it, - long before the inter-imperialist WWII (into which they all will inevitably be social-chauvinistically sucked, as most were into the Falklands humbug) has even arrived. In failing to follow the ILWP's lead in 1980 in calling for the Polish workers state & the socialist camp to crush the Solidarnosc fascist intrigue with the forces of proletarian dictatorship, - the 'left' swamp all, - without exception, - allowed their petty-bourgeois squeamishness (about the forcible purpose of proletarian dictatorship) to betray their real class positions behind Western 'democratic' hypocrisy.

All - without exception, - let slip similar nervous middle-class fastidiousness when the KAL007 spy-jet had to be properly brought down.

The swamp's squeamishness, however, is a very inconsistent affair, and is a very useless guide to how the 'left' will respond to violent class struggle - except where it happens to coincide with what majority middle-class 'public opinion' in Britain (trade unions included) 'feels' about firm socialist camp/proletarian dictatorship action, - i.e. hostile.

The swamp was certainly feeling less delicate of taste when it was time to judge Thatcher's colonial barb-

arism in massaging thousands of young Argentine working class conscripts in the name of 'British sovereignty' laying imperialist squatters claim to Argentina's Malvinas Islands, - backed by US-nazi imperialism under Reagan. The ILWP alone consistently commended to workers in Britain the defeat of Thatcher's mercenary-colonial adventure. Much of the 'left' capitulated sufficiently to the jingoistic hysteria of flag-waving 'public opinion' in Britain (especially in the trade unions) to offer even tortuous 'justification' for the degenerate British imperialist aggression. If the swamps social-chauvinist bankruptcy is such on just a simple colonial brigandage matter as Thatcher's fascist aggression against Argentina, - what screeching 'national interest' reactionary fervour will not the entire 'left' be infected with once import-controls (Labour's favourite trade union policy) and trade war have been whipped up against eminently more hatable (and worthy) opponents - rivals such as German imperialist competition, or Japanese imperialist competition.

This inevitable near-unanimous backwardness-to-come (in the traditional British labour movement at the approach of WWII) explains the hard going for the struggle for a Leninist movement now, of course; but reveals nothing about how rapidly things will change once decadent British bourgeois imperialism comes quickly to grief in the approaching inter-imperialist hostilities.

The pattern set by the Bolsheviks, (- often a relatively small group compared to the 'left' swamp, and a very small group relative to the size of the masses in Tsarist Russia, -) is precedent enough for what mighty achievement the present smallscale re-birth of Leninism in Britain will eventually be aspiring to. The contradictions between what is to be and what appears now are even greater in the terminal crisis of British imperialism than were

the case with Tsarism. Although the masses rallied round the flag in Russia in 1914 the same as anywhere else, there was precious little for many of them to really cheer about, - such was the decrepit condition of Tsarist society. The catastrophic defeats of WWI soon found the rottenness of Tsarism out, - confirming the shocked revulsion at Russia's 1904 defeat by Japan. The masses in Britain approach WWII possibly initially much more willing to give credit to the not-inconsiderable 'national interest' they have shared in under the imperialist boom. But set against that, the corrupt relations of class collaboration which have kept British imperialism going so relatively 'successfully' for nearly 150 years have grown very decadent by now. Who trusts who to do anything well any longer in Britain now?

Cultural depravity is widespread now throughout the capitalist system. Efficiency will be everything in the forthcoming warmongering conflicts, allied to whatever sense of 'national destiny' is remaining in any country under such a corrupt hypocritical system as monopoly-capitalist exploitation. The revulsion against British parliamentary bureaucracy and municipal 'socialist' chaos could rapidly produce a revolutionary crisis here. It was very close to happening during the Falklands adventure, had a couple more of Thatcher's colonial gunboats gone down earlier on in the conflict, - as they nearly did. Never was 'triumph' so close to total disaster. And that was only against the Argentine comic-opera junta. The generalised trade-conflict warmongering of the approaching WWII period will set far stiffer tasks for British bourgeois-imperialist decadence.

Astonishingly, the 'left' in Britain attempts to totally ignore these obvious Marxist perspectives on the coming Depression Decade (following the imminent new Wall Str-

eet Crash, mimicking 1929.) The swamp comically sticks to its bankrupt tailending (of Kinmock opportunism) in anti-communist fear & hatred of the proletarian dictatorship upheavals to come, - so hidebound are the philistine prejudices of anti-communism and closed-shop class-collation in the trade union movement. Even those parts of the 'left' allegedly pro-Soviet (bogusly so, - they are really only pro the bureaucratic revisionism ruling in Moscow) - are terrified of ever challenging the anti-theory imperialist-corrupted backwardness of the trade unions.

This is the real class-philosophical petty-bourgeois background to the 'left's' tame capitulation to Kinmock's little Fuehrer antics (complete with Leni Riefenstahl bio-pic worship. Goebbels would have admired such outrageous propaganda.) The swamp fawns on Labour's revolting new 'image' because to challenge such a last-ditch stand of irrelevant reformist capitalism (in an epoch of terminal imperialist crisis) would mean to let the genie out of the bottle disputing every atom of class-collaborating, pro-imperialist, pro-colonialist garbage dominating Labour's entire history (see ILWP Books vols 7&9), - from the Ramsay MacDonald 'National' government betrayal; to the Cold War nuclear encirclement threat to atomic-bomb-less Soviet Russia; and the fascist blitz on the communist partizan victors over the nazi axis in Greece, Malaya, etc; - to the re-establishment of a police-military dictatorship over the occupied zone of Ireland, and the concentration camp, torture-barracks, MI5 death-squad routines to back that dictatorship up. Right along the line, Labour has always been at hand during capitalism's worst crises to take over government-management temporarily to restore the private monopoly system's state structures and imperialist fortunes. So will it always be for as long as bourgeois

'democracy' wants it, never hindered from this corruption-compromise mission by Labour's trade-union (class-collaboration) base.

Not once during the election campaign did Labour or the trade unions challenge Thatcher's record (of appalling economic disasters) on the grounds that the capitalist system had once again been found wanting, and should face revolutionary overthrow. These philistine days, Labour does not even threaten major 'parliamentary reforms' to the capitalist system, as sick a joke as that used to be at election times.

And yet still the 'left' swamp suicidally stays mired in outdated 'labour movement traditions' pretending that (a) "Labour is still better than Tory"; and (b) "anyway, the working class still cannot be broken from its faith in Labour"—both of which dull clichés are part of the very paralysed reformist traditions which the 'left' is supposed to be overcoming. In fact, (a) is self-evidently not true, — Labour being the obvious 'alternative voice' of British imperialist management since the 1920s, supervising unbroken continuity in the system's capitalist-colonialist-anti-communist endeavours.

And (b) is even sillier, — a monstrous charade largely deliberately propped up by exactly those 'lefts' themselves who most loudly pretend that they are 'revolutionising' the Labour Party to 'destroy' the rightwing faction-establishment once and for all, and to put Labour under 'direct socialist control' of the 'rank-and-file' in order to 'take the power', etc. But all that this swamp does in reality is just prop up the otherwise moribund Labour reformist traditions.

In a country where workers form 90% of the population, this so-called 'indestructible' Labour vote in fact got the support of just 22% of the total adult population who could have a ballot if they wanted it. Or to turn the figures

round, nearly 80% of the adult population in a Britain where workers form 90% of the population — could not be bothered to turn out & vote Labour (or even to register at all). Such is the real condition of utter contempt & cynicism towards Labour's 8-times failed, and now conclusively bankrupt, 'reformist' illusions & promises about capitalism. No serious adult person in Britain at all believes any more that Labour will now or ever fundamentally challenge the social & propertied dominance of the private monopoly-capitalist class ruling Britain.

In which case all argument for ever casting another vote for Labour at any level, — or for involving workers in the bourgeois-parliamentary farce in that way ever again, — (in order to allegedly 'exhaust workers faith in reformism by supporting it as a rope supports a hanged man' etc.) — all such argument collapses into irrelevant reactionary nonsense at once and for all time. There is still scope for exposing parliamentary government itself from within by sending elected revolutionaries into it as well as by organising revolutionary hostility to the bourgeois-monopoly fraud from outside Parliament. But propping up the bourgeois two-party system ever again by voting Labour or for any alternative 'Opposition' successor — would be a needless reactionary retreat into the now-outdated past. No serious person believes in 'reformism' any more. So down with 'democratic' capitalism, — and down with its parliamentary Shadow, 'reformism'. Down with Labour.

Bulletin 400 (1/7/87)

4

Apart from dealing with the phony reasons the Trots & Eurorevisionists gave for reburying the working class beneath the corpse of hopeless reformism by their call to

'Vote Labour' (or dealing with the equally misleading perspectives others gave as a reason for voting for them so as to 'influence' Labour in 'the right direction'), — there is also a need to assess just how degenerate this 'left' philistinism is, — and what major historical implications it has.

It was analysed earlier how the routine arguments put up by Labour 'lefts' and by fake 'revolutionaries' for voting for Kinnock largely go unchallenged only because of the mountain of poison from 40 years Cold War anti-communist propaganda among British workers, making daft assumptions seem either plausible or else not worth arguing about.

If there is apparently 'no alternative' to 'democracy' and to the 'parliamentary path' to 'socialism', — then common experience about how impossible it is for ordinary people to influence the mighty media-backed establishments of the 2 or 3-party system ("They're all the same basically") makes delving too closely into some argument or other about why "it is still important to vote Labour", etc., — not worth the trouble, — especially as every vote cast by workers is cast in total shallow cynicism, and without workers expecting a single thing from Labour (or from anyone else), — least of all socialism.

When looked at, of course, the swamp's reasons for 'voting Labour' are either a wishful-thinking illusion, — or else downright reactionary.

The full corrupting impact of Labour's treacherous history of running the same old capitalist system but with intervention subsidies and welfare benefits in all directions to conceal the realities going on underneath — will be discussed later. But just on the surface, the stock trade-union-movement assumption that 'it is obviously better to have a Labour Government than a Tory one' is criminal philistinism and reactionary rubbish.

Labour's clumsy inexperienced half-heartedness in managing the monopoly-imperialist, City-dominated international connections of Britain's market economy has as a matter of plain public record led to at least as much monetary-financial crisis since 1945, — if not far more, than Tory rule has produced.

All the exchange controls and 'strict' tax regimes in the world, — as applied by Labour, — have never had the slightest influence on changing the real basic nature of profiteering. The Tories merely administer these things more openly, making a virtue of wealth. The relations which all Labour leaderships have had with millionaires (especially Wilson, but including Foot & Kinnock) are merely more shady and shamefaced, — not at all different. One of the biggest and most dubious of all the current wheeler-dealers, Robert Maxwell, is formally far closer to Kinnock than to Thatcher.

Money-market speculation by monopoly financiers, — with all its unhealthy & uncontrollable influence on international trade & politics, — goes on if anything even more chaotically under Labour than under the Tories.

Suggestions of misguided, ignorant, or improper establishment involvement (at ministerial or civil servant level) in this interchange between state financial decisions and market monopoly interests (private & public) have never been notably less during Labour administrations than Tory ones, — and have probably been more frequent because of the greater naivete, and lack of confidence or familiarity with command, of Labour's parliamentary traditions.

For this same reason, the amount of open scandals touching upon government economic interests, — both national & local, both public & private, — have always been a constant factor under Labour every bit as rampantly as under the Tories. Corruption in local government building contracts, for

example, is chronic in British politics (and throughout the 'free' West). And by far the juiciest racketeering since 1945 has flourished, or been exposed, — in connection with the Labour Party and its various administrations — local & national. And all the same sleaze is going on just as crookedly today.

In all the matters of so-called 'civil liberties' or 'human & democratic rights', — it is invariably Labour's name which is attached to the most vicious innovations. It was Labour which first re-introduced the military to break strikes in the postwar era in 1948 to defeat the dockers, — the bad old pre-war practice which was supposedly never going to be seen again after 1945 and the so-called 'Red Election'. Simultaneously, Labour had already reoriented MI5 and MI6 from being wartime intelligence agencies back into being fulltime secret police units, spying first & foremost on suspected 'militant' workers preaching the overthrow of the capitalist state in Britain, — enabling unofficial strike ringleaders to be readily identified & picked off by the Special Branch (— and referred to most notoriously by Labour Prime Minister Harold Wilson in 1966-67 against the seamen's strike as a 'subversive small group of politically-motivated men'.)

Anti-communist blacklisting of militants has been endemic in Britain, and probably got worse after 1945 (Labour's first majority government) than at any previous time in history. Never have Labour governments done anything other than encourage these notorious employers' practices.

It was the Labour 'lefts' Barbara Castle and Harold Wilson who first introduced anti-union legislation postwar in Britain with their 1968 'In Place of Strife' proposals seeking to limit the right to strike. It was the same Labour Government which introduced the first comp-

ulsoary state wage controls to strengthen private employers hands,—the same principles as any fascist economic dictatorship.

Likewise, it was a Labour Government which gave the first official boost to racism in Britain with immigration controls which were blatantly biased against the blacks. It would not change this established pattern now either.

And perhaps most infamously, it was Labour which reimposed a police-military dictatorship on the occupied zone of Ireland to back up Britain's gerrymandering Orange-fascist colonists there and start the process off comprising concentration camps (detention without trial); torture barracks (see European Human Rights Commission condemnation); 3 a.m. army terror raids on entire residential districts; no-jury courts; and nazi death squads (SAS & MI5 shoot-on-sight assassination units); etc. And Labour currently declares that its priority in colonised Ireland will be to strengthen the British police-military dictatorship to make "dealing with the men of violence" the first question (i.e. crushing the national-liberation struggle by the Irish).

On the economy & welfare, Labour makes shallow promises (one million less on the dole after two years, etc) which no one believes. All the postwar records for council house building, school construction & hospital building, public works expansion, etc,—all belong to Tory governments, not Labour (for what these records are worth since by themselves they change nothing about the fundamental way in which the world capitalist anarchy is see-sawing, (and the British economy within it). It was under Labour that unemployment first went above 1 million,—to nearly 1½ million during the Healey-Callaghan-Wilson economic crisis of 1977. Wholesale closures or cut-backs in uncompetitive nationalised industr-

ies began then. Research & development were likewise curtailed. Thatcherism has done nothing new,—merely followed the dictates of the devastating international trade competition much more logically from the depraved point of view of capitalist market economics. Labour has repeatedly & loudly made it clear that it will do nothing,—if ever returned to office,—to change the fundamental workings of the international capitalist market economy which is the all-powerful influence on how things in Britain work (or don't work, as will increasingly be the case,—under Tory or Labour).

Labour has no plans whatever to deal with the forthcoming repeat of the 1929 Wall Street Crash; and no plans to deal with the crushing international trade war which will follow,—other than to stupidly play into the hands of monopoly-imperialism by being the first, (as usual),—to scream for the introduction of import controls (which will set things nicely up for the coming decade of Depression, degenerating into fascism, all-out arms-race warmongering, and the drift into inter-imperialist World War III (see previous section).)

On top of all this, of course, it was precisely the Labour Party which launched Britain on the entire disastrous anti-Soviet Cold War cause after 1945 which put workers permanently in the grip of US-imperialist counter-revolutionary warmongering hysteria which has catastrophically dominated Western life ever since. Labour agreed to the nuking of Japan as a shot across Soviet bows and to try to keep the USSR out of the victory over Japan; to the denial of atomic know-how to the Soviets; to the development of the H-bomb; and to the Cold War nuclear encirclement of the USSR by Western (mainly US) imperialist bases; to the rejection of Soviet calls for total nuclear disarmament; to the re-arming of German imperial-

ism; and to the founding of the NATO fake 'freedom' alliance to cover up all this counter-revolutionary warmongering arms-race reaction. Labour has backed every anti-communist propaganda stunt and military provocation since,—including helping launch the Korean War, and offering 'technical' assistance in Vietnam. Labour pioneered the infamous US-invasion nazi-blitzkrieg methods (Grenada, Dominican Republic, Lebanon, Tripoli, Guatemala, El Salvador, etc) by its anti-communist extermination wars-of-intervention against the communist-partizan liberators of Malaya, Greece, etc, in 1945. These counter-revolutionary dictatorship methods were used by Labour again in repressing a number of other national-liberation struggles in British colonies later on; and in particular were most notoriously re-applied in re-establishing a police-military dictatorship murder-squad torture regime over the colonised zone of north Ireland after 1968.

So even on the surface, the reasons for 'voting Labour' are trivial illusory nonsense,—or even downright reactionary. As for Labour's 'caring image',—it was the 'famous' 1945 Labour Government which re-established the capitalist system in Britain (amid much fear in the ruling class about what the 'Red Election' might do to the private market-economy system after it had again dragged the world into international inter-imperialist war (1939-1945). Although it was Hitler's attack on the USSR which brought his downfall (the West's 1938 Munich treachery had planned for the opposite outcome),—the all-out warmongering was already essentially under way without the Soviet Union's involvement,—prior to that attack))

Having re-established capitalism, and there being no possibility of any control (by anyone) over its market anarchy,—then Labour's driven now about 'how it would care for the poor and

the unemployed' is utterly pointless. All governments under capitalism will become increasingly bankrupt and increasingly incapable of doing anything about the poverty of the deep & incurable slump now being unleashed worldwide.

So much for the shallower implications of 'At least Labour is better than Tory' (the deeper, more tragic implications of 'welfare capitalism' will be examined subsequently).

But the other argument—'Because workers support it, it has to be Labour'—fares little better.

Much of the 'reasoning' for this line in the swamp (Morning Star, NCP, Workers Press, etc) amounted to little more than asserting that 'workers everywhere are backing Labour' and that therefore 'Labour can oust the Tories',—which, without any reasoning at all, was widely regarded as "the most urgent task facing the British working class" which begs the previous much-disputable question ('Labour is at least better than Tory'), and which automatically limits workers' entire perspective once again to the deliberate bourgeois-democracy trap of merely casting a vote.

It did not happen. Only 22% of the adult population could find it worth the effort to organise themselves to vote Labour. Nearly 80% could not see the point.

And since it was clearly established above that it makes no difference whether the slump is succumbed to by a Labour bourgeois government or a Tory bourgeois government,—then the Trot-Eurorevisionist swamp's urgings that 'workers must vote Labour to get Thatcher out', etc, become nothing but misleading confusion-making.

The issue really is: Capitalist-boom democracy is now bankrupt. No votes will now halt the arms-race trade-war slump now incurably descending on the imperialist world. Most workers are sensing that monopoly-media-dominated election farces can change nothing. So what

is the main priority now, in these circumstances???

The half-hearted incidental appeals to 'revolutionary organisation' and 'revolutionary struggle' (alongside the swamp's appeal to 'Vote Labour') are immediately deliberately scuppered by these fake 'lefts' themselves through their heavy reliance on a widespread swamp assumption that a major 'downturn' is shattering the working class at the moment, and that therefore concentration on getting votes for Labour is the only realistic way forward, with the 'revolutionary' exhortations merely to hang on the wall for show.

This is the most dubious 'reasoning' of all,—frequently expressed in a self-serving tautology by these parasite-entrist 'left' Labourites as 'It must be a period of downturn or else Labour would have got a much bigger vote'.

That a period of upswing in working class struggle (essentially revolutionary struggle by the very nature of all extra-parliamentary class conflict) might be accompanied by an increased vote for Labour during any elections would not be greatly surprising (or very interesting). But to argue from there that therefore the best way back to a revolutionary upswing is to persuade more workers to vote Labour is very doubtful logic indeed,—and even worse Marxism.

This pro-Labour stunt entirely begs the very plausible & fascinating question: After 130 years of imperialist class-collaborating parliamentary illusion undermining the working class,—will some of the first decisive signs of a revolutionary break from the whole epoch of boom & slump electoral fraud not be a contemptuous cynicism towards all manifesto-election-promises and towards all the beguiling trickery of "the secret ballot equals political power", etc?

Hitherto, childishly simplistic 'explanations' have been got away with as to how the 'left' dream could

come to pass of Labour manifestos being increasingly forced to include more & more 'socialist' policies by 'revolutionary' advance in the trade union movement, leading eventually to a 'left' majority in Parliament (Labour MPs plus a leavening of Trot or CP MPs - permute to taste according to which of the 57 swamp varieties is doing the arguing).

This is really only the 'peaceful' 'Parliamentary' so-called 'road to socialism' with a few knobs on ("mass mobilisation outside Parliament will ensure that the democratic will of the majority is respected", etc) which only puts at one naive remove the all-important difficult question: Why would the bourgeois monopoly-capitalist establishment, which invented the 'parliamentary democracy' system, ever allow it to get so far as to produce a 'revolutionary' majority in the Commons and in the country which could force the ruling-class to peacefully capitulate 400 years of state power and become extinct without a fight, - the first ruling class in history to do so??

This scenario at the same time totally leaves out the clear Marxist understanding that equally crucial to a successful revolution as is a proletariat which refuses to live on in the old way any more, - is a ruling class which no longer is able or knows how to control things any further, - in other words, some kind of collapse or total breakdown in order. A ruling class which has merely just lost a majority vote in a bourgeois democracy system which it has dutifully kept running smoothly enough for the 'revolutionaries' to step neatly into power with their own 'elected representatives' at the helm, - sounds more like something out of a fairy tale than out of reality.

Much more likely is it that the already-established pattern of the 1920s-1930s world imperialist crisis will be repeated as in

Spain, Italy, Germany, etc, then where the parliamentary system fell increasingly into disrepute or frustrated impotence, - finally to be superseded by a rightwing fascist coup, - a situation which all the 'lefts' of the period were repeatedly unprepared for precisely because of their too naive & too unvigilant & too trusting "acceptance of the need to play the democracy game" to the point of befuddling and totally disarming themselves from a revolutionary point of view. Only in the artificial circumstances of Czechoslovakia in 1948 where the liberating Red Army had already in fact taken the power away from the capitalist class has this 'prevailing will of the democratic parliamentary majority' delusion ever vaguely operated, - the totally abnormal exception to precisely prove the rule that the 'peaceful' & 'parliamentary' road to 'socialism' is a piece of counter-revolutionary anti-Leninist historical nonsense.

And the creeping Trot-Labour 'revolutionary' majority backed by 'revolutionary' mass mobilisation 'outside Parliament' is an equally lazy, shallow, philistine piece of entrust opportunism.

The obvious historical perspective to be analysed is one where the whole monopoly-media-dominated electoral-fraud bourgeois 'parliamentary' dictatorship becomes utterly discredited, - government & phony 'opposition' alike.

There is nothing wrong with the idea that there might be a few revolutionary voices within that parliament cheering on the proletariat's angry rejection of the entire 'democratic' farce. But the notion that such revolutionaries will have been playing their 'loyal opposition' games, - independently or as part of the 'left' Labour majority, - dutifully waiting for power to be handed over to them following some new electoral shift, - is pure debilitating fan-

tasy, - a completely rotten deception on the proletariat by these fake-'revolutionary' Labour 'lefts', Trot entrists, or ex-Stalinist camp followers.

Thus the automatic assumption that 'there must be a downturn or else Labour would have got more votes', coupled with 'To get back to an upswing, we must persuade more workers to get out & vote Labour', etc, is naive shallow 'science' to put it mildly.

And in general the notion of an 'upturn' or a 'downturn' justifying some complete somersault from revolutionary perspectives & agitation to purely reformist tailending of 'left' opportunism is anti-Leninist nonsense.

Certainly, Bolshevik tactics always of necessity closely followed the mood of workers and the balance of forces in the national & international class struggle, always seeking out the decisive next turning point in the ebb & flow of revolutionary consciousness and political struggle, - always prepared with maximum flexibility to replace one tactic or even strategy by a completely different one the moment circumstances demanded it. Leninism is acutely aware of the need to correctly gauge the mood, fighting capacity, and evolving consciousness of the masses at every minute stage of development in order to surmount the next obstacle to revolutionary advance or successful retrenchment.

But plunging headlong panic-stricken into a totally defeatist petty-bourgeois preconception of 'longterm downturn' has nothing to do with Marxism. On the contrary, such self-justifying pessimism about 'downturn hopelessness' is in fact a permanent feature of middle-class sectarian 'revolutionary' posturing typical of the British labour movement, and the exact opposite of the revolutionary leadership & understanding that is required.

Whatever judgements might be reached about the character & extent of various aspects of

possible 'downturn' in the current vastly complex class conflict and political/economic crisis in Britain, - the one sort of conclusion which immediately excludes itself as blatant petty-bourgeois idealism, best symbolised by the frantic futility of a headless chicken, - is the abandonment of all revolutionary analysis in order to tail-end a 'vote for Labour' capitulation & opportunist stunt.

On a general level, the first thing to note about downturns from historical experience is how rapidly seemingly disastrous defeats can quickly show signs of renewed development or even revolutionary struggle almost on the morrow of the setback. The second thing to note is how Marxist science has always immediately deepened its revolutionary analysis of developments (to greater longterm advantage) in the very shadow of the setback, - taking the whole revolutionary struggle automatically onto a much higher plane immediately, - whenever there has existed a genuine struggle for revolutionary understanding to champion such analysis.

The Trot & Euro swamp (Militant, Socialist Organiser, CPFML, NCP, WRP, CP, etc) have on the contrary degenerated all the way back to the most wretched Lib-Lab subservience, - doing everything in order 'not to rock the boat for Neil', - including swallowing silently (or even enthusiastically in the more philistine 'left' cases) the outrageous Goebbels-style 'leader' propaganda in favour of the appalling reactionary ass Kinnock, - brushing over the sinister fascist implications of this degenerate-parliamentary style - (opening the door for a new Oswald Mosley to emerge from the Labour Cabinet (if David Owen has not commandered the role already) just as the Blackshirt leader did out of the 1929 Labour Government, mimicking Hitler's 'national-socialist' antics in the equally moribund German 'parliamentary-

democracy' fraud of the period), - in order to excitedly cheer on after the election (as Workers Press hysterically did) "the massive working class vote against the Tories as the outstanding feature of the general election".

Could insane self-delusion to justify an utterly bankrupt perspective ("Vote Labour to achieve the urgent priority of ousting Thatcher") be taken further?

The election was a catastrophe for parliamentary reformism, - and never more deservedly so. To only persuade 22% of the adult population (in a country of 90% workers) to 'Vote Labour' despite the universal hatred & ridicule for Thatcher's ludicrous disasters (which only 29% of the adult population 'supported' with a vote, but much of that reluctantly by the middle class, - pushed to it only by the embarrassing gesticulating irrelevance of Kinnock's Goebbels-like 'leader' propaganda), - is close to terminal bankruptcy for the thoroughly discredited myth of 'parliamentary socialism'.

The real perspectives on the future, on the other hand, - while not ruling out future Labour victories in purely parliamentary terms, - direct the proletariat's attention into the completely opposite revolutionary direction for their real salvation.

The worthwhile things to measure are not how many provincial workers are still gullible enough to vote Labour (probably for quite conservative reasons of preserving 'welfare capitalism' where they still do so vote wearing enthusiastic blinkers), - but how deeply & rapidly is developing the real revolt in workers consciousness as signalled in the colossal miners strike, in the incurable 'inner-city' revolts, and in such unprecedented (if still very conservative in political aims) cultural upheavals as a strike by teachers!

The Bulletin long ago exposed the empty-headed posturing of such trendies as the SWP and RCG in their Trot-defeatist impressionism of embarrassing-



ly asserting that, of course, the 'well-paid miners would not strike' because of the 'downturn'—just at the very moment the stupendous 1984-85 mining communities revolt was unfolding. (See LWP Books vol 7). No doubt two years later, they are still smirking 'We got the gist right, after all. It was a defeat', etc.,—having, like all the swamp, totally missed the vital political significance of that epic struggle:—The collapse of the last illusions in 'left' trade-union extra-parliamentary 'action' when divorced from (as Scargill & the NUM were, and remain) a revolutionary political perspective which sees beyond the reformist Plan For Coal, and the 'next Labour Government',—both of which have been made irrelevant by the postwar imperialist boom now turning irrevocably into the slump-decade of arms-race trade-war leading back to fascism, inter-imperialist warmongering, and World War III.

The clear impossibility for capitalism (and refusal) to accept the NUM's 'economic reformist' plans, and Labour's reluctance to commit themselves to the Plan For Coal, and 'no redundancy' perspectives either (by disowning Scargill),—must be having a deeply educative impact on the working class,—as have other apparent 'defeats' such as in steel, shipbuilding, the car industry, Wapping, etc. It must undoubtedly be further undermining more than a century's working class culture built around the ideas of 'successful' class-collaborating reformism and trade-union struggle.

This fundamental class reappraisal of its existence and its political future might easily express itself initially, temporarily, in quite random, disoriented, defeatist, or opportunist ways such as half-heartedly voting for any old rubbish (Thatcher, the Alliance, or even for Kinnock's insulting 'leader' posturing).

But the only important thing is what irr-

eparable disillusionment has set in over the whole 'parliamentary democracy' and 'reformist trade-union struggle' in general?

And what new revolutionary ideas will not the proletarian masses be open to once the 'free world' anti-communist system starts to topple over into incurable trade-war slump and into inter-imperialist warmongering once again?

But the 'Vote Labour' swamp avoided these all one real issues & perspectives like the plague. And the one exception in the counter-revolutionary camp,—the RCP's bogus 'Red Front' which said vote for it rather than vote Labour — but on the same anti-communist basis that the rest of the swamp said 'Vote Labour',—totally ignored the real future too.

These queer Trots made not a single challenge to the 'Vote Labour' swamp concerning the coming disintegration of imperialist democracy and the collapse of the 'free West' in inter-imperialist warmongering. They totally accept the swamp's illusory anti-communist perspectives. Their only difference is that they, the RCP, wish to replace the Labour Party! This even-bamier-than-usual philistinism has noted the recent catastrophes of the fake 'left' (CP break-up; Militant retreat; 4th International break-ups (several); Scargillism's retreat; etc) —but calls this the defeat of the real left,— and declares this to be solely because the working class was led by Kinnock Scargill, Benn, Hatton, & Co, and not by Fran Eden, or Boy George, or whoever else the RCP is promoting at the time. This version of demented Trotskyite individualism is so philistine that it even leaves out any role for mass spontaneous revolutionary struggle —seeing the RCP as solely capable of "organising those who want to fight" after the election defeat. This crass anti-communist paternalism naturally stabbed in the back

the very best thing that the miners strike produced,—the majority's boisterous refusal to submit to the monopoly-capitalist media onslaught for throwing doubt on the strike by submitting it to a ballot which would include the Notts scabs (and others) who had betrayed the miners union discipline. The RCP Trots joined the press millionaires' chorus in admonishing: "There should be a ballot of all miners". (It is curious that the other swamp fakers who managed to avoid calling for a 'Vote Labour' capitulation to reformist opportunism,—the weedy 'Leninist' parasites of the CPGB revisionist bureaucracy who comically claim they want to 're-forge the Communist Party' (as if it wasn't a big enough forgery already),—the 'Leninist' also avoided all reference to the warmongering crisis of imperialism (which will push spontaneous mass revolutionary struggle on the way towards eliminating for good all reformist parliamentary fraudulence); and also joined the Trot RCP in 1985 in insisting that a ballot be imposed on the miners).

Thus the real measure for 'upturn' or 'downturn' must be taken on a far vaster scale than these narrow-minded swampites do who, even when pretending to be opposed to the 'Vote Labour' bankrupt perspectives,—only do so on the basis that they, and not the Labourites, should be in the leadership of the same old labour-movement rut of class-collaborating trade-union struggle, a bit of 'left' pressure, and incurable petty-bourgeois hostility to the dictatorship of the proletariat and the historic struggles to strengthen it inside the growing socialist camp and outside, the only real (or possible) history of the one & indivisible world socialist revolution.

It is precisely the international class-war background,—the one the entire swamp so loves to ignore,—

which governs how the complex matters of 'upturn' and 'downturn' must be dialectically scientifically analysed. A declining vote for Labour, for example could be seen as an excellent thing from a true international working class point of view if understood as British proletarian revulsion at last against all the stale old pro-NATO anti-communist vomit that the capitalist Labour Party has survived on all these years, pretending to be the 'peoples champion' in 'freedom' in what has in fact amounted to nothing more than the entirely mechanical workings of degenerate imperialist boom & slump,—spiralling relentlessly downwards to political, economic, social, & cultural warmongering decadence whatever anyone says or does in the purely decorative parliamentary talk-shop.

It is on this crucial international class-war front that the 'Leninist', for example —just like all the rest of the swamp,— was coaxed by its petty-bourgeois labour-movement club-culture from cherishing for the crushing of Solidarnoso by the proletarian dictatorship of the Polish workers state (as tatty an instrument as it was of the world socialist revolution, desperately in need of Leninist re-education to transform its revisionist-defeatist feebleness). This middle-class CPGB cowardice thus effectively made no break from the rest of the anti-Leninist swamp which was revelling in the Western monopoly media's presentation of what was supposedly the crushing of Polish workers state proletarian dictatorship (by the Solidarnoso anti-communists, led by fascist anti-semites and the pro-Pilsudski-fascism Walesa, orchestrated & financed by CIA & Vatican counter-revolution, and recently exposed by the Irangate hearings as having en masse collaborated with Contra fascists blitzing socialist Nicaragua by smuggling Soviet arms shipments to Reagan's favourite nazi mercenaries.)

The real measure of what matters in British proletarian development is what progress is being made towards denouncing the West's counter-revolutionary 'freedom' fraud and seeing the socialist camp,—even badly-led half-hearted Poland,—as the start to the only possible world socialist revolution,—however badly in need of Leninist re-education it is.

Contempt for Labour's pro-NATO philistine anti-communism by the proletariat in Britain,—disgusted at the sordid reality of 'free' world slump, and the non-stop hypocrisy of Western arms-race warmongering & colonial bullying,—would be an excellent position to build for the upturn, — not to bemoan a 'downturn' in terms of lost Labour votes.

The real upturn must be measured internationally,—in the splendid revolutionary determination of the masses in the Philippines to smash aside Kinnock's friend Aquino, the substitute feudal representative for Marcos; in El Salvador to wipe out the NATO-armed & trained fake 'democracy' of Duarte & Co, the nazi stooges for the US 'free world' leaders; in South Africa and Namibia to set up more one-party proletarian-dictatorship socialist states to join Zimbabwe, Angola, Mozambique, etc, and complete the eviction of Western imperialist-colonialist control over the southern continent, and of Western labour-movement 'democratic' counter-revolutionary influence there; etc, etc.

It is the advance of the pro-socialist camp revolutionary movement everywhere,—despite the revisionist reluctance in Moscow & Peking to over-encourage such a solution (the only one) to the problems of international imperialist warmongering,—that must serve as the target for measuring Western labour movements' upturns & downturns,—plus the willingness of workers in Britain, say, to declare their own total revolt against the way things are going, — as the miners did, as the inner-cities have done, and as

the conservative teachers did in their mild way,—all still desperately in need of Leninist re-education & leadership to set their sights correctly on the immediate 'left' reformist obstacles to winning a real showdown against the reactionary capitalist ruling class — but all showing significant signs that the old TUC-labour movement class-collaborating confines are just beginning to be seen as a real trap which must be smashed.

Build on that. Build Leninism. Down with the Labour Party.

Bulletin 401 (8/7/87)

5

All the emphasis of the historic quote: "With my vote I want to support Henderson in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man" has wrongly been placed by revisionism on the alleged 'need to vote Labour in Britain where it forms such a unique federated party of the whole working class, and can be forced to respond to militant determination & organisation in the rank-and-file trade union movement'.

But this was not the spirit of Lenin's contributions to the tactical & strategic debate in Britain at all.

Crucial to his advice in the post-1917 period (including the above quote in Leftwing Communism in April 1920) was the still-continuing widespread expectation then that the entire imperialist world was already on its final crisis-ridden, wamongering descent into universal revolutionary crisis. This meant that with the vast masses on the shift in Britain (as elsewhere) towards the overthrow of capitalism — the as yet unexposed counter-revolutionary treachery of the rapidly-growing Labour Party (which had just adopted its new Clause 4 for the total public ownership of the entire economy, and some of whose leading figures referred favourably to the Soviet system, and even to the dictatorship of the proletariat favour-

ably — see later quotes) must quickly be tactically put on the spot to finally break the influence on British workers of Second (Berne) International treachery.

Lenin's argument was with those would-be new followers of the Third Communist International in Britain who not only shared Lenin's early revolutionary expectations for Britain but furthermore were so convinced of reformist Labourism's already-proven class-collaborating parliamentary treachery (in World War I) that they urged a political line advocating a direct advance to a communist power seizure in Britain. They were even scornful of the need for the Communist Party itself to utilise parliamentary elections (to further its revolutionary propaganda in classical Leninist fashion.)

What Lenin clearly was not saying, — as all the quotes prove, — was that the Communist Party should in any way subordinate its own independent political position in the eyes of the working class to this favoured tactic of temporary united-front tactics in a revolutionary situation (of pushing 'reluctant' Labour towards capturing power just as the Bolsheviks pushed the early Soviet majority Mensheviks & Socialist-Revolutionaries towards supreme power to finally expose their anti-Leninist philistine cowardice and counter-revolutionary treachery.) On no account, Lenin made clear, were the British Communists to compromise their own revolutionary political prestige in the eyes of the working class in pursuing this united front tactic.

In the hopes & expectations of the times, all this was excellent sound advice, — a crucial tactical education, and just as valid today given the same or similar circumstances.

But conditions in the 1987 British election were nothing like the same as 1920. Labour has eventually formed the government of British imperialism no less than on eight separate occasions, — on five of them with good or work-

able majorities. On not one single occasion, — even in 1924, Labour's first government, — was the Labour Party remotely close to allowing the Communist Party to share a united-front electoral pact with it as discussed here by Lenin, nor least of all to allowing the Communist Party to affiliate to Labour, — as also speculatively recommended by Lenin, (— on the strictest conditions, — against the 'leftism' of the early British Communist Party.)

The unprecedented historical phenomenon of relentless worldwide anti-communist hysteria and stunts, — on a far, far vaster scale than anything Lenin had foreseen (and referred to in these quotes) was already being unleashed by the second 1924 election when the notorious 'Zinoviev letter' hoax was perpetrated by the Western 'free' press and secret political police to brand Labour as 'Red' agents of Moscow, and see them immediately out of office again.

From these degenerate depths, capitalism's 'parliamentary democracy' racket, — and Labour which refused to rise up against this outrageous secret-police coup — have been going downhill ever since.

And as Lenin makes clear from other passages quoted here, Labour were already the abysmal dregs of class-collaborating imperialist tyranny even before the faint expectations of revolutionary situation united-front tactics with the then-youthful rising Labour Party went out of the window for good.

These quotes demonstrate that the fundamental Leninist position towards the fraudulent two-party bourgeois parliamentary circus (into which Labour was in reality merely proceeding just to substitute for 'liberalism', not to alter its crooked role), — was for revolutionary workers to blast the reformist posturers to pieces on all possible occasions, — even including the unlikely opportunity of being able to work a united-front exposure on Labour in a revolutionary situat-

ion (as a careful reading of the quotations will show).

In reality, there was never any chance of Communist Party affiliation to Labour, — not even to organise the minimum fraction requirement of their own newspaper, — let alone to propagandise for 'the dictatorship of the proletariat' and for 'Soviet government' as Lenin insisted.

And Labour never really played an equivalent role to Menshevism in Russia, — the line of reasoning anticipated in some of Lenin's arguments. The Mensheviks arrived at their important position in the February 1917 Revolution (making unavoidable their united-front tactic exposure as rapidly as possible) — via some genuine revolutionary sacrifice & contributions in the 1905 revolutionary struggles (albeit always collapsing into opportunism because of incurable petty-bourgeois philistinism towards revolutionary theory). Although Menshevism's final counter-revolutionary ignominy put it on the same garbage heap of class-collaborating treachery as Labourism, — Menshevism's actual route, actual history, and actual detailed circumstances of final exposure have turned out to be totally different from what has become of the Labour Party.

The united-front tactic will always be valid where it fits. The modern Labour Party and its crucial post-1945 role in rescuing world imperialism and its anti-communist crusading nuclear arms-race (not to mention propping up the bourgeois-democracy two-party fraud system for another three generations since Lenin's revolutionary anticipation of a united front with Labour in the 1920s) is now in nothing like that historical position expected in Leftwing Communism. Labourism is at least the equivalent of Lloyd Georgeism, — and then some more besides.

That in itself does not necessarily invalidate all possibility of the need for some possible exposure of

some possible situations some aspects of Labourism might yet occupy in the future.

But as outlined in the previous sections, the reality which must now be dealt with in Britain is of Labour as a longstanding world pillar of the most barbaric counter-revolutionary reaction in all fascist-imperialist history, — a party utterly alien to the proletariat in Britain, and supported by only 20% of the adult population in a society dementedly corrupted by anti-communism and doomed to renewed inter-imperialist warmongering.

The priorities, — taken from Leninism, — must now surely be for a new 'What is to be done' period of basic revolutionary party building in total hostility to the bankrupt degeneracy of British imperialism and its dying culture of hopelessly-corrupted 'reformism' and media-dominated 'democracy'.

The British secret-police Gestapo are not quite yet blatantly jackbooting their path down the streets in broad daylight, — but in reality they make sure they dominate every aspect of political life, — phoning tapping & subverting everyone from Labour prime ministers (and even Tory leaders like Heath) downwards. Yet such is the decadence of monopoly-dominated British society and 'reformist democracy' that in some ways it is already a post-1933 Germany situation, — such is the cretinous anti-communism of the labour movement.

So far, Parliamentary Labourism has allowed itself to be gagged for nearly 20 years (!) since the first MI5 coup preparations against the Wilson regime were noticed. Currently, the Labourites are allowing themselves to be gagged from exposing British imperialism's monstrous hidden Gestapo system in the Commons despite all the rest of the world being regaled with the full sordid details in freely-available published sources.

And this scandalous issue revealing the reality of capitalist 'democracy' (concealed bourgeois dictatorship) is

just a small item of thousands of similar imperialist outrages which labour movement parliamentary cretinism consciously covers up on behalf of anti-communism and class-collaboration with the ruling class.

Revolutionary struggle will of course still make use of electoral tribunes to also help expose the decrepit parliamentary democracy from within as well as from without. But workers illusions in 'socialism through the Labour Party' no longer exist except in the opportunist fantasies of various anti-communist petty-bourgeois sects whose 'entrism' alone props up Labour from even faster historic decline & collapse. As outlined in earlier sections, this modern breed of well-drilled demented middle-class anti-communists are a far different phenomenon from the anti-theory confused labour movement 'lefts' of the post-1917 period. Current entrists or would-be affiliates to Labour are far to the right (of the nominal anti-war,

anti-imperialist, anti-colonialist, and anti-counter-revolutionary-intervention positions embraced by the Second International prior to 1914.)—all of them capitulating (most of them very eagerly, some of them merely supinely) to every major anti-Soviet stunt drummed up by the Western media.

Decadent bourgeois society is inevitably plunging back towards fascism (Japan, Italy, France, etc) in its degenerate, corrupt, bitter decline again into slump-ridden inter-imperialist warmongering (World War III) which will escalate dramatically following the new Wall Street Craah and the outbreak of all-out trade war and chauvinistic hatred of everything foreign. The equivalent of National Front racism is rife everywhere, just waiting to be exploited for social division and jingoistic drive to war by the rival imperialist monopoly establishments. The decrepit Labour Party will not merely not stop this happening, but will be leading the way with its moronic 'import co-

ntrols' backwardness—playing into imperialism's trade-war hands,—and its barbaric reimposition of police-military dictatorship (including concentration camps, torture barracks, death squads, terror raids, no-jury courts, etc) backing Orange fascist colonial tyranny in occupied Ireland in 1968, reinforced with support for the Gestapo 'Prevention of Terrorism Act' (introduced by Labour) ever since, and continuing to this day with its racist imperialist chauvinist "Who do the Irish Republican Army think the British Parliament are that we would bow the knee to terrorism" in the words of Labour front-bench spokesman Stuart Bell, endorsing Labour's 'We shall defeat the men of violence' confirmation of continued colonial repression of the Irish national-liberation struggle (to oust the British Orange colonial tyranny over the remaining occupied zone of Ireland).

If Gestapo-racist tyranny against black inner-city revolt are-

as in Britain became 'popular' in degenerate electoral terms,—the Labour Party would back it all the way,—or more likely be the first to introduce it. A social movement with Labour's criminal colonial-imperialist record will not be the slightest barrier to the fascist culture (racism, Rambomania, Olliemania, etc) which the monopoly bourgeoisie is relentlessly reimposing on the crisis-ridden world capitalist market. If anything, Labour's phillistine anti-communism (e.g. its Nuremberg-rally electoral approach) is playing into the hands of imperialist plans for a resurgence of fascism. Such an allegedly 'mass working-class party' which cannot even insist that its own Labour governments are not undermined by the MI5 Gestapo—or even insist that 'questions will be asked in the House'—at ludicrous least,—once the nazi skulduggery is discovered,—is no match for imperialism's fascist resurgence pl-

ans. And this pressing aspect of imperialism's immediate decline towards fullscale renewed nazi warmongering, world wide, to divert from socialist revolution over the next Depression decade,—transforms the academic side of the historic comparisons between tactics towards Labour in the 1920s and towards Labour in the 1990s into the burning question of the hour for the urgent rebuilding of movements of Leninist revolutionary theory & practice throughout the world.

The modern Labour Party movement is an ignorant, philistine, counter-revolutionary opportunism of the most putrid & dangerous kind. Smash the Labour Party.

United front tactics will certainly come again. But voting for Kinnock's Nuremberg-rally nonsense in Cold War Britain in 1987 is simply no longer comparable with possibilities Lenin thought might afflict the working class in 1920 from left-wing communism.

Bulletin 402 (15/7/87)

Lloyd George argued that a coalition—and a close coalition at that—between the Liberals and the Conservatives was essential, otherwise there might be a victory for the Labour Party, which Lloyd George prefers to call "Socialist" and which is working for the "common ownership" of the means of production. "It is ... known as communism in France," the leader of the British bourgeoisie said, putting it popularly for his audience, Liberal M.P.s who probably never knew it before. In Germany it was called socialism, and in Russia it is called Bolshevism, he went on to say. To Liberals this is unacceptable on principle, Lloyd George explained, because they stand in principle for private property. "Civilisation is in jeopardy," the speaker declared, and consequently Liberals and Conservatives must unite.....

Thus the liberal bourgeoisie are abandoning the historical system of "two parties" (of exploiters), which has been hallowed by centuries of experience and has been extremely advantageous to the exploiters, and consider it necessary for these two parties to join forces against the Labour Party. A number of Liberals are deserting to the Labour Party like rats from a sinking ship.....

.....the fact that most British workers still follow the lead of the British Kerenskys or Scheidemanns and have not yet had experience of a government composed of these people—an experience which was necessary in Russia and Germany so as to secure the mass transition of the workers to communism—undoubtedly indicates that the British Communists *should* participate in parliamentary action, that they should, from *within* parliament, help the masses of the workers see the results of a Henderson and Snowden government in practice, and that they should help the Hendersons and Snowdens defeat the united forces of Lloyd George and Churchill. To act otherwise would mean hampering the cause of the revolution, since revolution is impossible without a change in the views of the majority of the working class, a change brought about by the political experience of the masses, never by propaganda alone.....

.....we must, first, help Henderson or Snowden to beat Lloyd George and Churchill (or, rather, compel the former to beat the latter, because the former are afraid of their victory!); second, we must help the majority of the working class to be convinced by their own experience that we are right, i.e., that the Hendersons and Snowdens are absolutely good for nothing, that they are petty-bourgeois and treacherous by nature, and that their bankruptcy is inevitable; third, we must bring nearer the moment when, on the basis of the disappointment of most of the workers in the Hendersons, it will be possible, with serious chances of success, to overthrow the government of the Hendersons at once; because if the most astute and solid Lloyd George, that big, not petty, bourgeois, is displaying consternation and is more and more weakening himself (and the bourgeoisie as a whole) by his "friction" with Churchill today and with Asquith tomorrow, how much greater will be the consternation of a Henderson government!.....

.....The Communist Party should propose the following "compromise" election agreement to the Hendersons and Snowdens: let us jointly fight against the alliance between Lloyd George and the Conservatives; let us share parliamentary seats in proportion to the number of workers' votes polled for the Labour Party and for the Communist Party (not in elections, but in a special ballot), and let us retain complete freedom of agitation, propaganda and political activity. Of course, without this latter condition, we cannot agree to a bloc, for that would be treachery; the British Communists must demand and get complete freedom to expose the Hendersons and the Snowdens in the same way as (for fifteen years—1903-17) the Russian Bolsheviks demanded and got it in respect of the Russian Hendersons and Snowdens, i.e., the Mensheviks.

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens accept a bloc on these terms, we shall be the gainers, because the number of parliamentary seats is of no importance to us; we are not out for seats. We shall yield on this point (whilst the Hendersons and especially their new friends—or new masters

—the Liberals who have joined the Independent Labour Party are most eager to get seats). We shall be the gainers, because we shall carry *our* agitation among the masses at a time when Lloyd George *himself* has “incensed” them, and we shall not only be helping the Labour Party to establish its government sooner, but shall also be helping the masses sooner to understand the communist propaganda that we shall carry on against the Hendersons, without any reticence or omission.

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens reject a bloc with us on these terms, we shall gain still more, for we shall at once have shown the masses (note that, even in the purely Menshevik and completely opportunist Independent Labour Party, the *rank and file* are in favour of Soviets) that the Hendersons prefer *their* close relations with the capitalists to the unity of all the workers. We shall immediately gain in the eyes of the masses, who, particularly after the brilliant, highly correct and highly useful (to communism) explanations given by Lloyd George, will be sympathetic to the idea of uniting all the workers against the Lloyd George-Conservative alliance. We shall gain immediately, because we shall have demonstrated to the masses that the Hendersons and the Snowdens are afraid to beat Lloyd George, afraid to assume power alone, and are striving to secure the *secret* support of Lloyd George.....

If the Hendersons and the Snowdens reject a bloc with the Communists, the latter will immediately gain by winning the sympathy of the masses and discrediting the Hendersons and Snowdens; if, as a result, we do lose a few parliamentary seats, it is a matter of no significance to us. We would put up our candidates in a very few but absolutely safe constituencies, namely, constituencies where our candidatures would not give any seats to the Liberals at the expense of the Labour candidates. We would take part in the election campaign, distribute leaflets agitating for communism, and, in *all* constituencies where we have no candidates, we would urge the electors *to vote for the Labour candidate and against the bourgeois candidate*. Comrades Sylvia Pankhurst and Gallacher are mistaken in thinking that this is a betrayal of communism, or a renunciation of the struggle against the social-traitors. On the contrary, the cause of communist revolution would undoubtedly gain thereby.....

with my vote, I want to support Henderson in the same way as the rope supports a hanged man—that the impending establishment of a government of the Hendersons will prove that I am right, will bring the masses over to my side, and will hasten the political death of the Hendersons and the Snowdens just as was the case with their kindred spirits in Russia and Germany.....

Dissatisfaction with the Second International is felt everywhere and is spreading and growing, both because of its opportunism and because of its inability or incapacity to create a really centralised and really leading centre capable of directing the international tactics of the revolutionary proletariat in its struggle for a world Soviet republic.....

To seek out, investigate, predict, and grasp that which is nationally specific and nationally distinctive, in the *concrete manner* in which each country should tackle a *single* international task: victory over opportunism and Left doctrinarism within the working-class movement; the overthrow of the bourgeoisie; the establishment of a Soviet republic and a proletarian dictatorship—such is the basic task in the historical period that all the advanced countries (and not they alone) are going through.....

As long as it was (and inasmuch as it still is) a question of winning the proletariat's vanguard over to the side of communism, priority went and still goes to propaganda work; even propaganda circles, with all their parochial limitations, are useful under these conditions, and produce good results. But when it is a question of practical action by the masses, of the disposition, if one may so put it, of vast armies, of the alignment of *all* the class forces in a given society for the *final and decisive battle*, then propagandist methods alone, the mere repetition of the truths of “pure” communism, are of no avail.....

It is necessary to link the strictest devotion to the ideas of communism with the ability to effect all the necessary practical compromises, tacks, conciliatory manoeuvres, zigzags, retreats and so on, in order to speed up the achievement and then loss of political power by the Hendersons (the heroes of the Second International, if we are not to name individual representatives of petty-bourgeois democracy who call themselves socialists); to accelerate their inevitable bankruptcy in practice, which will enlighten the masses in the spirit of our ideas, in the direction of communism; to accelerate the inevitable friction, quarrels, conflicts and complete disintegration among the Hendersons, the Lloyd Georges and the Churchills (the Mensheviks, the Socialist-Revolutionaries, the Constitutional-Democrats, the monarchists; the Scheidemanns, the bourgeoisie and the Kappists, etc.); to select the proper moment when the discord among these “pillars of sacrosanct private property” is at its height, so that, through a decisive offensive, the proletariat will defeat them all and capture political power.....

It is far more difficult—and far more precious—to be a revolutionary when the conditions for direct, open, really mass and really revolutionary struggle *do not yet exist*, to be able to champion the interests of the revolution (by propaganda, agitation and organisation) in non-revolutionary bodies, and quite often in downright reactionary bodies, in a non-revolutionary situation, among the masses who are incapable of immediately appreciating the need for revolutionary methods of action. To be able to seek, find and correctly determine the specific path or the particular turn of events that will *lead* the masses to the real, decisive and final revolutionary struggle—such is the main objective of communism in Western Europe and in America today.

Britain is an example. We cannot tell—no one can tell in advance—how soon a real proletarian revolution will flare up there, and *what immediate cause* will most serve to rouse, kindle, and impel into the struggle the very wide masses, who are still dormant. Hence, it is our duty to carry on all our preparatory work in such a way as to be “well shod on all four feet” (as the late Plekhanov, when he was a Marxist and revolutionary, was fond of saying). It is possible that the breach will be forced, the ice broken, by a parliamentary crisis, or by a crisis arising from colonial and imperialist contradictions, which are hopelessly entangled and are becoming increasingly painful and acute, or perhaps by some third cause, etc. We are not discussing the kind of struggle that will *determine* the fate of the proletarian revolution in Great Britain (no Communist has any doubt on that score; for all of us this is a foregone conclusion); what we are discussing is the *immediate cause* that will bring into motion the now dormant proletarian masses, and lead them right up to revolution. Let us not forget that in the French bourgeois republic, for example, in a situation which, from both the international and the national viewpoints, was a hundred times less revolutionary than it is today, such an “unexpected” and “petty” cause as one of the many thousands of fraudulent machinations of the reactionary military caste (the Dreyfus case<sup>29</sup>) was enough to bring the people to the brink of civil war!

In Great Britain the Communists should constantly, unremittingly and unswervingly utilise parliamentary elections and all the vicissitudes of the Irish, colonial and world-imperialist policy of the British Government, and all other fields, spheres and aspects of public life, and work in all of them in a new way, in a communist way, in the spirit of the Third, not the Second, International. I have neither the time nor the space here to describe the “Russian” “Bolshevik” methods of participation in parliamentary elections and in the parliamentary struggle; I can, however, assure foreign Communists that they were quite unlike the usual West-European parliamentary campaigns. From this the conclusion is often drawn: “Well, that was in Russia; in our country parliamentarianism is different.” This is a false conclusion. Communists, adherents of the Third International in all countries, exist for the purpose of *changing*—all along the line, in all spheres of life—the

old socialist, trade unionist, syndicalist, and parliamentary type of work into a *new* type of work, the communist. In Russia, too, there was always an abundance of opportunism, purely bourgeois sharp practices and capitalist rigging in the elections. In Western Europe and in America, the Communists must learn to create a new, uncanny, non-opportunist, and non-careerist parliamentarianism; the Communist parties must issue their slogans; true proletarians, with the help of the unorganised and downtrodden poor, should distribute leaflets, canvass workers' houses and cottages of the rural proletarians and peasants in the remote villages (fortunately there are many times fewer remote villages in Europe than in Russia, and in Britain the number is very small); they should go into the public houses, penetrate into unions, societies and chance gatherings of the common people, and speak to the people, not in learned (or very parliamentary) language; they should not at all strive to "get seats" in parliament, but should everywhere try to get people to think, and draw the masses into the struggle, to take the bourgeoisie at its word and utilise the machinery it has set up, the elections it has appointed, and the appeals it has made to the people; they should try to explain to the people what Bolshevism is, in a way that was never possible (under bourgeois rule) outside of election times (exclusive, of course, of times of big strikes, when in Russia a *similar* apparatus for widespread popular agitation worked even more intensively). It is very difficult to do this in Western Europe and extremely difficult in America, but it can and must be done, for the objectives of communism cannot be achieved without effort. We must work to accomplish *practical* tasks, ever more varied and ever more closely connected with all branches of social life, *winning* branch after branch, and sphere after sphere *from the bourgeoisie*.....

We do not and cannot know which spark—of the innumerable sparks that are flying about in all countries as a result of the world economic and political crisis—will kindle the conflagration, in the sense of raising up the masses; we must, therefore, with our new and communist principles, set to work to stir up all and sundry, even the oldest, mustiest and seemingly hopeless spheres, for otherwise we shall not be able to cope with our tasks, shall not be comprehensively prepared, shall not be in possession of all the weapons and shall not prepare ourselves either to gain victory over the bourgeoisie (which arranged all aspects of social life—and has now disarranged them—in its bourgeois fashion), or to bring about the impending communist reorganisation of every sphere of life, following that victory.

Since the proletarian revolution in Russia and its victories on an international scale, expected neither by the bourgeoisie nor the philistines, the entire world has become different, and the bourgeoisie everywhere has become different too. It is terrified of "Bolshevism", exasperated by it almost to the point of frenzy, and for that very reason it is, on the one hand, precipitating the progress of events and, on the other, concentrating on the forcible suppression of Bolshevism, thereby weakening its own position in a number of other fields. In their tactics the Communists in all the advanced countries must take both these circumstances into account.....

That which happened to such leaders of the Second International, such highly erudite Marxists devoted to socialism as Kautsky, Otto Bauer and others, could (and should) provide a useful lesson. They fully appreciated the need for flexible tactics; they themselves learned Marxist dialectic and taught it to others (and much of what they have done in this field will always remain a valuable contribution to socialist literature); however, *in the application* of this dialectic they committed such an error, or proved to be so undialectical in practice, so incapable of taking into account the rapid change of forms and the rapid acquisition of new content by the old forms, that their fate is not much more enviable than that of Hyndman, Guesde and Plekhanov. The principal reason for their bankruptcy was that they were hypnotised by a definite form of growth of the working-class movement and socialism, forgot all

about the one-sidedness of that form, were afraid to see the break-up which objective conditions made inevitable, and continued to repeat simple and, at first glance, uncontested axioms that had been learned by rote, like: "three is more than two". But politics is more like algebra than arithmetic, and still more like higher than elementary mathematics. In reality, all the old forms of the socialist movement have acquired a new content, and, consequently, a new symbol, the "minus" sign, has appeared in front of all the figures; our wisecracks, however, have stubbornly continued (and still continue) to persuade themselves and others that "minus three" is more than "minus two".....

It is not only Right doctrinairism that is erroneous; Left doctrinairism is erroneous too. Of course, the mistake of Left doctrinairism in communism is at present a thousand times less dangerous and less significant than that of Right doctrinairism (i.e., social-chauvinism and Kautskyism);.....

Right doctrinairism persisted in recognising only the old forms, and became utterly bankrupt, for it did not notice the new content. Left doctrinairism persists in the unconditional repudiation of certain old forms, failing to see that the new content is forcing its way through all and sundry forms, that it is our duty as Communists to master all forms, to learn how, with the maximum rapidity, to supplement one form with another, to substitute one for another, and to adapt our tactics to any such change that does not come from our class or from our efforts.

World revolution has been so powerfully stimulated and accelerated by the horrors, vileness and abominations of the world imperialist war and by the hopelessness of the situation created by it, this revolution is developing in scope and depth with such splendid rapidity, with such a wonderful variety of changing forms, with such an instructive practical refutation of all doctrinairism, that there is every reason to hope for a rapid and complete recovery of the international communist movement.....

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.....

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. The struggle against the Gomperses, and against the Jouhaux, Hendersons, Merrheims, Legiens and Co. in Western Europe is much more difficult than the struggle against our Mensheviks, who are an *absolutely homogeneous* social and political type. This struggle must be waged ruthlessly, and it must unflinchingly be brought—as we brought it—to a point when all the incorrigible leaders of opportunism and social-chauvinism are completely discredited and driven out of the trade unions.....

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, 21

or pinpricks, cicenery, 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.....

[These men, the "leaders" of opportunism, will no doubt resort to every device of bourgeois diplomacy and to the aid of bourgeois governments, the clergy, the police and the courts, to keep Communists out of the trade unions, oust them by every means, make their work in the trade unions as unpleasant as possible, and insult, bait and persecute them. We must be able to stand up to all this, agree to make any sacrifice, and even—if need be—to resort to various stratagems, artifices and illegal methods, to evasions and subterfuges, as long as we get into the trade unions, remain in them, and carry on communist work within them at all costs. Under tsarism we had no "legal opportunities" whatsoever until 1905. However, when Zubatov, agent of the secret police, organised Black-Hundred workers' assemblies and workingmen's societies for the purpose of trapping revolutionaries and combating them, we sent members of our Party to these assemblies and into these societies (I personally remember one of them, Comrade Babushkin, a leading St. Petersburg factory worker, shot by order of the tsar's generals in 1906). They established contacts with the masses, were able to carry on their agitation, and succeeded in wresting workers from the influence of Zubatov's agents.\* Of course, in Western Europe, which is imbued with most deep-rooted legalistic, constitutionalist, and bourgeois-democratic prejudices, this is more difficult of achievement. However, it can and must be carried out, and systematically at that.....]

At the same time, the Second Congress of the Third International should declare in favour of Communist groups and organisations, or groups and organisations sympathising with communism, joining the Labour Party in Great Britain, despite its membership in the Second International. As long as this party ensures its affiliated organisations their present freedom of criticism and freedom to carry on work of propaganda, agitation and organisation in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat and Soviet government, and as long as this party preserves the character of a federation of all trade union organisations of the working class, it is imperative for Communists to do everything and to make certain compromises in order to be able to exercise their influence on the broadest masses of the workers, to expose their opportunist leaders from a higher tribune, that is in fuller view of the masses, and to hasten the transfer of political power from the direct representatives of the bourgeoisie to the "labour lieutenants of the capitalist class", so that the masses may be more quickly weaned away from their last illusions on this score.....

Whilst you lack the strength to do away with bourgeois parliaments and every other type of reactionary institution, you *must* work within them because *it is there* that you will still find workers who are duped.....

/it has been proved that, far from causing harm to the revolutionary proletariat, participation in a bourgeois-democratic parliament, even a few weeks before the victory of a Soviet republic and even *after* such a victory, actually helps that proletariat to *prove* to the backward masses why such parliaments deserve to be done away with;

..... Russian experience has provided us with one successful and correct instance (1905), and another that was incorrect (1906), of the use of a boycott by the Bolsheviks. Analysing the first case, we see that we succeeded in *preventing* a reactionary government from *convening* a reactionary parliament in a situation in which extra-parliamentary revolutionary mass action (strikes in particular) was developing at great speed, when not a single section of the proletariat and the peasantry could

support the reactionary government in any way, and when the revolutionary proletariat was gaining influence over the backward masses through the strike struggle and through the agrarian movement. It is quite obvious that *this* experience is not applicable to present-day European conditions.

In Western Europe and America, parliament has become most odious to the revolutionary vanguard of the working class. That cannot be denied. It can readily be understood, for it is difficult to imagine anything more infamous, vile or treacherous than the behaviour of the vast majority of socialist and Social-Democratic parliamentary deputies during and after the war. It would, however, be not only unreasonable but actually criminal to yield to this mood when deciding *how* this generally recognised evil should be fought. In many countries of Western Europe, the revolutionary mood, we might say, is at present a "novelty", or a "rarity", which has all too long been vainly and impatiently awaited; perhaps that is why people so easily yield to that mood. Certainly, without a revolutionary mood among the masses, and without conditions facilitating the growth of this mood, revolutionary tactics will never develop into action. In Russia, however, lengthy, painful and sanguinary experience has taught us the truth that revolutionary tactics cannot be built on a revolutionary mood alone. Tactics must be based on a sober and strictly objective appraisal of *all* the class forces in a particular state (and of the states that surround it, and of all states the world over) as well as of the experience of revolutionary movements. It is very easy to show one's "revolutionary" temper merely by hurling abuse at parliamentary opportunism, or merely by repudiating participation in parliaments; its very ease, however, cannot turn this into a solution of a difficult, a very difficult, problem. It is far more difficult to create a really revolutionary parliamentary group in a European parliament than it was in Russia. That stands to reason. But it is only a particular expression of the general truth that it was easy for Russia, in the specific and historically unique situation of 1917, to *start* the socialist revolution, but it will be more difficult for Russia than for the European countries to *continue* the revolution and bring it to its consummation.....

/why should a rapidly growing revolutionary mass party, in the midst of the post-war disillusionment and embitterment of the masses, be unable to *forge* a communist group in the worst of parliaments? It is because, in Western Europe, the backward masses of the workers and—to an even greater degree—of the small peasants are much more imbued with bourgeois-democratic and parliamentary prejudices than they were in Russia; because of that, it is *only* from within such institutions as bourgeois parliaments that Communists can (and must) wage a long and persistent struggle, undaunted by any difficulties, to expose, dispel and overcome these prejudices.

"Fabian imperialism" and "social-imperialism" are one and the same thing: socialism in words, imperialism in deeds, *the growth of opportunism into imperialism*. This has now become, during the war of 1914-18 and since, a *universal* fact. The failure to understand it shows the great blindness of the Berne yellow International, and is its great crime. Opportunism, or reformism, inevitably had to grow into a phenomenon of world-wide importance, *socialist imperialism*, or social-chauvinism, because imperialism brought to the fore a handful of very rich, advanced nations, engaged in plundering the whole world, and thereby enabled the bourgeoisie of those countries, out of their monopolist superprofits (imperialism is monopoly capitalism), to *bribe the upper strata of the working class*.

Only ignoramuses or hypocrites who deceive the workers by repeating *platitudes* about capitalism and in this way cover up the bitter truth that *a whole trend in socialism* has gone over to the imperialist bourgeoisie could fail to see the economic inevitability of this development under imperialism.

And from this fact two indisputable conclusions emerge. First conclusion: the Berne International is in fact, from the angle of its real historical and political role, and irrespective of the good will and pious wishes of particular members of it, *an organisation of agents of inter-*

APRIL 1920  
THESE ON COMINTERN FUNDAMENTAL TASKS (7/20) "LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER  
"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM—AN INFANTILE DISORDER  
THE TASKS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL (July 1919)  
"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM

national imperialism operating within the labour movement, permeating that movement with bourgeois influence, bourgeois ideas, bourgeois lies, and bourgeois corruption.

In countries where democratic parliamentary culture is of long standing, the bourgeoisie has learned splendidly to use deception, bribery and flattery in their most subtle forms as well as violence. Not for nothing have the "luncheons" given to British "labour leaders" (i.e., lieutenants of the bourgeoisie whose duty is to fool the workers) have acquired notoriety; Engels in his day spoke about them.<sup>78</sup> To the same category belongs the "charming" reception given by M. Clemenceau to the traitor-socialist Merrheim, the courteous receptions given by Entente ministers to the leaders of the Berne International, and so on and so forth. "You train 'em, and we buy 'em," a clever capitalist, an Englishwoman, said to Mr. Social-imperialist Hyndman, who related in his memoirs how this lady, a person shrewder than all the leaders of the Berne International put together, appraised the "labours" of the socialist intellectuals in training workers to become socialist leaders.

During the war, when the Vanderveldes, Brantings and the whole gang of traitors organised "international" conferences, the French bourgeois newspapers were bitingly scornful, and rightly so. They said: "These Vanderveldes seem to be suffering from a sort of tic. Just as those who suffer from tic cannot utter a couple of phrases without strangely twitching the muscles of the face, so the Vanderveldes cannot make a political speech without repeating, parrot-like, the words internationalism, socialism, international working-class solidarity, proletarian revolution, etc. Let them repeat any sacramental formulas they like so long as they help to lead the workers by the nose and serve us, the capitalists, in waging the imperialist war and enslaving the workers."

Sometimes the British and French bourgeoisie are very clever and excellently appraise the servile role played by the Berne International.-----

To ignore this problem now (as Ramsay MacDonald does) or to try to evade the issue of the inevitability of civil war with sentimental conciliatory phrases (as Messrs. Kautsky and Co. do) is tantamount to direct betrayal of the proletariat, equivalent to actual desertion to the bourgeoisie. Because the real political leaders of the bourgeoisie have long understood the inevitability of civil war and are making excellent, thoughtful and systematic preparations for it and are strengthening their positions in anticipation of it.

The bourgeoisie of the whole world are exerting all their strength, enormous energy, intellect and determination, hesitating at no crime, and condemning whole countries to famine and complete extinction, in the preparations they are making to crush the proletariat in the impending civil war. The heroes of the Berne International, on the other hand, like simpletons, or hypocritical parsons, or pedantic professors, chant their old, worn-out, threadbare reformist song! No spectacle could be more revolting or more disgusting!

The Kautskys and MacDonalds continue to frighten the capitalists with the menace of revolution, to scare the bourgeoisie with the menace of civil war in order to obtain concessions from them and get them to agree to follow the reformist path. This is what all the writings, all the philosophy, all the policy of the entire Berne International amount to. We saw that miserable lackey's trick played in Russia in 1905 by the liberals (Constitutional-Democrats), and in 1917-19 by the Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries. The servile souls of the Berne International never think of inculcating upon the masses the idea of the inevitability and necessity of defeating the bourgeoisie in civil war, of pursuing a policy wholly dedicated to this aim, of elucidating, raising and solving all problems from this, and only from this, point of view. That is why our sole aim should be once and for all to push the incorrigible reformists, i.e., nine-tenths of the leaders of the Berne International, into the cesspool of the hirelings of the bourgeoisie.

The bourgeoisie needs hirelings who enjoy the trust of a section of the working class, whitewash and prettify the bourgeoisie with talk about the reformist path being possible, throw dust in the eyes of the people by such talk, and divert the people from revolution by giving glowing descriptions of the charms and possibilities of the reformist path.

All the writings of the Kautskys, and of our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries, boil down to such white-

washing and to the whining of the cowardly philistine who fears revolution.

We cannot repeat here in detail the main economic causes that have made the revolutionary (and only the revolutionary) path inevitable, and have made impossible any solution other than civil war to the problems history has placed on the order of the day. Volumes must and will be written about this. If the Kautskys and other leaders of the Berne International do not understand this, all that can be said is ignorance is closer to the truth than prejudice.

Now, after this war, ignorant but sincere men of labour and supporters of the working people, understand the inevitability of revolution, of civil war and of the dictatorship of the proletariat far more easily than do the gentlemen stuffed with most learned reformist prejudices, the Kautskys, MacDonalds, Vanderveldes, Brantings, Turatis, and *tutti quanti*.\*

As one of the particularly striking confirmations of the phenomenon observable everywhere, on a mass scale, namely, that of the growth of revolutionary consciousness among the masses, we may take the novels of Henri Barbusse, *Le Feu* (Under Fire) and *Clarté* (Light). The former has already been translated into all languages, and in France 230,000 copies have been sold. The transformation of an absolutely ignorant rank-and-filer, utterly crushed by philistine ideas and prejudices, into a revolutionary under the influence of the war is depicted with extraordinary power, talent and truthfulness.

The mass of proletarians and semi-proletarians are on our side and are coming over to us by leaps and bounds. The Berne International is a General Staff without an army, and will collapse like a house of cards if thoroughly exposed to the masses.

The name of Karl Liebknecht was used in the whole of the Entente bourgeois press during the war in order to deceive the masses; the French and British imperialist pirates and plunderers were shown as sympathising with this hero, with this "sole honest German", as they said.

Now the heroes of the Berne International belong to the same organisation as the Scheidemanns who engineered the murder of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg, the Scheidemanns who fulfilled the role of worker-executioners and rendered hangman's service to the bourgeoisie. In words—hypocritical attempts to "condemn" the Scheidemanns (as if "condemning" makes any difference!). In deeds—belonging to the same organisation as the murderers do.-----

The most dangerous thing about the Berne International is its verbal recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. These people are capable of recognising everything, of signing everything, as long as they can keep at the head of the labour movement. Kautsky now says that he is not opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat! The French social-chauvinists and Centrists put their names to resolutions in favour of the dictatorship of the proletariat!

But they deserve not the slightest confidence.

It is not verbal recognition that is needed, but a complete rupture *in deeds* with the policy of reformism, with prejudices about bourgeois freedom and bourgeois democracy, the pursuit in deeds of the policy of revolutionary class struggle.

Attempts are being made to recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat in words, in order to smuggle in along with it the "will of the majority", "universal suffrage" (this is exactly what Kautsky does), bourgeois parliamentarism, rejection of the idea that the entire bourgeois machinery of state must be destroyed, smashed, blown up. These new evasions, new loopholes of reformism, are most of all to be feared.

The dictatorship of the proletariat would be impossible if the majority of the population did not consist of proletarians and semi-proletarians. Kautsky and Co. try to falsify this truth by arguing that "the vote of the majority" is required for the dictatorship of the proletariat to be recognised as "valid".

Comical pedants! They fail to understand that voting within the bounds, institutions and customs of bourgeois parliamentarism is a *part* of the bourgeois state machinery that has to be broken and smashed from top to bottom *in order* to give effect to the dictatorship of the proletariat, in order to pass from bourgeois democracy to proletarian democracy.<sup>79</sup>

A revolutionary party which openly, before the whole world, threatened the governments with "proletarian revolution" in the event of *such* a war as is now being waged, would be committing moral suicide if it did not urge the workers, and the masses generally, to direct all thought and effort towards revolt, now that the masses are so excellently armed, so excellently trained in the art of warfare, and fed up with the absurdity of this criminal imperialist shambles, which up to now they have been helping.

AN APPEAL TO I.S.C. (12/19)

Ramsay MacDonald disposes of the problem of the dictatorship of the proletariat in a couple of words as if it were a subject for a discussion on freedom and democracy.....

They fail to understand that when history places the dictatorship of the proletariat on the order of the day it is not voting, but civil war that decides *all* serious political problems.

They fail to understand that the dictatorship of the proletariat is the rule of *one* class, which takes into its hands the *entire* machinery of the new state, and which *defeats* the bourgeoisie and *neutralises* the whole of the petty bourgeoisie—the peasantry, the lower middle class and the intelligentsia.

The Kautskys and MacDonalds recognise the class struggle in words, but in deeds forget about it, at the most decisive moment in the history of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat—at the moment when, having seized state power, and supported by the semi-proletariat, the proletariat with the aid of this power *continues* the class struggle until *classes are abolished*.

Like real philistines, the leaders of the Berne International repeat bourgeois-democratic catchwords about freedom, equality and democracy, but fail to see that they are repeating fragments of ideas concerning the free and equal *commodity owner*, fail to understand that the proletariat needs a state not for the "freedom", but for the *suppression* of its enemy, the exploiter, the capitalist.....

So long as classes exist the freedom and equality of classes is a bourgeois deception. The proletariat takes power, becomes the *ruling* class, smashes bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy, suppresses the bourgeoisie, suppresses *all* the attempts of *all* other classes to return to capitalism, gives *real* freedom and equality to the working people (which is practicable only when the private ownership of the means of production *has been abolished*), and gives them not only the "right to", but the *real* use of, *what has been taken* from the bourgeoisie.

He who fails to understand *this* content of the dictatorship of the proletariat (or what is the same thing, Soviet power, or proletarian democracy) is misusing the term dictatorship of the proletariat.

I cannot here develop these ideas in greater detail; I have done so in *The State and Revolution* and in the pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*. I shall conclude by dedicating these remarks to the delegates to the Lucerne Congress<sup>81</sup> (August 10, 1919) of the Berne International.

To Comrade Sylvia Pankhurst, London

Dear Comrade,

August 28, 1919

I received your letter of July 16, 1919, only yesterday. I am extremely grateful to you for the information about Britain and will try to fulfil your request, i.e., reply to your question.

I have no doubt at all that many workers who are among the best, most honest and sincerely revolutionary members of the proletariat are enemies of parliamentarism and of any participation in Parliament. The older capitalist culture and bourgeois democracy in any country, the more understandable this is, since the bourgeoisie in old parliamentary countries has excellently mastered the art of hypocrisy and of fooling the people in a thousand ways, passing off bourgeois parliamentarism as "democracy in general" or as "pure democracy" and so on, cunningly concealing the million threads which bind Parliament to the stock exchange and the capitalists, utilising a venal mercenary press and exercising the power of money, the power of capital in every way.

There is no doubt that the Communist International and the Communist Parties of the various countries would be making an irreparable mistake if they repulsed those workers who stand for Soviet power, but who are against participation in the parliamentary struggle. If we take the problem in its general form, theoretically, then it is this very programme, i.e., the struggle for Soviet power, for the Soviet republic, which is able to unite, and today must certainly unite, all sincere, honest revolutionaries from among the workers. Very many anarchist workers are now becoming sincere supporters of Soviet power, and that being so, it proves them to be our best comrades and friends, the best of revolutionaries, who have been enemies of Marxism only through misunderstanding, or, more correctly, not through misunderstanding but because the official socialism prevailing in the epoch of the Second International (1889-1914) betrayed Marxism, lapsed into opportunism, perverted Marx's revolutionary teachings in general and his teachings on the lessons of the Paris Commune of 1871 in particular. I have written in detail about this in my book *The State and Revolution* and will therefore not dwell further on the problem.

What if in a certain country those who are Communists by their convictions and their readiness to carry on revolutionary work, sincere partisans of Soviet power (the "Soviet system", as non-Russians sometimes call it), cannot unite owing to disagreement over participation in Parliament?

I should consider such disagreement immaterial at present, since the struggle for Soviet power is the political struggle of the proletariat in its highest, most class-conscious, most revolutionary form. It is better to be with the revolutionary workers when they are mistaken over some partial or secondary question than with the "official" socialists or Social-Democrats, if the latter are not sincere, firm revolutionaries, and are unwilling or unable to conduct revolutionary work among the working masses, but pursue correct tactics in regard to that partial question. And the question of parliamentarism is now a partial, secondary question. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were, in my opinion, correct when they defended participation in the elections to the German bourgeois parliament, to the constituent National Assembly, at the January 1919 Conference of the Spartacists in Berlin, *against* the majority at the Conference.<sup>82</sup> But, of course, they were still more correct when they preferred remaining with the Communist Party, which was making a partial mistake, to siding with the direct traitors to socialism, like Scheidemann and his party, or with those servile souls, doctrinaires, cowards, spineless accomplices of the bourgeoisie, and reformists in practice, such as Kautsky, Haase, Däumig and all this "party" of German "Independents".

I am personally convinced that to renounce participation in the parliamentary elections is a mistake on the part of the revolutionary workers of Britain, but better to make that mistake than to delay the formation of a big workers' Communist Party in Britain out of all the trends and elements, listed by you, which sympathise with Bolshevism and sincerely support the Soviet Republic.

Unbreakable ties with the mass of the workers, the ability to agitate unceasingly among them, to participate in every strike, to respond to every demand of the masses—this is the chief thing for a Communist Party, especially in such a country as Britain, where until now (as incidentally is the case in all imperialist countries) participation in the socialist movement, and the labour movement generally, has been confined chiefly to a thin top crust of workers, the labour aristocracy, most of whom are thoroughly and hopelessly spoiled by reformism and are held back by bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. Without a struggle against this stratum, without the destruction of every trace of its prestige among the workers, without convincing the masses of the utter bourgeois corruption of this stratum, there can be no question of a serious communist workers' movement. This applies to Britain, France, America and Germany.

Those working-class revolutionaries who make parliamentarism the centre of their attacks are quite right inasmuch as these attacks serve to express their denial in principle of bourgeois parliamentarism and bourgeois democracy. Soviet power, the Soviet republic—this is what the

THE TASKS OF THE THIRD INTERNATIONAL July 14, 1919



workers' revolution has put in place of bourgeois democracy, this is the form of transition from capitalism to socialism, the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. And criticism of parliamentarism is not only legitimate and necessary, as giving the case for the transition to Soviet power, but is quite correct, as being the recognition of the historically conditional and limited character of parliamentarism, its connection with capitalism and capitalism alone, of its progressive character as compared with the Middle Ages, and of its *reactionary character as compared with Soviet power.*

But the critics of parliamentarism in Europe and America, when they are anarchists or anarcho-syndicalists, are very often wrong insofar as they reject *all participation* in elections and parliamentary activity. Here they simply show their lack of revolutionary experience.....

Their principal argument is that the disarmament demand is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But in this principal argument lies the disarmament advocates' principal error. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.

Firstly, socialists have never been, nor can they ever be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the imperialist "Great" Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and the war *this* bourgeoisie is now waging we regard as a reactionary, slave-owners' and criminal war. But what about a war *against* this bourgeoisie? A war, for instance, waged by peoples oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, or by colonial peoples, for liberation? In §5 of the *Internationale* group theses we read: "National wars are no longer possible in the era of this unbridled imperialism." That is obviously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism", is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the world's peoples, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of these oppressed peoples.....

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and tantamount to European chauvinism in practice: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., are invited to tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

Secondly, civil war is just as much a war as any other. He who accepts the class struggle cannot fail to accept civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions inevitable, continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. That has been confirmed by every great revolution. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, is to fall into extreme opportunism and renounce the socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the victory of socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in different countries. It cannot be otherwise under commodity production. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will for some time remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois. This is bound to create not only friction, but a direct attempt on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the socialist state's victorious proletariat. In such cases a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie.....

To this must be added the following general consideration.

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot, unless we have become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists forget that we are living in a class society from which there is no way out, nor can there be, save through the class struggle. In every class society, whether based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage-labour, the oppressor class is always armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia—and even in

the most democratic bourgeois republics, Switzerland, for instance—represent the bourgeoisie armed *against* the proletariat. That is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. Suffice it to point to the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

A bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, fundamental and cardinal facts of modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand" "disarmament"! That is tantamount to complete abandonment of the class-struggle point of view, to renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: arming of the proletariat to defeat, expropriate and disarm the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics possible for a revolutionary class, tactics that follow logically from, and are dictated by, the whole *objective development* of capitalist militarism. Only *after* the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world-historic mission, to consign all armaments to the scrap-heap. And the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but *only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.*

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, *only* horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms, to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: Capitalist society is and has always been *horror without end*. If this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing for that society an *end in horror*, we have no reason to fall into despair. But the disarmament "demand", or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair at a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war—civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie.....

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women and teen-age children fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. It will be no different in the coming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. Proletarian women will not look on passively as poorly armed or unarmed workers are shot down by the well-armed forces of the bourgeoisie. They will take to arms, as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today—or more correctly, from the present-day labour movement, disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments—there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

The whole of social life is now being militarised. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world. It is therefore bound to lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in neutral and small ones. How will proletarian women oppose this? Only by cursing all war and everything military, only by demanding disarmament? The women of an oppressed and really revolutionary class will never accept that shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be grown up. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art properly. The proletarians need this knowledge not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as is being done in the present war, and as the traitors to socialism are telling you to do. They need it to fight the bourgeoisie of their own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, and not by pious wishes, but by defeating and disarming the bourgeoisie."

If we are to shun such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using fine words about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, the socialist revolution and war against war.....

The main defect of the disarmament demand is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for an altogether new kind of revolution, unarmed revolution?

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. And we do not wish to ignore the sad possibility—if the worst comes to the worst—of mankind going through a second imperialist war, if revolution does not come out of the present war, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass

unrest and mass discontent and in spite of our efforts. We favour a programme of reforms directed *also* against the opportunists. They would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them and sought escape from sad reality in a nebulous "disarmament" fantasy. "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality, not fighting it.

In such a programme we would say something like this: "To accept the defence of the fatherland slogan in the 1914-16 imperialist war is to corrupt the labour movement with the aid of a bourgeois lie." Such a concrete reply to a concrete question would be more correct theoretically, much more useful to the proletariat and more unbearable to the opportunists, than the disarmament demand and repudiation of "all and any" defence of the fatherland. And we could add: "The bourgeoisie of all the imperialist Great Powers—England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States—has become so reactionary and so intent on world domination, that *any* war waged by the bourgeoisie of those countries is bound to be reactionary. The proletariat must not only oppose all such wars, but must also wish for the defeat of its 'own' government in such wars and utilise its defeat for revolutionary insurrection, if an insurrection to prevent the war proves unsuccessful."

On the question of a militia, we should say: We are not in favour of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man", not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc. The more so that in the freest republican countries (e. g., Switzerland) we see that the militia is being increasingly Prussianised, particularly in 1907 and 1911, and prostituted by being used against strikers. We can demand popular election of officers, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, are more and more blatantly exploiting larger numbers of foreign workers, while denying them all rights). Further, we can demand the right of every hundred, say, inhabitants of a given country to form voluntary military-training associations, with free election of instructors paid by the state, etc. Only under these conditions could the proletariat acquire military training for *itself* and not for its slave-owners; and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement, even a partial success like the seizure of a certain city, a certain factory town, or winning over a certain section of the army, inevitably *compels* the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a programme.....

Imperialism, as the highest stage of capitalism in America and Europe, and later in Asia, took final shape in the period 1898-1914. The Spanish-American War (1898), the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902), the Russo-Japanese War (1904-05) and the economic crisis in Europe in 1900 are the chief historical landmarks in the new era of world history.

The fact that imperialism is parasitic or decaying capitalism is manifested first of all in the tendency to decay, which is characteristic of *every* monopoly under the system of private ownership of the means of production. The difference between the democratic-republican and the reactionary-monarchist imperialist bourgeoisie is obliterated precisely because they are both rotting alive (which by no means precludes an extraordinarily rapid development of capitalism in individual branches of industry, in individual countries, and in individual periods). Secondly, the decay of capitalism is manifested in the creation of a huge stratum of *rentiers*, capitalists who live by "clipping coupons". In each of the four leading imperialist countries—England, U.S.A., France and Germany—capital in securities amounts to 100,000 or 150,000 million francs, from which each country derives an annual income of no less than five to eight thousand million. Thirdly, export of capital is parasitism raised to a high pitch. Fourthly, "finance capital strives for domination, not freedom". Political reaction *all along* the line is a characteristic feature of imperialism. Corruption, bribery on a huge scale and all kinds of fraud. Fifthly, the exploi-

itation of oppressed nations—which is inseparably connected with annexations—and especially the exploitation of colonies by a handful of "Great" Powers, increasingly transforms the "civilised" world into a parasite on the body of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations..... A privileged upper stratum of the proletariat in the imperialist countries lives partly at the expense of hundreds of millions in the uncivilised nations.

It is clear why imperialism is *moribund* capitalism, capitalism in *transition* to socialism: monopoly, which grows out of capitalism, is *already* dying capitalism, the beginning of its transition to socialism. The tremendous *socialisation* of labour by imperialism (what its apologists—the bourgeois economists—call "interlocking") produces the same result.

Advancing this definition of imperialism brings us into complete contradiction to K. Kautsky, who refuses to regard imperialism as a "phase of capitalism" and defines it as a *policy* "preferred" by finance capital, a tendency of "industrial" countries to annex "agrarian" countries.\* Kautsky's definition is thoroughly false from the theoretical standpoint. What distinguishes imperialism is the rule *not* of industrial capital, but of finance capital, the striving to annex *not* agrarian countries, particularly, but *every kind* of country. Kautsky *divorces* imperialist politics from imperialist economics, he divorces monopoly in politics from monopoly in economics in order to pave the way for his vulgar bourgeois reformism, such as "disarmament", "ultra-imperialism" and similar nonsense. The whole purpose and significance of this theoretical falsity is to obscure the *most profound* contradictions of imperialism and thus justify the theory of "unity" with the apologists of imperialism, the outright social-chauvinists and opportunists.

We have dealt at sufficient length with Kautsky's break with Marxism on this point in *Sotsial-Demokrat* and *Kommunist*.<sup>52</sup> Our Russian Kautskyites, the supporters of the Organising Committee (O.C.), headed by Axelrod and Spectator, including even Martov, and to a large degree Trotsky, preferred to maintain a discreet silence on the question of Kautskyism as a trend.....

The prospect of partitioning China elicited from Hobson the following economic appraisal: "The greater part of Western Europe might then assume the appearance and character already exhibited by tracts of country in the South of England, in the Riviera, and in the tourist-ridden or residential parts of Italy and Switzerland, little clusters of wealthy aristocrats drawing dividends and pensions from the Far East, with a somewhat larger group of professional retainers and tradesmen and a larger body of personal servants and workers in the transport trade and in the final stages of production of the more perishable goods: all the main arterial industries would have disappeared, the staple foods and semi-manufactures flowing in as tribute from Asia and Africa.... We have foreshadowed the possibility of even a larger alliance of Western states, a European federation of Great Powers which, so far from forwarding the cause of world civilisation, might introduce the gigantic peril of a Western parasitism, a group of advanced industrial nations, whose upper classes drew vast tribute from Asia and Africa, with which they supported great tame masses of retainers, no longer engaged in the staple industries of agriculture and manufacture, but kept in the performance of personal or minor industrial services under the control of a new financial aristocracy. Let those who would scout such a theory [he should have said: prospect] as undeserving of consideration examine the economic and social condition of districts in Southern England today which are already reduced to this condition, and reflect upon the vast extension of such a system which might be rendered feasible by the subjection of China to the economic control of similar groups of financiers, investors [rentiers] and political and business officials, draining the greatest potential reservoir of profit the world has ever known, in order to consume it in Europe. The situation is far too complex, the play of world forces far too incalculable, to render this or any other single interpretation of the future very probable; but the influences which govern the imperialism

of Western Europe today are moving in this direction, and, unless counteracted or diverted, make towards such a consummation."

Hobson, the social-liberal, fails to see that this "counter-action" can be offered *only* by the revolutionary proletariat and *only* in the form of a social revolution. But then he is a social-liberal! Nevertheless, as early as 1902 he had an excellent insight into the meaning and significance of a "United States of Europe" (be it said for the benefit of Trotsky the Kautskyite!) and of all that is now being glossed over by the *hypocritical Kautskyites* of various countries, namely, that the *opportunists* (social-chauvinists) are working hand in glove with the imperialist bourgeoisie *precisely* towards creating an imperialist Europe on the backs of Asia and Africa, and that objectively the *opportunists* are a section of the petty bourgeoisie and of certain strata of the working class who *have been bribed* out of imperialist superprofits and converted into *watchdogs* of capitalism and *corrupters* of the labour movement.....

The monopoly of modern finance capital is being frantically challenged; the era of imperialist wars has begun. It was possible in those days to bribe and corrupt the working class of *one* country for decades. This is now improbable, if not impossible. But on the other hand, *every* imperialist "Great" Power can and does bribe *smaller* strata (than in England in 1848-68) of the "labour aristocracy". Formerly a "*bourgeois labour party*", to use Engels's remarkably profound expression, could arise only in one country, because it alone enjoyed a monopoly, but, on the other hand, it could exist for a long time. Now a "*bourgeois labour party*" is inevitable and typical in *all* imperialist countries; but in view of the desperate struggle they are waging for the division of spoils, it is improbable that such a party can prevail for long in a number of countries. For the trusts, the financial oligarchy, high prices, etc., while *enabling* the bribery of a handful in the top layers, are increasingly oppressing, crushing, ruining and torturing the *mass* of the proletariat and the semi-proletariat.

On the one hand, there is the tendency of the bourgeoisie and the opportunists to convert a handful of very rich and privileged nations into "eternal" parasites on the body of the rest of mankind, to "rest on the laurels" of the exploitation of Negroes, Indians, etc., keeping them in subjection with the aid of the excellent weapons of extermination provided by modern militarism. On the other hand, there is the tendency of the *masses*, who are more oppressed than before and who bear the whole brunt of imperialist wars, to cast off this yoke and to overthrow the bourgeoisie. It is in the struggle between these two tendencies that the history of the labour movement will now inevitably develop. For the first tendency is not accidental; it is "substantiated" economically. In *all* countries the bourgeoisie has already begotten, fostered and secured for itself "*bourgeois labour parties*" of social-chauvinists. The difference between a definitely formed party, like Bissolati's in Italy, for example, which is fully social-imperialist, and, say, the semi-formed near-party of the Potresovs, Gvozdyovs, Bulkins, Chkheidzes, Skobelevs and Co., is an immaterial difference. The important thing is that, economically, the desertion of a stratum of the labour aristocracy to the bourgeoisie has matured and become an accomplished fact; and this economic fact, this shift in class relations, will find political form, in one shape or another, without any particular "difficulty".

On the economic basis referred to above, the political institutions of modern capitalism—press, parliament, associations, congresses, etc.—have created *political* privileges and sops for the respectful, meek, reformist and patriotic office employees and workers, corresponding to the economic privileges and sops. Lucrative and soft jobs in the government or on the war industries committees, in parliament and on diverse committees, on the editorial staffs of "respectable", legally published newspapers or on the management councils of no less respectable and "bourgeois law-abiding" trade unions—this is the bait by which the imperialist bourgeoisie attracts and rewards the representa-

tives and supporters of the "bourgeois labour parties".

The mechanics of political democracy works in the same direction. Nothing in our times can be done without elections; nothing can be done without the masses. And in this era of printing and parliamentarism it is *impossible* to gain the following of the masses without a widely ramified, systematically managed, well-equipped system of flattery, lies, fraud, juggling with fashionable and popular catchwords, and promising all manner of reforms and blessings to the workers right and left—as long as they renounce the revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. I would call this system Lloyd-Georgism, after the English Minister Lloyd George, one of the foremost and most dexterous representatives of this system in the classic land of the "bourgeois labour party". A first-class bourgeois manipulator, an astute politician, a popular orator who will deliver any speeches you like, even r-r-revolutionary ones, to a labour audience, and a man who is capable of obtaining sizable sops for docile workers in the shape of social reforms (insurance, etc.), Lloyd George serves the bourgeoisie splendidly,\* and serves it *precisely among* the workers, brings its influence *precisely* to the proletariat, to where the bourgeoisie needs it most and where it finds it most difficult to subject the masses morally.

And is there such a great difference between Lloyd George and the Scheidemanns, Legiens, Hendersons and Hyndmans, Plekhanovs, Renaudels and Co.? Of the latter, it may be objected, some will return to the revolutionary socialism of Marx. This is possible, but it is an insignificant difference in degree, if the question is regarded from its political, i. e., its mass aspect. Certain individuals among the present social-chauvinist leaders may return to the proletariat. But the social-chauvinist or (what is the same thing) opportunist *trend* can neither disappear nor "return" to the revolutionary proletariat. Wherever Marxism is popular among the workers, this political trend, this "bourgeois labour party", will swear by the name of Marx. It cannot be prohibited from doing this, just as a trading firm cannot be prohibited from using any particular label, sign or advertisement. It has always been the case in history that after the death of revolutionary leaders who were popular among the oppressed classes, their enemies have attempted to appropriate their names so as to deceive the oppressed classes.

The fact is that "bourgeois labour parties", as a political phenomenon, have already been formed in *all* the foremost capitalist countries, and that unless a determined and relentless struggle is waged all along the line against these parties—or groups, trends, etc., it is all the same—there can be no question of a struggle against imperialism, or of Marxism, or of a socialist labour movement.....

[There is not the slightest reason for thinking that these parties will disappear *before* the social revolution. On the contrary, the nearer the revolution approaches, the more strongly it flares up and the more sudden and violent the transitions and leaps in its progress, the greater will be the part the struggle of the revolutionary mass stream against the opportunist petty-bourgeois stream will play in the labour movement. Kautskyism is not an independent trend, because it has no roots either in the masses or in the privileged stratum which has deserted to the bourgeoisie. But the danger of Kautskyism lies in the fact that, utilising the ideology of the past, it endeavours to reconcile the proletariat with the "bourgeois labour party", to preserve the unity of the proletariat with that party and thereby enhance the latter's prestige. The masses no longer follow the avowed social-chauvinists: Lloyd George has been hissed down at workers' meetings in England; Hyndman has left the party; the Renaudels and Scheidemanns, the Potresovs and Gvozdyovs are protected by the police. The Kautskyites' masked defence of the social-chauvinists is much more dangerous.

One of the most common sophistries of Kautskyism is its reference to the "masses". We do not want, they say, to break away from the masses and mass organisations! But just think how Engels put the question. In the nineteenth century the "mass organisations" of the English trade

unions were on the side of the bourgeois labour party. Marx and Engels did not reconcile themselves to it on this ground; they exposed it. They did not forget, firstly, that the trade union organisations directly embraced a *minority of the proletariat*. In England then, as in Germany now, not more than one-fifth of the proletariat was organised. No one can seriously think it possible to organise the majority of the proletariat under capitalism. Secondly—and this is the main point—it is not so much a question of the size of an organisation, as of the real, objective significance of its policy: does its policy represent the masses, does it serve them, i.e., does it aim at their liberation from capitalism, or does it represent the interests of the minority, the minority's reconciliation with capitalism? The latter was true of England in the nineteenth century, and it is true of Germany, etc., now.

Engels draws a distinction between the "bourgeois labour party" of the *old* trade unions—the privileged minority—and the "lowest mass", the real majority, and appeals to the latter, who are *not* infected by "bourgeois respectability". This is the essence of Marxist tactics!

Neither we nor anyone else can calculate precisely what portion of the proletariat is following and will follow the social-chauvinists and opportunists. This will be revealed only by the struggle, it will be definitely decided only by the socialist revolution. But we know for certain that the "defenders of the fatherland" in the imperialist war represent only a minority. And it is therefore our duty, if we wish to remain socialists, to go down *lower and deeper*, to the real masses; this is the whole meaning and the whole purport of the struggle against opportunism. By exposing the fact that the opportunists and social-chauvinists are in reality betraying and selling the interests of the masses, that they are defending the temporary privileges of a minority of the workers, that they are the vehicles of bourgeois ideas and influences, that they are really allies and agents of the bourgeoisie, we teach the masses to appreciate their true political interests, to fight for socialism and for the revolution through all the long and painful vicissitudes of imperialist wars and imperialist armistices.

The only Marxist line in the world labour movement is to explain to the masses the inevitability and necessity of breaking with opportunism, to educate them for revolution by waging a relentless struggle against opportunism, to utilise the experiences of the war to expose, not conceal, the utter vileness of national-liberal labour politics.....

First of all, I should like to mention a slight inaccuracy on the part of Comrade McLaine, which cannot be agreed to. He called the Labour Party the political organisation of the trade union movement, and later repeated the statement when he said that the Labour Party is "the political expression of the workers organised in trade unions". I have met the same view several times in the paper of the British Socialist Party. It is erroneous, and is partly the cause of the opposition, fully justified in some measure, coming from the British revolutionary workers. Indeed, the concepts "political department of the trade unions" or "political expression" of the trade union movement, are erroneous. Of course, most of the Labour Party's members are workingmen. However, whether or not a party is really a political party of the workers does not depend solely upon a membership of workers but also upon the men that lead it, and the content of its actions and its political tactics. Only this latter determines whether we really have before us a political party of the proletariat. Regarded from this, the only correct, point of view, the Labour Party is a thoroughly bourgeois party, because, although made up of workers, it is led by reactionaries, and the worst kind of reactionaries at that, who act quite in the spirit of the bourgeoisie. It is an organisation of the bourgeoisie, which exists to systematically dupe the workers with the aid of the British Noskes and Scheidemanns.....

The British Communist Party must retain the freedom necessary to expose and criticise the betrayers of the working class, who are much more powerful in Britain than in any other country.

If you organise politically you will find that our tactics are based on a correct understanding of political developments in the past decades, and that a real revolutionary party can be created only when it absorbs the best elements of the revolutionary class and uses every opportunity to fight the reactionary leaders, wherever they show themselves.

If the British Communist Party starts by acting in a revolutionary manner in the Labour Party, and if the Hendersons are obliged to expel this Party, that will be a great victory for the communist and revolutionary working-class movement in Britain.

(August 1920)

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

/"Socialism" in general, as an aim, as the opposite of capitalism (or imperialism), is accepted now not only by the Kautsky crowd and social-chauvinists, but by many bourgeois social politicians. However, it is no longer a matter of contrasting two social systems, but of formulating the *concrete* aim of the *concrete* "revolutionary mass struggle" against a *concrete* evil, namely, the *present* high cost of living, the *present* war danger or the *present* war.

The whole Second International of 1889-1914 opposed socialism to capitalism in general, and it was *precisely* this too general "generalisation" that brought on its bankruptcy. It ignored the specific evil of its age, which Frederick Engels nearly thirty years ago, on January 10, 1887, characterised in the following words:

"...a certain petty-bourgeois socialism finds representation in the Social-Democratic Party itself, and even in the ranks of the Reichstag group. This is done in the following way: while the fundamental views of modern socialism and the demand for the transformation of all the means of production into social property are recognised as justified, the *realisation of this is declared possible only in the distant future, a future which for all practical purposes is quite out of sight. Thus, for the present one has to have recourse to mere social patchwork...*" (*The Housing Question*, Preface)."

The concrete aim of "revolutionary mass struggle" can only be *concrete* measures of socialist revolution, and not "socialism" in general: .....

[annulment of the national debt, expropriation of the banks and big industry. When we suggest that these absolutely concrete measures be included .....—we get the same procrastinating, evasive and thoroughly sophisticated reply that the people are not yet prepared for this, and so on and so forth!]

The point is, however, that we should begin preparing them right now, and firmly stick to this work!.....

/The difference between us and the reformists (i.e., the Grutlians in Switzerland) is not that we oppose reforms while they favour them. Nothing of the kind. They confine themselves to reforms.../We tell the workers: vote for proportional representation, etc., but don't stop at that. Make it your prime duty systematically to spread the idea of immediate socialist revolution, prepare for this revolution and radically reconstruct every aspect of party activity. 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.....

(e) Socialists must centre their activity on the struggle against reformism, which has always corrupted the revolutionary labour movement by injecting bourgeois ideas, and has now assumed a somewhat special form, namely: "reliance" on the reforms the bourgeoisie is supposed to carry out after the war! Reformists argue that in urging, popularising and preparing the socialist revolution of the proletariat, we are "losing sight" of the "practical" aspect, "forfeiting" our chances to win reforms.

Only bourgeois reformism, which *in substance* is the position of Kautsky, Turati and Merrheim, poses the question thus: *either* renunciation of revolution (and that means reforms); *or* no reforms at all.

Yet all the experience of world history, like the experience of the 1905 Russian Revolution, teaches us the very

IMPERIALISM AND THE SPLIT IN SOCIALISM October 1916

PRINCIPLES INVOLVED IN WAR ISSUE (December 1916)

THESES FOR

THESE ON COMINTERN FUNDAMENTAL TASKS (July 1920)  
opposite: either revolutionary class struggle, of which reforms are always a by-product (when the revolution is not completely successful); or no reforms at all.

For the only effective force that compels change is popular revolutionary energy, providing it does not remain on paper, as has been the case in the Second International, but finds expression in comprehensive mass revolutionary propaganda, agitation and organisation conducted by parties marching at the head of the revolution, not limping along in its tail.....

8. The dictatorship of the proletariat is the most determined and revolutionary form of the proletariat's class struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle can be successful only when the most revolutionary vanguard of the proletariat has the backing of the overwhelming majority of the proletariat. Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat entails not only explanation of the bourgeois character of all reformism, of all defence of democracy, while private ownership of the means of production is preserved; it entails, not only exposure of such trends, which are in fact a defence of the bourgeoisie within the labour movement; it also calls for old leaders being replaced by Communists in proletarian organisations of absolutely every type—not only political, but also trade union, co-operative, educational, etc. The more complete, lengthy and firmly established the rule of bourgeois democracy has been in a given country, the more the bourgeoisie will have succeeded in securing the appointment to such leading posts of people whose minds have been moulded by it and imbued with its views and prejudices, and who have very often been directly or indirectly bought by it. These representatives of the labour aristocracy, bourgeoisified workers, should be ousted from all their posts a hundred times more sweepingly than hitherto, and replaced by workers—even by wholly inexperienced men, provided they are connected with the exploited masses and enjoy their confidence in the struggle against the exploiters. The dictatorship of the proletariat will require the appointment of such inexperienced workers to the most responsible posts in the state; otherwise the workers' government will be impotent and will not have the support of the masses.

9. The dictatorship of the proletariat means that all toiling and exploited people, who have been disunited, deceived, intimidated, oppressed, downtrodden and crushed by the capitalist class, come under the full leadership of the only class trained for that leadership by the whole history of capitalism. That is why the following is one of the methods whereby preparations for the dictatorship of the proletariat should be started everywhere and immediately:

In all organisations, unions and associations without exception, and first and foremost in proletarian organisations, but also in those of the non-proletarian toiling and exploited masses (political, trade union, military, co-operative, educational, sports, etc., etc.), groups or cells of Communists should be formed—preferably open groups, but underground groups as well, the latter being essential whenever there is reason to expect their suppression, or the arrest or banishment of their members on the part of the bourgeoisie; these cells, which are to be in close touch with one another and with the Party centre, should, by pooling their experience, carrying on work of agitation, propaganda and organisation, adapting themselves to absolutely every sphere of public life and to every variety and category of the toiling masses, systematically educate themselves, the Party, the class, and the masses by means of such diversified work.

In this connection, it is of the utmost importance that necessary distinctions between the methods of work should be evolved in practice: on the one hand, in relation to the "leaders", or "responsible representatives", who are very often hopelessly beset with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices—such "leaders" must be ruthlessly exposed and expelled from the working-class movement—and, on the other hand, in relation to the masses, who, particularly after the imperialist holocaust, are for the most part inclined to listen to and accept the doctrine that the guidance from the proletariat is essential, as the only way

of escape from capitalist slavery. We must learn to approach the masses with particular patience and caution so as to be able to understand the distinctive features in the mentality of each stratum, calling, etc., of these masses.

10. In particular, there is a group or cell of Communists that deserves exceptional attention and care from the Party, i.e., the parliamentary group of Party members, who are deputies to bourgeois representative institutions (primarily the national, but also local, municipal, etc., representative institutions). On the one hand, it is this tribune which is held in particular regard by large sections of the toiling masses, who are backward or imbued with petty-bourgeois prejudices; it is therefore imperative for Communists to utilise this tribune to conduct propaganda, agitation and organisational work and to explain to the masses why the dispersal of the bourgeois parliament by the national congress of Soviets was legitimate in Russia (and, at the proper time, will be legitimate in any country). On the other hand, the entire history of bourgeois democracy, particularly in the advanced countries, has converted the parliamentary rostrum into one of the principal, if not the principal, venues of unparalleled fraudulency, financial and political deception of the people, careerism, hypocrisy and oppression of the working people. The intense hatred of parliaments felt by the best representatives of the revolutionary proletariat is therefore quite justified. The Communist parties and all parties affiliated to the Third International—especially those which have not arisen by splitting away from the old parties and by waging a long and persistent struggle against them, but through the old parties accepting (often nominally) the new stand—should therefore adopt a most strict attitude towards their parliamentary groups; the latter must be brought under the full control and direction of the Central Committees of the Parties; they must consist, in the main, of revolutionary workers; speeches by members of parliament should be carefully analysed in the Party press and at Party meetings, from a strictly communist standpoint; deputies should be sent to carry on agitational work among the masses; those who manifest Second International leanings should be expelled from the parliamentary groups, etc.

THESE ON COMINTERN FUNDAMENTAL TASKS (July 1920)  
11. One of the chief causes hampering the revolutionary working-class movement in the developed capitalist countries is the fact that because of their colonial possessions and the super-profits gained by finance capital, etc., the capitalists of these countries have been able to create a relatively larger and more stable labour aristocracy, a section which comprises a small minority of the working class. This minority enjoys better terms of employment and is most imbued with a narrow-minded craft spirit and with petty-bourgeois and imperialist prejudices. It forms the real social pillar of the Second International, of the reformists and the "Centrists"; at present it might even be called the social mainstay of the bourgeoisie. No preparation of the proletariat for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie is possible, even in the preliminary sense, unless an immediate, systematic, extensive and open struggle is waged against this stratum, which, as experience has already fully shown, will no doubt provide the bourgeois White guards with many a recruit after the victory of the proletariat. All parties affiliated to the Third International must at all costs give effect to the slogans: "Deeper into the thick of the masses", "Closer links with the masses"—meaning by the masses all those who toil and are exploited by capital, particularly those who are least organised and educated, who are most oppressed and least amenable to organisation.

The objective course of events is having its effect, and just as the executioners of the 1848 and 1905 revolutions were, in a certain sense, their executors, so the stage managers of the imperialist slaughter are compelled to carry out certain state-capitalist, certain national reforms. Moreover, it is necessary, by throwing out a few sops, to pacify the masses, angered by the war and the high cost of living: why not promise (and partly carry out, for it does not commit one to anything!) "reduction of armaments"? After all, war is a "branch of industry" similar to forestry: it takes decades

for trees of proper size—that is to say, for a sufficiently abundant supply of adult “cannon fodder”—to grow up. During these decades. new Plekhanovs, new Scheidemanns, new sentimental conciliators like Kautsky will grow up from the depths of “united” international Social-Democracy.

Bourgeois reformists and pacifists are people who, as a general rule, are *paid*, in one form or another, to strengthen the rule of capitalism by patching it up, to lull the masses and divert them from the revolutionary struggle. When socialist “leaders” like Turati and Kautsky try to convince the masses, either by direct statements (Turati “blurted” one out in his notorious speech of December 17, 1916<sup>1</sup>), or by *silent evasions* (of which Kautsky is a past master), that the present imperialist war can result in a democratic peace, while the bourgeois governments *remain in power* and without a revolutionary insurrection against the whole network of imperialist world relations, it is our duty to declare that such propaganda is a deception of the people, that it has nothing in common with socialism, that it amounts to the embellishment of an *imperialist* peace.

We are for a democratic peace; and that is precisely why we do not want to lie to the peoples as Turati and Kautsky do—of course with the best intentions, and for the most virtuous motives! We shall tell the *truth*, namely, that a democratic peace is impossible unless the revolutionary proletariat of England, France, Germany and Russia overthrows the bourgeois governments. We think it would be the height of absurdity for revolutionary Social-Democrats to refrain from fighting for reforms in general, including “constitutional reform”. But at the present moment, Europe is going through a period in which it is more than ever necessary to bear in mind the truth that *reforms are a by-product of the revolutionary class struggle*; for the task of the day—not because we want it, not because of anybody’s plans, but because of the objective course of events—is to solve the great historical problems by means of direct mass violence, which will create new foundations, and not by means of agreements on the basis of the old, decaying and moribund.

It is precisely at the present time, when the ruling bourgeoisie is preparing peacefully to disarm millions of proletarians and to transfer them safely—under cover of a plausible ideology, and sprinkling them with the holy water of sentimental pacifist phrases!—from the filthy, stinking, fetid trenches, where they were engaged in slaughter, to the penal servitude of the capitalist factories, where by their “honest toil” they must repay the hundreds of millions of national debt, it is precisely at this time that the slogan, which our Party issued to the people in the autumn of 1914,\* viz., transform the imperialist war into a civil war for socialism, acquires still greater significance than it had at the beginning of the war. Karl Liebknecht, now sentenced to hard labour, adopted that slogan when he said from the Reichstag tribune: “Turn your weapons against your class enemies within the country!” The extent to which present-day society has matured for the transition to socialism has been demonstrated by this war, in which the exertion of national effort called for the direction of the economic life of over fifty million people from a *single* centre. If this is possible under the leadership of a handful of Junker aristocrats in the interests of a handful of financial magnates, it is certainly no less possible under the leadership of class-conscious workers in the interests of nine-tenths of the population, exhausted by starvation and war.

But to lead the masses, the class-conscious workers must understand the utter corruption of such socialist leaders as Turati, Kautsky and Co. These gentlemen imagine they are revolutionary Social-Democrats, and they are very indignant when they are told that their place is in the party of Messrs. Bissolati, Scheidemann, Legien and Co. But Turati and Kautsky wholly fail to realise that only a revolution of the masses can solve the great problems of the day. They have not a grain of faith in the revolution, they do not pay the slightest attention to, or display the slightest interest in, the way it is maturing in the minds and moods of the masses precisely in connection with the war. Their attention is entirely absorbed in reforms, in pacts between sections of the ruling classes; it is to them that they address themselves, it is them they seek to “persuade”, it is to

them they wish to adapt the labour movement.

But the whole thing now is to get the class-conscious vanguard of the proletariat to direct its thoughts to, and muster its forces for, a revolutionary struggle to overthrow their governments. Revolutions such as Turati and Kautsky are “prepared” to accept, i.e., revolutions for which the date and the chances of success can be set in advance, never happen. The revolutionary situation in Europe is a fact. The extreme discontent, the unrest and anger of the masses are facts. It is on strengthening *this* torrent that revolutionary Social-Democrats must concentrate all their efforts. Upon the strength of the revolutionary movement, in the event of its not being entirely successful, will depend what portion of the “promised” reforms will be realised in practice, and what use they will be for the further struggle of the working class. Upon the strength of the revolutionary movement, in the event of its being entirely successful, will depend the victory of socialism in Europe and the achievement not of an imperialist armistice in Germany’s struggle against Russia and England, or in Russia’s and Germany’s struggle against England, or the United States’ struggle against Germany and England, etc., but of a really lasting and really democratic peace.

A TURN IN WORLD POLITICS  
Social-Democrat  
5th, January 31, 1917

Those leaflets cost colossal sacrifices. Sometimes they are quite unattractive in appearance. Some of them, the appeals for demonstration on April 4, for instance, merely announce the hour and place of the demonstration, in six lines evidently set in secret and with extreme haste in different printing shops and in different types. We have people (“also Social-Democrats”) who, when alluding to these conditions of “underground” work, snigger maliciously or curl a contemptuous lip and ask: “If the entire Party were limited to the underground, how many members would it have? Two or three hundred?” [See No. 95 (181) of *Luch*, a renegade organ, in its editorial defence of Mr. Sedov, who has the sad courage to be an outspoken liquidator. This issue of *Luch* appeared five days before the May Day action, i.e., at the very time the underground was preparing the leaflets!].....

See to what extent these despicable people have lost touch with the mass working-class movement and with revolutionary work in general! Use even their own yardstick, deliberately falsified to suit the liberals. You may assume for a moment that “two or three hundred” workers in St. Petersburg took part in printing and distributing those underground leaflets.

What is the result? “Two or three hundred” workers, the flower of the St. Petersburg proletariat, people who not only call themselves Social-Democrats but work as Social-Democrats, people who are esteemed and appreciated for it by the entire working class of Russia, people who do not prate about a “broad party” but make up in actual fact the only underground Social-Democratic Party existing in Russia, these people print and circulate underground leaflets. The *Luch* liquidators (protected by Stolypin censors) laugh contemptuously at the “two or three hundred”, the “underground” and its “exaggerated” importance, etc.

And suddenly, a miracle occurs! In accordance with a decision drawn up by *half a dozen* members of the Executive Commission of the St. Petersburg Committee—a leaflet printed and circulated by “two or three hundred”—*two hundred and fifty thousand* people rise as one man in St. Petersburg.

The leaflets and the revolutionary speeches by workers at meetings and demonstrations do not speak of an “open working-class party”, “freedom of association” or reforms of that kind, with the phantoms of which the liberals are fooling the people. They speak of revolution as the only way out. They speak of the republic as the only slogan which, in contrast to liberal lies about reforms, indicates the change needed to ensure freedom, indicates the forces capable of rising consciously to defend it.

The two million inhabitants of St. Petersburg see and hear these appeals for revolution which go to the hearts of all toiling and oppressed sections of the people. All St. Petersburg sees from a real, mass-scale example what is the real way out and what is lying liberal talk about reforms. Thousands of workers’ contacts—and hundreds of bourgeois newspapers, which are compelled to report the St. Petersburg

mass action at least in snatches—spread throughout Russia the news of the stubborn strike campaign of the capital's proletariat. Both the mass of the peasantry and the peasants serving in the army hear this news of strikes, of the revolutionary demands of the workers, of their struggle for a republic and for the confiscation of the landed estates for the benefit of the peasants. Slowly but surely, the revolutionary strikes are stirring, rousing, enlightening, and organising the masses of the people for revolution.

The "two or three hundred" "underground people" express the interests and needs of millions and tens of millions, they tell them the truth about their hopeless position, open their eyes to the necessity of revolutionary struggle, imbue them with faith in it, provide them with the correct slogans, and win these masses away from the influence of the high-sounding and thoroughly spurious, reformist slogans of the bourgeoisie. And "two or three" dozen liquidators from among the intelligentsia, using money collected abroad and among liberal merchants to fool unenlightened workers, are carrying the slogans of that bourgeoisie into the workers' midst.

The May Day strike, like all the revolutionary strikes of 1912-13, has made clear the three political camps into which present-day Russia is divided. The camp of hangmen and feudal lords, of monarchy and the secret police. It has done its utmost in the way of atrocities and is already impotent against the masses of the workers. The camp of the bourgeoisie, all of whom, from the Cadets to the Octobrists, are shouting and moaning, calling for reforms and making fools of themselves by thinking that reforms are possible in Russia. The camp of the revolution, the only camp expressing the interests of the oppressed masses.

All the ideological work, all the political work in this camp is carried out by underground Social-Democrats alone, by those who know how to use every legal opportunity in the spirit of Social-Democracy and who are inseparably bound up with the advanced class, the proletariat. No one can tell beforehand whether this advanced class will succeed in leading the masses all the way to a victorious revolution. But this class is fulfilling its duty—leading the masses to that solution—despite all the vacillations and betrayals on the part of the liberals and those who are "also Social-Democrats". All the living and vital elements of Russian socialism and Russian democracy are being educated solely by the example of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat, and under its guidance.

This year's May Day action has shown to the whole world that the Russian proletariat is steadfastly following its revolutionary course, apart from which there is no salvation for a Russia that is suffocating and decaying alive.

The proletariat is revolutionary only insofar as it is conscious of and gives effect to this idea of the hegemony of the proletariat. The proletarian who is conscious of this task is a slave who has revolted against slavery. The proletarian who is not conscious of the idea that his class must be the leader, or who renounces this idea, is a slave who does not realise his position as a slave; at best he is a slave who fights to improve his condition as a slave, but not one who fights to overthrow slavery.....

To preach to the workers that what they need is "not hegemony, but a class party" means to betray the cause of the proletariat to the liberals; it means preaching that Social-Democratic labour policy should be replaced by a liberal labour policy.

Renunciation of the idea of hegemony, however, is the crudest form of reformism in the Russian Social-Democratic movement, and that is why not all liquidators make bold to express their ideas in such definite terms. Some of them (Mr. Martov, for instance) even try, mocking at the truth, to deny that there is a connection between the renunciation of hegemony and liquidationism.....

To shove again toward revolution, to work tirelessly, in the changed situation, to propagate the idea of revolution and to prepare the forces of the working class for it—that, from the standpoint of the reformists, is the chief crime of the R.S.D.L.P., that is what constitutes the guilt of the revolutionary proletariat. Why "shove in where they

have once been defeated"—that is the wisdom of renegade and of persons who lose heart after any defeat. He is no socialist, he has not understood the tasks of his class, which demand that the masses of the people, the masses of working and exploited people, be roused to intervene independently in the historic destinies of the country, the vacillations or resistance of the bourgeoisie notwithstanding. But the independent historical action of the masses who are throwing off the hegemony of the bourgeoisie turns a "constitutional" crisis into a revolution.....

Whether, when, and under what circumstances the revolution materialises, does not depend on the will of a particular class; but revolutionary work carried on among the masses is never wasted. This is the only kind of activity which prepares the masses for the victory of socialism. The Larins and Martovs forget these elementary ABC truths of socialism.

Larin, who expresses the views of the group of Russian liquidators who have completely broken with the R.S.D.L.P., does not hesitate to go the whole hog in expounding his reformism. Here is what he writes in *Dyelo Zhizni* (1911, No. 2)—and these words should be remembered by everyone who holds dear the principles of Social-Democracy:

"A state of perplexity and uncertainty, when people simply do not know what to expect of the coming day, what tasks to set themselves—that is what results from indeterminate, temporising moods, from vague hopes of either a repetition of the revolution or of 'we shall wait and see'. The immediate task is, not to wait fruitlessly for something to turn up, but to imbue broad circles with the guiding idea that, in the ensuing historical period of Russian life, the working class must organise itself 'for revolution', not 'in expectation of a revolution', but simply [note the *but simply*] for the determined and systematic defence of its particular interests in all spheres of life; for the gathering and training of its forces for this many-sided and complex activity; for the training and building-up in this way of socialist consciousness in general; for acquiring the ability to orientate itself [to find its bearings]—and to assert itself—particularly in the complicated relations of the social classes of Russia during the coming constitutional reform of the country after the economically inevitable selfexhaustion of feudal reaction."

This is consummate, frank, smug reformism of the purest water. War against the idea of revolution, against the "hopes" for revolution (in the eyes of the reformist such "hopes" seem *vague*, because he does not understand the depth of the contemporary economic and political contradictions); war against every activity designed to organise the forces and prepare the minds for revolution; war waged in the legal press that Stolypin protects from a direct retort by revolutionary Social-Democrats; war waged on behalf of a group of legalists who have completely broken with the R.S.D.L.P.—this is the programme and tactics of the Stolypin labour party which Potresov, Levitsky, Larin, and their friends are out to create. The real programme and the real tactics of these people are expressed in exact terms in the above quotation—as distinct from their hypocritical official assurances that they are "also Social-Democrats", that they "also" belong to the "irreconcilable International". These assurances are only window-dressing. Their deeds, their real social substance, are expressed in this programme, which substitutes a liberal labour policy for socialism.

#### REFORMISM IN THE RUSSIAN SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT

The philistine is satisfied with the undoubted, holy and empty truth that it is impossible to say in advance whether there will be a revolution or not. A Marxist is not satisfied with that; he says: our propaganda and the propaganda of all worker Social-Democrats is one of the factors determining whether there will be a revolution or not. Hundreds of thousands of political strikers and the foremost men of various units of the armed forces ask us, our Party, what they should strive for, for the sake of what they should rise, what they should try to achieve, whether they should expand the upsurge that has begun into a revolution, or whether they should direct it towards a struggle for reforms.

The revolutionary Social-Democrats have given their answer to these questions, which are more interesting and important than the philistine-Trotskyist attitude of uncertainty: will there be a revolution or not, who can tell?

Our answer is—criticism of the utopia of constitutional reforms, explanation of the futility of the hopes placed in

MAY DAY ACTION BY REVOLUTIONARY PROLETARIAT  
Sotsial-Demokrat No. 31,  
June 15 (26), 1913

Sotsial-Demokrat, No. 23,  
September 15(1), 1911

them, the utmost all-round promotion of the *revolutionary* upsurge. utilisation of the election campaign for *this purpose*. Whether or not there will be a revolution does not depend on us *alone*. But we shall do *our* work, and this work will never be in vain. It will sow the seeds of democracy and proletarian independence deep among the masses, and these seeds will *certainly* sprout and produce either a democratic revolution tomorrow, or a socialist revolution the day after.

Those, however, who preach to the masses their vulgar, intellectualist, Bundist-Trotskyist scepticism—"we don't know whether there will be a revolution or not, but the '*current*' issue is reforms"—are *already* corrupting the masses, preaching liberal utopias to them.

Instead of *permeating* the election campaign with the spirit of the present, real, "*actual*" political situation, in which half a million workers are engaged in revolutionary strikes, and the foremost men in the muzhik armed forces are firing on their aristocrat officers—instead of this they *dismiss* from their would-be "European" (they are so European, so European, are our liquidators!) "parliamentary" considerations this real situation (in which there is very little of the "European", but very much of the "Chinese", *that is to say*, of the democratic-revolutionary), and having dismissed it by means of a few non-committal phrases, they declare the reformist election campaign to be the *real* thing.

The Social-Democratic Party needs a platform for the elections to the Fourth Duma in order once more to explain to the masses—in connection with the elections, on the occasion of the elections, *and* in debates on the elections—the need for, *and* the urgency and inevitability of, the revolution.

They, the liquidators, need a platform "*for*" the elections, i.e., a platform enabling them politely to dismiss considerations about a revolution as an uncertain eventuality and to declare the election campaign for a list of constitutional reforms to be the "*real*" thing.

The Social-Democratic Party wants to use the elections in order again to drive home to the masses the idea of the need for revolution, and the fact of the revolutionary upswing which has begun. That is why the Social-Democratic Party, in its platform, says briefly and plainly to those voting in the elections to the *Fourth Duma*: not constitutional reforms, but a republic, *not* reformism, but revolution.

The liquidators are using the elections to the Fourth Duma to preach constitutional reforms and *weaken* the idea of revolution. It is *for* this purpose and because of this that they depict soldiers' revolts as "outbursts of desperate protest" to which soldiers are "driven", and not as the *beginning* of a mass uprising which will grow or subside according, among other things, to whether or not *all* the Social-Democratic workers of Russia at once begin to support it with all their might, with all their energy, with all their enthusiasm.

It is for this purpose that the May strikes have been "interpreted" from being revolutionary into being reformist.

It is for this purpose that the Party programme has been "interpreted", and instead of the "immediate" task of establishing a republic that will *ensure* liberties, it has been decreed to regard as *current* in the "present election campaign"—for the Fourth Duma, don't laugh!—the demand for various liberties.....

The diplomatic "reconciliation" of liquidationist views with those of the Party that was staged by Trotsky at the liquidationist conference does not in reality "reconcile" anything at all. It does not remove the greatest political fact, which determines the entire social and political situation in present-day Russia. That fact is the struggle between the reformist and the revolutionary Social-Democratic platforms; it is the pronouncement of the bourgeoisie, as represented by its liberal party leaders, against the need for a new revolution in Russia and in favour of purely constitutional "work", in opposition to the revolutionary strike of hundreds of thousands of proletarians, which is a call to the masses to begin a real struggle for freedom.

To make one bow to the reformists and another to the revolutionary Social-Democrats does not do away with this objective political fact, does not weaken its force and weight in the slightest degree. Good intentions to smooth over differences arising from this fact—even assuming that these intentions are indeed perfectly "good" and sincere—are

powerless to alter the irreconcilably hostile political tendencies arising from the entire counter-revolutionary situation.

The proletariat has risen with its revolutionary Social-Democratic banner, and on the eve of the Fourth, Black-Hundred, Duma, it will not lower it before the liberals, will not furl it to please the reformists, will not consent to blunt or tone down its platform for reasons of group diplomacy.

The platform of revolutionary Social-Democracy versus the platform of reformism—this was the watchword under which the May strikes took place. Under it, too, the R.S.D.L.P. is entering the elections to a landlord and priest Duma, and under it the Party will carry on its entire work in that Duma and among the masses.

#### PLATFORM OF REFORMISTS AND PLATFORM OF S.D.S.

A revolutionary is not one who becomes revolutionary with the onset of the revolution, but one who defends the principles and slogans of the revolution when reaction is most violent and when liberals and democrats vacillate to the greatest degree. A revolutionary is one who *teaches* the masses to struggle in a revolutionary manner and nobody can possibly foresee (make a "forecast" of) the results of that "teaching".

#### NOTES OF A PUBLICIST

The Marxist organisation unites *politically* conscious workers by its common programme, common tactics, common decisions on the attitude to reaction, capitalists, bourgeois democrats (Narodniks), etc. All these *common* decisions—among others, the decisions of 1908, 1912 and 1913 on the absurdity and harmfulness of *reformism*—are upheld and are persistently implemented by the Marxists.

Discussions (talks, debates, disputes) about parties and about common tactics are essential; without them the masses are disunited; without them common decisions are *impossible* and, therefore, unity of action is also impossible. Without them the Marxist organisation of those workers "who can get at the root of things" *would disintegrate* and the influence of the bourgeoisie on the unenlightened would thereby be facilitated.

In advocating collections in accordance with political trends, collections accompanied by a discussion on platforms, the best St. Petersburg workers are struggling for Marxism against the champions of a non-party spirit.

We are confident that the workers will always and everywhere bend all their efforts to uphold *only* the Marxist system of collections and discussions, which *educate* the masses.

The sad experience of the Second International has clearly demonstrated the immense damage caused by combining, in *actual practice*, "general" revolutionary decisions, formulated in general phrases, with reformist actions—when professions of internationalism are attended by refusal *jointly* to discuss, in a truly internationalist manner, fundamental problems of the tactics of each individual party as a component part of the international union.

Prior to the Zimmerwald Conference and at the Conference itself, our Party considered it its duty to acquaint the comrades with our irrevocable condemnation of pacifism and abstract preachment of peace as a bourgeois deception (a German translation of our Party's resolution, in the pamphlet *Socialism and War*,\* and a French translation, in a separate leaflet, were circulated at the Conference). The *Zimmerwald Left*, in whose organisation we shared, was formed as a separate group at the Conference for the express purpose of showing that we support the Zimmerwald group *insofar* as it combats social-chauvinism.

It has now been definitely established—of this we are profoundly convinced—that the Zimmerwald majority, or the Zimmerwald Right, has made a *roundabout turn* not towards struggle against social-chauvinism, but towards complete surrender to it, towards merger with it on a platform of empty pacifist phrases. And we consider it our duty openly to state that to support, in these circumstances, the illusion of Zimmerwald unity and Zimmerwald struggle for the Third International would cause the greatest damage to the labour movement. We declare, not as a "threat" or "ultimatum", but as an open notification of our decision, that unless the situation changes we shall not remain a member of the Zimmerwald group.

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 28-29, June 15 (28), 1912

Sotsial-Demokrat No. 31, 1913

THE STRUGGLE FOR MARXISM

Written before December 25, 1916 (January 7, 1917)

THESES FOR AN APPEAL TO THE I. S. C.



No Communist should forget the lessons of the Hungarian Soviet Republic. The Hungarian proletariat paid dearly for the Hungarian Communists having united with the reformists.

In view of all this, the Second World Congress deems it necessary to lay down absolutely precise terms for the admission of new parties, and also to set forth the obligations incurred by the parties already affiliated.

The Second Congress of the Communist International resolves that the following are the terms of Comintern membership:

1. Day-by-day propaganda and agitation must be genuinely communist in character. All press organs belonging to the parties must be edited by reliable Communists who have given proof of their devotion to the cause of the proletarian revolution. The dictatorship of the proletariat should not be discussed merely as a stock phrase to be learned by rote; it should be popularised in such a way that the practical facts systematically dealt with in our press day by day will drive home to every rank-and-file working man and working woman, every soldier and peasant, that it is indispensable to them. Third International supporters should use all media to which they have access—the press, public meetings, trade unions, and co-operative societies—to expose systematically and relentlessly, not only the bourgeoisie but also its accomplices—the reformists of every shade.

2. Any organisation that wishes to join the Communist International must consistently and systematically dismiss reformists and "Centrists" from positions of any responsibility in the working-class movement (party organisations, editorial boards, trade unions, parliamentary groups, co-operative societies, municipal councils, etc.), replacing them by reliable Communists. The fact that in some cases rank-and-file workers may at first have to replace "experienced" leaders should be no deterrent.

3. In countries where a state of siege or emergency legislation makes it impossible for Communists to conduct their activities legally, it is absolutely essential that legal and illegal work should be combined. In almost all the countries of Europe and America, the class struggle is entering the phase of civil war. In these conditions, Communists can place no trust in bourgeois legality. They must *everywhere* build up a parallel illegal organisation, which, at the decisive moment, will be in a position to help the Party fulfil its duty to the revolution.

6. It is the duty of any party wishing to belong to the Third International to expose, not only avowed social-patriotism, but also the falsehood and hypocrisy of social-pacifism. It must systematically demonstrate to the workers that, without the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, no international arbitration courts, no talk about a reduction of armaments, no "democratic" reorganisation of the League of Nations will save mankind from new imperialist wars.

7. It is the duty of parties wishing to belong to the Communist International to recognise the need for a complete and absolute break with reformism and "Centrist" policy, and to conduct propaganda among the party membership for that break. Without this, a consistent communist policy is impossible.

8. Parties in countries whose bourgeoisie possess colonies and oppress other nations must pursue a most well-defined and clear-cut policy in respect of colonies and oppressed nations. Any party wishing to join the Third International must ruthlessly expose the colonial machinations of the imperialists of its "own" country, must support—in deed, not merely in word—every colonial liberation movement, demand the expulsion of its compatriot imperialists from the colonies, inculcate in the hearts of the workers of its own country an attitude of true brotherhood with the working population of the colonies and the oppressed nations, and conduct systematic agitation among the armed forces against all oppression of the colonial peoples.

9. It is the duty of any party wishing to join the Communist International to conduct systematic and unflagging communist work in the trade unions, co-operative societies and other mass workers' organisations. Communist cells should be formed in the trade unions, and, by their sustained

and unflagging work, win the unions over to the communist cause. In every phase of their day-by-day activity these cells must unmask the treachery of the social-patriots and the vacillation of the "Centrists". The cells must be completely subordinate to the party as a whole.

10. It is the duty of any party belonging to the Communist International to wage a determined struggle against the Amsterdam "International" of yellow trade unions.<sup>71</sup> Its indefatigable propaganda should show the organised workers the need to break with the yellow Amsterdam International. It must give every support to the emerging international federation of Red trade unions<sup>75</sup> which are associated with the Communist International.

#### TERMS OF ADMISSION INTO COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

Here we must ask: how is the persistence of such trends in Europe to be explained? Why is this opportunism stronger in Western Europe than in our country? It is because the culture of the advanced countries has been, and still is, the result of their being able to live at the expense of a thousand million oppressed people. It is because the capitalists of these countries obtain a great deal more in this way than they could obtain as profits by plundering the workers in their own countries.

Before the war, it was calculated that the three richest countries—Britain, France and Germany—got between eight and ten thousand million francs a year from the export of capital alone, apart from other sources.

It goes without saying that, out of this tidy sum, at least five hundred millions can be spent as a sop to the labour leaders and the labour aristocracy, i.e., on all sorts of bribes. The whole thing boils down to nothing but bribery. It is done in a thousand different ways: by increasing cultural facilities in the largest centres, by creating educational institutions, and by providing co-operative, trade union and parliamentary leaders with thousands of cushy jobs. This is done wherever present-day civilised capitalist relations exist. It is these thousands of millions in super-profits that form the economic basis of opportunism in the working-class movement. In America, Britain and France we see a far greater persistence of the opportunist leaders, of the upper crust of the working class, the labour aristocracy; they offer stronger resistance to the Communist movement. That is why we must be prepared to find it harder for the European and American workers' parties to get rid of this disease than was the case in our country. We know that enormous successes have been achieved in the treatment of this disease since the Third International was formed, but we have not yet finished the job; the purging of the workers' parties, the revolutionary parties of the proletariat all over the world, of bourgeois influences, of the opportunists in their ranks, is very far from complete.

I shall not dwell on the concrete manner in which we must do that; that is dealt with in my published theses. My task consists in indicating the deep economic roots of this phenomenon. The disease is a protracted one; the cure takes longer than the optimists hoped it would. Opportunism is our principal enemy. Opportunism in the upper ranks of the working-class movement is bourgeois socialism, not proletarian socialism. It has been shown in practice that working-class activists who follow the opportunist trend are better defenders of the bourgeoisie than the bourgeois themselves. Without their leadership of the workers, the bourgeoisie could not remain in power. This has been proved, not only by the history of the Kerensky regime in Russia; it has also been proved by the democratic republic in Germany under its Social-Democratic government, as well as by Albert Thomas's attitude towards his bourgeois government. It has been proved by similar experience in Britain and the United States. This is where our principal enemy is, an enemy we must overcome. We must leave this Congress firmly resolved to carry on this struggle to the very end, in all parties. That is our main task.

Compared with this task, the rectification of the errors of the "Left" trend in communism will be an easy one. In a number of countries anti-parliamentarianism is to be seen, which has not been so much introduced by people of petty-bourgeois origin as fostered by certain advanced

contingents of the proletariat out of hatred for the old parliamentary system, out of a legitimate, proper and necessary hatred for the conduct of members of parliament in Britain, France, Italy, in all lands. Directives must be issued by the Communist International and the comrades must be made more familiar with the experience of Russia, with the significance of a genuinely proletarian political party. Our work will consist in accomplishing this task. The fight against these errors in the proletarian movement, against these shortcomings, will be a thousand times easier than fighting against those bourgeois who, in the guise of reformists, belong to the old parties of the Second International and conduct the whole of their work in a bourgeois, not proletarian, spirit. . . . .

we have here quite a number of representatives of the revolutionary movement in the colonial and backward countries. This is only a small beginning, but the important thing is that a beginning has been made. At this Congress we see taking place a union between revolutionary proletarians of the capitalist, advanced countries, and the revolutionary masses of those countries where there is no or hardly any proletariat, i.e., the oppressed masses of colonial, Eastern countries. It is on ourselves that the consolidation of unity depends, and I am sure we shall achieve it. World imperialism shall fall when the revolutionary onslaught of the exploited and oppressed workers in each country, overcoming resistance from petty-

6  
Illusions that the 'reforms' of postwar Labour governments, - particularly the 1945 regime measures, - towards a 'welfare state' fundamentally 'changed' capitalism, and fundamentally 'altered the balance of power' between workers & the ruling class 'for all time', - have mentally crippled a whole generation.

The phony, cheap, and nasty 'equality' these pathetic 'reforms' are supposed to have introduced into the allegedly 'democratic' and 'free world' system is now a source of as much conservative & reactionary ideology as Tory backwardness itself is.

The Labour Party's dog-in-the-manger response to the Tory election gimmick of cut-price council-house sales to sitting tenants was a classic example. Just like the constant fraud of Labour election promises, a bogus threadbare 'equality' was going to be rammed down people's throats whatever the reality of the housing crisis under capitalism, - (dominated by money-market conditions), - and regardless of how workers themselves wanted to try to cope with the slump's housing problems and urban decay in the absence of any serious intention & ability by Labour to do anything about it. The Tory

cut-price handout was grotesque favouritism and a clear election bribe. But the 'reformist' concerns were not the divisive damage to social funds, hurting plans to transform life in Britain, - but an equally sordid interest alone in Labour's electoral image.

Labour MPs & councillors, - mostly living in privately-mortgaged homes themselves (and often two homes in the case of some of them), - and having catastrophically failed to solve the housing problem (or get anywhere near solving it) despite six Labour Governments since the war plus virtually permanent local government power in all the major cities, - still vainly pretended that some 'sacred principle' was being destroyed by letting council tenants, for their own betterment, opt out of a failed system just as privately-accommodated Labour MPs do.

What they were really objecting to, of course, was the light that was being shed by the collapsing council-house service on their own wretched Labourite political illusions & election promises.

The 'reform' of the housing problem, with the capitalist ruling class being left intact and in reality in charge of all the essential finance-capital levers of the markets & the economy, - has conclusively been proved to be a complete & utter

swindle on the working class, - not an end to the shortages of adequate & suitable housing (and an end to slum areas of cultural deprivation) at all, but merely a re-juggling of the poverty-housing market, plus a positive explosion of the luxury-housing market, - and all frequently made worse & more injurious than ever due precisely to specific Labour 'reform' posturing (and to oceans of bureaucratic Labour corruption, - at local & national level (see Poulson case, etc).)

It may be a cliché, but it remains a truly horrifying fact for all time that Labour's wasteful & grandiose-posturing 'slum clearance' programme, - in the absence of ending the capitalist system itself which is the inevitable obvious cause of slums (see Engels 'The Housing Question'), - predictably created the most appalling high-rise ghetto disasters and 'overspill' soullessness in all the wretched history of the modern proletariat.

The social & cultural decline - (glue-sniffing, drug-addiction, alcoholism, gangsterism, child-abuse, endemic crime, mugging, rape, and other crimes of violence) - are the achievements of capitalism's own decay. But the frequent accomplice, - the forever-remembered tale vehicle for much

bourgeois elements and the influence of the small upper crust of labour aristocrats, merges with the revolutionary onslaught of hundreds of millions of people who have hitherto stood beyond the pale of history, and have been regarded merely as the object of history. . . . .

The imperialist war has drawn the dependent peoples into world history. And one of the most important tasks now confronting us is to consider how the foundation-stone of the organisation of the Soviet movement can be laid in the non-capitalist countries. Soviets are possible there; they will not be workers' Soviets, but peasants' Soviets, or Soviets of working people. . . . .

The groundwork has been laid for the Soviet movement all over the East, all over Asia, among all the colonial peoples.

The proposition that the exploited must rise up against the exploiters and establish their Soviets is not a very complex one. After our experience, after two and a half years of the existence of the Soviet Republic in Russia, and after the First Congress of the Third International, this idea is becoming accessible to hundreds of millions of people oppressed by the exploiters all over the world. We in Russia are often obliged to compromise, to bide our time, since we are weaker than the international imperialists, yet we know that we are defending the interests of this mass of a thousand and a quarter million people.

THE SECOND CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL

(August 1920)

of this degeneracy, - was the postwar Labour 'reformist' structure stuck blindly onto capitalism by the trampling self-deluding blinkered opportunists of endless Labour administrations (local & national), - all corruptly conning the working class like mad that 'things were changing' (as they merely got themselves onto the gravy-train.)

Even when the cheap Tory electoral trick of cut-rate council-house sales became naturally popular with wide sections of more ambitious and self-dependent workers, browned-off with the corrupt inefficiency of bureaucratic local-council housing services, - the arrogant Labourites still stuck to their pretence that council-housing 'reform' of the capitalist system was the medicinal 'solution' to the housing problem, which the working class would continue to be forced to take whether they were satisfied with it or not, - despite all the evidence that the whole council-rented system was becoming an ever-more-expensive nightmarish disaster of endless unpayable housing debts (to international finance-capital).

This dog-in-the-manger last-ditch defence of failure summed up the whole rotten attitude of Labourite 'reformism'. To the capitalists who run the system, making it the misery that it is for the largest (poorest) sections

of the working class, - Labourism offers no challenge at all. "Carry on running & manipulating this rotten international system of poverty & exploitation for the poorest masses for as long as you like. We will always help you put down revolts & revolutions everywhere, - as loyal to NATO as ever" Labour reassures the bourgeoisie.

But to workers looking after their families via a Tory election gimmick giving a potential cut-price chance to escape some of the problems of the council-housing crisis (which are not going to be solved by any route other than socialist revolution in the long term), - the ruthless, arrogant Labourite managers of capitalism say: "You stay where you are, - paying rent to our Labour housing deficits, and loyal to our key past electoral illusions that council estates for rent will 'solve' the housing problem" (despite the incontrovertible evidence to the contrary).

That is what class-collaborating Labourism really thinks of the working class, - as electoral cannon-fodder in the great opportunist game of politics, - and nothing else.

Not "Keep council housing intact because we are about to finally smash capitalism and really solve the housing question once & for all under a planned ec-

nomically, publicly-owned". Not even "Don't sell off the rented estates because at least this system is working as well as anything else, or at least no worse than anything else". Just "No sale of council houses because our Labourite 'reformist' illusions are not to be shattered (despite their bankruptcy) in anyone's interest".

The Tory policy of selling off council houses cheap-rate as an election gimmick solves nothing either, of course.

But the only sensible reason for opposing such a stunt would be in the interests of mobilising all energies & resources to impose a completely planned socialist economy on Britain, -expropriating the ruling class in every department of economic, political, & social life.

Making an issue of this stunt in the name of 'preserving a viable rented sector, publicly-owned' is an even worse gimmick than a Tory hypocritical propaganda on the subject. As the slump bankrupts local government, forcing an end to council-housing subsidies, -the huge mountain of unpaid (and unpayable) public loan debts turns all rented council housing into a very high-priced, very restricted, & decidedly unviable prospect.

In reality, - raising revenue from sales to sitting tenants under socialism would in fact almost certainly become a very sensible & progressive feature, economically & managerially, for the long-term ending for all time of the housing problem. Cooperative self-financing and self-management will be one of the most widespread mechanisms for turning state socialism into self-regulated communism ultimately (and the withering away of the state).

Obviously the Tories are in it for the opposite reason, -to promote individualism this side of the socialist revolution precisely in order to disrupt the movement for socialism, by fragmenting the working class, if possible.

But, and ten thousand other daily effects of this kind of the capitalist system on individuals, -constantly promoting self-interest as opposed to social conscience, -cannot possibly be countered by workers' luddite resistance to each economic & cultural development. As it happens, home ownership has become a widespread feature of modern capitalism's evolutionary attempts to resist the challenging appeal of a planned revolutionary world socialist economy, a feature currently immediately acceptable to those able to take advantage of it (more than half the population, even if still a tiny minority of the proletariat), and an established cultural phenomenon hereafter.

What needs countering, -once again, -is the whole thrust (ever deeper into insoluble international crisis, -see earlier sections) of the entire capitalist system, -not one specific irritating Tory electoral gimmick of council house sales to sitting tenants. It is precisely through concentrating on such sideshow trivia that the Labourites deliberately evade facing up to the real challenge of preparing for the revolutionary overthrow of the total crisis-ridden free-market economic system, -the only possible way in which the proletariat is ever going to become truly emancipated.

Not by scrounging a few more public loans or government subsidies from somewhere (to help keep up with the burdensome interest payments on the massive borrowings which financed the council-estate-expansion fantasy-'solution' to the housing problem in the 1950s) will the poorest (and largest) working class sectors at last be freed from the economic & social tyranny of slum-dwelling. But only by overthrowing the capitalist system itself, whose very relations of production, -integral to it & inseparable from it, -make slum-dwellers (or

the 'bottom end of the market') absolutely essential to the 'free-market' economy, -will the proletariat (and hence ultimately all of society) be finally emancipated from all the incurable ills of class-ridden capitalist society (including the housing question).

Labour's welfare stateism merely seeks to entrench one peculiar dead end of human culture ("Be happy in your rented council home, -and nowhere else"), -the temporary feature of postwar 'reformist' class collaboration when an on-the-defensive imperialism was glad of Labour's support for propping up the tottering capitalist system (under revolutionary threat worldwide because of having imposed WWII on mankind, in the 'never again' wake of having imposed World War I) -by massive public subsidies, to industry (usually nationalised for appearances' sake) and social services, -to create the impression of 'socialism' -namely the so-called 'welfare state'.

Labour wants to preserve & perpetuate the myths of this unstable never-never land of class-compromise with the imperialist bourgeoisie for one rotten reason only, -because it was the heyday of elected Labour administrations, -of jobs-for-the-boys throughout the labour & trade-union movement hierarchy on useless quangos of every kind, with a juicy amount of life peerages thrown in for good measure.

The memory of a relatively cheap public housing service still holds sway among some sections of workers. But not for much longer. The inflationary boomtime loan mechanism of the entire world capitalist system is steadily being called in, -or more realistically is drawing relentlessly & rapidly closer to immediate

wholesale collapse, -with indescribably catastrophic consequences for the entire international 'free market' economy, -i.e. for the whole of the 'free' world, -including welfare-state council housing.

Tens of thousands of

new redundancies are imminent in the bankruptcy councils of Britain (and other Western imperialist centres).

Housing services will again have to be savagely cut back, -setting off yet another new spiral of worse services & greater poverty, leading to an ever greater housing problem; which then in turn leads to even more pressures on the whole housing & welfare system under British capitalism; which in turn will lead to even greater local council bankruptcy and cuts in central subsidies, -leading to yet more redundancies & poverty, -inevitably feeding yet another spiral down, etc

Lambeth & Liverpool will now be in the forefront of the cuts. Because quite simply, -as long as the capitalist system remains in charge, -there finally is no more money, subsidies, loans, etc, with which to pay off finance-capital usury incurred at the very start of Labour's great 'solution' to the housing question (and every other social problem, under the illusory & bogus 'welfare state').

Even more conservatively entrenched in fraudulent temporary past 'solutions' are Labourite attitudes to education. Although it was in fact Tory governments (including one which had Thatcher as education secretary) which oversaw a faster rate of closure of grammar schools than any (just as it was a Tory government which achieved the highest rate of council-house building in history), -Labour's welfare state backwardness makes it look more ridiculously luddite on this subject than any other.

Once again, the Tory hypocritical crap about 'public choice' is pure fraud. They merely want to cover up the further deterioration and demoralisation of the comprehensive schooling system.

But once again, this is a run-down which was begun by Labour governments, has been continued by the permanent Labour councils in the big cities (under Tory diktat or by compromise agreement), -and will only ever be able to be reversed by the revolu-

tionary overthrow of the capitalist system (or by the next great reconstruction boom of the capitalist system after the next great war, -World War III, -if we all live that long, and if capitalism has not been overthrown in any case by then by other world revolutionary socialist forces).

The weird defensiveness by the labour & trade-union movement about the clearly-threatening crisis-collapse problems of public education schooling in Britain is once again a piece of monumental irrelevance and embarrassing exposure of the really small-minded & reactionary attitudes of Labour's welfare stateism.

Instead of denouncing capitalist slump and its attendant social decay, plus the arms-race warmongering Rambo culture now rampant on television & in the cinema in which the lunacy of anti-communism is poisoning whole generations, -the Labourite teachers' union attitude in general is self-protective vindictiveness against the mere symptoms & consequences (of the welfare state's own inadequacies, difficulties, failure, and breakdown.)

In the Poundswick dispute, the hooligan victims of the welfare state's (capitalism's) ultimate social disaster (harbingers of the catastrophic collapse into racism, fascism, civil war, and World War III to come, -deliberately being engineered by imperialism) were astonishingly singled out as the cause of all society's problems (including all of education's problems, and all teachers' problems, etc). Unless five abusive youth were removed, schooling could not continue, it was stated (with strike action to back it up.)

Eventually, of course many 'problem children' and many 'problem areas' moreover, will become 'unteachable'. The difficulties of degenerate capitalist culture, social decay, & poverty, and widespread pointlessness in careers & education due to permanent mass unemployment, -are increasing

all the time.

But is taking a stand on booting certain kids out of schools really the answer? It is obviously nonsensically not so. The answer is to boot out capitalism.

Replies of 'That is not our business' or 'How can teachers do that?' etc, are mostly stinking humbug rather than innocent ignorance. Labourites are aggressive enough when ramming their stupid 'reformism' nonsense down people's throats, pretending that they are going to 'change society' this way, and that way, etc. The truth is as it has always been about all 'reformists' for all time. They are far more hostile in reality to proletarian revolution (and therefore to socialism) than they are to the bourgeois-capitalist system which they so profess to dislike and want to 'change'. 'Reformists' invariably reveal conservative & reactionary attitudes when trying to deal with such celebrated incidents as Poundswick, the McGoldrick affair, etc, -because their deep class-political mentality is fundamentally hostile to the entire spirit & direction of proletarian revolution, (whose essence is the championing of the lowest of the low in order to galvanise the only social force which finally can consistently fight to overthrow the capitalist system.)

All 'reformists' are in reality devoted, by deep, unbreakable class-philosophical ambitions & illusions, to 'parliamentary democracy', -the bible of opportunism under capitalism, and the biggest & most corrupt fraud of all in the entire capitalist system.

Educational Labourites could, like anyone else, start to fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, (-by twos & threes at first, and then by two & three thousands, and even by twenty & thirty thousands -building the Leninist movement (ILWP).) But Labourites prefer to heap all their unresolved (and insoluble) reformist problems on the heads of five scapegoated youths in Wythensh-

awe, -'as a test case', -rather than face up to their revolutionary responsibilities.

Testing what? Vainly trying to prove that it is not the welfare state (educational 'reformism') which has gone wrong, -but merely 'bad people' who will 'not let it work properly'.

Protecting their political & philosophical 'reformist' vested interests, the welfare state adherents try to stress (just as with their opposition to council sales in the housing debate) that half a moulding loaf in education is at least better than no bread at all. The conservative Poundswick spirit was on the defensive again in the McGoldrick affair, -kidding themselves that they were "protecting threatened standards by not allowing too many 'non-English' speakers to 'swamp' the staffrooms." What a load of racist bollocks, -untenable by even the slightest scientific test of where the real root of the problem of threatened standards in education (or any other area of society) lies in slump-ridden capitalist Britain.

Monstrously, the Labourite NUT went all the way to the High Court imperialist bourgeoisie to put the boot into the Brent Council loony 'lefts' (just as phony as all reformists) so as to divert attention away from Labourism's welfare-state part in capitalism's educational failures, -viciously & dishonestly trying to pretend that Brent Council's equal-opportunities reformist zealotry was all that lay at the bottom of the disturbing McGoldrick affair.

Like flying pigs it was. The bitter upheaval over that issue went right to the core of Labour's baleful wounded illusions over the whole crisis of comprehensive education and the welfare state. As at Poundswick, -instead of taking on the real challenge of what capitalist slump is doing to education standards & conditions (regardless of welfare state 'reforms', -proving their irrelevance), -Labourism much preferred to make a huge fuss ab-

out a wretched diversion, -and inevitably taking (as explained above) the reactionary side in the dispute too (to the extent that major issues were touched upon, -equal opportunities reformist zealotry not being the answer to racism either, and just as big a diversion itself from the real need to destroy capitalism before racist prejudice (endemic after 200 years of modern British imperialism) can be overcome.)

Instead of raising the revolutionary challenge to the capitalist system for causing falling education standards as well as the latent job insecurity (which also lay partly behind the foul Labour racism revealed in the McGoldrick dispute), -the small-minded opportunist adherents of the Labourite welfare state chose instead to mount a phony defence of the half-a-mouldy-loaf, -claiming that the Sudbury Infants school staffroom-english-standards 'threat' was the real kernel of the damage to the education system in Britain instead of a mere symptom of that damage (and an entirely fanciful, if not totally fictitious symptom), -damage caused in reality by capitalist slump.

Educational Labourism is taking similar defensive stands against new Tory stunts in schooling, -such as more threatened parent-governors' interference, and other privatisation measures, -reacting with the half-a-loaf 'protect our existing standards' approach instead of insisting that the spotlight go on the capitalist system's failures rather than on the alleged failures of comprehensives as such.

Teacher assessment under a bourgeois state in a period of capitalist slump is, of course, nothing but the crudest of crude threats to speed-up jobs, impoverish teachers, or create redundancies. But it is capitalist slump which is the menace, -not teacher assessment as such (which could, if it was wanted, play a routine organisational & promotional role in different circumstances). Yet

it is the mechanism as such which 'reformism' chooses to attack, -not the dangerous decadence of capitalism (which requires overthrowing)

Protecting their half-a-loaf in another way on the real doubts now in many parents' minds (because of permanent mass unemployment) over 'dead-end schooling' & poor career prospects undermining comprehensives in many areas, -the 'reformists' once again show defensive aggressiveness against the mere consequences & symptoms (parents' wishes to get the best education available for their children by shopping around) of comprehensive problems but no fight at all to really end capitalist slump which is alone responsible for those difficulties, and the overthrow of which can alone end them.

Labourism's paralysed dog-in-the-manger response to council house sales is exactly repeated in its determination to 'immediately end' (as soon as it gets the chance in government) the assisted places scheme for poorer families to get their children (if they can win entrance) into fee-paying grammar schools. Abolishing these places would be a sensible (and inevitable) priority, of course, if full-blooded socialist revolution was about to totally transform the economy, society, and education - both financially & philosophically - along planned communist lines.

But the dog-in-the-manger Labourites intend nothing of the sort. All they propose to ensure is that in the rampant capitalist jungle of modern society (whose sole ethic is that people must basically take responsibility for their own development in how far they pursue professional training, higher education, their careers in general, saving to solve their housing problem, deciding where to live & what lifestyle, etc), -that no young children from poorer families should be able to take their chance of advancing up the actual school hierarchy (as kids from previous generations of

the working class were able to do via the 11-plus examination.)

The wish to provide good comprehensive secondary education for all (unlike the grammar school/secondary modern apartheid of old) is a worthy & socially healthy ambition.

But it is purely negative defensive thinking to vengefully try to cover up the plain fact that the average comprehensive education has got nowhere near to the better grammar schools in gaining entry to the higher-rated universities (e.g. Oxford & Cambridge).

If working class children can take their chances (encouraged by the comprehensives as much as by grammar schools) at gaining competitive entry into Oxford & Cambridge (since even the loudest-mouthed Labour 'reformist' has never yet promised to tackle hierarchical educational privilege at that particular level, so sensitive to the imperialist state, and to bourgeois 'British' prejudice), -then it is pure masochistic self-mutilation to add to the proletariat's disadvantages in the rat race (which they start out with through poverty) by deliberately preventing their children from trying for a good competitive secondary education to give them a better chance of succeeding at the Oxford & Cambridge entry level. The independent grammar schools will still be there, winning the lion's share of the best university places for bourgeois kids. Labour has said nothing about closing them. It wouldn't dare. All it dares do is tell working class children that they will be prevented from trying to gain such competitive secondary entrance to prepare them for competitive university entrance. And not because Labour knows it can guarantee that comprehensive education is going to be immediately universally raised up to the standards of the better independent grammar schools. Exactly the opposite. Labourites know that nothing of the sort is going to be achieved by 'reformist' management of capital-

first world slump, neither now nor 10 years hence. The welfare state adherents only want the assisted places scheme to be closed down so that no children from proletarian families should get on too well in secondary education (by their own competitive efforts,—still living, as they are, in a completely competitive capitalist jungle which the cowardly Labourites have never had the guts to do away with)—for fear it led the whole working class (and their children) to begin to challenge Labour's 'reformist' illusions about comprehensive education under capitalism (it can only ever be as good or as bad as the current capitalist-world boom or slump),—and begin to challenge the entire fraudulent class-collaborating role of the Labour Party and all of its stinking-hypocritical half-a-loaf compromises with the capitalist system.

In the final analysis Labourism will deny working-class children the chance to get on up the undoubtedly-still-rampant competitive ladder in education (as in every other walk of life) solely so as to defend its own rotten petty-bourgeois 'reformist' political self-interest of class-collaborating jobs-for-the-boys (by keeping the two-party system going on behalf of Labour MPs, would-be MPs, councillors, would-be councillors, and the whole army of trade-union bureaucracy and local government bureaucracy employees who make up the labour aristocracy in Britain and its rotten cowardly philosophy of forever capitulating to the imperialist bourgeoisie.)

This small-mindedness of 'reformist' Labourism, loudly accusing everyone of 'selling out' to the rat race solely to cover up the fact that their entire 'reformist' illusion is nothing but one giant permanent class-collaborating counter-revolutionary compromise with capitalism,—has poisoned the outlook of vast sections of every generation of postwar workers. It is a foul philosophy of loud posturing affectation against the rat race in

words, but corrupt dirty little deals with the 'democratic' capitalist state in political deeds.

Anti-communism is its banner, and grasping, petulant, dog-in-the-manger envy & opportunism is its routine. The postwar welfare-state Labour movement has taken philistinism to unprecedented new extremes.

The Labour Party has been the bedrock of arms-race Cold War anti-soviet anti-colonial counter-revolutionary viciousness since World War II,—absolutely crucial to the international domination achieved by US fascist-imperialism,—now the world gendarme against all communist advance. And Labour's filthy loyalty to the NATO counter-revolutionary conspiracy remains the bedrock of Western reaction still today.

The fluttering little 'real socialist' hearts of ever-new legions of Labour supporters are as rotten & reactionary in their philistinism and political ignorance as the dirtiest Labour Party deeds since 1945 (see previous sections) that their naive 'reformist' illusions cover up for.

It is a degenerate anti-scientific philosophy which has left its postwar welfare-state stain far wider than the do-gooding opportunist meddling of paid-up Labourism. The pathetic hippies, posturing their 'carefree independence' from the rat race (and from all responsibility for the imperialist political mess we all live in, and alone can all change),—end their bold resistance to capitalist state obstruction of their phony Stonehenge rituals by pitifully pleading: 'Why cannot we just have a corner of a field somewhere where we can be in peace?'

The full answer lies in the 100 volumes of the collected works of Marx, Engels, & Lenin, but briefly,—the concealed request for equity, justice, & security (albeit in the corner of a field) exactly parallels the 'reformists' dog-in-the-manger wishful think-

ing-(that their giant white elephants of council housing estates and comprehensive schools could instantly be accepted as 'the perfect solution to all our dreams' without any further fight needed against the powerful & devious capitalist state & system);—and closing one's eyes to the blindingly obvious reality that hippie or 'reformist' gestures against the capitalist system are not such a solution to all problems,—and they never stand any chance of instantly becoming so,—now or ever.

Only a long lifelong stubborn struggle for scientific Marxist philosophy (the only philosophy & lifestyle worthy of mankind's modern struggle, in reality) can produce the equivalent of the 'happy solutions' so feebly & naively wished for by hippies & 'reformists'. Their illusion-riddled petty-bourgeois philistinism is part of the reactionary capitalist-society problem, and no way at all towards any kind of solution.

The last death throes of trade union 'reformism' to 'solve' the problem of capitalist exploitation are revealing just as glaring contradictions as dying Labourism.

As repeatedly analysed in the Bulletin (see in particular ILWP Books vols 7 & 9), the collapse of the postwar imperialist boom has left the anti-communist essence (of closed-shop class-collaboration by 'reformist' trade unions) performing sordid tasks on behalf of the capitalist state of getting millions of jobs destroyed without provoking a revolution.

The only answer to the nest-egg attractions to long-service workers of voluntary redundancy is not: "Don't take it,—they aren't your jobs to sell" as the labour movement 'reformists', backed up by the petty-bourgeois 'lefts', posture. After nearly 150 years of total TUC/Labour failure to do anything about the basic ravages of endless capitalist boom & slump,—(no matter how strong the backing from middle-class

'fake-revolutionaries' like the CP & the Trots in various unions or Labour local councils from time to time),—the redundancy bribes will mostly cynically be swallowed. In hard times, a temporary bird in the hand is worth any number of useless 'reformist' Labour promises in the bush, no matter how many members of Militant are holding up the branches, or how many CP revisionists (of all varieties) are on the union executive, or the TUC General Council.

The only answer to voluntary redundancy bribes is "Let's make the socialist revolution instead, and make things better all round, permanently,—for everyone".

The only answer that might have held the line against job closures (by general strikes and mass factory occupation movements) could alone have come from a well-established, tried & tested Leninist movement which had earned the trust of the working class by long & relentless explanation that only the dictatorship of the proletariat and the revolutionary smashing of the capitalist state could ever begin to end the unavoidable boom-slump workings of the capitalist system,—however great the illusions in the 'welfare state' had grown.

The 'reformist' left,—especially all the varieties of Trots & CPers—have in practice all capitulated to certain fundamental illusions (about the 'welfare state' postwar period) by all in practice abandoning the dictatorship of the proletariat,—the very heart of Leninist science.

For years, all the CP varieties still paid lip service to solidarity with the states of proletarian dictatorship, while in practice revising their 'Marxism' to extinction via the imbecilic 'peaceful road to socialism' parliamentary nonsense, and via opportunist treachery of scratching the backs of 'important' & 'left' trade-union leaders.

All the Trots paid lip service to revolutionary theory (including even occasional me-

ntions of the dictatorship of the proletariat—in unrecognisably distorted form, suitable for Labour entrism tactics),—and even lip service to solidarity with the USSR; but in practice, all the Trot groups have always stabbed the states of proletarian dictatorship in the back at every opportunity,—especially during such spectacular counter-revolutionary shows as put on by the CIA & the Vatican in using the Banco Ambrosiano missing \$ billions to hire the fascist-minded believers (from Poland's long fascist history) to launch Solidarnosc as phony 'true workers socialism' to try to rubbish the Polish workers state (proletarian dictatorship).

And the consistent anti-communist reality of Trotskyism,—in practice stabbing not 'Stalinism' in the back but the Soviet workers state all the time (beginning with Trotsky himself, who accepted to live in the West aiding counter-revolutionary filth like the Daily Express to preach the 'doom' of the Soviet Union, and its 'certain destruction' by, or even alongside, Hitler fascism, etc (see ILWP Books vol 5)),—inevitably revealed eventually, of course, the most outrageous capitulations to anti-Leninism in theory as well,—despite all their earlier 'theoretical' posturing.

All the Trots swear blind, of course, that it is some other sect,—not them,—which has capitulated to revisionism, or Stalinism, or Maoism, or Pabloism, or entrism, or tail-endism, etc,—but the practice of all of them in permanently stabbing some part or other of the actual world socialist revolution in the back,—speaks for the whole rotten opportunist theory of Trotskyism. (Current targets for various Trot vilification & treachery are the NJM majority under Coard in Grenada which was betrayed by Bishop's individual revisionism; the advancing revolution in South Africa; the heroic achievements of the Indo-China communists in routing imperialist intervention; the enormously influential socialist construction

in Cuba;-the history-making transformation of China;etc,etc.The struggle for Leninism is itself often critical of incorrect political lines adopted all over the socialist camp,-openly so,(see ILWP Books vols 3 to 7).But only on the basis of unconditional solidarity,-enthusiastic & active solidarity,-with the whole of the socialist camp).

The Trots & CPers are addle-brained anti-Leninists under the corrupting influence of postwar-boom myths in capitalism(of which the welfare state illusions are the most pernicious),and the corresponding imaginary 'poverty crisis'-light these helped throw on the socialist states(in the philistine counter-revolutionary minds of reformism & the labour movement.)

So far caught out by these welfare state illusions were all the Trots & CPers that the resurgence of the actual world socialist revolution (in South Africa,Philippines,Ethiopia,Nicaragua,Zimbabwe,El Salvador,etc) has either seen them trying to scramble back on board the Leninist movement (no matter what damaging splits this caused in their sects as they did so),or else go the opposite way and screech nearly fascist venom against,for example the Vietnam CP,or the ANC/SACP in South Africa,or the Zimbabwe socialist revolution,or against the Ethiopian socialist revolution,or the Afghan socialist revolution,etc.

Thus the only possible way forward from the hopeless counter-revolutionary illusions of the trade-union 'lefts', backed by their Trot & CP supporters,is the complete collapse of all the anti-communist rubbish in the mess of destroyed jobs,permanent mass unemployment, and wrecked 'municipal socialism' and welfare state-ism,-followed by the painful bitter fight to build a serious mass Leninist movement against the mountains of philistine anti-scientific garbage left behind by failed middle class-'revolutionaries' and opportunist 'reformism'.

But for the moment,it is still a mammoth task to shatter these lingering welfare state illusions

Despite all the clear evidence of the epic 1964-85 miners strike that the hopeless NUM 'reformist' blinkers(of believing in 'the next Labour Government' and in 'restoring the Plan-for-Coal boom',etc.) can only doom all coalfield struggles to defeat,-still the 'left' trade-unionists and their fake-'revolutionary' CP & Trot supporters are mindlessly urging on the mining communities to an all-out fight once again versus the capitalist state but with not one single major political confusion any better worked out than last time.Still there is utter chaos on the 'left' about the historic fate of 'reformism',of 'left' trade unionism,of the Labour Party,and above all about the historic fate of anti-communism in all its rotten Trot & CP varieties,and their complete philistine ignorance of,and abandonment of,-Leninist theory.

The spontaneous proletarian struggle must (and will) go on, of course;nothing will stop it. But until a serious movement of Leninist theory is built,the struggle can only stagger on blindly,doomed to endless frustration.

This point has to be repeatedly stressed because one of the worst crimes of British 'reformism',anti-Leninist philistinism,and 'left' trade-unionism,-all buttressed by the illusions of the welfare state period,-is precisely the foggy notion that the 'powerful' and 'federally organised' and 'long historically independent',etc,British labour movement is always going to be able almost spontaneously to avoid being 'really defeated';-whether by a military coup,or fascism,or whatever,-and can therefore always muddle through without any greatly more serious attention to the revolutionary theory of scientific socialism than has been paid hitherto.

This philistine backwardness,-born of many generations of class-collaborating imperialist

arrogance throughout the British labour movement,-is getting its slump come-uppance now.

Despite all the warning signs of writing on the wall,-still the NGA and other Fleet Street printing closed-shop mafia try to hold the dying Morning Star to ransom(even this pretended 'pro-working-class' rag),-just as they were willing to screw the old-time Workers Press into the ground in the early 1970s if they could. As theoretically bankrupt and politically feeble as the 'left' swamp papers are in their attempts to 'help' the working class struggle (in practice always pandering to the trade unions'anti-communist counter-revolutionary prejudices),-the philistine hostility by the 'spontaneous' labour movement to even having these papers sold (as used to happen on Fleet Street,challenging if they paid 'full union rates'etc) underlined the deepest of the problems of welfare state illusions.

Aside from the particularly difficult problems of the 'left' swamp papers,and the fiercely anti-communist closed-shop class-collaborating print industry,-the trade-union 'reformist' stance on other troubled industries,-especially the publicly owned monopolies,-has been equally bankrupt.

Where previous vast closed-shop overmanning has not been slyly sold off by the union bureaucracies who had sole dispensation over all the jobs,occasional fights have been organised against redundancies,speed-up,'dilution'of labour,'destruction of special skills & quality',etc,etc,-but once again not on the basis that only socialist revolution can now reverse the decline in capitalism,-but on the unbelievable pretence that more Labour 'reformism' is suddenly going to "transform capitalism"(where it has never done so in eight previous governments).

It is pointless trying to go back to the feather-bedded hayday for trade unions of the early postwar nationalisation period,when imperialism allowed(and wanted) Labour to prop

up war-raddled capitalism with huge public borrowing so as to assuage the war-raddled relations between the working class and the capitalist system.

Not only are those illusions of the 'great welfare state' period never recoverable. But the real revolutionary socialist interests of the working class never want those welfare state illusory days to be gone back to either.The biggest problem facing the proletariat is precisely to bury those corrupting illusions,incurably suffused with class-collaboration,and all financed solely by the rottenness of Western imperialism's superprofits,lashed out of the blood & sweat of the colonially-dominated countries.

The biggest myth of all is that the 'reformist' compromise between the labour movement and imperialism in fact created the 'welfare state advances' where allegedly "nothing would otherwise have existed at all".

The scientific reality has always been obvious(see earlier Lenin quotes) that ultimately it could only be out of the international confrontation between monopoly-bourgeois conservatism and the revolutionary new interests of working class political mobilisation (the dictatorship of the proletariat) that the treacherous petty-bourgeois 'reformist' sell-outs could creep along in-between the cracks.

The endless lying propaganda about the so-called 'achievements' of 'reformism' has been principally put about by the imperialist establishment dictatorship itself (always in control of 99% of all the media) when it suited it,-to further disarm & divert the proletariat from aspirations to socialist revolution.(The lies about 'welfare capitalism' do not suit the interests of the monopoly-imperialist dictatorship in a period of slump (heading towards trade-war,heading towards inter-imperialist World War III); so daft propaganda about the "welfare state benefits of class collaboration",-dressed up by Labour as 'socialism'

to fool the proletarian vote,-is currently on the back burner).

The world-shattering advance of the international socialist revolution and the national-liberation struggle in the wake of WWII forced a whole new period of inflationary-evolutionary development on the world market economy,-otherwise it would have all been overthrown by proletarian dictatorship and planned economic development.In most capitalist countries,this postwar 'social revolution'(better living standards,social conditions,wider redbrick university entrance for workers,etc) took place without any 'reformism' or Labour Party having anything to do with it. Far from all these evolutionary changes(a phenomenon which has never ceased under capitalism) flowing directly out of the Labour Party,example in Britain,as is ridiculously claimed,-the very reactionary conservatism of the class-collaborating Labour/TUC leaders & ideology meant that the welfare state advances in Britain fell far short of what first-team capitalist governments introduced under their own steam in other countries,responding to world socialist revolution.

The greatest catastrophe for the working class would be continuing this myth in Britain-that further 'reforms' could ever come,or ever have come,-from Labour being elected to 'carry out its manifesto promises'.There may yet be more brief periods of further slight evolutionary changes to the capitalist system which appear to be being carried out 'under Labour'; but in reality they will once again merely be the spin-off forced on capitalism by the dramatic revolutionary advances taking place elsewhere (e.g.universal degree-level education in the Soviet Union at some future date). But the real interest for the working class in Britain is to finally come off this proxy,indirect,life-support system for ageing capitalist dictatorship which 'reformism' represents,and to start making history directly

themselves through their own revolutionary-socialist proletarian dictatorship and the colossal immediate transformations of society it could create here.

The welfare state was the greatest class-collaborating disgrace of 'reformism',—no triumph. The welfare state period was not a 'victory' for the working class, but the greatest retreat from worldwide opportunities for socialist revolution in the wake of capitalism's foul degeneracy of imposing World War II on mankind. Now the trade-union and 'reformist'-backed 'parliamentary' capitalist system is relentlessly driving the proletarian masses in the West back into inter-imperialist World War III.

Under worldwide pressure since WWII from the actual successful international communist revolutionary movement,—'reformism' has tarted up its diversionary appeal by such stunts as extremist feminism, aggressive homosexuality, and various ethnic/nationalist posturing. But 'reformist' gestures they remain,—as useless & obstructive to the necessary fight for the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism as all piecemeal 'reformist' illusions have ever been. Until the class war is finally won by the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the whole of class history & its values finally put in the dustbin and the way opened towards truly classless communist society and the withering away of the state, then all of the innumerable prejudices & injustices flowing from exploitative class society cannot possibly begin to be truly resolved. The frenzy of diversionary activity for these new 'reforms' has only succeeded in shuffling the discrimination pack a little, and in no way ending the prejudice, injustice, & exploitation endemic in capitalist society, nor could it. Progressive problems of sexual & social relations among mankind are deep evolutionary questions which will only begin to see new light when uninhib-

ited patterns of socialist (and then communist) life,—scarcely possible on earth at the moment while still under the lethal cosh of imperialist arms-race monopoly-capitalist market domination,—start to emerge.

The new 'reformists' will already have been interjecting 'What about Russia then, are you pretending that it is all good there. It is as sexist as ever here in its own way', etc; or even more crassly 'Why do you say mankind? Why not personkind?' etc,—thereby proving the point that only anti-communist philistinism is still the victor in the West, nothing else.

The weaknesses & inadequacies of Moscow revisionism are only relevant to working out the tactical, strategic, & programmatic tasks of the exacting struggle to re-establish the movement for Leninist theory in the world,—the most urgent problem facing the international working class. (See ILWP Books vols 3 to 7). It is the essence of corrupt, shallow-minded, 'reformist' illusions in the welfare state to ignorantly & cynically jeer 'What about Russia' solely in order to excuse, cover up, & prolong Labourite bankruptcy,—an attitude which the feminist, homosexualist, nationalist, and other 'reformist' anti-Marxist illusions automatically embrace in order to prolong the petty-bourgeois world view's resistance to the dictatorship of the proletariat,—an unavoidably counter-revolutionary position.

All this perpetuation of 'reformist' illusions under new guises is the last-ditch stand of philosophical idealism, which denies that bad social attitudes can never be ended until the material existence of class-divided capitalism is overthrown by proletarian revolution,—(thereby at last allowing a new truly human philosophy to arise on the completely new material conditions of international socialist (and then communist) production & property relations). The attempted fresh lease of life for dying 'reformism' of the aggressive feminist,

homosexualist, and positive discrimination movements, pretends once again that bad human attitudes can effectively be transformed merely by pressure & persuasion, and that the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism by the dictatorship of the proletariat is irrelevant to the argument, (and something which in practice these born-again 'reformist' illusion-mongers actually help bourgeois ignorance to fight against).

Neither is the political philosophy of the 'reformist' single-issue campaigns which tend towards more technical enlightenment,—such as nuclear disarmament, the Green movement, animal liberation, etc,—any less divisive & deluding about what really needs to be done to make life safe & secure & humane on earth. (See Lenin quotes on the disruptive dangers of the disarmament-lobby social-pacifists for the building of a successful proletarian revolutionary movement)

All 'reformism' is nothing but counter-revolutionary diversion & confusion as far as the essential question of overthrowing capitalism is concerned,—even though some single-issue campaigns occasionally reveal some useful detailed propaganda exposure against capitalism. But until the philosophy of 'reformism' as the 'way to change things' is routed from the labour & socialist movement by the resurgence of Leninist revolutionary theory,—capitalist-imperialist Cold War society with all its rotten exploitation and anti-communism, will rule on,—its sexual & social degeneracies growing ever more grotesque & loathsome.

Without proletarian revolution,—the capitalist West is once again going to decay all the way back into naked fascism and inter-imperialist World War III war mongering. It is only welfare state delusions which bred that idiot optimism which used to chirrup "The working class will never give back its full employment, carpets, & cars" etc; or "The miners will never accept defeat, harsh

discipline, Spencerism, de-nationalisation" etc. But all that these Labourite 'reformist' illusions (that 'old-style capitalism' has been 'transformed' out of all recognition, etc) have achieved is to corruptly disarm the working class from the relentless building of a Leninist revolutionary movement which will alone finally truly emancipate people from capitalism and all its degeneracy & exploitation, by giving people the chance to build a planned socialist world order.

The latest tinkering adjustment attempts on the Labour Party of the 'black sections', and 'one man, one vote' campaigns are nothing but appalling shallow further attempts to keep 'reformism' alive by hook or by crook,—(whatever logic or justice they may seem to have in themselves.) These are just further efforts by class-collaborating petty-bourgeois ideology to obscure the stark message of this period of renewed capitalist slump, exploitation, degeneracy, and fascist warmongering,—that the proletariat needs to build a genuine Leninist revolutionary movement,—and quick. Revolutionary leadership is the issue,—not fine-tuning ways of allegedly making the hopelessly bankrupt 'reformist' Labour Party more 'in harmony' with 'real public opinion',—a diversionary counter-revolutionary pipedream.

And the phony Labourite attitude of "just concentrating on keeping things going in local government services etc, because people need them and would be even worse off without them" etc, is an equally deluding fraud. The racketeering endemic to the illusory 'welfare state' (i.e. capitalism under a new name) was a tragedy for the working class the first time round,—corrupting the labour movement with local government contracts—graft, nationalised industry featherbedding & crookedness, closed-shop protectionism for certain industry elites like Fleet Street, etc (having to bribe union officials to get jobs there, e.g.),—but be-

comes a sick farce the second time round as this essentially opportunistic class-collaboration now coincides with the slump-ridden beginnings of real poverty in the working class, systematic job destruction, and widespread serious crime. By its lifelong partnership with capitalism through 'reformism', the labour movement is now dragged into capitalism's deepest degeneracies. It is complete reformist nonsense to pretend at this stage to merely be "keeping one's head down to maintain essential local government and trade-union services". It is a total cop-out from the real revolutionary crisis now engulfing capitalism. And, of course, such a 'We never close for essential services' attitude exactly feeds the latest 'reformist'—revivalism atmosphere of urgently demanding homosexual fun-palaces on the rates, etc. Welfare state consumerism will have a lot to answer for,—as confused & divisive mess disrupts & holds back the working class just when it needs to be preparing for disciplined revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism.

Even the apparently 'broader' & 'neutral' issue of 'defending local government rights' from bureaucratic Tory centralisation (in education, etc) comes over bent with these Labourites. Since when did 'reformism' ever do anything to alter the essential crookedness, hypocrisy, & deception on the working class of 'local government' capitalism,—other than add to it mightily in the Poulson era (and with just as much widespread criminality both before and since then, if the truth was known),—not to mention the unending prop to the general capitalist system of exploitation & class-bias which bogus 'municipal socialism' has always represented, and could never (and would never) depart from. (See ILWP Books vol 9).

The theme of the ideological corruption and philistine backwardness that welfare state illusions have inflicted on generations of workers in the postwar period can be endlessly embroiled in almost any di-

rection,—so widespread are the insidious effects of passive, handout-consumerism,—buttressed by much ill-digested false posturing about 'defence of democratic rights', etc, which in fact are purely a fiction of temporary imperialist compromise prior to its launching of the next slump-fascist degeneration towards World War III.

But one curious aspect is the cultural effect on family upbringing. The disarming & degrading ideological & political effects of tatty welfare-state class-collaboration with syphilitic imperialism seems to have led to an

appalling weakening in parental control whereby strong working-class values of discipline, and rational pragmatic-good sense, are temporarily in eclipse under the influence of soft-headed, corrupt, opportunist Labourism. Controversial reflections of this possibility in long-running arguments and attitudes about the whole notion of leadership and responsibility (in social and personal relationships), about punishment in schools, about crime & punishment generally, about drug-taking, about the nuclear family, about abortion, pornography, etc, —will have to be

left to much longer-distance assessment,—possibly not being clear for decades. But the suspicion remains that the sick rock'n'roll & TV sensationalism & consumerism of the era of welfare-state illusions has been partly aimed at phillistinely undermining the working class to set it up for subsequent fascist degeneracy & irrationality. The hand of the CIA in narcotics and behind some rock groups is too large to miss, e.g. But has the door to that probably vast external sinister influence been opened by the debilitating flabbiness of Labourite welfare-state

political naivete and social illusions?

The whole 'reformist' game has in reality only meant prettying up the depths of anti-communist retreat by the working class in the face of imperialist Cold War bullying. It has created a profound phillistine vacuum in the soul of the labour movement,—and all of Labourism is now far too compromised by its rotten opportunism,—and too embarrassed by its rank failures,—to contemplate renouncing the 'reformist' illusion. Forty years of deceptively capitalist-inflationary boom and anti-communist propaganda have

imposed virtual mental relapse & retardation on large sections of the labour movement.

The relentless conditions of deepening capitalist slump & war-mongering will provide the basis for replacing that by a resurgent Leninist movement. Widespread illusions in Labour is now an almost dead, or dying, phenomenon. The ILWP is proving that what the Bolsheviks achieved from small beginnings in Russia can be repeated, or even improved upon, in Britain & the West in general. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Build Leninism. Bulletin 405 (5/8/87) and 406 (12/8/87)



'Peace-keeping in Aden.'



Imperialist Labour Government butchering Greek socialist revolution 1945-1948.

ILWP Bulletin 10p (Weekly newspaper of the International Leninist Workers Party)



It was the Labour Party which re-introduced British imperialism's police-military dictatorship to occupied Ireland, with its death-squads concentration camps, & torture barracks to back the Orange-fascist colonists.



1950. The Malayan Emergency.



1966. The Borneo Confrontation.