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Only he is a Marxist who extends the recognition of the class struggle to the recognition of the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the touchstone on which the real understanding and recognition of Marxism is to be tested. — V.I. Lenin

The defeat for Western 'democratic' influence in China is the best possible development for frustrating US imperialism's worldwide counter-revolutionary plans and capitalism's arms-race tilt towards World War III.



Saturday evening, June 3rd. The Western-inspired mob finally shows its true petty-bourgeois anarchist colours, butchering scores of representatives of the state authorities in Central Peking. That night the dictatorship of the proletariat was finally forced to rout the occupation on Tienanmen Square, and stop the counter-revolution in its tracks.

## SECTION ONE

(first published June 7, 1989  
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# Counter-revolution finally shows its hand in violent challenge to the proletarian dictatorship of the workers socialist state in China

The bourgeois-anarchist influences from Western culture on certain reactionary student circles in Peking were literally asking for a confrontation eventually with China's firm communist path.

Just before the weekend's conflict, Louise Something of the Sunday Times revealed in a BBC broadcast that the protest leaders on Tiananmen Square were all determined to continue matters to an all-out fight, even if it meant certain defeat. Without bloodshed, she explained, these student circles felt that their protest would be seen as a feeble failure, would not be remembered, would create no martyrs, and would provide no symbols to build on for the future.

Stripped of their hysteria, the capitalist press reports spewing forth furiously to try to stir maximum hatred against the Chinese Peoples Republic, - nevertheless let slip enough of the truth to show that the anarchist provocations against the workers state authorities had reached intolerable levels, - going beyond the ritual stripping and humiliating of soldiers trying non-violently to impose the martial-law decree, - to murderous assaults on military vehicles and individual militiamen, in a conscious escalation of violence to which the army finally had to respond.

But even on Saturday afternoon there were ominous signs. . . . Tiananmen Square was the usual spectacle of red flags blowing gaily, but behind the Great Hall of the People 1,000 troops were surrounded by a jeering crowd and the mood was ugly. Occasionally a student emerged holding aloft a captured helmet or showing off a bloody wound.

Littering the street towards Fuxingmen were half a dozen smashed-up army trucks or buses. Troops were trapped in one. Another was crammed full of gear and an AK-47 machine

gun had been erected on top as an exhibition. The stream of cyclists drifting up and down were in high spirits, but there was an air of hysteria.

At around 2pm police loud-speakers had warned the crowd it was illegal to steal equipment from the People's Liberation Army.

Later, by the square, more troops were hemmed in a crowd by the Revolutionary History museum. . . . They were surrounded by a crowd of 500 and several were almost beaten to death as they tried to escape. Unaware of this, diplomats brought their families out to watch the troops.

All of this had failed to give us an intimation of what was in store. . . . we began to run back in fear as the crowd began to set fire to the buses.

A tyre on our jeep had been slashed, but we rumbled down the street dodging in and out of the road barriers until we arrived at the Minzu Hotel, where an angry band of youths stormed our jeep, hurling stones and rocking us until we established our identity.

We dashed across to the hotel entrance, where a crowd was savagely beating a soldier. Another had found safety in the hotel and the crowd was trying to smash the doors. A police car was burning nearby.

The road was littered with broken glass and bricks. Just before, a detachment of riot police had been attacked, and the air was thick with tear gas and smoke.

From a window we could see shadowy figures flitting through the dark hurling stones, and after an hour the last trucks moved down. One man siphoned off petrol from our jeep and hurled a Molotov cocktail, setting himself on fire.

Others smashed open the cars, including ours.

When the last truck had vanished towards the square, the crowd emerged clutching stones and sticks and moved off in pursuit.

Gradually the chants of "Tu Fei, Tu Fei" - the old nationalist cry of "Communist bandit" - grew louder and louder.

People tore down the red pro-government banners draped down the sides of the hotel and burned them.

More and more wounded were being taken to hospital nearby. We went to the small

People's Hospital and it looked like an abattoir. There were bodies on benches and beds or on blood-soaked mattresses on the floor. Many had . . . badly beaten soldiers and we saw one covered in blood who was clearly not going to live.

It was the same story at the nearby post office hospital.

At the central post office, a journalist from the state news agency had been beaten to death, a family had died in their homes by stray gunfire, another man in his bathroom, a girl by a tear gas shell as she looked out of her window; four police had been dragged out of their car and beaten to death.

Students set on fire two armoured personnel carriers and soldiers who clambered out were beaten to death.

On the other side of the square, people were wreaking a terrible vengeance among the burning vehicles and rubble. An army officer had been burned and hanged. His naked corpse dangled in a charred bus.

At around 10.30 last night normal television programmes were interrupted to transmit pictures of the rioting, taken by the traffic monitors. They showed hundreds of citizens attacking and defeating heavily armed riot police and dragging and punching troops.

Bob Gannon, a 30-year old freelance photographer sent to Beijing two weeks ago by the Guardian, was in the city on Saturday night when the soldiers and students clashed. This is what he saw.

Gannon and other journalists ran up the Avenue of Eternal Peace, along which more soldiers carrying riot shields were advancing towards Tiananmen Square. It was a little before midnight and the soldiers were met by students.

There were about 70 or 80 soldiers. Everyone was throwing bicycles, rocks, sticks - anything they could get their hands on - at the soldiers. After about 20 minutes of this, the soldiers fired teargas. There was hardly any wind and the gas hung in the air.

The soldiers retreated towards the Minzu Hotel pursued by students, now an angry mob.

In front of me there was a soldier, screaming and crying - he was completely freaked out. They were all around him, arms coming in at him holding rocks. They started to drop rocks on his head.

I and a student tried to push people back from him - it was an automatic response. He went to the ground and they just dropped rocks, huge rocks, on to the middle of his face. It was

The class-ignorant supporters of this ideological outrage are now calling openly on imperialist TV for China's army to have a civil war bloodbath



continuous and I got blood spattered all over me. He was virtually decapitated by the time he was dragged away.

Another soldier who was trying to crawl through a hedge towards the hotel was decapitated upon.

I ran into the hotel. On the foyer floor there was a group of soldiers laid out. I only saw one breathing. I took just one photograph and was jumped on by four or five men, thrust up against the wall, punched and had all my gear ripped off and film taken.

The Liberation Army Daily had already published its own account of this escalating reactionary provocation in its Saturday edition before the square was stormed, taking a clear communist class stand against petty-bourgeois anarchy, and echoing the clearcut understanding of the international class-war realities still grasped and proclaimed by some leaders of the Chinese workers state who have not forgotten that all human progress is governed by the international balance of class forces plus decisive Leninist action within its possibilities.

6 An editorial quoted by state radio said that the army had achieved a great victory and crushed "counter-revolutionary violence."

The editorial, written before Tiananmen square was captured, went on: "On the morning of June 3 the capital suffered serious counter-revolutionary violence."

"Criminals spread rumours and incited the killing or injuring of soldiers and officers, the burning of military vehicles and the seizing of weapons.

Even Zhongnanhai (where China's leaders live and work) and the Great Hall of the People were attacked. This evil development, inspired by an extremely small group of people, was a criminal attempt to oppose the leadership of the Communist Party and overthrow the Socialist system.

"Faced with this violence, the martial law command and officers and soldiers upheld the endless, revolutionary spirit of Chairman Deng.

"In order to protect the great people's republic, the wise constitution and the magnificent capital, the party's central committee and State Council (China's top government body) and party military commission decided to take action to oppose counter-revolutionary violence.

"Our martial law troops and police of the capital and armed police together adopted effective action ... to end the violence. In the struggle to preserve the peace of the capital and the whole country, they achieved a great victory."

The editorial said the action showed that the army could be counted on and warned of more stern measures if necessary. "As for those who persist in violence and beating and looting and burnings, our police and troops cannot take a soft approach."

Another octogenarian veteran, Mr Peng Zhen, issued a lengthy statement calling for unity of thinking to overcome the "ideological confusion". Acts of "bourgeois liberalisation" violated the constitution because China was a dictatorship of the working class, he said.

Early yesterday, it announced a "great victory" over the "thugs and criminals" whose three-week occupation of the square was described as an attempt to overthrow the socialist system.

But today the military said the seizure of the square was "just an initial victory" and predicted a long fight against "dregs of society". Beijing's Mayor, Mr Chen Xitong, said in a speech read on state television: "There is no turning back. Do not take part in demonstrations and counter-revolutionary activities."

The detractors of the Peoples Republic are living in cloud cuckoo land. The entire planet lives in conditions of international class war, and nothing else. Until the final defeat worldwide of imperialism, then the ultimate choice for all mankind is, finally, only either the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. This was made abundantly and scientifically clear by the entire lifes work of Marx, Engels and Lenin (see ILWP Books vols 3, 6, & 7).

The historic triumph of communist revolution in China in 1949 solved only the problems of state power and the broad political leadership, - the Communist Party at the head of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It was not remotely possible for just the fact of the revolution itself to come anywhere near automatically modernising the thinking of 1,000 million backward people into scientific reasoning always confidently striding forward.

The withering away of the state under the first-ever development of real mass-participation democracy under communist society is still some distance away and can only even begin to flourish once the hostile threatening disruption of the incurable bourgeois-imperialist trade-war and arms race, and its accompanying anti-communist propaganda war,---are a thing of the past.

Meanwhile, the influential international forces of bourgeois cultural achievement can only continue to try to undermine relentlessly the confidence the international proletariat has in the communist cause and in the existing workers states.

Inevitably, in the light of imperialisms continued ability to appear to be thriving and taking human progress forward with its technical-industrial achievements, and also in the light of revisionist defeatism (see ILWP Books vols 4,5, and 13) in the thinking of the socialist camp leadership beginning to also help undermine workers confidence worldwide in the future of planned socialism, then the progress of the workers states was bound to be hazardous.

Since the Cold War was reimposed at the conclusion of inter-imperialist World War II, the CIA at the head of imperialism's reactionary rearguard action has been able to skillfully and lavishly organise countless counter-revolutionary campaigns, stunts, and even putsches against the socialist countries.

Now at the peak of the Western inflationary boom, the 'free world' democracies are bound to be in a position to exert greater philosophical and cultural pressure than ever because of capitalism's seemingly effortless superiority in consumerism. That pressure

became a destabilising flood over some sectors of Chinese students in recent weeks. The colossal propaganda campaign for 'pluralism', poured out worldwide by the 'free' West, will undoubtedly continue to have a widespread misleading influence over wide sectors of the populations of the emerging socialist camp struggling to match established monopoly-imperialism's achievements despite the endless Cold War embargoes and sabotage against it.

Who were these counter-revolutionary provocateurs in Peking? A minority of gilded youth plus a sinister echo of the CIAs anti-communist master-plan - Solidarnosc, disputing the Party's authority.

• A view currently gaining ground, enunciated by a senior Hong Kong bureaucrat-cum-sinologist at the height of the Beijing troubles last week, goes: "You first have to recognise who those Tiananmen Square students were. They came from five or six universities, and thus from 13 or 14 main Beijing high schools, where virtually all the children are from the families of senior cadres or from the upper ranks of the military.

"Then you have to recognise that these students, part of what has to be admitted is a very real Chinese aristocracy (one writer today refers to "one of the most elaborate and pernicious class systems in the world" that exists in modern China), want a variety of things. They don't all want what you and I regard as 'democracy'. Some of them held up posters of Mao. If life was hellish under Mao, as the Westerners seem to think the students are saying, then why do that?"

"Next you have to wonder what the majority of the Chinese people in the countryside want. This protest movement has been urban, aristocratic, organised by students who have studied overseas and, to the government's naive surprise and dismay, have come back home wanting change. But do the peasants want change? The 990 millions beyond Beijing and Shanghai and Wuhan and Canton? They've kept pretty mute, have they not?"

"All that has really been highlighted by the protest is that the Beijing government has been naive, inflexible and corrupt. Not that its ideological message has been wrong, or actually unpopular. Just wrongly interpreted, and poorly applied.

"The course the Chinese government has to follow now is fairly clear. It has still to cleave to its basic principles of socialism. It has to clean up its act, halt the nepotism and so forth. It has to be more aware of the likely impact of the open door. And it has to be firm.

Such is the message that the more sensible leader-writers in the Chinese press are beginning to convey to the more sensible readers (who are not necessarily the same as those who, in their tens of thousands, many wearing Giordano-designed "Democracy" T-shirts, listened tearfully to local pop stars who performed got up as Angela Davis or in the hastily-assembled uniforms of the Weather Underground). And the message is beginning to get across.

The Beijing Daily reported the detention of 11 members of the "Flying Tigers Brigade" of motorcyclists, who toured the capital in gangs of over 100 calling for strikes at the steelworks and rallying the city against the expected entry of the military.

At a press conference on Tiananmen Square last night, the self-proclaimed Beijing Independent Trade Union Federation announced its new charter and called for members to sign up.

The charter demands genuine representation and participation in state affairs and the right to supervise the work of the Communist Party.

"It will be a completely autonomous and democratic union which everyone can join. It won't be a welfare organisation, but will voice the workers' political and economic demands," one of the leaders declared to applause.

In an interview, Mr Xiao Delong, a maintenance worker at Qinghua University and one of the organisers, said that workers who had joined without signing their names had been issued membership cards with a number instead.

A message of support was read out by Mr Steven Jolly, of the British Labour Party Young Socialists, and another from the Canadian Labour Party.

"We believe China will never be the same again. The people have spoken. Socialism needs democracy like the body needs oxygen," Mr Jolly said. Branches of the union federation have already been set up around the country. The Beijing branch was officially founded on May 19 and located near the toilets behind the grandstand in front of the Forbidden City.

There a few dozen workers have been camping out, selling pamphlets and books and running a loudspeakers system from a small generator. The Beijing authorities again tried to evict them yesterday.

One factory manager in Beijing, who organised a three-day strike, has already been detained.

Students joined workers yesterday in marching to the Beijing public security headquarters to demand the release of three leaders of the federation, and later 1,000 people marched to the Ministry of Public Security but received no response.

Others pleaded with us to tell the world what happened. The



The counter-revolutionary provocateurs begin their violent attack on the authority of the Chinese workers state.

West must stop all investments, they said, and condemn their government. No one, not even the Japanese or the Kuomintang or the warlords, had ever done this and this was their own government. 9

Clearly with reactionary ignorance such as this (about what China was really like under imperialism), Peking has a major problem. Did the West back the students? or the state as the idiot fake 'left' in Britain all-eges (see below)?

**I**T is, for all who watch and wonder about the Communist world, the ultimate obscenity. Worse even than Hungary or Czechoslovakia or Afghanistan; for there the tanks and troops were alien invaders, rolling across borders in the fashion through time immemorial of big powers knocking little powers into line. But in China it is the People's Army turned against the people: shooting them indiscriminately in Tiananmen Square, on the streets, on their doorsteps; crushing them beneath the tracks of the tanks; sweeping them from sight in a sea of bloodshed. A bankrupt, desperate, geriatric government; an edifice of ideology and aspiration flaking and toppling before our eyes.

The point is a starkly simple one. We, sitting comfortably in the West, assume that a spark in the individual human condition — a spark called freedom — must, in the end, make a bonfire of the system that seeks to snuff it out. We assumed, from the peripatetic Nixon on, that China — by its own, complex lights — would gradually evolve into a nation which had made its peace with liberty; that the business culture, the Americans with cheque

books, would inevitably bring some form of democracy in their wake. How else could the British sign away Hong Kong and millions of its citizens to the old enemy to the north? Beijing, surely, needed and would nurture Hong Kong's wealth.

Tell that, this bloody, awful morning, to the marines. The human beings who walk the streets of Hong Kong can no longer be thought of as pawns, signed away and forgotten. And meanwhile, patrolling the Berlin wall, looking East, we must suck our thumbs. 9

President George Bush denounced China for using military force against the demonstrators.

Influential congressmen demanded that the United States immediately halt sales of military equipment to China, a move that could signal the start of stormy relations between the two countries.

Mrs Thatcher said Britain was "appalled at the indiscriminate shooting of unarmed people". Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, called the attack "a crime against humanity".

**T**HE Prime Minister yesterday told the Commons that normal business with the Chinese authorities clearly could not continue after the bloodshed of the last few days ended. She said everyone who had seen the scenes on television had felt "utter revulsion and outrage".

She was speaking at question time, shortly before the Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe, announced that British arms sales to China have been banned, and consultations over Hong Kong halted.

Mrs Thatcher said the Chi-

nese people had only been asking for their democratic rights when indiscriminately fired upon. "It shows that communism stands ready to impose its will by force on innocent people and that we must take into account in our views on defence."

**H**ONG Kong's financial markets have reacted in panic to the weekend's events in the Chinese capital.

Share prices plummeted by 22 per cent as the stock market suffered its greatest one-day loss since the 1987 worldwide stock-market crash. There has also been a run on the Chinese-owned banks in the colony. 9

**THE** Chinese Government, Communist Party and army have now lost all legitimacy and are depending on force for the continued existence of the handful of old men who have seized power here.

It is a particularly revealing final struggle: the People's Liberation Army has never before been used by the Government to attack its own citizens.

"There are bloodstains on the ground today in Peking," blared a message from the protesters' loudspeakers yesterday. "They are using tear gas, a Japanese weapon we Chinese have never seen before. We are not used to it, but we will be soon. At last, people of Peking, do you understand the evil nature of this Government? Withdraw your support now. Why do you provide this machine with wealth and power by working for it?"

What is derisively referred

to here as the Li Peng Government has raised the stakes.

These aged leaders wanted to clear the square, to crack heads, to use the army or the armed police, but every plan was immediately revealed to contain the seeds of its own disaster and, until yesterday's violence, abandoned.

Deng has had to sell out to this gaggle of ancients, his only support in his rage with the demonstrators and with Zhao, who defied and humiliated him.

But the ancients are the very men he swept into honourable retirement in 1985 because they objected to his reforms. Now they are back, dribbling a bit but croaking: "We told you so."

Deng will never recover. By selling out, by appearing to panic, he has puzzled the party and the army, earned the contempt of a once-adoring population and astounded foreign governments and investors. And yesterday, by ordering the army to smash its way into the square, Deng wholly undid himself.

What we now see in Peking is a mass of citizens, workers, and students who have long been described as interested only in TV sets, washing machines and motor cycles but who turn out to be ready to use their all to fight for liberty. 9

The West's hatred for the dictatorship of the proletariat could not be clearer. And fearing that an ent-



After weeks of defying the law of the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, the Western stooges finally provoke a bloody confrontation by lynching dozens of soldiers and police.

irely new firm communist line might take hold in China re-establishing Leninist world-revolutionary perspectives and Bolshevik discipline for the Chinese workers state, the West's reaction has quickly gone even further than the above howls of immediate bilious fear, loathing and despair with some vicious Goebbelsian propaganda trying to brand the Peoples Republic as fascist as a stick to beat it with should Peking renew its support for world socialist revolution.

This is then backed by virtually official Western pleas for an inter-army conflict in China so that the workers state should drown itself in blood.

But developments since last weekend suggest that an even worse case may be on the cards: the growth of something closer to fascism.

That is the word constantly heard on Beijing pavements, and it is more than a simple term of abuse. Nor is it exactly a new term in China: it featured several years ago in the Party's own verdict on the Gang of Four. There is already a nasty taste of some very familiar ingredients in the most important official explanation issued so far — the letter issued on Monday by the "Party Central" (whoever they may be). There is the ugly emotion of the language employed which mingles formalism with hysteria. Thus it describes the ordinary Beijingers who opposes martial law as "elements who have unrelenting hate for the Party and the socialist system". There is the complete distortion of truth, carried a stage further yesterday with claims that less than 30 students had died while military casualties were vastly higher. And most disturbingly, there is the glorification of what has always been fascism's greatest strength: its willing-

ness to use military force without restraint and to glorify repression.

As the national TV news programme made a shaky restart yesterday, after going off the air on Monday, its most significant item (until it "denied" the rumour of Deng's death) was a cringing performance by Yuan Mu, the spokesman for the State Council, before an immaculately uniformed general, Zhang Gong, who is in control of martial law. The general then proceeded to smilingly explain how his men had exercised enormous restraint. The army had "absolutely never killed any students or people" in the Square, he maintained, and definitely did not use tanks to crush people. Its policy, he said, was "don't answer back when you are cursed, and don't lift a hand when you are hit."

Yesterday's news of large-scale slaughter in Chengdu raises the even grimmer prospect of violent suppression spreading across the country,

with far greater opportunities after the event for easy denial.

The ground, of course, has long been made fertile for social fascism. The disillusion of the Cultural Revolution was followed by the jettisoning of a much larger set of political values which had stabilised the relationship between the Party and the army. Economic dislocation and inflation prepare the ground further, as does the growth of systemic corruption. But the seed has only been recently planted. Can it still be plucked out before the roots go too deep?

Our euphoria with the student movement, it now seems with the benefit of just two or three weeks hindsight, led to us to pay insufficient attention to the determination of the existing power structure to defend itself when threatened. Conversely, should we not now look beyond the immediate repression to see that it must ultimately fail against the wave

of popular hatred?

Student leaders themselves were analysing the situation just a week ago in Tiananmen as one of incipient repression. They took comfort in the long-term view of success, although most spoke in terms of a next generation tasting the fruits of their struggle.

It is still just possible to imagine a complete turn-around which would open the doors to democracy and real reform. Such a move would build on the popular revulsion against this military action, enlisting opposition to it within the People's Liberation Army, to construct a new social mandate for more humane politics. This would require large number of Party members to show much greater initiative than they have so far done. It would also be essential to complete the job of "purifying the Party" from its proto-fascistic elements which Mr Deng began in the early 80s but never completed.

The bloody repression in Beijing, which can only be compared to the Japanese massacres in Nanking and the Kuomintang's slaughter of the Shanghai labour movement between the wars, has been condemned throughout the European Community.

**A**FTER two days of despair, we have at last the beginnings of hope in China. The indications are that military units opposed to the decision to use force against the Tiananmen demonstrators are moving to confront the provincial troops responsible for the slaughter, and, by implication, to deal with the Party leaders who ordered it.

And yet despite the clear delight in the West from the beginning at the embarrassment to communism from the dissident and philistine provocations in Tiananmen Square, and despite the unmistakable record of the 'free world' powers in backing every counter-revolutionary intrigue that has ever been unleashed against the workers states, as they are plainly doing now, - the idiot 'left' in Britain which hates the dictatorship of the proletariat still deludes itself that the counter-revolutionaries in Peking are in fact real communist revolutionaries, and that the West secretly hates the protesters, and fears them. This certifiable insanity blankets the anti-Leninist swamp from the NCP New Worker to the deranged Workers Press.

In general, the West has given lukewarm support to the demonstrators.

**The struggle unfolding in China has opened the road for the struggle against the Stalinist bureaucracy everywhere else.**

It has struck fear into the hearts of Gorbachev and his fellow-Stalinists - just as it has struck fear into the hearts of Thatcher, Bush, and every other capitalist ruler who sits on a volcano of resentment.

The shameful silence of the British trade union and Labour leaders on China shows that they are just as horrified as Thatcher and Gorbachev at the sight of the Chinese working class in action.

The real tragedy for the socialist camp and the world revolutionary movement is the stupidity of the revisionist leaderships headed by Moscow and Peking which have pretended that the obviously incurable anti-communist bile and hostility of the bourgeois 'democracy' system had somehow been miraculously transformed into tolerant friendship towards the dictatorship of the proletariat. This will always remain impossible. The capitalist class can only continue to flourish if the spread and 'threat' of communism is wiped out completely eventually. All the conscious plans of Western imperialism are devoted solely to this end, however long it takes and however much the West is forced by socialist camp peace and disarmament offensives to pretend from time to time to accept a reluctant negotiated trading coexistence with communism.

Such peaceful interludes are waiting only for the endemic crisis of the capitalist system to lurch back again universally towards trade-war, fascist civil war and inter-imperialist war to find excuses for plunging the planet back into the most bloodcurdling generalised warmongering once again. The capitalist arms race has never stopped and never will stop, and the nazi-aggressive character of the system in crisis will be unleashed again by inter-imperialist conflict initially, - just as happened in World War I and World War II.

By their idiotic revisionist illusion that imperialism has miraculously changed its essential class character (if true, rendering the entire science of Marxism-Leninism a laughing stock), the small-minded complacent bureaucrats led by Moscow and Peking are continuously inviting bourgeois propaganda to confuse and destabilise wide sectors of the socialist camp populat-

ion.

As has repeatedly happened since WWII under the revived 'success' of the capitalist-imperialist system under American domination, - this propaganda disillusionment (with the promises of a planned socialist world) among some sectors of the population of the communist countries has erupted from time to time (or has been caused to erupt by deliberate Western agent-provocateur intervention) into open 'revolt'.

Hungary 1956 was the most celebrated incident in the West hitherto, being used as a swearword damning communism for all time, - despite the fact that this so-called 'revolution' disappeared without trace within months, - something impossible to happen where a genuine class-war revolution is concerned, - and explained by the fact that the working class is already the state power in Hungary. 1956 was a counter-revolution, based on generations of fascist-catholic backwardness in Hungary and on the deposed landed classes and bourgeois elements.

Solidarnosc was the next most feted anti-communist incident, but even with the 99% reactionary catholicism of Poland feeding this bilious hatred of Leninism, the counter-revolution was routed in 1981 and is now being fenced with in a tentative parliamentary-reformist arena inspired by Gorbachevism. Parliamentary reformism is doomed to failure whether under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie or the dictatorship of the proletariat. Decisive class actions alone can resolve matters either for the capitalist class or the proletariat. Class-collaborating parliamentarianism with the inveterate and implacable class enemy is pure deception. This reformist charade is also doomed to be violently attacked by hostile class forces sooner or later, both under capitalism and under socialism. It remains to be seen if the Polish workers state has fooled the CIA and the Catholic Church by offering Solidarnosc parliamentary exposure, or whether it is the communist party which has fooled itself.

Now the Western anti-communist hysteria industry (the biggest activity in the 'free' world) has China 1989 to add to its hate-list against the dic-

tatorship of the proletariat.

There ought to be lessons learned by the socialist state leaderships from the events in Peking about how the anti-Leninist nonsense of modern revisionist and 'pluralist' thinking (and cultural coexisting with the West) was bound eventually to be successfully exploited by bourgeois reaction to create widespread disaffection among consumer-minded youth, among the entrepreneurial sectors encouraged by the reintroduction of some market mechanisms into the economy, and among intellectuals who by personal inclination have nothing but reactionary contempt for the only scientific philosophy of life, - Marxism-Leninism.

Most of the socialist states have backed China's unavoidable decision to rout this counter-revolution. But the deluded revisionist mess in Yugoslavia and Hungary, for example, has chosen to demonstrate the influence Western petty-bourgeois opportunism has on them and condemn the Chinese workers state, thereby showing to what abysmal depths their ignorance of Leninism has sunk. It is safe to conclude from this appalling poverty of proletarian leadership in Hungary and Yugoslavia that counter-revolutionary turmoil will be unleashed there before much longer.

Sadly, the salutary shock the workers state leaders have been given in China (and elsewhere around the socialist camp) will probably not result in any sustained and consistent return to Leninist revolutionary understanding and politics.

Once they have abandoned Lenin's world revolutionary perspectives, the established managements of the socialist states are inclined by the natural phenomenon of inertia to only do just enough to survive as individuals at the head of their class economic system. There will be a few more references than usual to Leninist theory, and maybe a bit more serious understanding of some aspects of it, - but then the Peking bureaucracy will quickly stagnate back into its easiest option of opportunistically pretending that the socialist camp's necessary peaceful coexisting temporarily with imperialism (to prevent all the imperialist giants un-



The notorious symbol of capitalist bourgeois democracy - the calculated insult to proletarian dictatorship in China by Western-inspired ignorant dissidents.

iting together for a crusade on communism) exhausts all their leadership requirements as the head of the world revolutionary socialist movement, - quickly abandoning again history's real need which is for an open sustained polemical campaign worldwide for the understanding of Leninism.

But this paralysed complacency, typified by Gorbachevism which does a lot of activist huffing and puff-

ing but is incapable of an atom of serious scientific Leninist thinking, - is doomed to ignominious failure and disgrace. It will not be toppled by any workers revolt inside the socialist countries, but it will eventually be totally historically eclipsed by the more advanced understanding of the dynamically developing new revolutionary movements which will be surging to power in capitalist country

after capitalist country as the century draws to its close.

The assessment of the Chinese leadership must be based on the futility of the six weeks delay in routing the counter-revolution from the point of view of educating the world revolutionary movement.

If the delay had been to allow open Leninist polemics to explore every aspect of the differences in the

CPC leadership and in the various political courses open to Peoples China so that the entire international proletariat could get a priceless lesson in active Leninist scientific processes, then the revolutionary cause in the international balance of class forces could only have benefitted enormously.

But the debate about which way forward for China has been held entirely behind closed doors. No one is any the wiser about what took them so long to reach the decision that counter-revolutionary revolt is a lethal threat to socialist development, and what deluded ideas had to be overcome in the politburo before the necessary action could be taken. Thus the delay obviously helped the CPC leadership to finally make up its mind correctly about what to do, but equally obviously it damaged the international proletarian movement by creating so much confusion and damaging propaganda opportunities for anti-communism, and by still giving no instructive explanations for the argument and delay at the end of the process.

In addition to all the brainwashing of Western public opinion denying that there is any such thing as the international class struggle or that the whole international diplomatic effort of the entire imperialist system since the war has been devoted solely to the preparations of counter-revolutions everywhere, - the other great fraud of this anti-China campaign has been the outrageous lie that any part of the 'free' world, and least of all any of the major capitalist countries, - would have allowed for one day, let alone for six weeks, the entire centre of its capital city to be occupied in defiance of the authorities wishes by an anarchistic revolt.

Students in Britain were battered senseless by the London police a few months ago just for trying to mount one afternoon's demonstration to march past Parliament with their banners. They had been knocked into an arrested and terrorised heap before they had even reached the south side of Westminster Bridge. God knows what would have happened to them if they had insisted on a six-week total occupation of Parliament Square, including thereon

the erection of a 26-foot high statue of Lenin.

Every month in the USA, workers protest demonstrations and pickets are systematically shot up by vigilantes or beaten up by the police and the national guard. In the great student protests against the Vietnam war, several university campuses were raked with machine-gun fire, - killing many.

Elsewhere throughout the

non-communist world, there is virtual permanent gun-law and official death-squad rule in a majority of capitalist countries, - all officially sanctioned by the leading 'free world' powers. The murderous secret-police death squads in El Salvador, Guatemala, Turkey, Thailand, South Korea, Haiti, Egypt, Zaire, Pakistan, Chile, etc, are trained in their permanent work by the CIA, and armed

by the rest of the West.

The other great fraud is that allegedly 'normal' and 'democratic' existence in the capitalist world is even at the best of times somehow free from bloodshed and other cruel suffering. It is nothing of the sort. It is tragic that there is lethal conflict in socialist China, but such confrontation between conflicting class ideologies and broad philosophical persp-

ectives is the rule for the whole world, not at all the exception.

There is civil-war strife everywhere, and it can only get a lot worse, dramatically so. The world is teetering on the brink of its greatest class-war upheavals in history. Virtually the whole of the capitalist world outside of the main rich imperialist powers is an unexploded volcano of revolutionary ferocity and hatred. Fullscale civil wars are already raging in 20 or more countries, and the capitalist system is already whipping up racist and nationalist hatreds to act as a warmongering diversion to save many capitalist states from socialist revolution by plunging them into international capitalist wars (inter-imperialist warmongering) instead.

Britain has been imposing perpetual death and destruction on the Occupied Zone of Ireland for the past 20 years, massacring and torturing countless more victims than the Chinese workers state's conflict with counter-revolution has produced. US imperialism in the same period has blitzkrieged into a pulp entire nation-states such as socialist Grenada and reformist Chile, and reform-minded Dominican Republic, while its Zionist stooges have been relentlessly imposing slow-motion genocide on the entire Palestinian nation. Together, the 'free' world' leaders have inflicted countless other crimes on humanity.

While the events in China have given Western anti-communist propaganda a field day, they have also created a few diplomatic difficulties for the more opportunist activities of cowardly capitalism, especially for the degenerate British bourgeoisie over Hong Kong.

London's 'boldness' in defending 'British islanders' in the Falklands, - the prize modern example of warmongering diversion by bourgeois 'democracy' to get an unpopular government out of a tight corner such as Thatcher was in in 1982, - is coming back to haunt the Tory Establishment and its 'loyal' Labour Opposition worms.

Unlike the 'solemn' state treaties by which the Empire of China ceded 'in perpetuity' (i.e. forever) the land of Hong Kong and Kowloon to Britain in the 18-50s, British imperialism



This bourgeois slogan sums up the entire violently provocative attitude of subjective-idealist despair - the hallmark of counter-revolution everywhere.



Bloody Sunday January 1972. Thirteen Irish massacred around their own housing estate by British troops on the rampage.

has never had even this figleaf of legal 'claim' to the Malvinas Islands, seized piratically from Argentina at the same time as Hong Kong was first seized. So if the joke 'British population' of a mere 1,000 islanders in the Falklands are worth a war to prevent them falling into the hands of Argentine capitalism, how much more worth a war are 4 million British subjects in Hong Kong to prevent them falling into the hands of the hated 'communist evil'?

The bi-partisan British parliamentary establishment has hidden behind the fiction of the New Territories leasing treaty (where less than 10% of Hong Kong's 7 million people live which must go back to China in 1997) to get out of fighting for the permanently-British-owned 'legal' crown territories of Hong Kong and Kowloon where 4 million British passport holders live. Now their fear of upsetting Red China (to try to drive a wedge between Moscow and Peking) and their fear of being humiliatingly thrashed by the Peoples Liberation Army if a fight was put up for 'British' Hong Kong, --- is out in the open again. The US imperialists partly share this dilemma, - wanting to make the maximum anti-communist propaganda possible out of this counter-revolution, but fearing to antagonise the Chinese Workers State too severely.

The snivelling hypocrisy of the Western bourgeoisie (the Labour Party now demands 'democracy' for the fetid colony of Hong Kong to antagonise Red China prior to the 1997 takeover, but failed in eight periods of national government itself to even dream of ending the British colonial dictatorship profiteering) is surpassed only by that of the Western petty bourgeoisie masquerading as the 'revolutionary left' of the opportunist labour movement.

As always in such moments of major anti-communist thrusts by CIA propaganda, the fake 'left' come rushing forward to stab the Chinese workers state in those parts of its back which haven't already been pilloried by the bourgeoisie.

The cowardly New Worker led the way with the disgusting opportunist lie that they backed the counter-revolutionaries (like the

rest of the West) "because they sing the International and parade hammers and sickles, and look to Mao rather than any Western figure, and have demands which in themselves are not anti-socialist", etc, etc, for paragraph after mealy-mouthed paragraph, - desperately trying to kid itself that the Chinese communist party backs the demonstrators, and that the army's inability to impose martial law was a "favourable development", etc, and pretending that "In general, the West has given lukewarm support to the demonstrators". What disgusting lies and what abysmal political cowardice, snivelling along with the worst of the Trot loonies in trying to pretend that the counter-revolutionaries were really communists, and pretending that the West hated this revolt.

The RCP took this demented self-delusion to the ultimate folly in its May 26 issue (before the counter-revolution was finally routed) when it declared that the early falls on the Hong Kong stock exchange (in reality because of capitalist fears that the Chinese Workers State would be provoked by the counter-revolutionary protesters into reasserting its proletarian dictatorship perspectives, thus damaging 'free market' business confidence) were in fact due to the opposite 'reason', - namely that the Hong Kong monopolists feared that 'real communist' demonstrators (the counter-revolutionaries) would oust the 'pro-capitalist' government of the Peoples Republic, thus undermining existing trade agreements.

Thus according to this RCP make-believe, the Hong Kong index should have boomed through the roof when their make-believe 'real communist protesters' were at last crushed by the Peoples Republic government. In fact of course, the opposite happened. The reaffirmation of proletarian dictatorship rule in Peking caused financial panic in Hong Kong, - wiping out more than a quarter of stock exchange values, starting a run on several banks, and doing more damage than the Great Crash of 1987. However, it is not anticipated that the RCP will in its next issue declare itself dissolved due to being nothing but a bog of political chicanery and reactionary opportunism.

\* The Hong Kong stock exchange has already

registered capitalist fears about events in Beijing with the biggest fall since the crash of October 1987. Reactionary rulers in Hong Kong, South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore and elsewhere must be praying that the Chinese bureaucracy will succeed in defeating its opponents. \*

Like the NCP New Worker, the RCG naively fell into the crude trap of the counter-revolutionaries by deliberately noticing only "paraded pictures of Mao and Zhou" but ignoring the outrageous nooses and nazi emblems slanderously plastered on Deng and Li effigies, the provocative chants of "Solidarnosc" and "Tu Fei" (the Kuomintang sneer at communists), and the widespread use of the Statue of Liberty emblem (apparent long before the plaster giant was placed on Tiananmen Square - see previous two Bulletins), as well as failing to grasp the simplest political lesson of all that given the feverish Western press excitement in covering the protests night after night, and given the protesters blatant rapport with the Voice of American and BBC broadcasts, only an anti-communist provocation could be under way as the Bulletin explained from the very beginning.

Being the conceited subjective-idealist morons that they are, the RCG naturally had to go one sophisticated step better in their support for the counter-revolutionaries than the rest of the Western 'left' swamp by tacking trivial little fragments of 'socialist theory' onto the degenerate anarchy of the counter-revolutionary activities in China, - and getting that hopelessly wrong too.

\* While the students' demands for democracy have been fairly abstract, the workers, on the other hand, have combined support for the students with protests about the economic situation. Parading pictures of Mao Zedong and Zhou Enlai, they have shown that they are no friends of the capitalist tendency in China today. So bourgeois democracy is out of the question - socialist democracy is the one they want. There is no material basis for bourgeois democracy in a poor country like China - it is either bourgeois dictatorship or socialist democracy. \*

But the choice, of course is between bourgeois dictatorship and proletarian dictatorship, a vastly different perspective altogether, and one which the fence-sitting RCG have been consistently exposed as fearing (in Bulletin polemics against them since they began their anti-Leninist opportunist operations). With every phrase, these RCG centr-

ists show how they love to talk 'revolution' but deep down in their petty-bourgeois souls actually revere 'democratic' opportunism, - blathering about a "proper legal system" for China, and about "press freedom" being needed, - i.e. a parliamentary reformist free-for-all in which bourgeois dictatorship will continue to dominate. Revolutionaries want a class press and class justice, and nothing else, and all the time that imperialism lasts on earth, this is possible only under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Socialist democracy can only come long after imperialism has been overthrown everywhere, and then only through the extension of proletarian dictatorship to embrace ever wider Leninist-educated sections of the population, and not through any abandonment of the revolutionary party's rule.

The real concealed class sentiments of the petty-bourgeois RCG become clearer with all this in mind when they glibly parrot Western propaganda lies about "millions of demonstrators occupying Peking", and the capital being "out of government control", with "the loyalty of the police, army, and much of the Party and state apparatus in doubt", etc, and with "deep splits in the armed forces".

That is what the Western imperialist bourgeoisie want to believe. For a quiet opportunist life in the bourgeois-corrupted labour movement in Britain, it is obvious that the sick 'left' swamp's petty-bourgeois instincts want to believe this too when faced with the reality of the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is a scandal that these anti-communist groupings are tolerated at all by workers.

The ultimate in irresponsible opportunist cynicism was achieved by the demented anti-sovietism of the RCP. Any weapon will do to smash the workers states with:

\* Marxists must fully support the protest movement regardless of its political character. \*

Communists will take the exact opposite line, backing the Chinese workers state precisely because of its essential Marxist-Leninist character as the dictatorship of the proletariat, and incapable of being anything else or of failing to oppose counter-revolution, as the Bulletin explained weeks ago must happen. Build Leninism.

## Reaffirmation of workers state power a shattering blow for the West

The 'free world' anti-communist crusade (capitalism's biggest industry) has been humiliated by the events in China.

This vast mass of people (nearly a quarter of mankind, and its oldest civilisation) has demonstrated a unity and strength behind the dictatorship of the proletariat which can only have a devastating effect on the international confidence of the bourgeoisie.

The whole trick of post-war imperialist propaganda has been to use Cold War

pressure to distort, obscure, or limit revolutionary communist perspectives wherever they could not be curbed or overthrown militarily.

The very heart of Marxist Leninist advance is the dictatorship of the proletariat. An enormous boost for the capitalist 'democracy' fraud has been the revisionist-defeatist retreat from this essence of Leninism by management bureaucrats throughout the socialist camp.

Moscow and Peking, etc, have for decades deliberat-

ely omitted all mention of the crucial role of proletarian dictatorship in the future of world affairs as far as party theory and programme were concerned, have ignored it in foreign diplomacy, and have been trying to hide its existence domestically.

The recent insidious disruption of China's capital by counter-revolutionary philistinism and anarchism has at last forced the communist party to reassert revolutionary leadership as the key question in socialist construction.

The Leninist party builds a movement to take the power forcibly under its own special revolutionary discipline and democracy.

The workers state should

then be steadily strengthened and extended in accordance with the same principles and no others, - by open Leninist polemics to crystallise a scientific party understanding on all matters in society, - around which leadership, ever-wider layers of the population must be won to an independent assessment of its correctness, tested in practice.

It is a tragedy that the communist party in China has pursued such a mistaken path at times, and an even bigger tragedy that its leadership's understanding still contains so much revisionist nonsense; but it is totally correct for the party to have reinforced its leading role in society during and as a result of the recent upheavals.

It is the proletarian dictatorship aspects of this which have caused such a hysterical furor in the West.

Their whole agitation against the socialist camp is for the kind of 'parliamentary democracy' which will give the bourgeoisie a chance to recapture state power from proletarian rule.

Hitherto, even the feeblest of the revisionist bureaucracies (Hungary, Yugoslavia, Poland, etc) have avoided being overthrown by the old capitalist-class social and state power (bourgeois dictatorship), despite it being a close-run thing on occasions (Hungary 1956, Poland 1980-81, etc).

But the Cold War crusade from the West has never (and could never) give up hope of overthrowing an established workers state some day (which would be an enormous stimulus to imperialism's entire counter-revolutionary psychology) through the creation of sufficient revisionist confusion by one means or another.

This whole reactionary manoeuvring of capitalism has been greatly encouraged by the theoretical stupidities of Gorbachevism (who has taken revisionist ignorance of Leninism to startling new depths) and by the similar nationalist-defeatist retreat from world socialist perspectives in China.

The irrational splits be-



The anarchist lynch-mob initiates the violence by attacking this stranded riot-control vehicle, butchering its occupants in full view of the Western media. The Guardian and BBC Panorama played down or censored their reports of this.



**Demonstrators challenging the Pinochet military regime in Chile have been subjected to the most brutal forms of torture**

State power the West does support - fascist capitalism in Chile and British colonialism in Ireland.



**British army massacre Derry, Bloody Sunday, 1972.**

tween Moscow and Peking, and the subsequent irresponsible posturing on international matters (plus real racist opportunism) in order just to score points off each other, - had the West licking its lips at all the revisionist confusion that was being created everywhere, - perfect for stimulating anti-Leninist mindlessness in all directions and eventually organised counter-revolutionary activities on every front.

Much of this slowly-won and craftily-manipulated subversive influence is now lying in ruins as a result of the upheaval in China.

At a stroke, the Chinese workers state leadership has had to ride roughshod over the millions of cultural threads via which the West was insidiously infiltrating its fraudulent prospectus for 'parliamentary democracy' (i.e. capitalist-class rule), trying through every channel to seduce Peoples China away from firm Leninist party leadership (the dictatorship of the proletariat).

Every pained bleat out of the imperialist press gives

the game away with its crocodile tears and arrogant hypocrisy about 'How could China sink back to this barbarism', etc., as though deadly class conflict was not the norm for every state on earth with the West backing, financing, and organising wholesale daily slaughter on socialist Afghanistan by the majahedin, on the Salvador revolution by the US stooge regime, on socialist Nicaragua by the vicious Contras, on the Palestinian nation by imperialism's Zionist thugs, on Ethiopia by the bourgeois tribal secessionists, on the Irish national liberation struggle by the British colonialists in the Occupied Zone, etc.

The 'free world' posturers made far less fuss when the Chinese workers state had to put down a counter-revolutionary secessionist movement in Tibet a few months ago with far more bloodshed than was involved in routing the Peking dissident anarchy.

But the Peoples Republics assertion of its national territorial integrity is not the issue which Western

imperialism with its blood-stained record of colonial tyranny would want to make too much of, even while quietly stirring things in Tibet as subversively as possible.

An open and almost triumphant declaration by Peking, however, of the correctness of rule over all China by proletarian dictatorship is too much for the Western 'democracy' fraud to swallow, even while the imperialist powers opportunistically try to limit the damage to interstate relations with China as much as possible, both for self-seeking trade and political influence purposes as well as in order to continue provoking splits between Moscow and Peking by manipulating them differently.

Hence the outraged condemnations of the firm stand taken by the Chinese workers state against subjective anarchism and individualism, followed by attempts to scapegoat just one sector of the authorities (the 27th regiment was singled out) or just one or two leading figures (Li

Peng was a favourite hate target) in order to try to then justify maintaining relations with Peking with different state authorities with 'clean hands', etc.

The dangerously tricky humbug of such deception on world public opinion in this case was what drove the Western commentators to despair in their unprecedentedly slanderous and dismissive conclusions on the Chinese governments stand.

Reluctantly, when the West's hoped-for inter-army conflict inside China (the truly 'barbarous' perspective) did not materialise, bourgeois sophistry then had to find ways of accommodating the fact that not only was the Chinese workers state largely united in its firm stand against reactionary 'liberalism' and 'pluralism' but that it also operated with devastating effectiveness once the decision was taken to crush the counter-revolutionary violence (see last weeks Bulletin).

Worse still, the 'free world' press (the monopoly-imperialist lie machine led by the CIAs domination of the worlds leading news agencies) then had to account for signs that the communist party leadership might just be preparing to make a longterm virtue again of

proletarian-dictatorship rule (as prevailed under Mao); and even more explosively, -that the mass of ordinary Chinese still fully accepted the revolutionary party's right to rule.

These are issues of pure dynamite for the fraudulent 'democratic' myths of Western capitalist society.

It was at this point that the monstrous speculative rumour-mongering passing for 'news' in the West, which was being backed by scandalous imperialist exhortations to the Chinese military to butcher each other (see last week's Bulletin) and panicky slanders about 'fascism', springing from the Western bourgeoisie's first fearful glimmers that the workers state might prevail, -momentarily gave way to dumbfounded reconsideration of the entire bewildering upheaval.

One capitalist press comment even admitted doubting that there had ever been a 'massacre' at all, -the central fiction of the entire Western propaganda effort.

**L**ATE last night, when another convoy of troops and tanks rumbled past the office heading east showed unexplained troop movements were continuing, I almost gave up trying to figure out what was going on in Beijing.

There are endless rumours distorted and amplified with each retelling in hectic sessions on the telephone or over dinner at the spookily deserted Western hotel up the road.

Few rumours seem based on firsthand information, and my favourite tale held that the troops who had battled their way in on Sunday were doped with amphetamines.

These and the horror stories about the alleged massacre of students in the square seem part of a misinformation campaign by the students themselves - although there were atrocities enough, or so a contact told me. But that, too, may be just another empty theory.

There are no reliable sources except one's own eyes. It is too risky telephoning Chinese friends and contacts. There are no newspapers to interpret and the New China News Service has all but given up.

The government spokesman has said in a constantly re-broadcast message that for too long there had been too much talk about brotherly love in China and the country had forgotten about the need for political struggle.

"I don't deny the value of love, but we must recognise the objective fact that there are bad people in society and we still need political struggle," he said.

The horrifying implication is

that China is heading for a return to Maoist-style class struggle and the methods of the Cultural Revolution.

Virtually no one feels safe enough to drive around the city to obtain first-hand information, even if they could buy any petrol. Yet, based on the slender evidence available, the strangest kind of martial law appears to be in place.

One would expect by now to find troops and tanks stationed or patrolling every intersection, but instead most of the city seems to be left alone. British diplomats who drove out to the university quarter and round the airport came across few soldiers or barricades.

In the south of the city it was much the same story, according to tourists who had come from that direction yesterday. As far as I could tell, the troops controlled a limited area in the centre - the Square, the Forbidden City, the leadership compound of Zhongnanhai, and a few streets around.

The only route out of the city firmly in their hands is the arm of the Avenue of Eternal Peace (Chang An) heading east, which runs past my balcony.

It wasn't easy to make much sense of the troop movements visible from the living room. In the morning an armoured convoy roared past leaving the city, four hours later a smaller convoy returned in the other direction.

In between, traffic police rolled up in a mini-bus to clear away the barricades for a convoy of about 60 trucks, which fired wildly into the air as the soldiers went past. The traffic police hadn't been seen for weeks, so could this mean the government was re-establishing control? Perhaps.

And the troops? Were they retreating or advancing, attacking or defending? They were clearly very nervous and prepared for battle. With alarming *sang froid*, pedestrians picked themselves off the ground when the last truck passed and ran to collect the shells to keep as souvenirs.

Later, platoons of troops moved along the sides of the road, guns at the ready, reconnoitering every corner, until they took up positions as if expecting an attack. They shot up the nearby diplomatic compounds and later searched apartments facing the road in search of a sniper.

By evening the tanks on the bridge had left, and had also disappeared from Tiananmen Square, but nobody could say where they had gone. Had some greater threat been overcome? Was there some agreement with the 38th Army believed to be encircling the city?

Other forces, as television pictures showed, had all but left Tiananmen Square, and by evening the tanks which had been standing on the Jiangmenwai flyover since Monday had all but gone. A spooky silence enveloped the rainy city.

The sick capitalist press technique of rumour-mongering and deliberate half-truths (only barely revealing that isolated sniper fire was the huge new problem confronting the authorities, - hence the alleged 'shooting up' of the diplomatic compounds and other buildings), -still persists (by force of habit), plus the hoped-for real massacre between allegedly 'rival' army units (no fears then about largescale bloodshed from 'Chinese killing Chinese' which had been hypocritically bewailed in earlier coverage).

But there is a sudden remarkable frankness about the vicious behaviour of the so-called 'student heroes' who were spreading outrageously provocative lies just like every counter-revolutionary excrescence in history, -as well as butchering and beating up state representatives and even their beloved foreign newspaper friends when things were noticed which the counter-revolutionaries wanted to keep quiet about - (see last week's Bulletin).

The Western destabilisation technique of rumour-mongering reached a crescendo. ("That's Channel 4 Rumours - £500,000 please").

**D**EEPENING divisions within the Communist Party leadership and the military threatened to plunge China into civil war yesterday as fighting continued in the capital and mass demonstrations convulsed every big city.

Western diplomats said there were unconfirmed reports of skirmishes between troops on the outskirts of Beijing while explosions and heavy gunfire continued to shatter the stillness of its almost deserted streets last night.

Armoured convoys were reported to be heading for the capital from Tianjin in the east and from other cities. Western military attachés are convinced that troops opposing the hard-line leaders responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre will attempt a counter-coup.

In the early hours of today clashes shook areas of Peking to the south and west of the city centre leaving military vehicles ablaze, diplomats and residents said. They were not sure whether civilians were attacking troops or whether the army was fighting itself. "We presume it was troops against troops," a diplomat said.

Yesterday convoys of tanks and armoured personnel carriers took up battle positions along the eastern avenue leading from the square but citizens

continued to attack them and plumes of smoke from burnt-out trucks rose over the city.

In one incident, a lone student confronted, and temporarily succeeded in halting, a column of tanks.

Unofficial estimates of the death toll fluctuated wildly, from hundreds up to several thousand.

It is no longer clear who is in command in Beijing or what the troops are trying to do. Diplomatic sources believe the senior leader, Mr Deng Xiaoping, has been in hospital since last week, with either a stroke or cancer of the prostate.

An unsigned announcement from the party's central committee and the government blamed the "counter-revolutionary turmoil" on two groups of conspirators.

The announcement's appeal for calm among the populace has been ignored and a general strike appeared to be under way in the capital. Factories and shops were closed, public transport all but ceased running and the telephone system functioned intermittently.

Beijing was a city under siege as the 27th Army, which perpetrated the Tiananmen Square massacre, was encircled by two rival armies believed to have demanded its surrender before dawn today. Cities across China were racked by growing confrontations between troops and civilians.

As skirmishes were reported on the western and eastern flanks of the capital, Western countries including Britain mounted an airlift to carry their nationals out of the country. The death of the senior Chinese leader Mr Deng Xiaoping, and an assassination attempt against the Prime Minister were rumoured.

The 38th Army, the Beijing garrison which refused to attack the student demonstrators, is now considered by the citizenry to be the force which, along with the 28th Army, will drive the 27th from the capital.

Last night, US intelligence reports suggested that up to 350,000 troops were ringing the capital. Other sources said that a further army group, the 64th, was also moving against hardliners occupying central Beijing. The 27th appeared to be taking defensive positions.

State television rejected Taiwanese reports that Mr Deng is dead but only middle-ranking officials appeared and they expressed a grim determination to hold on to the city at all costs.

No attempt was made to analyse why in the only filmed confrontation between tanks and an unarmed civilian, the tanks came off second best after all the talk of their alleged rampages 'brutally crushing protesters', etc. Equally, there was no apology for, or any attempt to verify,-

some of the wilder atrocity stories 'reported' by hearsay (see below).

But there was one brief subsequent reference to all these astonishing 'military civil war' manoeuvres which in fact never happened at all.

**T**HE idea that the struggle to impose military control on Beijing has set one army against another is not supported by the information filtering out to British military intelligence.

On the contrary, the picture being pieced together in London is of an operation that is well co-ordinated at the command level.

More than 1,000 of the estimated dead are believed to have been soldiers, many of them burned to death in their vehicles.

**T**HE massive army convoy came out from Tiananmen Square yesterday morning like a triumphal procession.

First came the tanks. Then two companies of foot soldiers with patrols marching in front and behind, carrying their weapons proudly. And then a stream of troop trucks and armoured personnel carriers, snaking through the remnants of the barricades they smashed down four days ago.

Now, as the parade passed the same spot, many of the same spectators were applauding it. The contrast was as stunning as it was hard to fathom.

Instead of aiming AK-47s at them, some units of soldiers were shouting sympathetic slogans.

"Down with official corruption," they cried — one of the demands of the democracy movement. "Protect the people of Beijing," they shouted, as if that was what they had been doing since Saturday.

Some soldiers bent over the side and waved. The crowd at the crossroads swept forward — a reaction which denied all logic.

With historical hindsight the foreign press will be found to have gone over the hill in pursuit of some very wispy stories. The circular process that elevates a rumour into alleged fact extends from Beijing to Hong Kong and back again. For a fortnight, as stories from the Hong Kong newspapers were faxed in through sympathisers at local hotels, and retailed by the masses, they were too often quoted back as from Chinese sources by the networks and the Voice of America.

We shall also have to revise downwards some of the statistics of deaths in the square, though that should not weaken our judgment on the army's use of killing force. Those hospital counts that are known point to hundreds rather than thousands, although there is uncertainty about the large number of wounded.

The struggle has taken a step backwards. The government is showing some concern now for public opinion, with long films on television of public confrontations with the army designed to show that everything could be blamed on the "counterrevolutionary hooligans".

The pattern to all the wilder atrocity stories was the sudden appearance of mysteriously printed accounts such as leaflets and statements, plus a suspiciously large volume of the "one diplomat said" type of disinformation, — the hallmark of the CIA-led activities of the Western intelligence agencies, masquerading as 'diplomats', etc.

The crowds last night were buzzing with the news that six protesters, according to government television reports, were killed when the Beijing to Shanghai express ploughed into them two nights ago.

I heard a different story from a French consular official who arrived on the scene minutes after the bodies had been removed. Witnesses told him the number of dead was closer to 20, most of them students apparently trying to stop troops being sent to the city.

One particular telltale theme kept recurring in all this rumour-mongering which reeks of a CIA black propaganda stunt, — the insistence that there were mounds of up to 10,000 bodies on Tiananmen Square (after troops evicted the anarchist encampment early on Sunday morning) which allegedly were burned there.

According to one diplomat, units of the 27th Army which blasted their way across the square on Saturday night broke through lines of soldiers attached to other army groups, causing many casualties. Troops under separate orders to evacuate thousands of students safely from the square were also mown down as dawn broke on Sunday. About 1,000 soldiers are said to have been killed.

"They had orders that nobody be spared, and children and young girls were slaughtered as mercilessly as the many wounded soldiers from other units," another diplomat said.

While crack paratroopers did succeed in leading several thousand people to safety at the south of the square before the 27th armoured units thundered in from the north, the diplomat quoted witnesses as saying that tanks and armoured troop carriers pulped bodies in the square, and then incinerated them with flame-throwers.



Scene of the mobs butchering of army men with rocks, witnessed by the Guardian's Bob Gannon and BBC Panorama.

Many bodies were ferried away by helicopter, according to the sources.

Up to 3,000 people were said to have been killed when Chinese soldier and tanks attacked the square, occupied since 15 April by the protesters.

No one knows how many have been killed but one Chinese source claimed that a senior officer on the square has said 10,000 bodies had been collected and were being burnt or lifted out by helicopters which flew in and out all day.

In an open letter directed to "compatriots all over the world", the students said:

"Even those students who withdrew from the square were shot. When the tanks went in, those who were crushed to death became masses of flesh. The survivors were killed by bayonet.

The soldiers piled the corpses up and set fire to them. They did so in order to remove the evidence and witnesses. It is estimated that 2,000 were killed.

"We beg that all Chinese people go on strike, in factories, schools and markets, and fight against the cruel government.

A statement from the Beijing Autonomous Student Federation read: "We have stuck to the principle of non-violence.

Another pamphlet contained a Chinese doctor's de-

scription of events leading to the clearing of Tiananmen Square. He was among the last group to withdraw from the square.

"At 5am, June 4, the students began to withdraw from the square and a part of them didn't leave in time, because some were weak or badly injured.

The armoured cars crushed the student bodies and blood and flesh mingled.

"Later they piled the bodies, tents and quilts and other things and set them on fire.

"A student who had just woken up was crushed by the tank.

"We left the square at 7 am and the students had been burnt to ashes," the doctor wrote.

This sounds more like the evidence of a spin-doctor than a real medic. Human bodies are notoriously difficult things to burn without very special equipment.

To burn one body successfully without trace between 5 and 7 a.m. on an open square without special equipment and without anyone being able to sneak a single picture of it or convincing eye-witness account in the middle of a massive ci-



Another soldier about to be butchered by the anarchists

ty which up to that point the Western media was proudly proclaiming to be totally 'in the hands of the people', - and partially so still for many days after that, - would be miraculous.

To dispose of 10,000 bodies that way puts the parting of the Red Sea and the feeding of the 5,000 with a tin of sardines in the amateur conjuring class.

In other words, the whole 'massacre' story is total hokum from start to finish put out by the most destructive imperialist propaganda operation. Despite the presence of the entire world's 'free' press for weeks before and after the incident and their intimate participation with the counter-revolutionary organisation, plus their all-night activity and film-making on that night with masses of photographs and film footage, not one single frame or recording exists of this incredible event in the heart of Peking on Tienanmen Square, the centre of the world's attention, - the destruction by flame-thrower of thousands of dead bodies (an impossibility no matter how long they tried), and/or the removal next day of 10,000 mangled remains (leaving nothing behind) by helicopters "in and out all day". And they would need to have been. With a generous ten bodies per helicopter, and a hard-to-achieve (from a loading and air traffic-control point of view) departure of a filled helicopter every four minutes, it would in fact have taken nearly three whole days (72

hours) to clear the square of the dead. Three thousand would have taken 24 hours to clear, a thousand at least eight hours going flat out from 7 a.m. on Sunday morning with a helicopter soaring up every four minutes. But not one single photograph exists of helicopters taking off from Tienanmen with bodies on board or anything else on board, yet the entire world's 'free' press was right there in the heart of Peking all the time, and all the time filming clandestinely there too as we have seen from their stream of pathetically distorted and stunted-up 'reports'. Nor one single photograph of the 'alternative' method of disposal either, - the burning of bodies with flamethrowers, - or even with a box of matches. Remarkable.

But this vicious Western propaganda hoax was, of course, completely believed in by the so-called 'anti-imperialist left' of the British 'labour movement' petty-bourgeois swamp. The real onslaught, however, was by the counter-revolutionary provocateurs against the army.

State television showed dramatic and extensive footage yesterday of thousands of civilians attacking and setting fire to a convoy of more than 100 trucks, jeeps, and armoured troop-carriers.

People were seen prising open the hatches of a troop-carrier and then setting it on fire.

They were filmed hijacking two other troop-carriers and taking them on a joyride.

There were numerous other military failures. Teargas used against the tens of thousands of

people who came out to stop the troops on Saturday had little effect.

The authorities broke their silence last night on the details of Sunday's brutal attack on the square. Despite Red Cross estimates, they claimed that only 300 people had been killed, most of them soldiers.

This figure, which is absurdly low given the nature of the operation, is bound to inflame public opinion against a government which is already hated by many for its actions in recent weeks.

Yuan Mu, spokesman for the government's State Council and a close ally of Premier Li, said only 23 students had died.

He said more than 5,000 soldiers and 2,000 students had been injured during the operation, which ended a peaceful three week sit-in by thousands of students demanding democracy, press freedom and an end to corruption.

The real casualty figures from the weekend assault may never be known. It is widely believed that soldiers have incinerated large numbers of dead bodies to disguise the scale of the deaths.

The assorted Trots, Euros and centrists all fell predictably for the original deception in Peking of the Western-looking anti-communists (symbolised by their statue of liberty and their addiction to the CIA Voice of America broadcasts using the Internationale and pictures of Mao as a cover for their counter-revolutionary hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat (see last weeks Bulletin).)

Now the anti-Leninist philistines of Western petty-bourgeois 'socialism' have swallowed the CIAs 'massacre' bait whole, - clouting any ability to stop and

think that it takes two class forces to make a class struggle, and if the Western imperialist media are breaking every propaganda norm to support one side, - then genuine revolutionaries ought automatically to support the workers state side, - even if all of the evidence of the clear counter-revolutionary character of the student anarchist circles is not immediately to hand.

London University students attending courses at a Peking campus had been supporting Chinese friends in the protest

One 21-year-old, too frightened of repercussions to reveal his name, said he had been lucky to escape alive.

"We were on our way to the square when we passed a tube station packed with soldiers," he said.

"The crowd we were in threw stones and missiles at them and a bus carrying troops was forced to stop.

"One was dragged off and beaten by the people and within seconds 40 or 50 soldiers in the tube station rushed out, throwing teargas and firing.

"We got away as fast as we could and kept on heading for the square. Nobody knew what was going to happen, then tanks and armoured personnel carriers arrived.

The student, near the end of a year-long course in classical and modern Chinese, said barriers were set up at the main entrance to the Western campus by Chinese students fearing troops would try to storm it.

"They piled up bricks and made Molotov cocktails just in case," he added.

Finally, there is the singer from Taiwan, Hou Jedian, a pop idol in Peking, and very rich, who came to Tiananmen to start a hunger strike with three companions. He had composed a song about the protests which he taught the crowd and which it rapturously sang.

He also composed a statement, which I listened to him discuss at dinner. It said that he was coming to the Martyrs' Memorial to show the Li Peng Government that the Chinese had for too long listened and not spoken; that it was not a small handful opposing the regime, but the people themselves; and that Hou and his comrades were giving up food not for death but for life.

Hou was lucky to escape at the last moment as the soldiers charged towards the Memorial.

One student, who fears for his life after his documents were confiscated by soldiers, said terrorism was the only option left to those who want to rid the nation of the 'fascist' government led by Deng.

The student whose documents were confiscated said foreign countries should cut all aid to China and provide weapons to those opposing the regime.

Just before, under a truce negotiated between military commanders and the Taiwan singer Hou Jedian, who was on a hunger strike there, 4,000 to 5,000 students left the square to the south-east.

The student, who had spent

three days and nights in the square, was at the rear of the group which left and saw the soldiers entering at the north and western ends.

"They fired first above the heads and then at the heads. They were laughing wildly as if it was not serious."

"At first, the students did not agree to Hou's request that they leave. Hou repeated it and 70 per cent agreed to go.

"Hong Kong students said they wanted to die there, but I told them to leave and tell the world what had happened.

People with short-wave radios were tuning in to the BBC and Voice of America. "You're from the BBC," came a chorus from the students when I said I was from England.

As I tuned in my radio to the World Service yesterday morning for the news from Peking, cries of "Bastards!" came from the crowd that gathered round me to listen.

One wall poster carried a poem:

*We are so angry our hair stands on end*

*We stand in a dream, staring into the sky and groaning*

*Take the train to Tiananmen*

*We must summon the will to devour Yang Shangkun's flesh*

*We must thirst for the blood of Li Peng*

The students' union—banned as an illegal organisation by the government of Li Peng, the Prime Minister—issued two statements.

One said: "We will continue our struggle against the government. We believe that with support from all over the world we will succeed. Democracy and liberty will survive for ever in China."

A separate statement denied official reports that the union had given weapons to students.

Western military experts said that while it was possible the union had no hand in organised resistance, they saw signs of the start of urban guerrilla activities with captured weapons.

"If tanks come, they will fight to the death," a lecturer said of her students

Students were counting their dead and missing. "We know definitely that seven of our students were killed," said a spokesman for the students' independent union at Peking University.

A Briton said he and another foreigner were in the Jinjiang Hotel when it was attacked by a mob and a small fire was started. About 45 foreigners moved to the private quarters of the US consulate in a wing of the hotel.

"We put beds, bookcases and cabinets against the doors. We could hear the mob downstairs. We primed fire extinguishers and got what makeshift weapons we could," he said.

Mr Rob Casey, 47, a British engineer who also took shelter in the consulate, said the rioters were hooligans not students. 9



Peking's hippie anarchists were in the thick of the counter-revolutionary mayhem

Several points emerge. There was no shortage of foreigners or counter-revolutionary exiles involved in these highly provocative attacks against the government of China of which the first highlight was the widely filmed and reported stoning to death in cold blood of the crew of the military vehicle which got stuck on a barricade on Saturday night in Tiananmen Square. One wonders what would be the reaction in Britain to an occupation of Trafalgar Square against British capitalist corruption with the erection of a statue of Lenin, and then the massacre of the crew of a police landrover with rocks by a mob including Cubans, Vietnamese, Arabs, etc. It is an international outrage that parasites from such reactionary capitalist dumps as Taiwan, Hong Kong and Britain should have the approval of the 'principled' Western media and governments to be out on the streets joining illegal provocations against the legitimate revolutionary government of socialist China.

Despite BBC Panorama's huckstering promises, its epic reconstruction of the counter-revolution still produced not one piece of live film, nor even one still photograph, or even one convincing eye-witness of this totally fictional 'massacre'. Everything once again was hearsay, or else a deliberate distortion of the army's necessary actions in protecting itself (following government orders in imposing martial law) from murderous counter-revolutionary thugs who were clearly filmed by the BBC, and photographed by a Guardian representative (who had his film then taken by the mob, see last week's Bulletin) smashing in the head of an unarmed and defenceless

soldier.

The anonymous hearsay account of the army's allegedly 'indiscriminate and laughing slaughter' of students is the 'evidence' of someone hurrying out of the southeast corner of Tiananmen claiming that at night-time nearly half a mile away entering the northwest corner of that vast area, he could not only see troops firing, but could see who they were firing at, and could see smiles on their faces as they did it, — a truly incredible feat of eyesight, especially in the dark, and especially in view of the dense smoke everywhere from the burning vehicles the mob had set on fire. The whole hearsay farrrago is unbelievable, as is every other 'account' of the so-called 'massacre'.

Finally there is the little-trumpeted Peking University students admission (three days after the event and when the British Embassy had announced it had successfully contacted all 73 of its British student and lecturer nationals safely), — that seven students had died (and even that figure would be tainted coming from such a counter-revolutionary source as the 'independent union' there).

There is also the even more amazing admission by the Westerners in the Jinjiang Hotel in Chengdu of a murderous mob attacking them, an astonishing fascist complication to the Western propaganda myths about these 'well-meaning peace-loving counter-revolutionaries, and too glibly dismissed again by the capitalist press embroiderers as "Oh, they were hooligans, not students", but with no comment about what the Chinese authorities should do about such behaviour.

The imperialist intelligence agencies have done th-

eir homework well, and know what a great stampeding effect can be had on shallow philistine opinion by the hysteria surrounding an alleged 'massacre'.

This combination of rumour-mongering deception, of emotional subjectivism, and of played-upon philosophical individualism has proved to be a viciously destabilising cocktail on soft-headed spontaneous Western 'public opinion' ever since the earliest Western propaganda about Bolshevik 'atrocities', and particularly from the notorious Kronstadt 'massacre' incident onwards. The anti-Leninist philistinism of the 'left' swamps hostility to theory has never looked back, — reinforced in the late 1920s and 1930s by Trotsky's re-cast 'Marxist' denunciation of the proletarian dictatorship strength of the world's first workers state.

Every anti-Leninist ignoramus on the 'left' in the West hates every mention of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and spends the whole time going round in circles trying to deny the very existence of this core of Marxism-Leninism, and its touchstone role for anyone claiming to be 'Marxist'.

It is this hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat which every 'left' in Britain and the West automatically has in common instantly with every anti-communist dissident in the workers states without even thinking whether they are reactionary dissidents or allegedly 'progressive', — as the RCP openly admitted (see last week's Bulletin), — and even with every subversive disruption by Western imperialist intelligence no matter how reactionary and grotesque.

The CIA's vicious longterm and shorterterm anti-Soviet

strategies absolutely count on the 'left' spontaneous petty-bourgeois 'revolutionaries' in the West always automatically lining up first behind any and every anti-communist stunt or major provocation that has ever been unleashed, - such is the hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat among the un-Leninist ignorant middle class.

But this Western strategy is now deep in trouble. The long-promised mass 'revolt' against proletarian dictatorship has once again failed to materialise. Coming so soon after the catastrophic failure of the 'rebel' mojahedin to demonstrate anything other than their utter counter-revolutionary uselessness against the Afghan revolutionary workers state, this is another colossal humiliation for Western 'understanding' and the hoped-for 'appeal' of so-called 'free-world' ideals.

**BUT DO WE** learn then, as we secretly feared in our racist youth, that the Chinese are unusually cruel rat-eaters who slide bamboo under finger nails, kill with a thousand cuts or with countless drips of water? Are their leaders, as a British diplomat said recently, just a bunch of thugs, who sometimes murder in the dark, one by one, or in the daylight in heaps which are then stacked up in hospital morgues or burned secretly at night?

There are such Chinese. They gave the orders for the Saturday night massacre. They drove the tanks which clanked over the students in Tiananmen, they fired the AK-47s which knocked over the doctors and nurses, and they tortured the wounded and bound

students.

Such men are intellectual terrorists, too, who wish to crush the intellects and curiosity of the dissidents, like Professor Su Shaozhi, the purged director of the Marx-Lenin-Mao Tse-tung Thought Institute, who accused them of being Stalinist, and Fang Lizhi, who dismisses Marx-Leninism as 'trivial' and suggests that nothing will change in China until 'the old men die'.

**T**HERE are no more China experts - none of us saw this coming," confessed the former US Ambassador to China, Mr Winston Lord. One of a tiny band of Sinologists who have been making the non-stop rounds of the seminars and TV programmes and radio interviews in the past month, Mr Lord is also helping the US Government to rethink its policy on China.

But the US experts acknowledge that they are groping in the dark. Even President Bush cannot phone through directly to Chinese leaders, many of whom he knows personally from his time as US Ambassador in Beijing.

It was also a week which laid to rest the hope that the murderous forces could not consolidate their triumph; and that a clash between army units and a crisis within the geriatric junta caused Deng's disablement, if not his death.

Despite rumours of internal squabbling, the aged murderers and Li, their mouthpiece, are in solid control and have never lost it. The handful of Communist Party veterans who have re-emerged from retirement baying for blood have not fallen out among themselves, except perhaps on the question of how serious a charge

to hurl at fallen Party General Secretary Zhao Ziyang.

Chinese television has advertised telephone numbers which law-abiding citizens can call to inform on seditious individuals.

The long-awaited clash between military units never occurred.

A telephone call to Peking University yesterday was answered by a security man who said: 'Go away. Your friends are all dead.'

On the surface this Peking incident still looks like another good propaganda scalp for Western counter-revolutionary subversion, but deeper down things are not so simple, and in reality a very serious crisis is discernible for the anti-communist cause.

The issues raised by China's conflict are the great matters of the modern world politics and civilisations future. The historic confrontation between the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat which all sections of anti-Leninist opinion (including the revisionist socialist-state leaderships themselves) have always wanted to see buried and forgotten, - has irresistibly come roaring back onto the centre stage (where in truth it has always been, and where it must always remain until the final world triumph of completed communist society many decades hence).

Even if they quickly resume denying it in Peking (which may well happen) as they have effectively denied it or ignored it for the past 20 years, the issue which virtually stopped

the entire world for a fortnight watching its greatest nation in a turmoil of conflict, - was the issue of proletarian dictatorship, - to be or not to be.

Only wilful morons can now continue refusing to accept that that is certainly the question. And only even bigger fools can continue to ignore the answer.

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat can take mankind forward. And only those who want to build a party of proletarian dictatorship are worth listening to, starting first and foremost with Lenin. Almost every other human political activity is a completely reformist waste of time. Only the revolutionary confrontation of class forces is eventually going to solve any major problem facing civilisation. And only a totally dedicated movement of conscious Leninist theory is ever going to be able to intervene to purposefully secure the correct outcome to such confrontations.

Despite the apparent current dearth of Leninist understanding around the world (particularly in the more affluent Western countries and in the socialist state leaderships), these crucial issues facing mankind can only continue to bubble away relentlessly, slowly forcing a massive growth eventually in proletarian revolutionary consciousness (and parties to organise it) worldwide.

Moreover there is a slight chance that the 'free world' cause of parliamentary 'pluralist' subjective-idealism may suffer immediate damage if the Chinese workers state decides, as a result of the counter-revolutionary shock it has just recovered from, to desist from its previously irresponsible policies of backing the counter-revolutionary Afghan mojahedin, the counter-revolutionary Khmer Rouge, and such fascist-dictatorship bastions of reaction as the Pakistani military stooges of US imperialism, etc. Even a very slight shift by Peoples China from some of the more stubborn nationalist idiosyncrasies it ostentatiously adopted out of its anger at earlier Soviet treachery to true proletarian internationalism, - could mean a colossal blow against Western anti-communist intrigues. A return by Peking towards any re-embracing



This capitalist press caption on this Gorbachev book fan makes an unconscious comment on the ideological and counter-revolutionary chaos caused by the retreat from Lenin's proletarian dictatorship science into the illusions of 'democracy'.

The students understand the principle of democracy and have been putting it into practice



The counter-revolutionary mobs growing in confidence and growing in violence.

reform leaders must find means of communication and choose a course of action that will deepen public support for the movement.

Strikes, demonstrations and, as a last resort, the use of violence will be the key tools to regaining the movement's high profile. 'I haven't heard of any preparations (for street fighting),' he said. '[But] if we want to beat the hardliners, there must be violence.'

Wang Dan, Shao's colleague in the leadership of the Union of Universities (within Peking), has sought asylum at the French embassy.

The most famous dissident, Fang Lizhi — the man the Chinese police prevented from going to dinner with President George Bush when he was in Peking — is safely inside the American Embassy compound. His presence there is causing such anger to the Chinese authorities that they are reported to be planning some reprisal.

And in no way shamefaced over the Goebbels pig lie about a non-existent 'massacre' for which there is only ridiculously unacceptable hearsay 'evidence' but no filmed or photographed reports or any eyewitness statements apart from the dubious muck analysed above, the imperialist media circus has subsequently created a completely new fiction about "random shootings and killings on the streets by hooligan troops" etc, with again only the most vague and untested hearsay 'evidence', plus the criminal distortion of concealing the fact that murderous random sniper fire by the counter-revolutionary dregs has continued turning central Peking into a killing ground for unwary soldiers and passers-by.

It was then that a sniper struck, killing one soldier and wounding three others.

Tanks stationed on the Jiangmenwai flyover were firebombed in the night and others were attacked in Fuxingmen, on the west side.

The State Council, under the direct control of the Prime Minister, said the national rail system was at risk from what it called saboteurs. It said security personnel had been authorised to use all methods to protect rail communications.

Trucks with loudspeakers in front and machineguns behind moved through the streets broadcasting messages of reassurance, foot soldiers armed with brooms and rifles marched and began clearing burnt vehicles and barricades.

Despite the relative calm, troops are still under attack, and shooting continued around

of world revolutionary perspectives (which Mao so nearly got right before relapsing into exasperated voluntarism) could prove catastrophic for the West.

The China events pose other crucially vital questions too. How long is it likely to be before Western bourgeois individualism and parliamentary pluralist nonsense, slowly but insidiously infiltrating Soviet society not only without any resistance from Gorbachev but with his active encouragement, produces a Soviet version of Peking's anarchic philistinism organised in a purposeful counter-revolutionary way?

Moscow's headlong anti-Leninist retreat from proletarian dictatorship consciousness has already produced the sick phenomena of reactionary nationalist separatism breaking out all over the USSR in murderously violent irrationalism; of degenerate artistic formalism spewing its rotten guts over all notion of revolutionary class combativeness in art; and of the demented reactionary Sakharov being given permanent licence to spout his disgusting old slanders against the Soviet system and the world communist movement from the ros-

trum of the Supreme Soviet! — backing the Zionist genocide of the Palestinian nation; backing US imperialist nuclear supremacy against the socialist camp; demanding Cold War isolation of People's China; hailing the 'justness' of the fascist mujahedin reaction in Afghanistan (by denouncing Soviet aid to Kabul as a criminal imperialist aggression); and denouncing every revolutionary communist movement under the sun. How depraved can this revisionist Soviet leadership get before its rottenness leads to the counter-revolutionary decadence commandeering the centre of Moscow as was allowed to happen by revisionist stupidity in Peking?

And how long thereafter before the healthier parts of the Soviet workers state then have to reassert the dictatorship of the proletariat to forcibly put down such counter-revolutionary treachery? Not very long.

And then the idiot nonsense of the support for imperialist 'democracy' (bourgeois dictatorship) by the socialist camp revisionist leaderships and by the openly reformist (counter-revolutionary) Western CPs will be more firmly down the pan than ever, and with

it some of the 'left' swamp opportunism covering up for all this anti-Leninist degeneracy.

Denying the violent character of the international class struggle and the essential role which proletarian dictatorship alone can play in winning it for the masses and progress, — is a doomed reformist blind alley.

The counter-revolution in China (as in the rest of the world) will continue to organise for as long as international imperialism lasts as a system. It is already planning fresh violence against the Chinese workers state, and forging new relationships with the Western subversive intelligence agencies.

One academic who took an active role from the start of the student-led protests in Peking says that China's reformers are already adapting to a new underground phase of their struggle for a freer society.

'I don't think the movement is dead — we are just waiting and we are ready to fight, if there is an opportunity. We won't come out on the street now because it would achieve nothing... we would be arrested or even killed.'

The movement, he says, can afford no further setbacks. From their sanctuaries in the cities and the countryside,

the diplomatic quarter last night.

The Governor of Gensu province called for action against students blocking rail lines, saying: "It is necessary to form a deterrent force against them and develop a situation whereby when a rat runs across the street everybody cries 'kill it'."

With all the fanaticism of the very young, there is even talk of the necessity for Shanghai to provide some martyrs to match Peking's sacrifices

But there were at least six martyrs, crushed to death last Wednesday by the Peking to Shanghai express, which either would not or could not break in time. Ironically, the train was carrying student leaders fleeing from the capital — one of them carrying a shirt dyed brown with a dead friend's blood — desperate to loose themselves among Shanghai's 12 million people. A mob tried to burn the carriages, and then fought a pitched battle with police and firemen.

Most students are in hiding but one interviewed in secrecy yesterday said he hoped to continue the struggle. "Some of us want to resort to terrorism and find arms. We know the people are against the government," he said. "The movement is in a great crisis, we were not organised well enough this time but we will continue and try again, in a few months or a few years," another student leader contacted in Shanghai said.

At the train station several youths were arrested yesterday carrying guns as well as books and leaflets.

So far those arrested have allegedly been unemployed youths, former convicts and private entrepreneurs usually said to have come from outside the big cities to make trouble. The net is being widened to include intellectuals.

Last night the students, who had captured machine-guns, were busy making Molotov cocktails as they prepared for the next stage of the war... on their campuses.

"These things will be accounted for one day," someone had daubed in English on a wall opposite Maxim's restaurant near where a soldier had been hanged on Saturday night."

The mixture of naive arrogant Western racism and middle-class anti-communism which allows bourgeois public opinion and the petty-bourgeois 'left' swamp in the West to write off the chosen and strongly-supported workers state of nearly one quarter of mankind as something indescribably monstrous which no 'civilised' person would ever take seriously or want to have dealings with again — is sterile ostrich-beha-



Another victim of fascist-anarchist mob rule, — off to be hanged, burned alive, or stoned to death.

viour with no future.

The Chinese workers state is what is real, — one of the most colossal achievements in human civilisation which will in a few decades be overshadowing dying imperialism just as newly-arrived capitalism once outstripped decadent feudalism.

Close kinship between forthcoming revolutionary proletarian struggles against the capitalist states, and the working-class power of the socialist camp (dictatorship of the proletariat), is inevitable. The writhing 'left' swamp in Britain which has given its support to the disgraceful jamborees of dissident petty-bourgeois ignorance in public demonstrations and special TV spectacles in recent days, is tying itself to a hopelessly lost cause with its demented anti-communism and hatred of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Leninism will inevitably come into its own.

The events in China are a dramatic confirmation of the ILWPs fight to make the understanding of the role of proletarian dictatorship the key to making sense of all development and class

struggle on the planet.

The tragic loss of life and suffering, and the deplorable confusion of past revisionism in Peking in allowing such indecisiveness and chaos to paralyse the Chinese workers state for so long, — are not matters which the revolutionary movement could be 'glad' had happened, or could have even 'wished' to have happened in the way they did even after the counter-revolutionary fat was in the fire.

But what the Leninist struggle must take heart from is the way that the Marxist understanding (of fundamental class forces being the decisive element in social and political strife, and how a decisive clash between the influences of Western decadence and the historical requirement of proletarian dictatorship could easily be seen to be inevitably coming well in advance), — so dramatically demonstrated its effectiveness when the subjective-idealist guiding mechanisms of every other political tendency plunged them into hopeless muddle and contradiction. (See elsewhere, and last week's Bulletin).

The Chinese revisionist

leadership remains flawed and unreliable. The triumph of proletarian dictatorship in this conflict in China is a victory for the science of Marxism, and a great boost for the future Leninist struggles for the spread of world proletarian dictatorship.

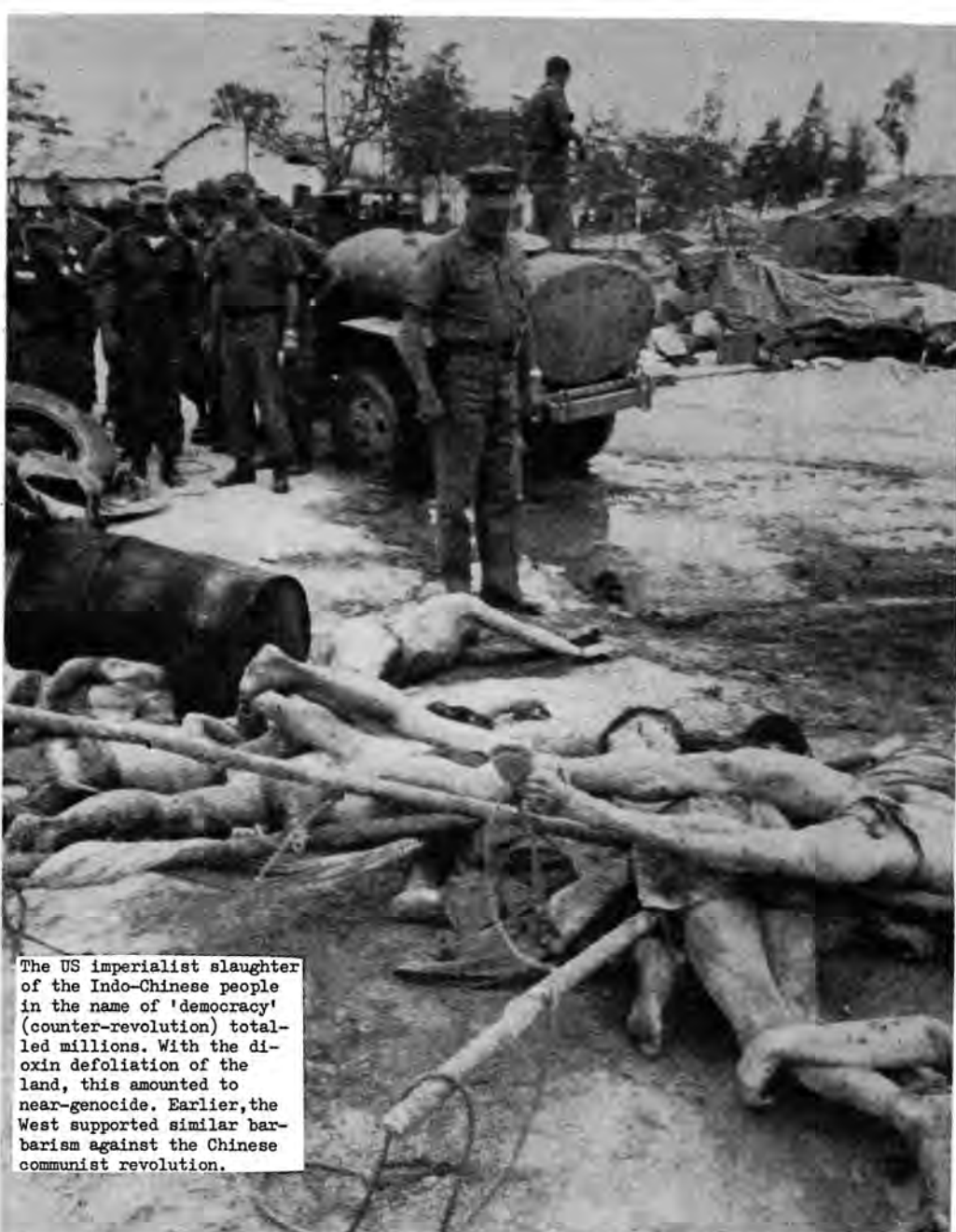
The histrionics in the West about the 'tragic cruelty' in Peking are a wholly bogus 'humanism'. The totally predictable clash happened not because the ILWP willed it but because past woollily-minded revisionist weakness by the leadership of the Chinese workers state (failing to guide proletarian power firmly enough through the degenerate compromising confusion of this interregnum between the overthrow partially of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and the final triumph worldwide of Marxism-Leninism) was finally forced to lash out against imperialist counter-revolutionary subversion or see the entire socialist state structure collapse.

The unanimous chorus for class compromise by the 'left' swamp invites the same violent chaos. As monopoly capitalism outlives its usefulness and becomes not-

hing but a lethal deathtrap for mankind, so will all its petty-bourgeois stooges of the 'democracy' movement fight harder than ever to prevent or delay the final irrevocable triumph of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The despicable cheap emotionalism of weekend protests deploring 'bloodshed' in Peking are the very same political posturers of a nauseating Tariq Ali/CP/centrist/Trot type who swooned along with Salvador Allende's bogus 'democratic socialist revolution' right into the butchery of the Pinochet counter-coup. By abandoning Leninist science, the Chilean 'good' military officer caste and bourgeois monopolist circles (and their petty-bourgeois hangers-on) were not scheduled for elimination as a class (not necessary to take action against every individual). As a result, the counter-revolutionary violence was inevitable.

Peking's counter-revolutionary violence was inevitable because of a similar philistine collapse by Chinese workers state leaders into the lethal delusion of class compromise with Western 'democratic' influence, the unchanging cover for the forces worldwide of bourgeois dictatorship. (And the Polish workers state wants to keep its powder dry. It already had to politically disarm Solidarnosc from counter-revolutionary violence in 1981,—thus giving Warsaw the chance now to expose the reactionary religious movement's destructive hostility to socialism by means of parliamentary manoeuvre. This may or may not prove the unconstructive bankruptcy of this petty bourgeois revanchism, but either way, the CIA and the Vatican are bound to be planning yet another switch by Solidarnosc tactics back towards violence if the communist party looks like gaining any ground.)

Yet despite all this obviously class conflict inevitably at the heart of world events, the trivial clamour of TV Trotskyism is still for class compromise, — and effectively for victory solely for counter-revolution. For all the clamour is against workers state violence in Peking. And meanwhile the tens of thousands of economic and political deaths daily caused by the 'democracy' system worldwide



The US imperialist slaughter of the Indo-Chinese people in the name of 'democracy' (counter-revolution) totalled millions. With the dioxin defoliation of the land, this amounted to near-genocide. Earlier, the West supported similar barbarism against the Chinese communist revolution.

go totally ignored.

All the 'left' swamp's occasional half-hearted protests against Western-condoned savagery in El Salvador, South Africa, Philippines, Chile, Occupied Palestine, etc, are rendered utterly null and void the moment that their anti-Leninist ignorance and petty bourgeois fear of the workers states has them out on the streets at the end of the imperialist propaganda machine's strings screaming hatred at the one vehicle which can and will alone finally do something against capitalist violence they also 'deplore', — namely the dictatorship of the proletariat introduced by a disciplined Leninist party.

This was certainly how Lenin saw things. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

#### THE STATE

And this society, based on private property, on the power of capital, on the complete subjection of the propertyless workers and labouring masses of the peasantry, proclaimed that its rule was based on liberty. Combating feudalism, it proclaimed freedom of property and was particularly proud of the fact that the state had ceased, supposedly, to be a class state.

Yet the state continued to be a machine which helped the capitalists to hold the poor peasants and the working class in subjection. But in outward appearance it was free. It proclaimed universal suffrage, and declared through its champions, preachers, scholars and philosophers, that it was not a class state. Even now, when the Soviet Socialist Republics have begun to fight the state, they accuse us of violating liberty, of building a state based on coercion, on the suppression of some by others, whereas they represent a popular, democratic state. And now, when the world socialist revolution has begun, and when the revolution has succeeded in some countries, when the fight against world capital has grown particularly acute, this question of the state has acquired the greatest importance and has become, one might say, the most burning one, the focus of all present-day political questions and political disputes.

Whichever party we take in Russia or in any of the more civilised countries, we find that nearly all political disputes, disagreements and opinions now centre around the conception of the state. Is the state in a capitalist country, in a democratic republic—especially one like Switzerland

or the U.S.A.—in the freest democratic republics, an expression of the popular will, the sum total of the general decision of the people, the expression of the national will, and so forth; or is the state a machine that enables the capitalists of those countries to maintain their power over the working class and the peasantry? That is the fundamental question around which all political disputes all over the world now centre. What do they say about Bolshevism? The bourgeois press abuses the Bolsheviks. You will not find a single newspaper that does not repeat the hackneyed accusation that the Bolsheviks violate popular rule. If our Mensheviks and Socialist-Revolutionaries in their simplicity of heart (perhaps it is not simplicity, or perhaps it is the simplicity which the proverb says is worse than robbery) think that they discovered and invented the accusation that the Bolsheviks have violated liberty and popular rule, they are ludicrously mistaken. Today every one of the richest newspapers in the richest countries, which spend tens of millions on their distribution and disseminate bourgeois lies and imperialist policy in tens of millions of copies—every one of these newspapers repeats these basic arguments and accusations against Bolshevism, namely, that the U.S.A., Britain and Switzerland are advanced states based on popular rule, whereas the Bolshevik republic is a state of bandits in which liberty is unknown, and that the Bolsheviks have violated the idea of popular rule and have even gone so far as to disperse the Constituent Assembly. These terrible accusations against the Bolsheviks are repeated all over the world. These accusations lead us directly to the question—what is the state? In order to understand these accusations, in order to study them and have a fully intelligent attitude towards them, and not to examine them on hearsay but with a firm opinion of our own, we must have a clear idea of what the state is. We have before us capitalist states of every kind and all the theories in defence of them which were created before the war. In order to answer the question properly we must critically examine all these theories and views.

I have already advised you to turn for help to Engels's book *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*. This book says that every state in which private ownership of the land and means of production exists, in which capital dominates, however democratic it may be, is a capitalist state, a machine used by the capitalists to keep the working class and the poor peasants in subjection; while universal suffrage, a Constituent Assembly, a parliament are merely a form, a sort of promissory note, which does not change the real state of affairs.

The forms of domination of the state may vary: capital manifests its power in one way where one form exists, and in another way where another form exists—but essentially the power is in the hands of capital, whether there are voting qualifications or some other rights or not, or whether the republic is a democratic one or not—in fact, the more democratic it is the cruder and more cynical is the rule of capitalism. One of the most democratic republics in the

world is the United States of America, yet nowhere (and those who have been there since 1905 probably know it) is the power of capital, the power of a handful of multi-millionaires over the whole of society, so crude and so openly corrupt as in America. Once capital exists, it dominates the whole of society, and no democratic republic, no franchise can change its nature.

The democratic republic and universal suffrage were an immense progressive advance as compared with feudalism: they have enabled the proletariat to achieve its present unity and solidarity, to form those firm and disciplined ranks which are waging a systematic struggle against capital. There was nothing even approximately resembling this among the peasant serfs, not to speak of the slaves. The slaves, as we know, revolted, rioted, started civil wars, but they could never create a class-conscious majority and parties to lead the struggle, they could not clearly realise what their aims were, and even in the most revolutionary moments of history they were always pawns in the hands of the ruling classes. The bourgeois republic, parliament, universal suffrage—all represent great progress from the standpoint of the world development of society. Mankind moved

towards capitalism, and it was capitalism alone which, thanks to urban culture, enabled the oppressed proletarian class to become conscious of itself and to create the world working-class movement, the millions of workers organised all over the world in parties—the socialist parties which are consciously leading the struggle of the masses. Without parliamentarism, without an electoral system, this development of the working class would have been impossible. That is why all these things have acquired such great importance in the eyes of the broad masses of people. That is why a radical change seems to be so difficult. It is not only the conscious hypocrites, scientists and priests that uphold and defend the bourgeois lie that the state is free and that it is its mission to defend the interests of all; so also do a large number of people who sincerely adhere to the old prejudices and who cannot understand the transition from the old, capitalist society to socialism. Not only people who are directly dependent on the bourgeoisie, not only those who live under the yoke of capital or who have been bribed by capital (there are a large number of all sorts of scientists, artists, priests, etc., in the service of capital), but even people who are simply under the sway of the prejudice of bourgeois liberty, have taken up arms against Bolshevism all over the world because when the Soviet Republic was founded it rejected these bourgeois lies and openly declared: you say your state is free, whereas in reality, as long as there is private property, your state, even if it is a democratic republic, is nothing but a machine used by the capitalists to suppress the workers, and the freer the state, the more clearly is this expressed. Examples of this are Switzerland in Europe and the United States in America. Nowhere does capital rule so cynically and ruthlessly, and nowhere is it so clearly apparent, as in these countries, although they are democratic republics, no matter how prettily they are painted and notwithstanding all the talk about labour democracy and the equality of all citizens. The fact is that in Switzerland and the United States capital dominates, and every attempt of the workers to achieve the slightest real improvement in their condition is immediately met by civil war. There are fewer soldiers, a smaller standing army, in these countries—Switzerland has a militia and every Swiss has a gun at home, while in America there was no standing army until quite recently—and so when there is a strike the bourgeoisie arms, hires soldiery and suppresses the strike; and nowhere is this suppression of the working-class movement accompanied by such ruthless severity as in Switzerland and the U.S.A., and nowhere does the influence of capital in parliament manifest itself as powerfully as in these countries. The power of capital is everything, the stock exchange is everything, while parliament and elections are marionettes, puppets.... But the eyes of the workers are being opened more and more, and the idea of Soviet government is spreading farther and farther afield, especially after the bloody carnage we have just experienced. The necessity for a relentless war on the capitalists is becoming clearer and clearer to the working class.

Whatever guise a republic may assume, however democratic it may be, if it is a bourgeois republic, if it retains private ownership of the land and factories, and if private capital keeps the whole of society in wage-slavery, that is,

if the republic does not carry out what is proclaimed in the Programme of our Party and in the Soviet Constitution, then this state is a machine for the suppression of some people by others. And we shall place this machine in the hands of the class that is to overthrow the power of capital. We shall reject all the old prejudices about the state meaning universal equality—for that is a fraud: as long as there is exploitation there cannot be equality. The landowner cannot be the equal of the worker, or the hungry man the equal of the full man. This machine called the state, before which people bowed in superstitious awe, believing the old tales that it means popular rule, tales which the proletariat declares to be a bourgeois lie—this machine the proletariat will smash. So far we have deprived the capitalists of this machine and have taken it over. We shall use this machine, or bludgeon, to destroy all exploitation. And when the possibility of exploitation no longer exists anywhere in the world, when there are no longer owners

of land and owners of factories, and when there is no longer a situation in which some gorge while others starve, only when the possibility of this no longer exists shall we consign this machine to the scrap-heap. Then there will be no state and no exploitation. Such is the view of our Communist Party.

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5. The present stage in the development of the international communist movement is marked by the fact that in the vast majority of capitalist countries, the proletariat's preparations to effect its dictatorship have not been completed, and, in many cases, have not even been systematically begun. From this it does not, however, follow that the proletarian revolution is impossible in the immediate future; it is perfectly possible, since the entire economic and political situation is most inflammable and abounds in causes of a sudden flare-up; the other condition for revolution, apart from the proletariat's preparedness, viz., a general state of crisis in all the ruling and in all bourgeois parties, also exists. However, it does follow that the Communist Parties' current task consists not in accelerating the revolution, but in intensifying the preparation of the proletariat. On the other hand, the facts cited above from the history of many socialist parties make it incumbent on us to see that "recognition" of the dictatorship of the proletariat shall not remain a mere matter of words.

Hence, from the point of view of the international proletarian movement, it is the Communist parties' principal task at the present moment to unite the scattered Communist forces, to form a single Communist Party in every country (or to reinforce or renovate the already existing Party) in order to increase tenfold the work of preparing the proletariat for the conquest of political power — political power, moreover, in the form of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The ordinary socialist work conducted by group and parties which recognise the dictatorship of the proletariat has by no means undergone that fundamental reorganisation, that fundamental renovation, which is essential before this work can be considered communist work and adequate to the tasks to be accomplished on the eve of proletarian dictatorship.

6. The proletariat's conquest of political power does not put a stop to its class struggle against the bourgeoisie; on the contrary, it renders that struggle most widespread, intense and ruthless. Owing to the extreme intensification of the struggle all groups, parties and leaders in the working-class movement who have fully or partly adopted the stand of reformism, of the "Centre", etc., inevitably side with the bourgeoisie or join the waverers, or else (what is the most dangerous of all) land in the ranks of the unreliable friends of the victorious proletariat. Hence, preparation for the dictatorship of the proletariat calls, not only for an intensification of the struggle against reformist and "Centrist" tendencies, but also for a change in the character of that struggle. The struggle cannot be restricted to explaining the erroneousness of these tendencies; it must unswervingly and ruthlessly expose any leader of the working-class movement who reveals such tendencies, for otherwise the proletariat cannot know who it will march with into the decisive struggle against the bourgeoisie. This struggle is such that at any moment it may — and actually does, as experience has shown — substitute criticism with weapons for the weapon of criticism. Any inconsistency or weakness in exposing those who show themselves to be reformists or "Centrists" means directly increasing the danger of the power of the proletariat being overthrown by the bourgeoisie, which tomorrow will utilise for the counter-revolution that which short-sighted people today see merely as "theoretical difference".

THESES ON COMINTERN FUNDAMENTAL TASKS July 1920

In the pamphlet *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky*, which has just come off the press in Moscow and Petrograd, I examine Kautsky's views in detail. I shall try briefly to give the substance of the point at issue, which has become the question of the day for all the advanced capitalist countries.

The Scheidemanns and Kautskys speak about "pure democracy" and "democracy" in general for the purpose of deceiving the people and concealing from them the *bourgeois* character of *present-day* democracy. Let the bourgeoisie continue to keep the entire apparatus of state power in their hands, let a handful of exploiters continue to use the former, bourgeois, state machine! Elections held in such circumstances are lauded by the bourgeoisie, for very good reasons, as being "free", "equal", "democratic" and "universal". These words are designed to conceal the truth, to conceal the fact that the means of production and political power remain in the hands of the exploiters, and that

therefore real freedom and real equality for the exploited, that is, for the vast majority of the population, are out of the question. It is profitable and indispensable for the bourgeoisie to conceal from the people the *bourgeois* character of modern democracy, to picture it as democracy in general or "pure democracy", and the Scheidemanns and the Kautskys, repeating this, in practice abandon the standpoint of the proletariat and side with the bourgeoisie.

Marx and Engels in their last joint preface to the *Communist Manifesto* (in 1872) considered it necessary specially to warn the workers that the proletariat cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made (that is, the bourgeois) state machine and wield it for its own purpose, that it must smash it, break it up. The renegade Kautsky, who has written a special pamphlet entitled *The Dictatorship of the Proletariat*, concealed from the workers this most important Marxist truth, utterly distorted Marxism, and, quite obviously, the praise which Scheidemann and Co. showered on the pamphlet was fully merited as praise by agents of the bourgeoisie for one switching to the side of the bourgeoisie.

It is sheer mockery of the working and exploited people to speak of pure democracy, of democracy in general, of equality, freedom and universal rights when the workers and all working people are ill-fed, ill-clad, ruined and worn out not only as a result of capitalist wage-slavery, but as a consequence of four years of predatory war, while the capitalists and profiteers remain in possession of the "property" usurped by them and the "ready-made" apparatus of state power. This is tantamount to trampling on the basic truths of Marxism which has taught the workers: you must take advantage of bourgeois democracy which, compared with feudalism, represents a great historical advance, but not for one minute must you forget the bourgeois character of this "democracy", its historically conditional and limited character. Never share the "superstitious belief" in the "state" and never forget that the state even in the most democratic republic, and not only in a monarchy, is simply a machine for the suppression of one class by another.

The bourgeoisie are compelled to be hypocritical and to describe as "popular government" or democracy in general, or pure democracy, the (*bourgeois*) democratic republic which is, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, the dictatorship of the exploiters over the working people. The Scheidemanns and Kautskys, the Austerlitzes and Renners (and now, to our regret, with the help of Friedrich Adler) fall in line with this falsehood and hypocrisy. But Marxists, Communists, expose this hypocrisy, and tell the workers and the working people in general this frank and straightforward truth: the democratic republic, the Constituent Assembly, general elections, etc., are, in practice, the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, and for the emancipation of labour from the yoke of capital there is no other way but to replace this dictatorship with the *dictatorship of the proletariat*.

The dictatorship of the proletariat alone can emancipate humanity from the oppression of capital, from the lies, falsehood and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy—democracy *for the rich*—and establish democracy *for the poor*, that is, make the blessings of democracy *really* accessible to the workers and poor peasants, whereas now (even in the most democratic—*bourgeois*—republic) the blessings of democracy are, in fact, inaccessible to the vast majority of working people.

But why not reach this goal without the dictatorship of one class? Why not switch directly to "pure" democracy? So ask the hypocritical friends of the bourgeoisie or the naïve petty bourgeois and philistines gulled by them.

And we reply: Because in any capitalist society the decisive say lies with either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat, while the small proprietors, inevitably, remain wavering, helpless, stupid dreamers of "pure", i.e., non-class or above-class, democracy. Because from a society in which one class oppresses another there is no way out other than through the dictatorship of the oppressed class. Because the proletariat alone is capable of defeating the bourgeoisie, of overthrowing them, being the sole class which capitalism has united and "schooled", and which is capable of drawing to its side the wavering mass of the working population with a petty-bourgeois way of life, of drawing them to its side or at least "neutralising" them. Because only mealy-mouthed petty bourgeois and philistines can dream—deceiving thereby both themselves and the workers—of overthrowing capitalist oppression without a long and difficult process of *suppressing the resistance* of the exploiters.

### SECTION THREE

(first published June 21, 1989  
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**'Government propaganda has argued consistently that no one was killed in the square during the crucial hour and a half when the students were evacuating. That may well be true.'**

-capitalist press admission, finally,  
twelve days after the totally bogus  
'massacre' on Tienanmen.

For days, the CIA-fed lie machine (BBC, ITV, Fleet Street) has been traumatically inching its way towards this confession of utter bankruptcy (see previous two Bulletins), - first by failing to suppress all the evidence that it was obviously the anti-communists who started the bloodshed in Peking; and then by agreeing that all their predictions about the regime's collapse and an inter-army conflict had been hopelessly misguided, admitting that there had been so much rumour-mongering that it was now not even certain that there had been a 'massacre' at all.

This astonishing revelation is now accepted by the senior Fleet Street correspondent in Peking. In the notorious 90-minute 'massacre' on Tienanmen around 5 a.m. on Sunday morning June 4 about which the whole world has been blitzkrieged with Western disinformation, not one person died.

"That may well be true" the Guardian's John Gittings, leader of the 'eyewitness' pack, now allows.

This explosive admission that the entire 'massacre' furore whipped up against the Chinese workers state was not even based on a real incident as well as criminally distorting the motives and values of the regime as it resisted insurrectionary anarchy, - has not knocked the wind out of Western anti-communist hysteria however. Bourgeois 'free press' degeneracy has continued to pile up the lies against the Peoples Republic, - especially dementedly by the middle-class 'left' swamp. The Murdoch press and the Trotskyites vie with each other to see how much

further they can bend the truth in the wish to totally discredit Marxist-Leninist proletarian dictatorship power if possible.

First, the views are completely ignored of the communist government of China, - firmly established and widely supported (it must now be admitted), representing a quarter of mankind, its oldest civilisation, and undoubtedly the most difficult country in the world to govern, which the CPC has done brilliantly since completing its incredible revolutionary triumph in 1949, - humiliatingly showing up capitalist imperialism's previous attempts at running the place, which produced only famine, disaster, and backwardness.

**I**N the first official account of the events on Tiananmen Square on June 3 and 4, released yesterday, China claims 100 troops and 100 civilians were killed, but none in the square itself.

The report, drawn up by the propaganda department of the Beijing Party Committee and carried by the New China News Agency, describes the events as "a shocking counter-revolutionary rebellion".

It says that troops moved "cautiously" into the city to restore order after martial law was declared on May 20 but "a certain small group of people did not stop their efforts to create unrest even for a single day and didn't swerve in the slightest degree from their purpose of overturning the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party".

The report says these unnamed people prepared a list of officials to be purged and named the members of a new government.

"They ensnared hooligans, local ruffians and people with a deep-seated hatred of the Communist Party to cobble together gangs known as 'tiger contingent', 'army of volunteers' and 'dare-to-die corps'. They plotted

to arrest party and state leaders, and seize political power in a 'Bastille-style attack,'" the report says.

It says the aim was to organise armed forces and unite with the Nationalists in Taiwan to overthrow the party.

The next section paints the soldiers as victims of the crowd and says even ambulances carrying wounded soldiers were prevented from leaving.

It says 180 military vehicles, more than 40 armoured cars, over 90 police cars, 80 buses and 40 other kinds of vehicles were destroyed or burned.

"Ammunition was stolen, nearly 100 soldiers and policemen died and thousands were wounded.

"The great losses suffered are eloquent testimony to their restraint and tolerance. Does this not reflect that the army is an army of the people and defends the people at the cost of its own life? Nevertheless, in order to carry out their duty, the martial law troops finally were forced to fire on the rioters. The result was that some 100 civilians were killed and nearly 1,000 were injured."

The report then goes on to deny "rumours of 'rivers of blood'" flowing in the square.

"The facts are these; at 1.30 am on June 4 the Beijing municipal government and the martial law headquarters issued an emergency notice after troops entered Tiananmen Square [to warn people to leave the square] ... The notice was broadcast repeatedly for three hours and most people in the central square left after hearing it. ... At around 3 am the sit-in demonstrators sent representatives to the troops to express their desire to withdraw and this was welcomed by the troops.

"At 4.30 am the martial law headquarters broadcast the following notice: 'It is time to clear the square and the martial law headquarters accepts the request of the students to withdraw.' After hearing this, the students joined hands and left the square in an orderly manner at about 5 am. Troops vacated a wide corridor in the south-east part of the square to allow the students to withdraw unhindered.

"A few students who refused to leave were forced to leave by policemen. By 5.30 am, the clearing operation of the square, which had lasted only half an hour, was complete. During the whole process of this clearing operation no one died."

Then the trick is to repeat stale atrocity stories plus deranged premature obituaries of communist China

and the socialist world in general, while making just the odd admission that the regime was not entirely without a case to argue or entirely unprovoked, but then making sure to leave more muddy doubts lurking round government explanations.

THE historic events unfolding in China are the most dramatic, but far from the only, evidence that the dynamic of communism - the 19th century ideology which came of age in this century to win control of both the largest country on earth and the most populous - has all but run its course. The forces of reaction in Peking may still suppress, perhaps even for a considerable period, the Chinese people, just as the Polish, Hungarians, Czechs and many more have been suppressed in their time. The 27th Army and its ilk can prevent revolt from becoming revolution, at least for a time. But for communism to be seen so unequivocally and so publicly as brutal reaction is a body blow from which it will never recover.

For the rest of the world, communism has ceased to be something to be adopted or imitated; it has lost all connection with change for the better or the best human aspirations. It stands nakedly, in a heartland and not a satellite, for all that is worst in human endeavour. Communism, the ideology that began this century as the wave of the future, might not even be around in any recognisable form for the start of the next.

The failure of repression to produce the economic goods and the success of freedom in doing that very thing is the fundamental reason why communism is finished. But it will not die peacefully or disappear gracefully.

Behind Chairman Mao's mausoleum in the centre of the square, students linked hands and sang the Internationale. Soldiers mowed them down with machine-gun fire, row after row after row.

The soldiers chased down alleyways, cutting people down in their path. Women holding babies were shot. Old men were shot. People looking out of windows were shot.

The mob climbed on to the tank, dragged out the driver, beat him and set his body aflame. The army left the corpse dangling from the tank to show other soldiers the cruelty of the "counter-revolutionaries".

Government propaganda has argued consistently that no one was killed in the square during the crucial hour and a half when the students were evacuating. That may well be true. Most people died that night either because they were in the way or by accident.

The figure of ten thousand deaths seems far too high.

The government videos show civilians burning troop trucks in this area early on the evening of the 3rd, but there is reason to believe that the time sequence has been distorted, and that the burnings took place the next day after so many people had been slaughtered. But stones were thrown and troops were roughed up.

Most importantly, the army was failing to get through.

Despite all the appearances of a massive anti-communist propaganda victory for the Western bourgeoisie's corrupt and rickety 'democratic' way of life, this monstrous stunt against the Chinese Peoples Republic is going to rebound back badly on imperialism.

Socialist China is a vast and increasingly influential player in world affairs. Whatever fresh difficulties it may run into, it is farcical to ever try pretending that its revolutionary governing-party system can just be written off as a senile joke and nothing more. The joke is on the anti-communists of every kind in every corner of the world.

Worse than that for the West, the concentration is all on the most revolutionary core of the whole of Marxism-Leninism, - the theory of proletarian dictatorship.

It is this essence of class war (to finally rid the world of economic exploitation and national oppression) - and the accompanying 'free market' slumps, fascism and arms-race inter-imperialist conflict - that the entire bourgeoisie (especially the 'left' social-democratic middle class like the Trots and the Euros - see below) have always hated so much. (See Lenin quotes at end).

The West was badly caught out by its own political ignorance. Aware of mass support for communist party rule, the 'free world' press then believed its own propaganda about who these 'masses' were in the Peking demonstrations, what they represented, and how genuine were their 'pro-socialist' pretences (singing the Internationale, etc).

It was then foolishly concluded that because revolutionary proletarian power had been irresistibly and unbeatably established in 1949 (although US imperialism refused to accept this for 20 years, keeping the ousted Kuomintang nationalist clique representing China in the United Nations) - and because no alien force could re-subjugate the revolutionary proletariat, - then the demonstrations were bound to win since they represented the masses - and no 'power of the gun' could frustrate this outcome for long.

All this might have been true if this anarchic rabble of opportunist posturers had represented the revolutionary proletarian masses. But they represented nothing of the sort.

They were the subjective-idealist, politically-ignorant, individualistic mob. The theoretical backwardness of the entire Western bourgeoisie (from the Murdoch empire to the Trots and Euros) ludicrously 'forgot' that the masses in China (as everywhere else) embrace all kinds of weak elements, hostile sectors, and deluded minorities (see Lenin's quotes from 'Left-wing Communism') and that the dictatorship of the proletariat under the party's leadership represents the revolutionary vanguard of the most advanced part of the most advanced classes, and it established its dictatorship precisely and unequivocally to ensure that the continuing vast bourgeois-idealist influences on the world (all the time the imperialist system continues to be such a force) - do not confuse sufficient numbers of politically-shallow or opportunistic people to create a threat to the communist revolution.

And a more mundane numerical backwardness by the slaving anti-communist habits of the 'free world' press ludicrously 'forgot' that in a country as vast as China, a few ten thousand anarchist demonstrators on Tienanmen Square is just the tiniest fleabite on the most minuscule bug. The Bulletin explained this as early as its May 3 issue (493) when its lead story ridiculed the 'free world' press for refusing to make headline news of the huge humiliation the West had suffered in the failure of the imperialist-financed counter-revolution in Afghanistan, but was making as much propaganda as possible out of the "trivial excesses of spent reactionary bourgeois thinking by Chinese intelligentsia".

Two issues later on May 17 the Bulletin explained in detail the philistine posturing of the protesters whose singing of the Internationale was entirely phony because they had no interest whatever in world socialist revolution, and that the whole demonstration was becoming nothing more than a huge reactionary diversion for Western propaganda

to exploit.

In issue 496 on May 24, the Bulletin described at length how and why the communist government would have to impose proletarian-dictatorship firmness on this counter-revolutionary anarchy, at a cost only of lost party-leadership prestige for their paralysed delays in assessing the situation and taking action.

On May 31 (issue 497) the Bulletin confidently explained that "the shallow pro-Western fetishism of the reactionary students has been put in its place" but that the party's indecisive lack of confident leadership had allowed "the Western media to make an enormous anti-communist meal out of what was always obviously a very trivial outlook among a minority of the intelligentsia supported by a few backward workers".

Thus the West has been badly caught out by nailing its colours for 'victory' to such an easily squashed irrelevant irritant to the relentless progress of the Chinese workers state.

Terrified and demoralised as well as totally confused by the reassertion of the dictatorship of the proletariat against 'ordinary people' nearly 40 years after the triumph of the proletarian revolution, the anarchic indisciplined wishful thinking of the 'free world' propaganda machinery indulged in ludicrous fantasies of the Chinese workers state being defeated by this bunch of pathetic stooges of Western 'democratic' delusions and capitalist opportunism. The anti-communist Trots and Euros dribbled down their chins even more dementedly at this ridiculous 'hope' of proletarian dictatorship being overthrown by petty-bourgeois 'parliamentary' illusion-mongers.

The frustration of the imperialism-corrupted Western intelligentsia at this crushing setback to their Tienanmen anti-communist 'heroes' and to their ability to interpret anything correctly about the world socialist revolution and the essence of Marxism-Leninism, - is firstly driving them to pour good money after bad in continuing to insist (e.g. Kate Adie's ridiculous distortions, evasions, and dishonest innuendoes in her Wogan interview and else-

where) that the Chinese workers state represents no one, but that the defeated dissident minority 'represents everyone and will inevitably triumph shortly', etc, - in spite of all the evidence to the contrary and in spite of the glaring holes and contradictions in the West's propaganda; and secondly causing an increase in fascist despair as bourgeois-idealist impotence against the proletarian-dictatorship might of the Peoples Republic tastes ever more deeply the bitterness of defeat and helplessness.

But this current Western chorus against the "barbarism" of the Chinese Peoples Republic is doomed to an early collapse.

The potential fascist dementia against such imagined 'horrors' will continue to flourish as a strain in Western politics, - later on possibly beginning to poison parts of the 'free world' in exactly the same way that imperialism last great 'bulwark-against-communism'-hope, - Hitler's Germany, - poisoned capitalist Europe first before doing damage elsewhere.

The festering moodiness of Hong Kong's sick political farce provides an early glimpse of how this irrational fascist despair will take hold like a disease on the less salubrious parts of capitalism. The financing from there of more 'pro-democracy' subversion inside China with the proceeds of some of the most vicious monopoly-capitalist exploitation on earth where colonial tyranny has never allowed any democracy of any kind hitherto, - is an outrageous scandal which the Chinese workers state will not allow to last.

But less belligerent or less extreme individualist elements in the Western bourgeois make-up will opt for a different course as soon as their dull mentality grasps again that communist China is very firmly established and is plainly here to stay. Humiliated by their own lemming-like anti-communist hysteria, these capitalist circles will accept losing a bit of face in having to eventually concede that the Chinese government's view of things is not without merit, and will then resume trading as usual. Many capitalist groups alr-

eady have.

Western propaganda meanwhile continues to reflect all these conflicting emotions and confusions, - consistent only in its concealed self-justification but revealing a few glimpses of the truth as it stumbles clumsily through all the contradictions, - including this latest near-Marxist description of how counter-revolutionary thinking could revive in China.

Ten years of reforms produced in China the beginnings of a middle class of professionals, intellectuals, well-to-do peasants, private entrepreneurs, and the post-Cultural Revolution generation who saw what was happening outside China and wanted the same.

They are a drop in the ocean of China's vast population and found in and around the main cities where they are exposed to foreign influences and enjoy growing material independence.

The bands of motorcycles which zoomed around Beijing at the height of the student demonstrations and the photocopyers and fax machines at the disposal of the protesters bears witness to the new and independent wealth of some sections of the population.

What passes for a bourgeoisie in China has for the first time led an effective challenge to the power of the largely peasant generals who conquered China 46 years ago.

The students had demanded the right to question the authority of a group of old men who have never been called to account for their mistakes.

This surprising objectivity then collapses at this point into an imbecilic failure to grasp that vastly more is at stake in the Chinese workers state than just the pride of revisionist-conservatism in the leadership whose need for sharper revolutionary thinking has been raised not by a Leninist movement but by anti-communist petty-bourgeois anarchism and opportunism. By ignoring that the dictatorship of the proletariats establishment in 1949 under communist party leadership represents the whole new future not just for the vast masses of hitherto despised and exploited Chinese but also for the entire masses of Asia and beyond, - such degenerate 'reports' can then turn the crucial developments in the revolutionary government of one quarter of mankind into an incredible oriental version of 'Dallas' but with even more transparent vices

and even shallower ambitions, if such a thing can be thought possible.

Faced with their challenge, China's gerontocracy feels that only their children can be trusted to succeed them, and it was no coincidence that President Yang Shangkun's nephew led the bloody assault on Tiananmen and it was planned by his brother.

The threat posed by this new class is not just to the leaders but to their followers in the party and bureaucracy who run the inefficient, and often corrupt, state sector.

Many were already losing out in the competition for raw materials between the state and non-state industries and would only do worse in the future.

The economic competition also made many of these state-run corporations accountable for the first time, forced to explain why a silk factory in Shanghai had to close while another collectively run in the countryside was thriving.

The reforms which Mr Zhao Ziyang wanted to push forward - bankruptcy laws, stocks and shares, labour and capital markets, a civil service appointed not by personal recommendation but through exams - posed a direct threat to the vested interests of this bureaucracy.

The wealth of the private and collective sector has begun to buy political influence, too, and there have been heated debates within the party as to whether millionaires ought to be allowed to join the party.

Last year, Mr Zhao had begun introducing multi-candidate elections for posts such as deputy provincial governor or mayor, which naturally alienated many of the losers.

A degree, however limited, of economic and political competition and the concern to root out corruption, requires a freer press.

This was particularly regarded with fear by the party's old guard and their hangers-on used to acting in secrecy and without question.

The party's leadership remains accountable only to itself. By design or accident, they can still rely on the obedience of the majority of Chinese, semi-literate peasants cut off from the rest of the world and steeped in a tradition of unquestioning loyalty to the state.

Most peasants are likely to accept the government's version of the events in Beijing and Maoism has taught them to be distrustful of intellectuals.

Stripped of its anti-Marxist disinformation pretending that modern history (as the international struggle of class forces) has suddenly disappeared or never even existed, this biased version nevertheless still

reveals the outlines of aggressive ideological class-collaborating anti-Leninist revisionism preparing a full scale counter-revolution against the communist dictatorship of the proletariat.

In order to have its cake and eat it too, this textbook example of bourgeois-idealist irrationalism and self-delusion then even tries to usurp communist party criticism of past mistakes, pretending that modern Gorbachevite revisionism still has some connection to Marxism-Leninism, - a ludicrous hoax.

Not only could their decisions and the corruption that permeates the party be open to scrutiny but some embarrassing questions could be asked about the past.

The history of much of the party's 40 years in power remains taboo, and many of the octogenarians now back in power have blood on their hands going back many years. All of them are guilty of failing to prevent the Great Leap Forward which cost upwards of 20 million lives or the Cultural Revolution to mention only the most obvious "mistakes".

As long as these men remain alive, China will not be ready to re-evaluate its past in the way that Hungary or the Soviet Union are doing now.

Even by Third World standards, China's record in education is appalling and the reforms have done little to reverse that. The democratic reforms in South Korea, with a similar autocratic political heritage, were propelled by the huge "middle class" which had sprung up as a result of a massive investment in education.

This is a criminally distorted assessment of the colossal achievements of the communist revolution in China which has changed the course of world history no less than 1917 itself did.

But this wretched Western imperialist-corrupted middle-class anti-communist scribbling is nevertheless forced to come back to grim reality at the end. It begrudgingly accepts that the Chinese workers state is going to continue growing from strength to strength under its own conscious communist control. Although the 'free world' bourgeoisie hate to admit it, the dictatorship of the proletariat represents invincible progress for civilisation as a whole, and is bound to triumph and reorganise the whole world eventually.

Many Chinese intellectuals

argue that even if the economic crisis worsened sufficiently to provoke a peasant uprising, it would only lead to another form of dictatorship, just like the one it replaced.

The support the educated urbanites need to successfully change China's political culture will come only with an education system that enables more than a small minority to think for themselves. In the meantime, China's intelligentsia will continue to be the victim of purges and campaigns as they have been for four decades.

Almost as disgraceful as the deceptions and self-delusion practised by the capitalist press was the infamously cretinous comment of the star turn of modern revisionist compromise Gorbachev.

So obsessed is the Soviet president now with smooth media performances and the opportunist pretence that Marxist-Leninist scientific truth is no longer necessary to mankind (plus a tendency towards saying that Leninism never did anything but harm, now growing in many revisionist circles - see below), - that moronic fence-sitting TV-speak now spews out without thinking.

Last week in his German press conference, nearly a month and a half after the Bulletin with its tiny resources had first begun to correctly analyse the anti-communist and dead-end nature of the 'pro-democracy' antics in Peking, and nearly three weeks after it had mushroomed into a counter-revolutionary pro-Western exorcism for the whole world to see, Gorbachev the president of the worlds most powerful state pretended that he did not yet have enough information to judge whether recent events in China had been counter-revolutionary or not.

This drivelt not only gives tacit encouragement to the counter-revolution, of course, when a fence-sitting "don't know" is a virtual stab in the back to the Chinese workers state which has now dramatically made its decisive move. It is also a vile bucket of shit over the heads of everyone struggling right round the world against imperialism. The one ingredient every revolutionary struggle needs more desperately than anything else is theoretic clarity and certainty, - a confidence to make firm Marxist-Leninist judgments about the incurable war-mongering crisis of the capit-

alist system and then to organise and take action accordingly. The one ingredient which Gorbachevism will sow pretending that it is even impossible for the Soviet president to decide which is revolution and which is counter-revolution despite having numerous sources of a matchless supply of up-to-the-minute and inside information, - is demoralised defeatism. What a shallow bird-brained wally this man is.

And hasn't Moscow's infamous revisionist tradition trained its middle-class sycophants well in the West. Listen to this screaming counter-revolutionary diatribe from the Murdoch monopoly-imperialist Sunday Times, virtually urging armed intervention against the socialist camp, and almost in ecstasy at the etymology of class-collaborating with the affluent bourgeoisie that could then be conducted with a calm conscience by the treacherous petty-bourgeois 'left'.

The crisis in the Soviet Union is nothing less than the end of 1917. It is not simply the end of Stalinism, but also the end of Leninism.

The crisis in Eastern Europe, which in the first instance was a function of Gorbachev, brings to a conclusion an era which began in 1945. And the events in China draw to an end an era which commenced with the declaration of the people's republic in 1949.

It is the end of the era of revolution or, more precisely, the systems which those revolutions gave rise to. They had three main characteristics. Economic development was organised by means of a highly centralised plan. The political system was based on the dominance of a single party over the life of the state and society. And these societies existed in a state of remarkable isolation and ghettoisation from the rest of the world.

Up to a point, they worked, or at least some of them worked. The Soviet Union and China were transformed from conditions of backwardness. But now, for some two or three decades, it has been clear, especially in the case of the Soviet Union, that economic dynamism has given way to stagnation and sclerosis.

And the remarkable post-war growth of the advanced capitalist countries has thrown the failure of the centralised economies into sharp relief.

The disintegration of the old communist orthodoxies is proving to be the most dramatic event of the post-war era.

The Chinese events are a reminder that renewal is not inevitable.

The Chinese government will now seek to stabilise the country, but things can never be the same

again. Just a few months ago, it enjoyed enormous legitimacy. Now, having turned its guns on its own people in a manner which has no equal even among comparable outrages of the post-war period, such as Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, it faces a profound and continuing crisis of legitimacy.

Already we can begin to perceive the most rudimentary outlines of what a Gorbachev-style Soviet Union might look like. It will no longer be isolated from the world, but integrated with it. It will have a mixed economy, with a significant domestic and international private sector. It will have a pluralistic political system, with an independent media, free trade unions and probably competing political parties.

In other words, we are talking about a pluralistic, and in many ways social-democratic, model.

The outlines of such a scenario can be seen most clearly in Hungary and Poland. Both are becoming multi-party systems, both are accepting the growth of a burgeoning private sector, and both are moving rapidly towards a closer economic and political relationship with Western Europe.

Which brings us to the second scenario: an authoritarian outcome, a Francoisation of some of these societies. This would mean a long-term regression into a political system where ideology is less prominent, but where force is never far from the surface.

The possibility of such a regression is clear from the events in China, and more generally from the authoritarianism which has been such a marked characteristic of these systems.

A combination of economic and ethnic unrest in the Soviet Union could provoke a virulent Russian nationalism and a powerful movement towards some kind of law-and-order solution.

The West must not be a passive bystander in these processes. Some argue there is nothing we can do. Others rub their hands in pleasure at the problems. But we have a powerful interest in what emerges.

To set out the potential scenarios is to demonstrate that we have the most to gain from the triumph and success of the Gorbachev-style forces in the communist world. We should do what we can to encourage them. They will make these countries and the world a better place to live in.

Josef Goebbels? Norman Tebbit? George Galloway? No it's Martin Jacques, editor of the CPGB flagship 'Marxism Today' (!!! - surely the sickest deception on the working class in the whole of revisionism's rotten history, and one still subsidised by Moscow. What a criminal scandal).

But anything loathsome that revisionist defeatism can sink to, Trotskyism can do worse and with even less pretend 'objectivity'. In

banner headlines that swallowed the CIAs propaganda-bait hook, line and sinker, the psychotic Sparts trumpeted 'massacre' and pawned what little credibility they have on the capitalist press stories being correct that they openly used as the sole basis for believing what the imperialist media wanted people to believe.

JUNE 6—Chinese Stalinism has provoked a political revolution that may well spell the doom of this bureaucratic, anti-worker regime. The massacre of students and other protesters by the despised Deng regime has brought China to the brink of civil war. The bloodletting, with victims numbering perhaps in the thousands, did not succeed in intimidating the populace. Defiant and heroic, the rebels marched out of Beijing's Tiananmen Square singing the socialist workers' anthem, the *Internationale*.

The opportunist 'left' swamp is still falling for this infantile deception in which the counter-revolutionaries sang the song of world socialist revolution to confuse the Peking crowds but clearly without the slightest interest in fighting for world socialist revolution, but, on the contrary despising the perspective heartily, - as their anti-communist supporters in fascist-individualist Hong Kong have bluntly demonstrated, - yet still singing the *Internationale* for sick theatrical effect, as provocateurs will always do.

**I** T was one of Hong Kong's most emotionally charged moments of proximity to the rebellion and subsequent state barbarism to the north, in China.

The students in the field wore the Benettonised gear that Hong Kong's youth cherishes - splattered with T-shirts showing the face of Chai Ling, the 23-year-old Beijing underground leader.

The anthem was written and first performed by a Band-Aid-style umbrella of Hong Kong rock and pop stars.

"Love, love the people; Fight, fight for freedom," it goes. Yesterday, they pushed their hands into the air with the peace/victory sign raised, and coached grandparents and little children as they sang along.

The song was born four weeks ago when almost every rock entertainer along that side of the Pacific Ocean came to Hong Kong to join 300,000 people for concert held in solidarity with the students occupying Tiananmen Square.

The concert organiser was Hong Kong's leading radical, although highly success-

ful) film producer, Johnny Shum. He has not touched movies for four weeks, preferring to become a bridge between the Hong Kong movement and the revolution on the mainland.

Copies of the *Internationale* were distributed and a man in a black T-shirt with a clenched fist on it explained some amendments made in Tiananmen Square. "The *Internationale* unites the human race" has become "The *Internationale* is for democracy freedom and equality".

Undeterred by simple exposure of the less-than-subtle fraud of the anarchist petty-bourgeois *Internationale* singers, the Spart-Trot psychosis blunders on to a full acceptance of the most rabid fictions invented by the capitalist press, -and gives full accreditation to these blatantly tainted sources.

There have already been clashes between army units which support the youthful protesters and those which support the decrepit Deng regime.

Crowds applauded sympathetic troops as they moved into the city to liberate the seat of the Chinese state from the butchers of Tiananmen Square.

"Our Government is already done with," declared a young worker as he stood, rock in hand, facing the soldiers that fateful bloody Sunday. But what government will replace the corrupt and murderous Stalinist clique?

While pro-regime military forces still occupy the center of Beijing, the rest of the city is in the hands of insurgent workers and students: "everywhere in Beijing people reacted to the killings by torching vehicles and creating blockades. The troops only controlled a few major thoroughfares, and elsewhere citizens continued to control the streets" (*New York Times*, 5 June). In the great industrial metropolis of Shanghai, student activists and militant workers have set up barricades using buses, trucks and cars. And a de facto general strike has brought economic activity to a standstill. In the central industrial city of Wuhan workers and students occupy a strategic bridge over the Yangtze River, a crucial transport link between northern and southern China.

The crowds kept chanting, "The People's Liberation Army must not fire on the people," and many of the soldiers believe it. The PLA is now *politically split*. The massacre was carried out by one particular military unit, the 27th Army, which was recently transferred from Inner Mongolia to the capital. The 27th has long historic ties to the Deng clique. Its commander is a relative of Chinese president Yang Shangkun, Deng's deputy and a prime mover in the suppression of the students' protests. Significantly, after the bloodbath the 27th Army has acted not as a conquering army but a *besieged* force. CBS News (5 June) reported:

"The tanks are ranged in a particular formation pointing in all directions. Down below them on the highway, below the overpass, are many trucks full of troops. Now, this is clearly a defensive formation that is set up not expect-

ing attack from unarmed civilians, but from other military units."

The main unit moving up against them is the 38th Army. This is the regular Beijing garrison force and has many ties to the civilian population, especially the students. Beijing University students in the army reserve reportedly spend their summers training with the 38th. It was the 38th Army which for two and a half weeks refused to enforce the martial law ordered by Deng and his hardline premier Li Peng. And now many soldiers of the 38th quite likely have relatives killed in the butchery of June 4.

As China moves rapidly toward civil war, the government has gone into hiding. None of the top leaders have been seen in the past few days. Rumors abound that Deng is dead or dying of cancer, that Li Peng was shot and wounded by a soldier whose relatives were killed in the massacre.

Only after swallowing this total crap of CIA disinformation do the Sparts then get round to trying to think what might be wrong with such a self-serving capitalist-press scenario as the world's greatest proletarian dictatorship being overthrown by its own people, a unique historical phenomenon which few Trotskyists (the sane ones, that is) even believe in any more, despite it being an article of faith.

While the students display more than a little petty-bourgeois elitism, the formation of workers', soldiers' and poor peasants' soviets would polarize the student movement, attracting those activists motivated by genuine social idealism.

Certainly, the students have strong illusions in some kind of pure, classless democracy which many of them seem to identify with America. Thus they erected a large statue of the "goddess of democracy," modeled on the American Statue of Liberty, and provocatively placed it opposite the huge portrait of Mao Tse-tung hanging in Tiananmen Square. Some student activists appealed to the Bush White House to pressure the Deng regime to "democratize" China.

Since the massacre, many supporters of the "pro-democracy" movement abroad have campaigned for the U.S. and other imperialist powers to launch a diplomatic and economic war against China. A group of Chinese exchange students in the U.S. wrote an open letter to Bush saying that the Chinese Communist Party had turned into an "evil fascist dictatorship" (*New York Times*, 5 June). One member of this group even stated that "Chiang Kai-shek wasn't so bad." Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was a bloody military dictatorship which cruelly oppressed China's workers and peasants in the service of Wall Street. Thus the cult of "pure democracy" could develop into an ideological basis for capitalist counter-revolution and imperialist subjugation.

Civil war is breaking out, but it's by no means all going toward counter-revolution.

And while there are plenty of pro-capitalist elements in China, with close links to Chinese capital in Hong Kong, Taiwan and Singapore, the current protests are oriented not toward counter-revolution but in the opposite direc-

tion, feeding off discontent with the pro-capitalist economic policies of the Deng regime. They promised consumer goods and delivered...but only for the privileged petty-bourgeois layers. Having sown the wind, they're now reaping the whirlwind of political revolution. A Beijing Commune was taking shape in Tiananmen Square. And moreover—unlike East Berlin 1953, the 1956 Hungarian workers revolt or the 1968 Prague Spring—it is a political revolution without the presence of the Soviet army and the complicating factor of perceived national oppression.

But those slight reservations are as far as petty bourgeois rationalism dares to go. Trotsky's anti-Soviet 'political revolution' dogma must prevail, — slightly tampered with to give it a better 'fit' for China's circumstances, — and also the easier to explain the crushing defeat (about to be delivered to this bizarre 'political revolution' fetishism plucked out of thin air by the defeated Trotsky), — which these US bourgeois 'revolutionary' dilettantes must have already sensed was coming even as they vomited up this hopelessly deranged 'analysis' of events in China.

The Chinese Revolution was based on a peasant (i.e., petty-bourgeois) army led by declassed intellectuals like Mao and Deng. From its inception the Maoist regime had a petty-bourgeois *bonapartist* character, trying to balance above all classes in Chinese society. Thus it requires another revolution for the working class to achieve political power. That revolution has now begun. ■

Sounding more Trotskyite with every occasional issue, the fake 'Leninist' lumps, floating in the CPGB bog, do their usual act of pretending to be above the anti-communist 'left' swamp while in reality being the nastiest objects in it precisely through their pretended 'support' for the workers states while in fact stabbing the dictatorship of the proletariat in the back at the first signs of approaching middle-class disapproval (and loss of financial backing) in the West. Their China coverage is up to their usual treacherous standards of refusing to identify with the Chinese workers state just at the moment when it is most needed.

This has been a "rebellion of the Chinese people" but not a "revolution" they observe oh so quietly, and genteely, (and briefly!). Believing the capitalist press that "a million had demonstrated in Tiananmen Square" (it was never more

Several thousands join the anarchy, not millions.



than 20,000 at the most — a very tiny crowd by Chinese standards), the 'Leninist' then asserts that "Li Peng could only use helicopter gunships to distribute leaflets". This loaded hysterical gibberish is straight out of a CIA anti-communist handbook. It gets worse. "Once the masses moved, Beijing was brought to a standstill". Their argument against the official CPGB '7 Days' that it was a rebellion rather than a revolution grows more and more obscure.

The threat of an army clampdown, they declare, "is the approach of the bureaucrat determined to hold onto privilege, not that of the communist who made the revolution in 1949...a deep split was created in the bureaucratic leadership of the CPC...a whole layer of party and government officials..have an interest in

constituting themselves as a capitalist ruling class".

This is Western petty-bourgeois defeatism of near certifiable proportions. Who needs Trotskyism with a CP-GB of Jacques mentality, and a 'Leninist' opposition faction which is even more counter-revolutionary than its decrepit parent body.

In all the 'left' swamp, only the pathetic CPBML followers of Reg Birch sounded even more stupid with the deranged screech: "Amritsar, My Lai, Bloody Sunday in Derry, the Rape of Nanking: the world never forgets and does not forgive". Applied to anything the Chinese workers state could ever do, this would be the most despicable slander of fascist provocation proportions. But pronounced over a not particularly violent routing (and a necessary one) of counter-revolution, and over a Western press 'massac-

The 'pro-democracy' frauds launch arson attacks on the authorities to start the bloodshed.



Anarchist hippies join the revolt, hating communism.

re' which did not even take place, this drivel is an offensive outrage. Such criminal oafs should be denied a piece of chalk and a blank wall by any self-respecting workers, let alone a weekly 'news'-paper, full of CIA hysteria.

The Chinese workers state has not become British colonialism in Ireland or India (which the British Labour Party, whom the CPBML likes workers to vote for, fully supported) or US imperialism in Vietnam (likewise, under Wilson). And it was the historic mass revolutionary movement organised by China's communists which gave the Chinese people's only answer to the imperialist perpetrators of the Rape of Nanking, no one else. The Chinese workers state is still in China building socialism and massively supported by the people. It represents a constant colossal defeat for world imperialism (however paralysed by revisionist class-collaborating delusions its leadership occasionally becomes), as evidenced by the unprecedented lying propaganda-blitzkrieg inflicted on People's China by the imperialist media in recent weeks (and shamefully echoed by the entire 'left' swamp).

The hysterical stupidities uttered about communist China's collapse are the disgusting dying bleats of the 'left' revisionist frauds imposed on Western workers since WWII, - by all

kinds of Trots and CPers alike. This cretinous anti-theory is doomed to collapse alongside the philistine opportunism of the imperialist system itself, of which it is a treacherous accomplice, - as this China episode has again demonstrated conclusively.

It is now more certain than ever that this counter-revolutionary excrescence in China is just waiting to explode on the Soviet Union itself, pumped up by all the foul class-collaborating nonsense of Gorbachevism. Only the science of Leninism can explain how the rubbish of Western 'pro-democracy' petty-bourgeois influences can revive (in an imperialist-dominated world) even 72 years after the successful establishment of the world's first proletarian dictatorship.

The workers states will survive these counter-revolutionary upheavals which are part of capitalism's worldwide crisis disrupting and confusing the whole of the planet. But only Leninism will eventually come out of these class war developments with any consistent credit, and the revolutionary philosophy of the masses will be more and more enthusiastically taken up by ever wider sectors of the international proletariat and anti-imperialist movement.

Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

The real nature of the present leaders of the Independent Social-Democratic Party of Germany (leaders of whom it has been wrongly said that they have already lost all influence, whereas in reality they are even more dangerous to the proletariat than the Hungarian Social-Democrats who styled themselves Communists and promised to "support" the dictatorship of the proletariat) was once again revealed during the German equivalent of the Kornilov revolt, i.e., the Kapp-Lüttwitz *putsch*.<sup>\*</sup> A small but striking illustration is provided by two brief articles — one by Karl Kautsky entitled "Decisive Hours" ("Entscheidende Stunden") in *Freiheit* (Freedom), organ of the Independents,<sup>100</sup> of March 30, 1920, and the other by Arthur Crispian entitled "On the Political Situation" (in the same newspaper, issue of April 14, 1920). These gentlemen are absolutely incapable of thinking and reasoning like revolutionaries. They are snivelling philistine democrats, who become a thousand times more dangerous to the proletariat when they claim to be supporters of Soviet government and of the dictatorship of the proletariat because, in fact, whenever a difficult and dangerous situation arises they are sure to commit treachery ... while "sincerely" believing that they are helping the proletariat! Did not the Hungarian Social-Democrats, after rechristening themselves Communists, also want to "help" the proletariat when, because of their cowardice and spinelessness, they considered the position of Soviet power in Hungary hopeless and went snivelling to the agents of the Entente capitalists and the Entente hangmen?

The childishness of those who "repudiate" participation in parliament consists in their thinking it possible to "solve" the difficult problem of combating bourgeois-democratic influences within the working-class movement in such a "simple", "easy", allegedly revolutionary manner, whereas they are actually merely running away from their own shadows, only closing their eyes to difficulties and trying to shrug them off with mere words. The most shameless careerism, the bourgeois utilisation of parliamentary seats, glaringly reformist perversion of parliamentary activity, and vulgar petty-bourgeois conservatism are all unquestionably common and prevalent features engendered everywhere by capitalism, not only outside but also within the working-class movement. But the selfsame capitalism and the bourgeois environment it creates (which disappears very slowly even after the overthrow of the bourgeoisie, since the peasantry constantly regenerates the bourgeoisie) give rise to what is essentially the same bourgeois careerism, national chauvinism, petty-bourgeois vulgarity, etc. — merely varying insignificantly in form — in positively every sphere of activity and life.

You think, my dear boycottists and anti-parliamentarians, that you are "terribly revolutionary", but in reality you are frightened by the comparatively minor difficulties of the struggle against bourgeois influences within the working-class movement, whereas your victory — i.e., the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the conquest of political power by the proletariat — will create these very same difficulties on a still larger, an infinitely larger scale. Like children, you are frightened by a minor difficulty which confronts you today, but you do not understand that tomorrow, and the day after, you will still have to learn, and learn thoroughly, to overcome the selfsame difficulties, only on an immeasurably greater scale.

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM - AN INFANTILE DISORDER

Under Soviet rule, your proletarian party and ours will be invaded by a still larger number of bourgeois intellectuals. They will worm their way into the Soviets, the courts, and the administration, since communism cannot be built otherwise than with the aid of the human material created by capitalism, and the bourgeois intellectuals cannot be expelled and destroyed, but must be won over, remoulded, assimilated and re-educated, just as we must — in a protracted struggle waged on the basis of the dictatorship of the proletariat — re-educate the proletarians themselves, who do not abandon their petty-bourgeois prejudices at one stroke, by a miracle, at the behest of the Virgin Mary, at the behest of a slogan, resolution or decree, but only in the course of a long and difficult mass struggle against mass petty-bourgeois influences. Under Soviet rule, these same problems, which the anti-parliamentarians now so proudly, so haughtily, so lightly and so childishly brush aside with a wave of the hand — *these selfsame* problems are arising anew *within* the Soviets, within the Soviet administration, among the Soviet "pleaders" (in Russia we have abolished, and have rightly abolished, the bourgeois legal bar, but it is reviving again under the cover of the "Soviet pleaders"<sup>101</sup>). Among Soviet engineers, Soviet school-teachers and the privileged, i. e., the most highly skilled and best situated, *workers* at Soviet factories, we observe a constant revival of absolutely *all* the negative traits peculiar to bourgeois parliamentarianism, and we are conquering this evil — gradually — only by a tireless, prolonged and persistent struggle based on proletarian organisation and discipline.

Of course, under the rule of the bourgeoisie it is very "difficult" to eradicate bourgeois habits from our own, i. e., the workers', party; it is "difficult" to expel from the party the familiar parliamentary leaders who have been hopelessly corrupted by bourgeois prejudices; it is "difficult" to subject to proletarian discipline the absolutely essential (even if very limited) number of people coming from the ranks of the bourgeoisie; it is "difficult" to form, in a bourgeois parliament, a communist group fully worthy of the working class; it is "difficult" to ensure that the communist parliamentarians do not engage in bourgeois parliamentary inanities, but concern themselves with the very urgent work of propaganda, agitation and organisation among the masses. All this is "difficult", to be sure; it was difficult in Russia, and it is vastly more difficult in Western Europe and in America, where the bourgeoisie is far stronger, where bourgeois-democratic traditions are stronger, and so on.

Yet all these "difficulties" are mere child's play compared with the *same sort* of problems which, in any event, the proletariat will have most certainly to solve in order to achieve victory, both during the proletarian revolution and after the seizure of power by the proletariat. Compared with *these* truly gigantic problems of re-educating, under the proletarian dictatorship, millions of peasants and small proprietors, hundreds of thousands of office employees, officials and bourgeois intellectuals, of subordinating them all to the proletarian state and to proletarian leadership, of eradicating their bourgeois habits and traditions — compared with these gigantic problems it is childishly easy to create, under the rule of the bourgeoisie, and in a bourgeois parliament, a really communist group of a real proletarian party.

If our "Left" and anti-parliamentarian comrades do not learn to overcome even such a small difficulty now, we may safely assert that either they will prove incapable of achieving the dictatorship of the proletariat, and will be unable to subordinate and remould the bourgeois intellectuals and bourgeois institutions on a wide scale, or they will have to *hastily complete their education*, and, by that haste, will do a great deal of harm to the cause of the proletariat, will commit more errors than usual, will manifest more than average weakness and inefficiency, and so on and so forth.

"LEFT-WING" COMMUNISM — AN INFANTILE DISORDER May 1920

7. In particular, we must not restrict ourselves to the usual repudiation, in principle, of all collaboration between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, of all "collaborationism". Under the dictatorship of the proletariat, which will never be able, at one stroke, to abolish private property completely, mere defence of "liberty" and "equality", while private ownership of the means of production is preserved, turns into "collaboration" with the bourgeoisie, and undermines the rule of the working class. The dictatorship of the proletariat means that the state uses its whole machinery of power to uphold and perpetuate "no-liberty" for the exploiters to continue their oppression and exploitation, "inequality" between the owner of property (i. e., one who has

appropriated for himself certain means of production created by social labour) and the non-owner. That which, prior to the victory of the proletariat, seems merely a theoretical difference on the question of "democracy" inevitably becomes, on the day following victory, a question that is settled by force of arms. Consequently, even preliminary work in preparing the masses to effect the dictatorship of the proletariat is impossible without a radical change in the entire character of the struggle against the "Centrists" and the "champions of democracy".

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.), 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.

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.

#### THESES ON COMINTERN FUNDAMENTAL TASKS July 1920

By that time, the disputes as to the significance of the Soviets were already linked up with the question of dictatorship. The Bolsheviks had raised the question of the dictatorship even prior to the revolution of October 1905<sup>98</sup> (see my pamphlet *Two Tactics of Social-Democracy in the Democratic Revolution*, Geneva, July 1905; reprinted in a volume of collected articles entitled *Twelve Years*). The Mensheviks took a negative stand with regard to the "dictatorship" slogan; the Bolsheviks emphasised that the Soviets of Workers' Deputies were "actually an embryo of a new revolutionary power", as was literally said in the draft of the Bolshevik resolution (p. 92 of my *Report*). The Mensheviks acknowledged the importance of the Soviets; they were in favour of "helping to organise" them, etc., but they did not regard them as embryos of revolutionary power, did not in general say anything about a "new revolutionary power" of this or some similar type, and flatly rejected the slogan of dictatorship. It will easily be seen that this attitude to the question already contained the seeds of all the present disagreements with the Mensheviks. It will also be easily seen that, in their attitude to this question, the Mensheviks (both Russian and non-Russian, such as the Kautskyites, Longuetists and the like) have been behaving like reformists or opportunists, who recognise the proletarian revolution in word, but in deed reject what is most essential and fundamental in the concept of "revolution".

Even before the revolution of 1905, I analysed, in the afore-mentioned pamphlet, *Two Tactics*, the arguments of the Mensheviks, who accused me of having "imperceptibly substituted 'dictatorship' for 'revolution'" (*Twelve Years*, p. 459\*). I showed in detail that, by this very accusation, the Mensheviks revealed their opportunism, their true political nature, as toadies to the liberal bourgeoisie and conductors of its influence in the ranks of the proletariat. When the revolution becomes an unquestioned force, I said, even its opponents begin to "recognise the revolution"; and I pointed (in the summer of 1905) to the example of the Russian liberals, who remained constitutional monarchists. At present in 1920, one might add that in Germany and Italy the liberal bourgeois — or at least the most educated and adroit of them — are ready to "recognise the revolution". But by "recognising" the revolution, and at the same time refusing to recognise the dictatorship of a definite class (or of definite classes), the Russian liberals and the Mensheviks of that time, and the present-day German and Italian liberals, Turatists and Kautskyites, have revealed their *reformism*, their absolute unfitness to be revolutionaries.

Indeed, when the revolution has already become an unquestioned force, when even the liberals "recognise" it, and when the ruling classes not only see but also feel the invincible might of the oppressed masses, then the *entire question* — both to the theoreticians and the leaders of practical policy — reduces itself to an exact class definition of the revolution. However, without the concept of "dictatorship", this precise class definition cannot be given. One cannot be a revolutionary in fact unless one prepares for dictatorship. This truth was not understood in 1905 by the Mensheviks, and it is not understood in 1920 by the Italian, German, French and other socialists, who are afraid of the severe "conditions" of the Communist International; this truth is feared by people who are capable of recognising the dictatorship in word,

but are incapable of preparing for it in deed. It will therefore not be irrelevant to quote at length the explanation of Marx's views, which I published in July 1905 in opposition to the Russian Mensheviks, but is equally applicable to the West-European Mensheviks of 1920. (Instead of giving titles of newspapers, etc., I shall merely indicate whether Mensheviks or Bolsheviks are referred to.)

"In his notes to Marx's articles in *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of 1848, Mehring tells us that one of the reproaches levelled at this newspaper by bourgeois publications was that it had allegedly demanded 'the immediate introduction of a dictatorship as the sole means of achieving democracy' (Marx, *Nachlass*, Vol. III, p. 53). From the vulgar bourgeois standpoint the terms of dictatorship and democracy are mutually exclusive. Failing to understand the theory of class struggle and accustomed to seeing in the political arena the petty squabbling of the various bourgeois circles and coteries, the bourgeois understands by dictatorship the annulment of all liberties and guarantees of democracy, arbitrariness of every kind, and every sort of abuse of power, in a dictator's personal interests. In fact, it is precisely this vulgar bourgeois view that is to be observed among our Mensheviks, who attribute the partiality of the Bolsheviks for the slogan of 'dictatorship' to Lenin's 'passionate desire to try his luck' (*Iskra* No. 103, p. 3, column 2). In order to explain to the Mensheviks the meaning of the term class dictatorship as distinct from a personal dictatorship, and the tasks of a democratic dictatorship as distinct from a socialist dictatorship, it would not be amiss to dwell on the views of *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung*.

"'After a revolution,' *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* wrote on September 14, 1848, 'every provisional organisation of the state requires a dictatorship, and an energetic dictatorship at that. From the very beginning we have reproached Camphausen [the head of the Ministry after March 18, 1848<sup>107</sup>] for not acting dictatorially, for not having immediately smashed up and eliminated the remnants of the old institutions. And while Herr Camphausen was lulling himself with constitutional illusions, the defeated party [i. e., the party of reaction] strengthened its positions in the bureaucracy and in the army, and here and there even began to venture upon open struggle.'"

"These words, Mehring justly remarks, sum up in a few propositions all that was propounded in detail in *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* in long articles on the Camphausen Ministry. What do these words of Marx tell us? That a provisional revolutionary government must act dictatorially (a proposition which the Mensheviks were totally unable to grasp since they were fighting shy of the slogan of dictatorship), and that the task of such a dictatorship is to destroy the remnants of the old institutions (which is precisely what was clearly stated in the resolution of the Third Congress of the Russian Social-Democratic Labour Party [Bolsheviks] on the struggle against counter-revolution, and was omitted in the Mensheviks' resolution as shown above). Third, and last, it follows from these words that Marx castigated the bourgeois democrats for entertaining 'constitutional illusions' in a period of revolution and open civil war. The meaning of these words becomes particularly obvious from the article in *Die Neue Rheinische Zeitung* of June 6, 1848.

"'A Constituent National Assembly,' Marx wrote, 'must first of all be an active, revolutionary active assembly. The Frankfurt Assembly<sup>108</sup> however, is busying itself with school exercises in parliamentarianism while allowing the government to act. Let us assume that this learned assembly succeeds, after mature consideration, in evolving the best possible agenda and the best constitution, but what is the use of the best possible agenda and of the best possible constitution, if the German governments have in the meantime placed the bayonet on the agenda?'"

"That is the meaning of the slogan: dictatorship...."

"Major questions in the life of nations are settled only by force. The reactionary classes themselves are usually the first to resort to violence, to civil war; they are the first to 'place the bayonet on the agenda', as the Russian autocracy has systematically and unswervingly been doing everywhere ever since January 9<sup>109</sup>. And since such a situation has arisen, since the bayonet has really become the main point on the political agenda, since insurrection has proved imperative and urgent — the constitutional illusions and school exercises in parliamentarianism become merely a screen for the bourgeois betrayal of the revolution, a screen to conceal the fact that the bourgeoisie is 'recoiling' from the revolution. It is precisely the slogan of dictatorship that the genuinely revolutionary class must advance, in that case."\*\*\*

That was how the Bolsheviks reasoned on the dictatorship before the revolution of October 1905.

## Western petty-bourgeois 'democracy' illusions will have to like it or lump it as far as China's unbeatable proletarian dictatorship path is concerned.

The firm course adopted by the Chinese workers state in crushing the counter-revolutionary opposition to the communist party's leadership role has created a crisis for imperialism, not the socialist camp.

Anti-Leninist propaganda can scream hysterically until it is blue in the face but it is 'parliamentary reformism' which will be humiliated and frustrated in the end, not the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The collapse of illusions in the alleged 'invincible success, strength, and influence' of the so-called 'democratic way of life' will drive half the middle-class anti-China protesters towards pacifism, and the other half (particularly the 'lefts') towards fascism.

The whole of anti-Leninist bourgeois opinion (including the bogus 'revolutionary' groups of Trots and Euros) will either have to accept proletarian-dictatorship China as an obviously irresistibly dominant force on the entire future development of world history through increasingly triumphant economic, political and military influence inspiring the world's masses ever-more-rapidly towards communist revolution. At which point many of the various posturing 'socialist' and 'democratic' tendencies in Western society will quietly abandon their egotistical political aggression for a more pacifist 'peace at any price' stance.

Or else the more ideologically psychotic elements will have to try writing off the Chinese nation (a quarter of mankind) as being 'not relevant to the rest of civilisation's development', - which is pure racism, a not infrequent expression of the bitter anti-

proletarian class prejudice which lies at the bottom of all anti-Leninism.

In working itself up into such a barren lather over the exemplary authority and maturity the Chinese workers state has shown against this wretched Western-inspired provocation trying to undermine communist party rule, Western reaction has indicated that a historical watershed may be about to be reached in the bourgeoisie's century-long anti-communist crusade.

The beginnings of a tell-tale pattern may be developing. Demented anti-communist prejudice had already been utterly humiliated only a couple of months ago by making such a fool of itself over Afghanistan, counting the chickens of counter-revolutionary 'victory' before they had hatched and contemptuously writing off the Kabul regime whose triumph, however, is now assured.

Neutral logic would suggest that Western anti-communist reaction could not be daft enough as to make an even more catastrophic misjudgment of the viability of a workers state just a few months later.

But the dialectical history of class-struggle logic produces exactly such astonishing phenomena. Not only has petty-bourgeois prejudice against the dictatorship of the proletariat stamped the West into a disastrous new misjudgment about the fate of a workers state under counter-revolutionary pressure. It waged its reputation and sanity on defeat for the peoples republic of China of all places. And what is worse, it has unleashed such a barrage of propaganda distortions, emotional degeneracy, and philosophical irrationalism that everyone has been sucked deeply into th-

is particular anti-communist crusade including every last Trot and Euro group of fake 'revolutionary' petty-bourgeois, some of whom were opportunistically smart enough to not swallow completely the anti-Afghan disinformation.

Not only has anti-communist hysteria 'done it again' only weeks after being humiliated by Kabul's easy triumph over the West's counter-revolutionary hopes; it has rushed even more like headless chickens than ever before into its new disaster of getting China wrong.

Such a pattern of growing hopelessness at understanding what is going on in the world implies a worldwide bourgeois class which is nearing the end of its tether, - collectively becoming bankrupt and slowly dying.

The naive assumptions about the effortless economic superiority of 'the West' (the anti-communist press, the 'left' swamp, Sakharov & Co, etc) are the silliest notion of all. The world has already had its historical period of 'capitalism everywhere', and it was a disaster of inter-imperialist warmongering to which there is no going back. Socialist revolution was precisely born out of the desperate need for all mankind to find a way out of the monstrous imposition on civilisation of World War I and World War II plus literally hundreds of colonial wars and lesser wars both before, inbetween, and since these greater holocausts, plus a permanent capitalist arms race which is still going on climbing to this very day, - destroying economic hopes all round the planet, and unavoidably destined towards inter-imperialist World War III.

Nothing could be more insane than the current Western delusion that the socialist states are cracking up and that only a restoration of the capitalist market system can 'avert disaster'.

Returning the socialist states to capitalism would be the disaster for mankind, - re-establishing the imperialist bourgeois-

ie's worldwide dominance over human affairs, and inevitably plunging the whole planet back into warmongering turmoil and total devastation as soon as the cut-throat profiteering trade-war had run its usual course towards all-out shooting war. As it is, only half the world faces that prospect, - and the existence of the socialist camps enormously powerful progress since 1917 stands out as the one great hope for avoiding a complete warmongering catastrophe for capitalism next time round, - by offering the working masses the alternative of making the socialist revolution rather than blindly following their nationalist-capitalist flags into WWII.

Restoring capitalism is also an idiotic argument even as far as economics is concerned.

The apparent 'democratic affluence' of the leading Western powers is nothing but a gigantic fraud of imperialist exploitation. The wealth and technological progress is real enough. But it is only achievable because the giant multi-national imperialist monopolies exploit and dominate the entire planet in their profiteering advance. Its highest expression is apparently effortless 'democratic' affluence; but its essential reverse side is the pitiful poverty and brutal exploitation of the Third World fascist dictatorships operating under Western imperialist protection. For every despicable Kinnockite, Thatcherite, Tariq Aliite, or Sakharovite cheering on the 'democratic achievements' of the Western world, there is a child-labour racket or child-prostitution outrage greasing the wheels of the 'free-market' commodity-productivity pressure all over the backstreets and villages of Brazil, India, Pakistan, Bangkok, Philippines, Egypt, Nigeria, Mexico, etc, - duplicated a hundred times around the Third World.

And when these anti-communists scream that the socialist states education and welfare achievements are not much to write home about (as Sakharov and the anti-China hysteria have

been trying to do) 'considering the appalling disadvantages of economic stagnation', etc. - they are simply lying.

And so wilfully blind are they (to the colossal economic, political, scientific, and military achievements of the USSR since 1917 despite twice being devastated by imperialist intervention plus non-stop counter-revolutionary subversion and Cold War hostility) that logical argument is totally wasted on anti-communism. Which is where the dictatorship of the proletariat comes in; which is why the anti-communist swamp is so demented about the authoritative way in which the Chinese workers state has put its foot down firmly on the pro-Western provocations unleashed (against socialist China's brilliant achievements) by the destructive influences of phony capitalist 'democracy'. Against the dictatorship of the proletariat there is no further argument, which is precisely why materialist philosophy has theoretically highlighted such a power for changing the world, and why subjective-idealist opportunism so hates such a historical phenomenon.

To posture that the dictatorship of the proletariat is a disastrous doomed cul-de-sac of human development, it is necessary to write off the vast majority of mankind (which is clearly backing the Chinese workers state's confident and efficient crushing of this trivial counter-revolutionary 'pro-democracy' stunt trying to restore capitalism; which clearly supports the Kabul regime against the massive Western destabilisation effort; and which will ruthlessly crush the Sakharovite counter-revolutionary excrement (and hopefully Gorbachevite revisionism too) when it makes its obnoxious provocative bid to totally disrupt the USSR shortly.)

Historically, it is the last gasp for the 'pro-democracy' delusion to make its petty-bourgeois individualist stand against the workers states of proletarian dictatorship before the much-admired Western world finally plunges shortly into the slump-crash turmoil of capitalism's last great economic fascist-warmongering crisis. With scores of mini-Hitlers and Mussolinis rampaging around the 'free

world' soon, trying through fascist warmongering to divert a communist revolt against the mile-high and mounting permanent-mass-unemployment and depression-poverty, -the deranged vomit of Sakharov & Co that 'the West is best' will convince even dim-witted Gorbachevites that it is certifiable and needs locking up.

China's Sakharovs have forced the Chinese workers state's hand first, - possibly thinking that the rotten recent revisionist record of the Peking leadership had made it ripe for counter-revolutionary overthrow. Some leaders indeed had reached such a paralysed revisionist-defeatist condition that they were ready to commit suicide by 'pluralist democracy' and the restoration of capitalism. But the proletarian dictatorship of the Chinese workers state proved far

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

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

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

The West's disgusting 'democratic' bourgeoisie and its even more loathsome armchair-socialist 'left' swamp will obviously try claiming that the proletarian dictatorship outcomes of the 1917 revolution and the 1949 revolution (plus all the rest of the socialist camp) are 'nothing to do with socialism' or even 'nothing to do with Lenin'; but Lenin's greatest theoretical achievement was his understanding of the necessity of the dictatorship of the proletariat as alone being the vehicle capable of taking the world socialist revolution through its very difficult early decades (being speculated upon here by Lenin) on to the time when the vast majority of

more sturdy and historically assured than the idiot anti-communist clique (from Thatcher to Tariq Ali, the Trots and the Euros) had foolishly reckoned with their CIA-fed nonsense about the communist party's 'imminent collapse', etc.

The vast mass of China supports the communists' 1949 seizure of power after a heroic 20-year guerrilla war struggle, and have had their lives utterly transformed by this historic revolution. This seems so obvious that it is only very sick persons (a minority of anti-communist activists dominating a passive indifferent mass in the West) who continue to deny the obvious huge political implications of this reality.

Lenin in his very last article (Better Fewer, But Better; March 1923) referred in passing to this unanswerable demographic factor.

archist/petty-bourgeois revolt and the Menshevik/Socialist-Revolutionary 'pluralist' counter-revolutionary demands.

And this, of course, is very well known to every 'left' swamp reptile in the West, but it is also, of course, more than their rotten 'revolutionary' reputations are worth to admit it and have to hand Lenin over to the real Leninists (ILWP, etc). So the swamp hovers between totally disowning Lenin (CPGB, etc), and trying to pretend that Lenin was a petty-bourgeois 'pluralist' democratic-socialist (i.e. reformist and anti-communist) twat like they all are.

But the swamp's bogus claims to Marxism-Leninism are of no use either against the irresistible historical avalanche of the dictatorship of the proletariat as brilliantly exemplified by the Chinese workers state. Hence the psychotic/schizophrenic hysteria of the entire anti-communist swamp from Thatcher to Tariq Ali.

The anti-China hysteria is also a fraud from the point of view of democracy too, of course.

Democracy can only start with the street committees as apparently operate brilliantly in China (judging from the scalded hate-filled reaction of the West to the unearthing, capture, and handing in of the fugitive counter-revolutionaries by the people of China).

The ILWP has endless disagreements with the all-round revisionist line pursued by the CPC leadership in China and has no use or need to justify the whole structure of democratic development in China with the ultimate communist aim of achieving the withering away of the state a few generations hence under the abundance of fully self-disciplining communist society.)

But post-capitalist democracy can only start with street committees, and even these must be led by convinced and capable communists. Only when political and economic developments have enabled street committees to effortlessly master all the arts and sciences of harmonious social upbringing and development on a local-issue level will they be philosophically mature enough to run industry-wide and nation-wide affairs effortlessly too. But meanwhile communist revolution-

play leadership alone can play the vital cohesive role in society.

The real democracy of proletarian dictatorship, - an infinitely more advanced democracy than anything achievable under 'pluralism', - lies in the crucial necessity for the revolutionary leadership to convince the proletariat at all times in every detail of the overall correctness of the communist policy and of the all-important role of the masses in communist perspectives, - starting with the absolute need to get street committees working effectively immediately to unite, reconcile, and bring out the best in local understanding of how to collectively solve the problems of housing, education, child upbringing, family squabbles, work discipline, social order, sport and recreation and other cultural activities, etc, plus the all-important matter of expanding the political and philosophical horizons of the mass of the people to coincide their local activities with the national development priorities and the international political revolutionary requirements.

Anti-communist cynicism will dismiss such street-committee beginnings of real democracy as either 'insufferable domineering tutelage' or else as 'unwarranted interference in the domestic affairs of ordinary people', etc.

But the real domineering mentality is all down to these posturing 'pluralist' democracy frauds whose whole racket is to rely on the self-seeking elitism of bourgeois anti-communist press and TV brainwashing-propaganda or else the philistine individualism of the petty-bourgeoisie (and of the petty-bourgeois labour movement under capitalism) to maintain the precious 'parliamentary democracy' privileged world they cling selfishly to under capitalism.

And what does this 'democracy' really do for lonely and isolated old-age people under capitalism; for broken homes, delinquent families and criminalised youth; to stamp out prostitution, alcoholism, drug abuse, and mafia thuggery; or to overcome the pitiful cultural levels inflicted by capitalist commercial 'newspapers' and 'entertainment' media? All that 'democratic' cynic-

ism can do about all these perpetual features of capitalism's 'free market' rat-race of success versus poverty is to sneer at the socialist camps hitherto uncompleted (because of insufficient revolutionary strength and economic development) efforts to completely reorganise social and productive life to eradicate for ever these appalling blights on civilisations landscape (and a million more besides).

It is not domineering tutelage to start organising the total community socially to give every help, encouragement and leadership needed until there is not one single problem family remaining on any street in Britain (thereby immediately beginning to solve every 'slum housing' problem in Britain (on the basis that there are no slum houses as such, only slum families), every educational blackspot problem, every cultural decadence problem, etc) - on the way towards economic renewal eventually providing all the facilities presently lacking for a complete transformation of social life in Britain. It is just 'democratic' cynicism to wonder whether or not people should not be allowed the 'freedom' to 'choose' to fester aimlessly or to re-educate their lives.

Similarly, it is only selfish anarchy, not democracy, to argue that people have the 'right' to live whatever sort of life they wish. The truth is that under the capitalist 'free market', there has never been any end in sight to the winners-and-losers inevitable consequence of an economic system fundamentally of exploitation by one man of the labour of hundreds (or thousands) of others, which unavoidably then degenerates repeatedly into success and failure, into get-up-and-go or down-and-out, into responsible-law-abiding or anti-social-element, and finally into worthy-figurehead-of the democratic-way-of-life versus criminal-communist-rabble-rouser, -and, on the international scale, defender-of-democracy-and-international human-rights versus dissolute-scrouter-nation or communist-terrorist-conspiracy, etc. In other words, always back to fascist civil strife and inter-imperialist warmongering.

No Leninist can doubt the

record of the international system of capitalist 'democracy' producing as much poverty, exploitation, brutality, and degeneracy now as any time in history plus even more destructive arms-race warmongering preparations and conflicts than ever before; and no Leninist can doubt the need to unconditionally support the regimes of proletarian dictatorship in the face of endless imperialist subversion and hostility.

And it is only the revisionist retreat from Leninism which helped cloud and confuse the appeal of the socialist states in contrast to the incurably rotten record of the capitalist system.

The artificial hysteria whipped up against the dictatorship of the proletariat in China is a sickness for the capitalist system, not for socialism. It shows that the final shattering crisis for anti-communism is well under way. It is the demented misrepresentation and distorted analysis of the Chinese workers state which is up a blind alley, - not the logical, stable, creative and brilliantly successful dictatorship of the proletariat.

A class-war struggle has taken place in China, with more workers-state soldiers killed than anarchist protesters. There is nothing to judge in terms of 'violence'. Tens of thousands more are being killed daily all round the world by capitalist violence of one form or another (famine, infant mortality, disease, civil war, inter-imperialist war, etc), - including the suppression of protests of various kinds (from the Philippines to Chile, from South Africa to Turkey, from Indonesia to Peru, from Palestine to Guatemala, from Ireland to Argentina, etc.). What must be judged is who should win, - the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the capitalist-fascist anarchy of 'parliamentary democracy' worldwide? Or as Marxism-Leninism repeatedly stated the question: Either the dictatorship of the proletariat, or else the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. There is no alternative. By not supporting the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, the anti-communist 'left' swamp is willy-nilly supporting the

dictatorship of the Western bourgeoisie, worldwide.

The charge that there need not have been any violence at all in the recent Chinese conflict is firstly the most trivial hypocritical nonsense since it was such a minor clash compared to the past bloodbath history of China under imperialist domination, and compared to the truly colossal slaughter in modern times in anti-communist Third World countries, not just cheerfully condoned by the West but actively encouraged with imperialist arms supplies, as the capitalist press itself admits happened just a few years ago in Indonesia.

Between October 1965 and March 1966 around a million people were killed and thousands more imprisoned.

This military oligarchy has striven to eliminate all opposition, imprisoning and torturing tens of thousands of people over the past 20 years. Newspapers and books which criticise the regime have been banned, and trade unions crushed.

But while other despots have been overthrown, President Suharto lives on, under the economic and political patronage of the western industrialised powers.

One major aspect of this patronage has been the sale of military equipment which still flows into Indonesia, particularly from the US and western Europe, despite the brutality for which the Indonesian military are responsible.

The US doubled its arms trade with Indonesia and massively increased military aid to the Suharto government following Communist victories in Vietnam.

Meanwhile, the Suharto government is in the business of brutally expanding Indonesian territory. In 1962, West Papua was occupied, and in December 1975 the Indonesian armed forces launched a full-scale invasion of the former Portuguese colony, East Timor.

Since then, East Timor has been the scene of untold atrocities leading to the death of 200,000 people.

Secondly it is an outrageous piece of humbug charging the Chinese workers state authorities with responsibility for the violence in any case, since they clearly had spent seven weeks bending over backwards to avoid a clash with the protesters, allowing their own police and troops to be frequently humiliated as they tried to talk the arrogant and ignorant ana-

richistic petty-bourgeoisie into restoring law and order (which irresolute softness, and political naiveness by the authorities, was partly cause of the eventual scale of the confrontational trouble when it did finally have to inevitably come).

The Bulletin has compiled in recent weeks irrefutable evidence showing that the protesters were hell-bent on a bloody armed conflict in spite of all their lying deceptions about being purely 'for peace and democracy', etc.

More evidence has just been supplied by these alleged 'rebel documents' in the capitalist press.

First they show the anti-democratic conceit of these rampant individualists. "I am in charge of the rebellion" boasts 'student heroine' Chai Ling. And who elected her as head of 'the people' challenging the legitimate revolutionary government of 1200 million Chinese? Absolutely no one at all, it is plainly obvious. So like all 'democracy' boasting, this particular episode in petty-bourgeois idealism starts with a typical piece of aggressive individualist piracy.

Chai Ling, who had organised the hunger strikes, said the occupation should continue, and was greeted by the crowds as the movement's 'Commander-in-Chief'.

**T**ODAY is June 8, 1989, it is now 4pm. I am Chai Ling, Commander-in-Chief in Tiananmen Square. I am still alive.

I believe I am the best qualified critic of the situation in the Square during the period, June 2 to June 4

After this, let me briefly talk about our position. I was Commander-in-Chief.

At 9 pm sharp, all of the students in the square stood up and with their right hands raised, vowed: "I vow that, for not to be destroyed by a handful of schemers, for saving our 1.1 billion countrymen from dying in the white terror, I vow that I will give up my youthful life to protect Tiananmen Square, to protect the Republic. Heads can fall, blood can run, but the People's Square can never be abandoned. We are willing to use our youthful lives to fight until the very last person."

Even with the frenzied fascists' crackdown, a true people's democratic republic will be born. The critical moment has come. My compatriots, all Chinese nationals with a conscience, all Chinese people, wake up. The ultimate victory must be the people's. Yang

Shangkun, Li Peng, Wang Zhen and Bo Yibo... the doomsday for your puppet regime is near.

Down with fascism!  
Down with military rule!  
Long live the republic!

The response to being pushed off their occupation of central Peking after 7 weeks dithering by the authorities was for these anarchist opportunists to idiotically scream 'Fascism' and to make absolutely certain that blood was spilled (as they had been 'advised' to do if they did not want their protest to quickly be forgotten). These 'rebel leadership' claims were openly violent and openly counter-revolutionary.

Once again, the senior anti-communist correspondent in Peking, Gittings of the Guardian, has obliged with an uneasy mealy-mouthed admission that the rebel mob started the violence, - but as usual hedged it around with attempted 'justifications' trying to put the real blame on the state - just as happened in an earlier admission (see last week's Bulletin) that in the actual 'massacre' between 5 and 7 a.m. on Sunday morning June 4 when Tiananmen Square was finally cleared, not one person was actually killed.

There were cases of civilian violence against the army as it came in. There were many other cases where the students restrained violence, and more too where we suspect that army provocateurs were at work. The leadership must have known this was likely and that blood would then be shed. The inference is strong that this was the result they wanted.

There was violence against the army "as it came in" to effect its martial-law instructions to evict the occupation from the square. In other words, as all the evidence shows, the counter-revolution started the bloodshed.

But bourgeois sophistry then insists that since the Chinese workers state ought to have known that the students would feel provoked (especially after dropping yet another fascist rumour-mongering hint that army provocateurs were at work, - an infamous slander with no proof whatever), - then it was really the authorities who were to blame for the violence beginning after 7 weeks anarchist defiance of state laws. What wretchedly-twisted Goebbels-speak is



Determined on bloodshed, the anarchist reactionaries literally dance around the body of a soldier they have just butchered.

produced by blind anti-communism!

And Chai Ling's statement above confirms that even in spite of its lurid hysterical wording and exaggerations, she only claims 'beating and harassment' (in reports of government activity to end the rebellion) prior to the counter-revolutionary anarchists taking their vow to "fight to the finish".

Another 'rebel document' reports a tape-recorded dialogue between an anarchist and a soldier during the long period of peaceful government attempts to persuade the rebellion to go home.

This is remarkable for the good sense of the soldier and the total lies of the anarchist whose only 'argument' for the rebellion is that "several million people" had joined the revolt in Peking, which was a ludicrous distortion eagerly fanned by the Western media. There were never more than 10,000 active protesters at the maximum period, and far fewer by the end; plus another whopping deception culled straight from the CIA's Voice of America and BBC World Service broadcasts that the Peking military garrison had defected to the rebels (plus a string of other named armies in various other insane rumours).

Exactly how rumour-spreading plus idiotic exaggeration of how many protesters there are qualifies as 'pro-democracy' activities is not examined by this la-

test capitalist-press anti-communist stunt.

And on a further point, how does boasting about the number of demonstrators (no matter how many are claimed) prove any 'democracy' argument one way or another in a country of 1200 million people?

The communist revolution won power by proving itself the leadership of the people of China in a 22-year-long guerrilla war and anti-imperialist struggle. Not one single reactionary, from the capitalist press to the 'left' Trot and Euro swamp, seriously believes that these current posturing young stooges of Western cultural influences are going to sustain any kind of serious struggle to overthrow China's socialist revolution. The dim and dismal memory of this anarchist excrescence will be forgotten within a few years.

**S**TUDENT: Do you know why you have come to Beijing?

Corporal: We come here to execute the order that law and order in the capital is maintained.

S: There is no turmoil in Beijing and it is really not necessary for you to be here to maintain law and order.

C: We have read in the recent newspapers and many leaders of our country have voiced support of the Party Central, opposing the turmoil...

S: Not so long ago, several million people in Beijing took part in the marches and processions.....

C: Do your activities constitute turmoil? Is the capital under turmoil?

S: Yes it is turmoil.

An armored personnel carrier that had sped into the square half an hour before the main assault was blocked by a barricade of bicycle racks. Protesters mummified the APC in banners and cloth, then set it ablaze with Molotov cocktails, trapping its crew of eight or nine soldiers.



Before the final decision to clear the square, as is admitted by the above cap-

italist press caption (and copious other sources - see ILWP Books vol 16), the murderous white-terror provocations by the counter-revolution had begun.

C: Don't you think that your present activities would cause disruption in your studies?

S: Yes, for me personally, my studies have been disrupted.

C: Is it true that a so-called "Goddess of Democracy" has been erected in Tiananmen Square? What are your views about this?

You erected a statue of a goddess and according to the newspapers, you have not consulted the people. That is raping public opinion.

S: What is meant by "raping public opinion"? What public opinion have we raped?

C: How do you know that we are staging a coup?

S: Why then has the Beijing Military Region not been mobilising its troops?

C: I understand that the Beijing Military Region has sent its troops. I am certain of that and in fact the majority are from the Beijing military region. You are wrong on this count. They are the ones who arrived first.

A woman (interrupting and forcing some bread on the soldiers sitting on the ground): Now hundreds and thousands of university students are going through a hunger strike and we are bringing you bread.

C: The newspapers reported that there is an extremely small minority of troublemakers.

S: I can tell you that we are substantial in number.

C: A minority is taking advantage of the patriotism of the students...

S: I don't care who is using us or who is not using us.....

We don't care who is using whom. No matter who the

leader is, the leader that makes good is good.

C: Can you guarantee that everything that you are doing is good and that there is no wrong?

S: I can make no such guarantee. It is the general feeling of the masses and it is how I feel.

C: We also support you in your opposition to official profiteering and government corruption.

S: But how do you support us? With what actions?

C: We have received curfew instructions issued by the State Council.

S: Who at the State Council?

C: Li Peng of course! We received orders from above that curfew be imposed. We soldiers have to obey orders.

S: This I know. The troops stationed in Beijing are not around. They have all gone home because they are aware of what actually is going on.

C: A soldier's supreme duty is to obey orders. How can they be away?

S: Because they know the truth and they do not want to carry out the suppression.

C: You can't say that we are executing suppression.

S: You have all been fooled by the officials. When you are fighting ten thousand people, it is a small handful. When you are fighting a million, it is also a handful. You don't know how many, do you?

C: We are here on duty, to protect the law and order of the capital.

Finally, the 'rebel documents' again bring out the treasonable nature of the anarchists' determination to

have blood sacrifices. They want their martyrs to have an international appeal to help overthrow the communist government of China, or to wreck its economy.

**F**ELLOW students and compatriots! We have already shed a river of blood; we have already covered a street with our flesh; the fascist slaughter knows no bounds. Our blood will not be shed in vain; the struggle must go on.

Our most urgent task is to reveal the truth about the massacre to the world, to call for a national strike and stoppage, to appeal for the support of the world community.

The fascist government has lifted its hypocritical veil and the dictators have unmasked their atrocious intentions. The black cloud is shrouding the vast landmass of China, and bloodshed fills the air of Beijing.

But democracy and freedom will win. We, the college and university students of Beijing; will never make the slightest retreat in front of this evil authority, we will struggle to the end. We swear to the people of China and the world with our blood.

We also appeal to all the countries and people in the world who are peace-loving, and who treasure freedom and democracy to use effective economic and diplomatic sanctions to support the Chinese students and people in their fight.

Nothing could be more counter-revolutionary than inviting US imperialism to repeat its Grenada blitzkrieg when it claimed it was being "called upon by Grenada citizens for intervention to restore law and order", etc.

The last despairing Western media gimmick against the Chinese workers state is to extract as much synthetic emotional hypocrisy as possible out of the death sentences for these counter-revolutionary conspirators. But only the most gullible workers in the West are fooled by these humbug sentiments. The 'free world' press sang a different tune when it was necessary to justify British imperialism's cold-blooded murder without trial of three Irish nationalists in Gibraltar who were known to be unarmed and in possession of no detonators for a car bomb which had not yet even been planted, and then to justify the Goebbels disinformation blitz lyingly put out by the media to cover up the unlawful killings afterwards.

As for the racist attempts to exaggerate the 'blood-curdling brutality' aspects of a bullet in the back of the head, Fleet Street easily demonstrates that it is its own values which need attention, not China's. One



lurid piece trying 'colourfully' to sing the praises of the degenerate fascist-individualist dump Hong King as against socialist China, tried even to boast in passing that Hong Kong prostitution (a notoriously vicious slave-trade) was really not so bad.

There are neon promotions for Hong Kong's sex industry — a quaintly domestic affair in contrast to the American-gear'd Babylons of Bangkok and Singapore. Resplendent Cantonese signs frame the doorways plus price lists detailing the durations of services on offer.

Communist China, on the other hand, has instant justice for any pimps trying to organise prostitution: a bullet in the back of the head. Let capitalism keep its 'splendid' neon signs advertising the details of the ultimate in vicious human exploitation. Healthy revolutionary-minded workers everywhere will much prefer communist China's approach to this 'market-oriented' degeneracy.

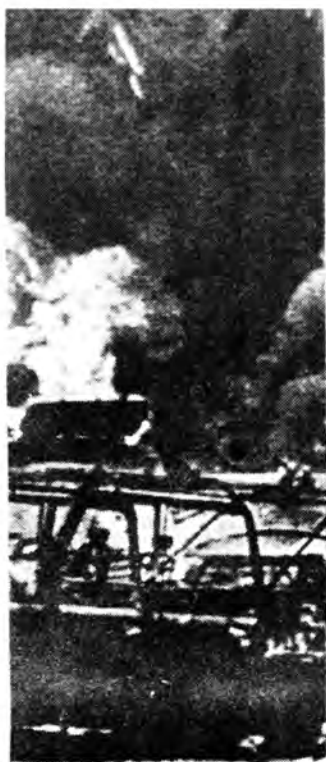
Vastly improved education is the key to civilisations future, transforming the narrow horizons of life un-



Even the sole 'massacre' picture widely used in the West is a distortion. It has been presented as the mangled remains after a tank had 'crushed the occupation tents'. It is in fact a photo of an army collecting point for all the debris and casualties of the June 4 conflict. In colour, the lower picture reveals that the bare-chested body

(in the centre of the upper Fleet Street 'blockbuster' picture) is in fact wearing army trousers and is on a stretcher, — one of the army's own casualties brought to the collecting point. Over the page, a broader view can be seen of a collecting point with debris of all kinds plus bystanders and wrecked vehicles.





der capitalism (and the limits placed on socialism's development by imperialist world domination) which reduce individuals to making ends meet however they can - by prostitution, by pimping, by drug dealing, by thieving, by violent crime, etc., -- all of which capi-

talist culture has bequeathed to the world both on the relentless smallscale and on the grandiose corporate-level and government-level scale. And education is not a matter of choice, even under capitalist 'democracy'. It is compulsory.

But it is only compulsory up to the level of elementary education to make people fit for factories, the better to exploit their labour-power.

As against this cynical neglect of bourgeois dictatorship, the dictatorship

of the proletariat alone can aim to make compulsory for everyone a total re-education from the demoralised, defeatist, low-achievement standards people are forced into by the rotten pressures of capitalist society.

Votes and opinion polls



White-terror mob on a  
rampage of destruction

do not come into it. There is a clear scientific way forward for mankind to re-educate the whole planet towards a harmonious flourishing of the earth and to get out of the catastrophic economic and warmongering crisis the divisive and exploitative capitalist-imperialist system is inevitably plunging the world ever more relentlessly towards, totally distorting ordinary lives and wrecking the environment through profiteering.

But the class war has to be fought to a revolutionary triumph first, and the dictatorship of the proletariat is the only possible authority which can lead the reorganisation of society afterwards.

Only reactionary morons like Sakharov, - given full licence now by the revisionist oaf Gorbachev, - can utter the total lies that imperialism does not even exist, and that it is socialist revolution alone which is responsible for the plight of the world, - calling for imperialist sanctions to halt China's brilliant socialist progress since

1949, and backing Thatcher's renewed Cold War hostility towards the Soviet workers state, claiming that British imperialism's record has always set the example for the world of peaceful progress.

There is no arguing with such demented anti-communism as this. Lenin repeatedly explained that until the influences of affluent Western imperialist culture are finally overthrown worldwide, then all the old reactionary-idealist confusion will keep on halting socialist progress unless curbed by the dictatorship of the proletariat in exactly the same way that bourgeois dictatorship curbs revolutionary communist influence when it really threatens to topple capitalism (e.g. the CIAs overthrow of Allende in Chile, plus hundreds more examples of Western imperialism forcibly installing fascist dictatorships throughout the Third World this century).

Gorbachevism is unleashing counter-revolutionary chaos in the USSR, and only firm proletarian-dictatorship action by the Soviet

workers state will eventually restore order and progress (as has just had to happen in China on a smaller scale).

Then the West's anti-communist propaganda industry will have another field day - with endless Oscar-winning sobbing performances by various 'smuggled tapes', etc, from 'pro-democracy' alleged 'heroes and heroines', etc.

But despite such setbacks and despite many current revisionist weaknesses, the socialist camp as a whole will continue to flourish and expand through continued socialist revolutions worldwide. Meanwhile the schizophrenic West will increasingly turn in on itself on its way back towards fascist reaction and inter-imperialist warmongering. All the lies about relative socialist-state economic performances compared to the super-profit achievements of the Western world's leading monopoly-imperialist multinational corporations will evaporate when the real crash arrives shortly and plunges capitalism back towards a 1930s worldwide slump and fascist-warmonger-

ing crisis.

The pro-Zionist Sakharov will slink off to Occupied Palestine then to help put the fascist boot into the tortured Arab population who are denied basic rights beyond even the criminal inhuman levels set by British and French colonialism in their heyday, and by US and German imperialism at their most foreign-blitzkrieg rampaging in Vietnam or World War II.

But eventually there will be no refuge anywhere for the decadent values of subjective-idealism, nationalism, and elitism, - not for Zionist imperialism nor for any other privileged bourgeoisie.

Genuine proletarian internationalism will triumph, - not the bogus provocation by fascist individualists from Hong Kong trying to disguise their counter-revolutionary intrigues by leading the singing of the Internationale on Tienanmen Square, - but revolutionary internationalism for the overthrow of capitalism everywhere. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

## Lucky for Gorbachev that the West is in such a mess

The NATO summit confirmed that German imperialism is now the force to be reckoned with in Europe.

The real story of the inter-imperialist conflict is only partially discernible in the detailed conclusions reached. But the general significance of what has happened is unmistakably clear: German imperialism has bluntly declared that it will no longer be a tool of Anglo-US imperialist strategy, and NATO has had to accept this.

British imperialism created the loudest uproar at this unprecedented postwar challenge to Anglo-Saxon dominance, obviously feeling that its own junior (and weak) position in the alliance was most threatened by powerful new rivals at the top table.

Washington wanted to give the impression, naturally, of coming down even-handedly on the rival British and German stances.

But the real ground has been conceded by Britain, as was inevitable because it is German imperialism which now has all the economic power and increasing political authority internationally because of this. German imperialism could possibly be said to already have the decisive military voice too, since its army is universally regarded as by far the most effective in NATO. The notion of abolishing the Anglo-Saxon short-range nuclear weapons monopoly on German soil is the final jigsaw-piece needed to complete a totally new picture of European imperialist power. This is why Thatcher & Co so bitterly resisted this notion. Anglo-Saxon strategic nuclear power in faraway US silos or under the Atlantic Ocean are no immediate reminder of Anglo-Saxon strategic supremacy in Europe, and could even be seen to be no longer militarily relevant as far as immediate political policing strengths in inter-European rela-

tions are concerned. German imperialism would like that for its relations with its European imperialist rivals and also for the possibility of a non-nuclear relationship with superior Soviet forces (if a complete dismantling of short-range atomic weapons could eventually be agreed.)

NATO's summit outcome raises exactly that possibility of no nukes at all in continental Europe, leaving German power there self-evidently supreme.

Bush's conventional disarmament gimmick to cover up the SNF row is nothing whatever to do with any serious interruption of the imperialist arms race, but is purely a diplomatic game suiting the USA's inter-imperialist conflict interests at the same time as it temporarily takes Gorbachev's peace-offensive pressure off the White House.

France remains an 'independent' nuclear power, but postwar French imperialism's decision to remain closely allied to German imperialism inside the EEC means friction with Bonn is less of an issue than it is for the Anglo-Saxons, particularly Britain. And the only role French nuclear 'independence' seems to have played in this diplomatic skirmish was to undermine Thatcher's arrogant stance when it was suddenly deliberately leaked to the press that France had a 15-year 'special relationship' on nuclear matters with the USA, thereby totally demolishing the British bourgeoisie's pretence to the sole 'special relationship' in Western strategic nuclear affairs.

So the Thatcher/MI5 gimmick of sudden Cold War Soviet 'spy' expulsions to raise the 'security' temperature to stress the value of Britain's 'special strategic nuclear understanding' with US imperialism, was all in vain. Gorbachev's farcical 'parliamentary reformism' charade in Moscow was alone undone by this sabre rattling. Gerry Mole

Peking student circles who have wired their campus for public reception of the CIA Voice of America broadcasts identify with the "Liberty" statue of bourgeois "democracy"



## Naive counter-revolution exposed but revisionist languor remains

While accepting that a serious split had developed within the Chinese communist party and that every allowance must be made for the polemical struggle to unfold and be successfully concluded to the satisfaction of sufficient (and possibly dubious) proletarian opinion, it seems certain that Peking's conduct of its crisis has damaged the cause of socialist revolution in the minds of Western workers.

That so much uncertainty should surround the leadership course after 40 years of the workers state is an indication of what deep and unresolved muddle has accumulated in that time, unmistakably flowing from weaknesses in Leninist education which alone can dialectically combine pursuit of worldwide proletarian dictatorship with necessary temporary peaceful coexistence

tactics while imperialism remains strong and unoverthrown still over large areas of the planet.

It now seems that the most philistine class-collaborating opportunism within the CPC, more in tune with Gorbachev's crass anti-Marxist ignorance (see ILWP Books vol 13), has been pushed back, which is a great victory for the revolutionary proletariat in the international balance of class forces. But there is so little reliable Leninist science in the so-called 'conservative' group, and it is so incapable of exposing the stupid anti-Marxist excesses of Gorbachevism, that the Chinese party is still far from providing any coherent alternative to Moscow revisionism, and will remain unable to for the foreseeable future.

Thus although the shallow pro-Western fetishism of

the reactionary students movement has been put in its place, the CPC has exhibited its own ideological frailty and lack of confident decisive leadership, - allowing the Western media to make an enormous anti-communist meal out of what was always obviously a very trivial outlook among a minority of the intelligentsia supported by a few backward workers (see past Bulletins).

Predictably, this CIA-orchestrated propaganda against the dictatorship of the proletariat has harvested its usual crop of ignorant 'left' dupes among the Western petty-bourgeoisie, as well as setting up more orthodox 'free world' middle-class opinion for another humiliation.

No sooner had the painful wounds of being hopelessly wrong about the "imminent success" of the Mojahedin counter-revolution in Afghanistan begun to heal (see Bulletin 495, and others) than the less circumspect among the capitalist press hysterics were screeching: "Students scent victory", etc., - meaning the overthrow of the Chinese communist party, and at last the first real revolution for the people of China, according to the Guardian's demented senior correspondent.

The Western liberals restrained hatred of communism was finally openly matched by the reactionary student circles in China as either despair or cockiness finally brought out their true colours.

Gone was all the 'peaceful, friendly, brotherly-love' facade of the earliest capitalist-press reports of the demonstrations in China, and out came the effigies of Deng and Li with nooses around their necks, plus fascist provocations claiming the authority of Mao and Zhou for "summoning the present leadership to the grave," etc.

However wretched a revisionist bureaucrat Premier Li might be, the widely-publicised caricature of him bearing a nazi emblem, - carried without opposition on one Peking demonstration, and spread all round Peking University on wall posters, - was a hallmark of the ignorant stupidity of the Western consumerism corrupting the minds of this reactionary student movement. There is no arguing with people who cannot see the difference in the contributions to civilisation historical-

ly made by the communist movement since the 1840s, and by the concentration camps of Western imperialism in its openly fascist-dictatorship periods of rule. The Stalin/Hitler equation is strictly for degenerate morons. And while Li as an individual communist leader may have all of the vices of Stalin's personality and none of its virtues, Li's period of 'rule' is virtually non-existent. So what are the nooses and nazi emblems about other than pure counter-revolutionary provocations?

No further explanation need be sought either for the 20-foot high replica of the USA's statue of liberty now cast in plaster-of-paris rather than the earlier and less substantial polystyrene, and now placed on Tienanmen Square itself, the heart of the Chinese Peoples Republic. It is quite simply an outrage, which only the very backward could fail to reach at in the light of the monstrous warmongering suffering inflicted on China by US imperialist support for the Kuomintang during China's long civil war and thereafter by the Cold War, the Korean War, the Vietnam war, the refusal to allow China into the United Nations, and the maintenance to this day by US forces of counter-revolutionary Chinese rearwards on Taiwan, Quemoy, Matsu, and other islands off the China coast, etc.

But it is precisely great backwardness that one is dealing with in the 'left' swamp which has yet again fallen pathetically for the tricks of Western bourgeois propaganda.

It is their fundamental ignorance of Marxism-Leninism which leaves the fake 'left' hopelessly confused about what to make of such contradictory phenomena as have been 'reported' from China this past month. By never starting from basic materialist understanding in the first place, the swamp can only ever end up in cloud-cuckoo land at the finish.

Disoriented by the fact that it was the student youth of socialist China which was demonstrating, and even more by their singing of the International as they marched, the CPEML, for example, immediately put 2 and 2 together and made inevitably 5 out of it. Their absurd impressionistic con-

clusion: "What is going on in China isn't anti-communist at all. It represents mass dissatisfaction with the capitalist measures of the last decade under Deng Hsiao Ping... China's working class resents the kowtowing to foreign interests that are anti-working class.... 'Multi-party' democracy is only what the media's men in China wish it was all about... The last few weeks have marked a revival of the country's revolutionary spirit among what is a quarter of humanity.... The crowds have been awesome yet gentle, and good order has been maintained throughout by the organisations involved. This is much more than 'spontaneity' as the media quaintly calls it.... Like the Chinese, we could demand an end to autocracy" (the CPEML ends, comparing the government of the Chinese workers state to the fascist-imperialist idiocy of Thatcherism).

Out of the subjective follies of nationalism and revisionism, the Peking regime has often behaved outrageously. But to compare the Chinese workers state to British imperialism on any grounds at all, on any level, shows a diseased mentality which can never ultimately do anything other than make a complete nonsense of reality.

And if 1,200 million Chinese had really been behind this wretched petty-bourgeois student protest, as the CPEML implies, then this 'revolutionary spirit' could hardly have disappeared virtually without trace within a week of this ridiculous CPEML verdict.

How could a handful of corrupt geriatrics around Deng', allegedly, have routed the 'revolutionary spirit' of a quarter of humanity (which was supposedly on the march behind the Statue of Liberty-wielding petty-bourgeois student circles) without even a shot being fired? And in less than a week? It took the entire nationalist bourgeoisie and feudal aristocracy of China, backed by the entire might of the imperialist world, from 1927 to 1949 to try to subdue the 'revolutionary spirit' of the masses of China when led by its communist party, and still they failed hopelessly despite countless holocaust-level massacres.

In any case, these student whinges about subjecti-

ve-idealist illusions in (bourgeois) 'freedom' and 'democracy' are completely the wrong thing to be looking for to challenge the Deng regime with, - even assuming there was an atom of sincerity or plausibility (which there isn't) in the Peking student-circles protests.

A renewed communist-Leninist interest in trying to progress from the present revisionist muddle of the Chinese workers state towards greater scientific socialist dynamism would surely want to start with the party of leadership itself - to turn it towards becoming a real Bolshevik vanguard rather than have it cancel itself out into parliamentary reformism, as the daft Gorbachev is trying to do.

As the Bulletin first argued a long time ago (see ILWP Books vol 13), there is a case for 'glasnost' of sorts, but it lies in serious non-stop polemics from the top of the party downwards in favour of Leninism - a non-stop debate to be had out in front of the entire proletariat openly, - with the ever-greater active participation of ever-wider sectors of workers who genuinely want to take part in the furtherance of the world socialist revolution.

Under such a simple regime, no 'protest' need ever be taken seriously again. Either you want to be heard because you have a better suggestion of how to aid the Mozambique revolution against the Western-backed RNM fascists, or to aid the Nicaraguan workers state against the CIA mercenaries and Contras, - or you have no 'protest' worth listening to about 'democracy' or 'freedom' or whatever, against the proletarian dictatorship of the revolutionary communist party.

As far as the clear record shows (Lenin collected works vols 24 to 33), Leninism consists of nothing but that, - openly polemicalising about the best way for the workers state to survive imperialist encirclement and hostility while doing whatever possible to further the world socialist revolution outside. If the dissident students had anything worthwhile to say at all, they could have said just that. But they said absolutely nothing like that at all. They 39



clearly said: "The Western way of life is the best. We want it for ourselves".

Deng has performed no such miracle of 'routing the great Chinese communist revolutionary movement' with just a few Woodbines and a cough & spit or two, - because no such routing has been called for or even been remotely relevant to the miserable little petty-bourgeois student whingeing seen on Tienanmen Square. As frequently analysed by the Bulletin, the revisionist CPC has huge problems, as does the entire socialist camp. But the opportunist yearning for Western consumer values of a minority of gilded youth in China (or elsewhere) is just one tiny miserable symptom of the difficulties, and not remotely part of any 'revolutionary spirit' solution.

These protests were precisely in essence spontaneous and anti-communist, with no serious and worthwhile organised demands. It was just a pathetic bleat which did exactly fall for the ridiculous fallacy that it is bourgeois democracy

which guarantees the shoddy rock-n-roll consumerism of the West so much admired by these particular student circles. Hence their oafish sucking up to Western media correspondents as a "link to reality" (see copious bourgeois press reports), and their parading of the statue of liberty.

Singing the International is an obvious gimmick for reactionary provocateurs to pull, and far wider sections of students and workers would have fallen for that, thinking 'internationalism' could as well represent their longing for things American as anything.

But as the Bulletin has previously asked: Why don't these students with the privilege of a higher education in a socialist society have any concrete 'revolutionary internationalist' demands to make of the undoubtedly sclerotic, revisionist, bureaucratic, and corrupt CPC leadership? Why just sing the International? Why not demand an end to support for the Pol Pot petty-bourgeois anarchists? Why not demand an end

to support by Peking for the feudal-tribal Mojahedin religious reactionaries in Afghanistan, or to the military aid to the fascist-minded military dictatorship in Pakistan? etc. Why not demand to be allowed to go and fight beside the workers state in Mozambique and Angola against the fascist-apartheid and Western-imperialist backed counter-revolutionary destruction thugs wrecking the building of socialism there?

Because all that these student circles have on their tiny minds is Western rock-n-roll records, Martinis, set adverts, and the latest fashionably gear, - none of which (correctly) the Chinese socialist economy has yet been able to bother to supply, being fully occupied with more important reconstruction matters.

And what was so 'gentle' about the noosed effigies of Deng and Li, or about the nazi swastika signs plastered over their caricatures, or about summoning them to the grave??? Like all counter-revolutionary sentiments, these backward bleats

would have had a cowardly hole-in-the-corner start, - but would quickly have mushroomed into street hangings of communists once mayhem and anarchy had been let loose.

In more ways than one, this miserable spontaneity of anti-communist subjectivism and individualism has exhibited the classic signs of all counter-revolutionary movements, --- always negative, always concentrating on personalities, always whingeing away destructively in the background, never able to voice clearcut positive programmes without making utter fools of themselves, etc.

Walesa and the Solidarnosc gimmick of the Vatican and CIA \$ millions were always like that, - expressing support for Thatcher against the British miners strike, and hailing capitalist Sweden and Japan as the greatest goal for mankind to emulate(!), when they could be persuaded to do anything other than endlessly complain. And the fabled 'ten million member-

ship' boasted by Solidarnosc quickly faded from the scene completely as soon as the 1-million strong party put its foot down and arrested a dozen trouble-makers.

The 'mighty Mojahedin resistance' has crumbled just as dramatically the moment it was put to the real counter-revolutionary test, - despite allegedly representing 'more than 90% of the Afghan people', etc. And it is still a good question to ask: What happened to the most notorious 'revolution' of all against communism, - the so-called 'Hungarian Revolution' of 1956? Just like all counter-revolutions, - it quickly disappeared without trace.

Real revolutions do no such thing. They can be pushed back, or temporarily defeated, - possibly for decades. But no socialist 'revolutionary spirit' genuinely representing the mass interests of the proletariat can ever do anything other than struggle heroically forward to eventual glorious triumph.

Leninism will eventually return to the workers states to replace revisionism, but only under the peaceful influence of the continued revolutionary expansion of the world socialist movement, - not as the consequence of any proletarian revolt inside the socialist countries. A new revolution would only be on the cards there if there was a completed counter-revolution to oust the dictatorship of the proletariat and re-establish bourgeois democracy.

In their stupid confusion the CPML just like the rest of the Trot-Euro swamp, are effectively joining forces with just such counter-revolutionary influences, - basically all inspired by Western imperialism.

But even when the miserable lumpen-emigres in Hong Kong staged their first political demonstrations ever (in honour of the Peking student circles) despite having themselves lived under no democracy of any kind under a British imperialist Governor and never having complained about it, (such are their natural fascist sentiments), - the British 'left' swamp still failed to smell a rat about these protests in the Peoples Republic, - presumably due to the stench of subjective-idealist illusions and individualist opportunism already emanating from the

swamp.

Another view of how the Trot-Euro swamp plays right into the hands of counter-revolutionary reaction came with Socialist Workers coverage of US imperialist pressure on Panama's Noriega regime. It swallows hook, line, and sinker the one crucial point of CIA worldwide propaganda output that week: - namely that it was vital for US imperialist interests that the whole planet should believe Noriega was up to no good in Panama and that therefore it was OK for a US imperialist putsch to overthrow him, if such a course of action was eventually decided upon by the White House.

So even while the SWP noted the hypocrisy of US interests in turning against their former thug-stooge, the paper completely fell for the CIAs propaganda trap in accepting that Noriega was behaving every bit as badly at that moment as the orchestrated Western media were reporting.

**PRESIDENT BUSH has rushed US troops to Panama and backed opposition calls for a one day general strike on Wednesday in an attempt to bring down the country's military leader, General Noriega.**

"They should do everything they can to get Noriega out of office," said Bush. "We'd like to see him out of there."

His call came after opposition candidates in last week's election had been brutally beaten by Noriega's paramilitary force, the Dignity Battalions, before the eyes of the world's press.

The White House has known Noriega was a thug for years.

Last week Noriega overruled an election which observers agreed opposition candidate Guillermo Endara had won by around three to one. He beat Noriega's candidate and business partner, arms dealer Carlos Duque.

But Noriega has rigged elections and used violence against his opponents before.

But this was a criminally misleading impression to convey. Noriega in no way deserves or needs supporting by the international proletarian revolution; but when his Panamanian nationalism is under attack (the US imperialists only want him out because he now asserts Panama's interests against the dictates of Washington but not because he has an imperialist stooge-thug background), - then it is playing imperialist's game to parrot current Western propaganda about Noriega's undemocratic ways.

All the evidence in fact points to as much manipulation of the electoral process by the new US stooge Endara, and the \$ 10 million used for subverting the outcome by the CIA, as points to Noriega's strongarm

tactics; and only the most gullible anti-communists of the SWP school could swallow whole the stunted-up Western media stories that Endara had 'won by 3 to 1'. And the one bit of imperialist propaganda that all anti-imperialists should have made certain they did not fall for that week (that Noriega's behaviour upsetting the USA was only thuglike, and nothing else, thereby justifying a US invasion), - the SWP failed to avoid, - thus aiding a US invasion had the White House decided upon that.

The straight bourgeois press did better than its 'left' petty-bourgeois imitators at the anti-communist SWP. The Observer wrote:

"Difficult to accept is the current hype that he is the worst thing in the Western hemisphere who, if not immediately overthrown, jeopardises democracy in the New World and vital international trade routes.

Not so. It is a sad fact that throughout Latin America there are regimes much worse than Noriega's: regimes which have murdered, tortured and imprisoned their citizens on a large scale; mocked the civilised world for decades with their atrocities; and used terrorist tactics outside their borders with abandon. It is an even sadder fact that such regimes have benefited from the benign neglect of Western democracies or, indeed, were helped to power by them. Why is General Augusto Pinochet still there after nearly 16 years in power in Chile? He and his secret police have committed bestialities against their own people; tortured a British surgeon because she did her duty as a doctor; and blown up a man and a woman, the latter an American, in the embassy quarter of Washington. But the Pinochet regime has not been subject to a fraction of the fury now being vented against Noriega. Indeed the 'Chilean model' is being held up by a number of unhinged economists as some sort of economic paradigm.

Why was General Alfredo Stroessner allowed to keep Paraguayans in subjection while distributing drugs to the world for 34 - yes 34! - years without any sanction against him? Why were Duvalier père et fils given free reign to plunder the wretched Haitians for decades? The chancelleries of the free world maintained a discreet silence and the doughtiest Western enemy faced by the dictatorship in Port-au-Prince was a British novelist living on the Côte d'Azur.

And why are huge amounts of Western arms and diplomatic support still going to the army in El Salvador? That army has been guilty of more individual murders and massacres over the past 10 years than Manuel Noriega has ever dreamt of. And why are the terrorists who seek to overthrow the elected Government of Nicaragua still subsidised and their leaders given every facility in Miami when the Palestinian leader is denied access to the UN General Assembly in New York?

The bourgeois-anarchist cynics at Private Eye did even better:

**T**HE RELUCTANCE of President George Bush and his normally gung-ho Pentagon chiefs to take military action against General Manuel Antonio Noriega of Panama is not based on the physical difficulty of overcoming the ragbag Panamanian defence force.

The fact is that Pineapple Face knows too much about too many people involved in a catalogue of illegal US activities over the last 20 years. And the name at the top of Noriega's list is that of President Bush himself.

Even as late as 1985 Noriega was on a US\$200,000 a year emolument from the CIA. His spying and dirty tricks activity had peaked in the late 1970s - a period when none other than Bush was, as head of the agency, charged by President Carter with "cleaning it up".

Under Bush's watchful eye, the man the US president now describes as "a bum" began running American weapons to the Sandinistas, shipping banned US informatics technology to Cuba and, most profitably, smuggling Colombian cocaine to the US of A itself. It was also in this period that Noriega began what became the most effective undermining of US anti-drug smuggling operations - he simply passed on advance warnings of busts to the narco-barons.

The tin-pot dictator has been busy. As head of Panamanian military intelligence - G-2 - from 1970 to 1981, Noriega developed his cunning and his taste for intrigue by building up dossiers on anyone and everyone in the US military and government. The dossiers started in the early 1970s, when as the majority shareholder in the Ancon Inn, a brothel outside the American's principal canal zone base, Noriega began to collect blackmail material on officers who were now at the top of the US military tree.

In the late 1970s, through a close association with senior CIA officers such as Nestor Sanchez and Felix Rodriguez - both close friends of Bush - Noriega got access to CIA files on US officials' personal and political problems.

The dossier on Bush, which has become one of the fattest, was taken to Washington by Noriega for his first meeting with the then CIA chief in 1976.

US lawyers who represented Noriega in the hearings that indicted him on drugs smuggling charges last year said they had a file of documents amounting to "political dynamite". There is no reason to doubt them. Apart from casting more light on the murmurings about Bush's extra-marital affairs, they may also show that Washington, in cahoots with Noriega, was responsible for the mysterious plane crash that killed Tony's predecessor, Omar Torrijos, in 1981.

The plan was believed to have been hatched by rightwingers at the Bush-directed CIA in 1979-80 in a fit of pique at President Carter's canal treaty of 1977. The latter committed Washington to turning over complete control of the waterway to Panama City in 1999. While it is almost certain that the CIA at least prepared option papers on the disposal of Torrijos, it would make sense that any plan, if given the go-ahead, was not executed until the Republicans - who had always bitterly opposed the treaty - were in power.

By this time, of course, Bush was vice-president and what Noriega has on him pre-1981 may be as nothing to what he knows about his involvement in Contragate. Ollie North said at his trial that he believed Bush not only knew about the arms-for-hostages deal but was one of the key instigators. However, without the documents mentioned at the trial - documents that the former members of the Tower Commission have admitted they didn't see and Congress is now demanding - this can't be proved.

Noriega could - if he chose - shed a lot of light on this. It was his offshore corporations and banks that laundered Ollie's cash from the Ayatollah; he supplied end-user certificates for weapons and helped arrange a few contributions from the Medellín drug-smuggling cartel when the Contras were running out of cash.

Most expensively of all, it seems that it was Noriega's coke smuggling routes and contacts that were utilised by North's buccaneers when Tony's kind offer to assassinate the whole Sandinista cabinet had to be turned down.

The 'left' swamp has a lot to answer for in its small-minded ignorance of even the basic wisdom of Marxist-Leninist anti-imperialist struggle. British imperialism thrives on only the backwardness of the British labour movement, the key to which is the cover (conscious or otherwise) given to the Labour Party cretins by the fake 'left' swamp which systematically wrecks workers potential enthusiasm for scientific socialism by its own swamp-like muddled posturing of 'Marxism-Leninism' concealing nothing but the most abysmal philistine opportunist ignorance. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.



## It is imperialist crisis which has not changed

The Thatcherite patronising arrogance towards the Soviet workers state has remained the same since fascist-imperialist circles (from the first moments of the 1917 Revolution) began trying to sabotage economically and wipe out militarily the spread of socialism.

The Soviet Union was riddled with Western counter-revolutionary agents and spies, and 14 'free world' nations sent armies on the first murderous War of Intervention (1918-1921) led by Britain, France, and the USA; and another seven European countries joined German imperialism's second destructive onslaught from 1941 to 1945,—built up by the West's 1930s policy of encouraging Hitler as a "bulwark against communism".

The KGB (under various titles) has been defending Soviet security interests from Western subversion ever since Lenin immediately set it up,—using all the 'free world' intelligence-gathering techniques but using them better.

Thatcher's expulsion of 11 Soviet personnel is the Cold War as usual. Moscow's expulsion of British imperialist representatives is a correct step to reduce the filth of capitalist-bourgeois influence inside the USSR.

British imperialism's warmongering circles underlined their unchanging counter-revolutionary arms-race mentality with aggressive contempt: "The Soviet Union's response to that deliberate restraint on our part shows how far they still have to go to live up to the standards of behaviour the free world regards as normal", etc. Whether this meant the Pentagon's death squads at work against the revolution in El Salvador, or the SAS killers gunning down unarmed Republican Irish nationalists on the streets of Gibraltar, wasn't specified.

Thatcher added, to beef up British imperialism's dirty role in the inter-capitalist warmongering rivalry and the cut-throat economic and strategic com-

petitiveness which will plunge the West during the next decade into inter-imperialist World War III,— "Perhaps the Soviet Union has changed rather less than a number of people had hoped". Meaning Germany's imperialist circles.

Bonn is still as viciously anti-communist and counter-revolutionary as German imperialism has ever been,—and the Thatcherite British imperialist circles know this full well.

But splits are developing about Western imperialism's Cold War and arms-race tactics exactly in line with the deadly rivalry in the cut-throat economic 'free market' competition.

The Thatcherite wing of the British bourgeoisie is spitting bile at the "outrageous German behaviour" of Bonn daring to challenge at last, after 43 years, its in-the-doghouse role (for its 'culpability' for inter-imperialist WWII) as nuclear chopping-block for inter-imperialist WWII, or for any anti-Soviet stunts the West might try to get up to as an alternative to that inevitable conclusion to the arms race and insoluble capital surpluses of the free-market competition.

It suits the lying fraud at the heart of Western imperialist 'democracy' for the Thatcherites to pretend that their differences with Germany are all in the 'noble cause of defending the free world', etc., rather than the reality which is to do with cut-throat trade war.

That it is this imperialist crisis which is the truly unchanging feature of worldwide turmoil is underlined by British imperialism's simultaneous rows with the German-led Common Market over various issues, and with the Bundesbank over how to intervene against the destabilising and soaring dollar, as well as over the renewal-of-short-range-nuclear-weapons issue (important for British arms-trade contracts and for rubbing in Germany's strategic subservience) over which the British warmongering ci-

rcles have decided to jeer against Germany's alleged 'gullibility, and appeasement-softness towards the Communist Evil', etc., as well as other tactics.

This stark Cold War confirmation of imperialist truculence has left the revisionist oaf Gorbachev with egg all over his face, and needing to retaliate hard (threatening 170 British expulsions from Moscow) in order not to appear a complete wally with his revisionist "new politics" nonsense which has pretended that the Cold War is over.

The Cold War will carry on full blast until the very last day of the imperialist systems survival. All it has ever done, and all it could ever do all the time capitalism lasts,—is to change its form and emphasis from time to time.

As the Bulletin has consistently explained (see ILWP Books vol 13), the management system of the Soviet workers state can by its very class essence never capitulate totally to the non-stop Western propaganda trying to undermine its defences and its confidence in socialism; and despite the nonsense of 'new politics', Moscow will always ultimately be obliged to very firmly defend Soviet interests when called upon, and will always have the capacity to do so more than adequately against the dying imperialist-warmongering system.

But the bureaucratic decay of revisionism will always persist too, constantly replacing one piece of anti-Leninist nonsense with another in the regular 'shake-up reform' gimmickry with which Moscow bureaucrats have tried to keep things going since their understanding of socialist strategy and world revolutionary perspectives disintegrated after Lenin's death.

Western imperialist sharp practices and propaganda successes against Moscow gullibility can only ever get so far without running into the irreducible materialist interests of the Soviet workers state; but at the same time the philosophical complacency of Gorb-

achevism,—incapable of combining dialectically the necessary pursuit of the world socialist revolution with the necessary temporary peaceful coexistence diplomacy to keep the imperialist camp from putting all its forces and policies together for one final armageddon onslaught against the USSR and socialist camp,—will within a short time be back at its destructive game of disarming the proletariat in the capitalist world by breathing 'new politics' once again, and pretending that 'imperialism has completely changed its warmongering spots and that world peace is now assured for ever by capitalism and communism living in perfect harmony henceforth', etc.

Tragically, no amount of rude slaps in the face with a wet fish from Thatcherism will prevent the cowardly class-collaborating philosophy of the middle-class bureaucracy from returning (like a dog to its vomit) again and again to the subjective-idealist illusion of class-collaboration,—worse than ever under Gorbachev but exactly the same anti-Leninist destabilising element creating many confusing difficulties from Stalin's rule onwards, and leading to such occasional paralysis and arbitrary chaos as affects China now and has afflicted the entire socialist camp from time to time (see subsequent story).

But for the revolutionary movement under capitalism, there can be no mistaking the unchangeable warmongering essence of the 'free market' trade-war system, nor any doubt that it can only be through the insurrectionary overthrow of the Western imperialist bourgeoisie and the destruction of its monopoly-capitalist economic-and-political-dictatorship class role a new epoch of planned peaceful worldwide collaboration can begin for mankind under communism.

The signs of insoluble imperialist crisis are mounting in all directions, in addition to the clear warmongering messages which Thatcherism's choleric record

and attitudes represent.

While never very far from turmoil, the international capitalist markets in shares, currencies, and interest-rate rivalry have been particularly close to hysteria and panic increasingly in recent months. Another major crash is imminent, — possibly this time proving near-fatal to some capitalist regimes, and certainly giving a massive new boost to the world socialist revolutionary struggle, and taking the trousers off Gorbachevism once again.

Thatcherism is especially at risk in view of British imperialism's chronic lack of industrial competitiveness and already monstrous balance-of-trade deficits, coupled with the worst inflation of the major Western rivals. Some murky interest rate wars are going on around the yo-yoing dollar; and the German Bundesbank's decision apparently to cease trying to prop up the Deutschmark's exchange rate by buying up (out of its reserves) the sloshing billions of the American currency, may mean London will soon have to compete for surplus funds against higher European rates, — in turn putting mortgages and inflation up yet again in Britain.

While these vicious circles spiral ever upwards towards eventual collapse, the decidedly 'peace-loving' (in Moscow bureaucracy eyes) Indian bourgeoisie has become only the fifth power in the world (after the USA, France, the USSR, and China) to perfect its own medium-range ballistic missile.

The capitalist press's own lying propaganda about the systems endemic arms race could not conceal the warmongering significance of this event, — try as it might to present this as an 'Indian' matter, to stress the peaceful protestations of the Delhi government, and to take the spotlight off the nature of 'free-world' market rivalry, — incurably belligerent.

**I**NDIA'S successful test-firing yesterday of its own medium-range missile, the Agni, has significantly raised the stakes in the subcontinent's arms race.

The government insists, however, that Agni is not a potential weapon, but rather a "technology demonstrator". Every component is Indian-designed and made.

The Prime Minister, Mr Rajiv Gandhi, hailed the launch as "a major achievement to safeguard the country's indepen-

dence and security by self-reliant means". He dismissed criticism of the missile development project, and said that Agni was a research vehicle, not a weapon. India was a non-violent country, with no aggressive designs on anyone.

He added: "What Agni does is to afford us the option of developing the ability to deliver non-nuclear weapons with high precision at long ranges. This provides us with a viable non-nuclear option of the greatest relevance to contemporary strategic doctrines."

The Defence Minister, Mr K. C. Pant, described the test as "a milestone in the progress of Indian science in general, and defence science in particular."

His choice of phrase will doubtless be much quoted in Pakistan and other countries in the region which have watched recent growth of Indian military might with mounting concern.

India and Pakistan have long been bitter military rivals. Their last war, resulting in the conversion of East Pakistan to the sovereign state of Bangladesh, was fought in 1971. But since then the two countries have relentlessly built their armed forces, with special emphasis on advance-technology.

India now has a standing army of more than 1,350,000 troops, the fourth biggest in the world, and still expanding. It has by far the biggest navy in the region, including two aircraft carriers and a Soviet nuclear submarine.

Moscow has also provided much of the hardware for the air force. But in aircraft, as well as military vehicles, conventional weapons, and most of all in missiles, India has obsessively developed indigenous technology to become one of the bigger arms producers (but not exporters) in the world.

While it is correct for Moscow and the socialist camp to encourage the 'responsible, peace-loving, and non-aligned' Indian capitalist state against its enemies in the imperialist-fascist warmongering circles from Washington to Karachi and from Pretoria to Tokyo, it is not enough.

The Indian bourgeoisie are going to fight their corner just like every other bourgeoisie enjoying the fabulous wealth and privileges of modern state power, leading the masses into World War III. And when it was over, if nothing else happened, it would be back to capitalist boom and slump yet again, plus more famine and lethal epidemics in the bad years, ekeing out the time towards World War IV.

It was in the act of overthrowing inter-imperialist war by insurrection that the events culminating in



A US soldier training near the Panama Canal surveys the battlefield

the Bolshevik Revolution was born offering bread, peace, and land to everyone on the destroyed ruins of capitalist class rule. Completing this task still remains the only serious priority for mankind. Revolutionary Leninism must be established everywhere for the systematic destruction of the degenerate warmongering capitalist world system. And this is just as relevant to the pathetic turmoil in China as anywhere else, — something totally ignored by the revisionism and small-minded individualism of government and protesters alike (see subsequent story).

US imperialism's "low intensity invasion" threat to obliterate the state of Panama grows by the hour.

At the same time the United States has begun dispatching armed military convoys on trips across Panama to "flex our muscles" and draw a line against Panamanian harassment, the US said yesterday.

"We're obviously doing it only to make a point," said one official.

The convoys, consisting of 10 or so vehicles, carry fully armed soldiers under orders not to be deterred by roadblocks or the Panamanian army, officials added.

The OAS delegation was ordered to Panama after an emergency session of the organisation in Washington condemned the Panamanian strongman, General Manuel Noriega, last week.

Panama's Cabinet met on Monday night and harshly condemned the OAS mission, charging that the organisation had reverted to its traditional role of serving North American interests to the detriment of Latin American independence.

The statement — signed by the provisional president, Mr Miguel Solis Palma — charged the US with waging an incessant campaign of "psychological and economic warfare".

Panama claims the US wants to demobilise the largely nationalistic defence forces and install a servile local regime that would renegotiate the Pan-

amal Canal treaties, which call for the US to withdraw from the canal by the end of the century.

Some 10,000 troops are stationed in Panama as part of the Southern Command of the US Armed Forces.

Now the student demonstrators denunciation of the communist party leadership for having a hopelessly inadequate policy on that crucial matter would be a worthwhile act of rebellion.

But the protesters do not only not give a damn about the potentially imminent fascist-imperialist blitzkrieg of Panama or about the paralysed revisionist stupidity of Peking's position (and Moscow's) on such appalling real threats to human aspirations which

have enormous implications for all people including China,—but they actually sing the praises of Western 'democracy', welcome the US military ships docked in Shanghai, rely on Western imperialist correspondents to stoke up propaganda against the Chinese workers state, and build a polystyrene Statue of Liberty to demonstrate their superficial class allegiances.

Their silliest illusion is that strong communist party power is the enemy of progress when in reality it is the only hope for mankind against the relentless warmongering crisis of the imperialist system.

Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin. Joe Harper

## Not the best China

Building a polystyrene Statue of Liberty and pleading to Western newsmen to aid their protest shows the reactionary naivete of the dissident movement in China.

A communist campaign to unseat the senile Deng regime would be undoubted progress. But replacing workers state bureaucracy by anarchic/opportunist illusions in bourgeois democracy would mean jumping out of the frying pan into the fire to a catastrophic degree.

Grotesque as has been the feeble revisionist lack of leadership in Peking, the complete collapse of the ruling communist party would be even worse. Only the imperialist-dominated nonsense of subjective-idealism could spontaneously currently fill any vacuum left by the disintegration of the CPC.

The only successful guiding philosophy there can be for a workers state is Marxism-Leninism, and while the communist party in China has been revisionist for decades just like most of the rest of the socialist camp, some basically well-ordered development is continuing all the time through planned economic expansion plus organisational, educational and scientific advance. The Chinese Peoples Republic is now a space power, a nuclear power, an industrial power, and so much better fed, coordinated, and motivated than ever before in modern history that the humiliations for China from imperialism throughout the 19th century and right up till the 1940s of the 20th century, — regularly colonised and militarily slaughtered,

and subjected to degrading inferior-position treaties of every kind,—will never again be thinkable, and already seem like something from the dim and distant past.

Such are the history-making, immeasurable achievements of the Chinese Communist Party.

The CPC has nearly 50 million members and is as representative of the best elements of the people of China as anything could be.

The bureaucratic opportunism and revisionist complacency within the Party leadership itself is a common phenomenon of all workers states in the circumstances of imperialism's continued survival, hostility and pressure, and where the regime fails to deepen its Leninist understanding sufficiently to be able dialectically to combine some degree of necessary peaceful coexistence diplomacy with the all-important philosophical perspective and social motivation of helping to complete the world socialist revolution.

From the very first moment that any workers state government capitulates to reformist gimmickry and empty promises as a 'solution' to massive problems which only international economic planning and social harmony can solve (impossible until imperialism and capitalist-market competition are overthrown), and starts deliberately blurring the only possible scientific understanding of these matters (Leninism),—then relative social paralysis and cynicism are bound to resume.

The solution to China's ma-

laise is a renewal of Leninism within the party. Exactly the same is true of the 'problems', such as they are, facing other socialist countries, like the USSR itself. There is little chance of Leninist science re-establishing its position due to any influence in the socialist camp outside of the ruling parties, and any collapse of power into hands other than those of the communists would inevitably create even far greater difficulties than would continuation under the revisionist party.

As loathsome and destructive as corruption is among communist officials, these old vices of petty-bourgeois state bureaucracy spring from society itself and its relative backwardness,—against which only a deeper commitment to Leninist science is proof.

They do not at all spring from the socialist revolution itself and its necessary class-rule form of proletarian dictatorship. Just the opposite. Not only does capitalist society run on so much corruption that the viciously criminal mafia is just one small relatively indistinguishable part of the rotten whole, but the social-democracy workings of capitalism (the 'democratic socialist way') are always far more bent than the frontline conservative-party managements ever know how to be (study the record of Labour councils and governments in office in Britain, for example).

On top of that, such corruption as there is in the socialist world has emerged precisely not in the earliest revolutionary-inspired years of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the different countries but only later on when the need still to partially coexist with continuing-surrounding imperialism has begun to blunt each party's firm Leninist edge, and, through weakness in dialectical philosophical understanding,—begun to weaken the enervating pull of battling on 100% for the completion of the world socialist revolution, via the overthrow of imperialism.

It is only if fired by revolution that confident leadership of the dictatorship of the proletariat can enthuse and encourage the masses as the most honest and most democratic social order so far in human history.

ory.

But where workers states start to lose sight of and to lose confidence in the international-planned-economy solution to the problems of world market rivalry and of arms race and Cold War competitiveness, then small-minded philistine conservatism and bureaucracy can complacently quickly disillusion workers and lead on to revisionist gimmickry and arbitrariness most notably associated with Stalinism.

The general sentiments of the demonstrations in China of wanting more decisive leadership for the workers state are not invalid; but anarchic and spontaneous mass protests are no substitute for a properly functioning vanguard party of Leninist cadres.

Obviously, the party's failure is the leadership's failure, but once again the arbitrary selection or sacking of leaders by a Western media-oriented mob of students (who have yet to show one scrap of Marxist understanding about anything let alone a detailed grasp of Bolshevik revolutionary science (starting with Lenin's entire collected works) sufficient to make the party's decisions for it about which helmsman),—is clearly a hopeless alternative.

The way this strange slow tempo conflict has been going in Peking and elsewhere, it would seem that some decisive firmness is going to be needed from somewhere in the workers state leadership to break the logjam,—and this would appear to coincide with Marxist scientific expectations too.

Whether they like it or not,—and however justified their protests,—the students nevertheless by their entire conduct in this dispute represent class forces intrinsically hostile to the dictatorship of the proletariat. Their singing of the International is pure opportunism without the slightest sympathy or understanding at all of the song's unmistakable content — world socialist revolution. Their incoherent drivel about 'democracy' has given a field day to the CIA-fascist circles of imperialism at the head of Western bourgeois 'democracy'. Their sucking up to the demented anti-communism of the Western media is equally counter-revolutionary. Their posture of making ar-

bitrary (and decidedly undemocratic) judgments about the merits of party leaders and giving the thumbs down to any and every suggestion made for returning the capital to something more approaching 'normal business' is absurdly and philistine-ly conceited. Even their effective propaganda against party corruption and nepotism would sound better if more was heard about how this student generation would plan to run China's socialist state in detail.

Much evidence indicates that these demonstrations are more a statement of rival petty-bourgeois opportunist interests and individualism rather than any collective communist conscience representing the real interests of the masses. In which case they will historically be much more likely to respond to firm proletarian-dictatorship leadership than anything else (other than firm bourgeois counter-revolutionary leadership). If allowed to vacillate endlessly, their middle-class characteristics alone can be confirmed, as has hitherto been apparent.

A firm stand by the workers state authorities is needed even more in their own and socialist China's interests. Imperialism is being craftily 'neutral' and mildly-spoken in its comments on Peking's difficulties so far, but the CPC leadership are even more stupid than they seem if it is imagined that capitalist reaction will not in time seek in a thousand ways to take advantage of China's present signs of paralysis or benefit from it somehow.

As it is, international anti-communist propaganda has already had a month of christmases snidily jeering at Peking's embarrassment; and even if the revisionist dullards leading the CPC don't care, - that alone has damaged the international balance of class forces as far as socialism is concerned, and that in the end must damage China too.

And being forced to take a firm stand against the prevailing anarchy might even be a necessary curative process, in a small way, for the extreme paralysis (even beyond revisionism's usual standards) which is undoubtedly making the CPC leadership a laughing stock.

While having to fight against reaction and anarchy

could never be, - in the case of the existing socialist camp revisionist leaderships, - a route back towards anything like a complete Leninist rehabilitation, - it remains a simple scientific reality that all progress proceeds via contradiction, and the need to take on reaction is the starting point for all revolutionary development.

Generally speaking, the normal plodding-along health of the Chinese workers state is not in any doubt. The question is one of periodic mild bursts of 'reformist' activity by a basically staid and conservative regime, - a society becoming more and more like the Soviet Union every day, no longer inspiringly managed, but, - as the USSR has proved over 71 years now, - never remotely close to the 'chaotic collapse and reversion to capitalism' of Western bourgeois dreams, and all the time becoming an ever-stronger and more stable influence on world affairs, even if hopelessly out of touch with the most advanced revolutionary international understanding which via the actual overthrow of imperialism here, there, and everywhere will finally lead to the world planned-socialist-economy solution to out-throat market anarchy and arms-race competitive wastefulness and destruction, affecting all peoples.

The polystyrene Statue of Liberty, the naive truck with Western reporters, the defacing of Mao's portrait, etc, are all millions of miles remote from the real needs of the Chinese people (and the international proletariat generally, - see lead story).

As explained, such phenomena, - however far removed they may be from any serious counter-revolutionary conspiracy, - nevertheless hardly reflect or represent the interests of proletarian class dictatorship in the international balance of class forces. They much more echo the colossal pressures and needs of reactionary bourgeois propaganda on the planet. The Western imperialist media are not by accident obsessed with this chaos in the Chinese workers state, and almost drunk with the intoxicating speculation about the 'possible collapse' of communist party authority, etc.

A paralysed upheaval for

communist China means attention is drawn away from the capitalist systems outrages in propping up fascist terror against national liberation struggle from South Africa to the Philippines, from Ireland to Palestine, from El Salvador to Pakistan, etc. With such sclerosis in Peking, how much more confidently and boldly will Japanese imperialism now speed up its rearmament programme and its aggressive challenge to Western monopoly-capitalism's political dominance (now that the feudal-capitalist combativeness of Japan has wiped the West out economically).

Bourgeois propaganda will instinctively have a field day against Chinese workers-state turmoil on principle, even if it hasn't yet worked out whether a feeble Peking would necessarily be to every capitalist state's advantage (as some of the more thoughtful Tories like Heath have dimly perceived).

The worst thing now for the socialist camp and the world socialist revolution would be stalemate in China which would forever leave the suspicion that there is no longer any serious workers state leadership in Peking, and that therefore no one need ever fear any serious rebuff, on anything, from a social system in which the ruling regime has so little inspiration for, or control over, the ordinary masses. After such a pathetic lack of leadership over the last 10 days, it will be difficult for the communist party vanguard to guide affairs confidently ever again.

Gorbachevism has come close to making a similar rod for its own back by its recent paralysis-of-firm-direction over scores of issues from Zionist dissidents and anti-Leninist propagandists to its impotence over increasing petty-bourgeois nationalist reaction in the Soviet Union.

Belated gimmicks of glassnost openness or just indecisiveness in Peking are no way round a generations-long problem of failing to carry the proletarian and intelligentsia masses with the workers state via constantly deepening involvement of the people in the revolutionary socialist affairs of state.

The problem began in the USSR not with any lack of desire to encourage ever-wider sectors of active wo-

rkings-class involvement and support, but with the self-doubt within the Moscow leadership that the gradual defeatist retreat from world revolutionary socialist perspectives (Leninism) was anything the proletarian masses would want to hear or be kept involved in. A similar demoralising and embarrassing gap between what people would respond to and what the conservative defeatist leadership after Mao wanted to put forward, began the Chinese workers state's steadily paralysing political degeneration.

Real dialogue to enthuse the proletarian and intelligentsia masses can only begin from the sole scientific-historical philosophical role for workers (under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist camp) prior to the final overthrow worldwide of imperialism and the beginnings of a truly socialist planned world community, - namely their involvement totally in the continuation of the world socialist revolution. Any other role for the masses such as that of mere consumers or occasional public opinion poll samples (elections, etc) as offered by Moscow and Peking are a complete historical nonsense. "The working class has been emancipated just in order to stand around sampling the latest socks from the light industries ministry, or comment politely on the latest empty diplomatic niceties between the peaceful-coexistence propaganda ministry and the next visiting bourgeois dignitary (i.e. asshole)", - according to this idiotic perspective. What a disgusting farce, and what a nauseating insult to Marxism-Leninism. No wonder so many thousands are standing around in Peking in idle confused futility not knowing quite what they want, and no wonder the clapped-out party leadership is standing around paralytically watching them.

Fortunately this mess is irrelevant to the essential understanding (of the revolutionary frontline struggles against imperialist which grow and get wider daily, - from El Salvador to the Philippines), - even if it is a propaganda pain in the neck for the communist cause. Leninism will survive, despite the pathetic revisionist-defeatism in Moscow and Peking. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

Illusions about peace  
are concealing  
imperialism's war drive

If Chinese student protests prove a catalyst for reforms in the workers state, it will be a tribute to the communist revolution for creating a society where reason can prevail. But the deluded petty-bourgeois political content of their demands is oddly enough better proof of the party's revisionist decay than the demonstrations themselves.

Singing the 'International' is just a philistine posture. These favoured youth are making no communist demands for world socialist revolution. Just the opposite. Their confused 'democracy' calls have failed to get across the slightest awareness among the students that for tens of millions of really poor and really suffering people, an international class war is being fought out right now precisely against the 'democracy' fraud from the Philippines to Chile and from Namibia to Pakistan, and in favour of proletarian revolution.

The CPC leaders have failed

to bring up at least this part of young China in a Leninist understanding of the crucial historic role of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the world socialist revolution as the only route for guaranteeing the real beginnings of emancipation for everyone through the overthrow of imperialism, in the clear Marxist philosophical understanding that the freedom for each is the condition for the freedom of all, which only communism can provide. Until then, there can only be either the dictatorship of the proletariat or the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, no third way.

Idealistic Peking students should be demonstrating for the right to go and fight by the side of the Mozambique revolution against the Western-organised and financed RNM fascists destroying everything in sight from across the South African nazi-apartheid border, or to aid the Nicaraguan revolution against the CIA Con-

tras; or Panamanian nationalism against the Pentagon's 'low-intensity' invasion.

As useful as it might be to persuade the Peking government to run things better, the world's real problems, affecting everyone including China, would remain unaltered as before, — the need to build Leninist revolutionary movements as widespread as possible to prepare the worldwide revolutionary overthrow of warring imperialism's arm-race as it sinks through cut-throat trade war into inter-capitalist WWII in the coming decade, full of renewed fascist threats to the entire socialist camp.

Gorbachev is no use to the real needs of the masses in China (or elsewhere) because he shares Peking's revisionist complacency that the decaying West offers 'peace'. It offers revolutionary crisis and nothing else.

The reactionary 'free' world press loves these student demonstrations because

ring to build communism is a futile one.

The aim either has to be a totally rational social movement dedicated to scientific communist relations or it is nothing. All disagreements must either be resolved in comradely polemics or else openly and consciously coexisted with until a solution can be found.

What is an impossible attitude is for one section of the party to deliberately conceal its conclusions and differences from another section, or from the party in general, — for whatever reason. This is a completely non-communist approach.

Excuses about a fear of "being shouted at", etc., are a hopeless nonsense. Whatever else such behaviour may lead to, it certainly is not a communist party which is going to be built.

This individual ego-protection is even more destructive when such attitudes are adopted towards the whole question of party leadership itself.

Leaders can prove themselves to be hopeless dullards and constantly need changing; but leadership is essential, and the whole party must be constantly geared to strive to give leadership themselves, and to show the equally high communist responsibility of supporting leadership in gen-

eral, and individual leaders when they have got it right (and usually giving the existing leadership the benefit of the doubt by being supportive even when it is not quite clear how things should go).

Although everything about successful socialist revolution must start from a correct analysis of world events, building a capable leadership party embraces many other complex matters too.

Crucially, the revolutionary party historically is the only place where a future leadership of society can be trained, — alert to the essential understanding of all problems in society, and able to respond to developments promptly and correctly in a revolutionary way which society's existing leadership is clearly incapable of, — as shown in the mismanagement of the economy, housing, education, transport, local communities, philosophical outlooks, etc under capitalism, (or under a succession of Tory and Labour national and local governments, — in this country and throughout the 'free' world.)

The degree to which some developments within the socialist camp have run into great problems too since 1917 has been precisely that degree to which the

## No revolution without totally scientific Leninist outlook

The ILWPs recent experience of having to defeat nationalist opportunism which tried to oust the Party's revolutionary perspectives has valuably underlined some crucial lessons of Bolshevik development which might have taken years to learn in other circumstances.

The broadest conclusion is that building a party is not merely some traditional description of political struggle which can apply to almost any 'progressive' activities but is in fact a most difficult specialised conscious central aim of the whole revolutionary fight, and a question uniquely grasped by Leninism alone.

It is something far more than just a well-meaning collection of self-sacrificing individuals, — however important a role the independent theoretical understanding and practical experience of cadres paradoxically plays in the making of a Bolshevik party.

As a general approach, people must convince themselves of the correct analysis and the right way to do things. But once having reached their conclusions, it is then crucial for any differences to be kept in

front of the party in organised comradely polemics. It is farcically uncommunist to make valuable political experiences thanks to the broad stance the Party has adopted, but then start treating the conclusions as something "the party would not want to know", or something "they wouldn't appreciate", or something "X would disagree with", etc.

This is the subjective-idealist philosophy of idealism or individualism, — something far removed from the need for cadres to make their own personal experience of the correctness (or otherwise) of the party's general lines.)

This makes the fatal assumption that "as long as I understand things correctly then the party will be all right". Hopelessly wrong.

Without a constantly expanding common party understanding of the most advanced political knowledge it is possible to develop and impart, — the task of building an eventual vanguard leadership capable of transforming the entire proletariat and progressive intelligentsia into a new revolutionary ruling class prepa-

## SECTION SEVEN

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ruling communist parties were not trained sufficiently enough in a Leninist scientific-philosophical outlook.

Bureaucratic decay comes from that philosophical legacy of unreconstructed subjectivism-idealism such as not making changes in time or not even recognising the need for changes, - which in turn arises from a confused and uncertain grasp of the overall world revolutionary perspectives and the place for each nation's socialist revolution within that pattern, - an ignorance of Leninism.

The more advanced the revolutionary epoch, the more advanced the communists have to become in order to cope with all the complexities of modern society's illusions, philistinism, and confusion. Imagine giving permanent political and social leadership in the workplace, the local community, the trade union branch, the local school, the Labour ward, etc. Mature mastery of personal development problems and every relevant bit of modern scientific understanding about the development of society would be required, - and more besides. Communists have to make this preparation first and foremost inside their own party, - the highest point of the class struggle. If you can't face up to the need to develop there, you won't face up to the need to transform into a competent party of mature social leadership anywhere else.

The very very highest standards are demanded of membership of the revolutionary party. It is pointless to build any other kind of party.

All the necessary links to the masses through workers who don't themselves aspire to party membership but admire other workers who do, will flow from such an outstanding leadership. The Vietnamese communist party had only 5,000 members when in 1945 it set up its first short-lived independent socialist republic, - quickly reestablishing it after first routing French imperialism before then going on to rout US imperialism. Conditions are ripe for producing even more advanced Leninist parties as the imperialist West slithers into its monstrously complex but inevitable decay.

Development of Leninism is the key. Every interest-

ing or difficult point of conflict on tactics, strategy, broad political programme, party building, etc, should be brought up with relish by every party member for polemical discussion. It is the only way for the party to learn. Far more articles about the party, politics, and social developments should be attempted if possible, but certainly should be raised in discussion. It is the party's knowledge which finally counts, - not "my activity".

There is no room for the monstrous complacency and philosophical dead-end of "it will all happen anyway, - cadres will develop whether I put myself out or not".

The only correct philosophical sense in which it can be confidently stated that the necessary social and political forces will develop to topple imperialism is if one is living proof of that oneself. The only answer to those who say "it will happen" regard-

less of their own activity is to say that "with just people like you around, it certainly won't happen".

Better than saying the victory of socialist revolution is inevitable is to insist non-stop that the victory of socialist revolution is necessary.

And the most effective way of achieving this, paradoxically, is not necessarily through furious activism but much more importantly through complete rationality. An ice-cold brain which can knowledgeably sort out the complex political and social problems of building the revolutionary movement is ultimately even more impassionedly effective against injustice than anything else.

What is or wasn't inevitable in revolutionary history is in the end totally uninteresting. Solving what was done wrong and what must now be done right is the only way to live. Build Leninism.

## Capitalist reaction beaten in Afghanistan

A year ago (May 1988) the Soviet expeditionary forces helping the 1978 Afghan Revolution to withstand CIA-financed and organised counter-revolution from across the Pakistan border, - handed military control of the Jalalabad region back to the proletarian state army and began to pull out.

One year later the capitalist press admits that all talk now of counter-revolutionary (Mujahideen) victories is lunacy. The class forces of socialism are defeating the class forces of imperialism.

This triumph symbolises the ascendancy of communism within the international balance of class forces as nothing else can, and it will have incalculable consequences worldwide on all current and subsequent struggles for the socialist revolution.

Attempting to subvert the 1978 Afghan Revolution has been the costliest-ever of the CIAs covert operations, and is now its most expensive and disastrous failure, - comparable in its way with the devastating military humiliation inflicted by the Vietnamese communist revolution (and by the revolutions of Laos and Cambodia) on the fullscale imperialist forces of the US war machine, the mightiest in capitalist history. The

'free world' reaction cannot win on the battlefield against determined communist fighters; now the West has catastrophically failed to defeat communism using bribed local religious reactionaries and open sabotage across the borders of the semi-feudal dictatorships in Pakistan and Iran.

Afghanistan has been laid waste by this dollar-financed subversion just as ferociously as scorched-earth policy by German imperialism under Hitler, or by the British in Malaysia after World War II, or the French in Algeria and Indo-China, or by the USA trying to pick up the pieces for capitalism in Vietnam. This has been a major fascist-imperialist tyranny, - ridiculing the complacent anti-Leninist idiocy of the international 'left' swamp which likes to pretend that 'imperialism's teeth have been drawn once and for all by the sophisticated democratic mood of the modern world community', etc.

But even more importantly it is the class strengths of the proletarian socialist state (backed by the socialist camp) which have prevailed.

It is ten years since the ILWP Bulletin alone began its unique achievement of seeing consistently in Af-

ghanistan the potential within the balance of class forces for another stunning setback for imperialism, while remaining critical of Moscow's revisionist diffidence towards the international socialist revolution in general.

The ILWP dismissed with contempt the majority of the reactionary 'left' swamp which identified with the fascist-feudal 'guerrillas' of the Mujahideen (who far from being a 'revolutionary' movement of any kind, - let alone a 'true popular revolutionary movement' as some of the more philistine of 'left' anti-communists suggested, - were nothing but disparate rival mercenary gangs of hired CIA thugs and killers whose only ability was to wreck schools, hospitals, and economic installations which the Kabul regime introduced to try to overcome the tribal-feudal backwardness of Afghanistan).

But the Bulletin equally promptly exposed the 'ultra left' form of middle-class anti-communist hysteria which avoided identifying with the reactionary Mujahideen but even more determinedly refused to identify with unconditional defence of the actual revolutionary state in Kabul (the only serious Leninist-materialist position), - opting instead for the ivory-tower academic 'purity' of armchair socialism of maintaining an anti-imperialist facade while in reality writing off the entire process of the Afghan Revolution as a total failure and disaster, - including (and especially) the Soviet involvement.

The ILWP exposed the bogus 'Leninist' grouping in the CPGB as early as 1981 for its congenital inability to establish an unconditional class identification with any of the workers states, - particularly Poland and Afghanistan, - explaining that the chronic fence-sitting of the middle-class Islington 'revolutionaries' was just another form of anti-communism, - fearing to associate too closely with anything which might just go down as "another Stalinist disaster" with their pub friends in Islington.

But being against Solidarnosc or the Mujahideen, but refusing unconditional support to the Warsaw and Kabul regimes in their life-and-death struggles

against imperialist counter-revolution (regardless of the non-stop criticisms which have to be made of the weak revisionist ideology of the socialist camp) ---is a complete nowhere position.

But nearly nine years later, the hoax 'Leninist' sect has its foot more firmly in its mouth than ever before; or to be specific its viciously middle-class anti-communist subjectivism came spewing back out like a sewer in its No 73 issue, full of hate-filled defeatism about the anti-imperialist struggle, and incurably determined to blame the workers states for this, in typical fake 'ultra-left' fashion.

"The Afghan Revolution - looks like it is about to be drowned in its own blood.

It gives us no pleasure to be proved right about Afghanistan.

..... we see nothing healthy about a victory for imperialism and black reaction.

..... as a result of Gorbachev's treachery the Afghan revolution faces the most agonising, lonely and barbaric of deaths. The appeasement of Najibullah and his fellow *Parcham* opportunists will do no good.... courting the counterrevolutionaries will only foster demoralisation and give the Mujahideen a sense of imminent victory. .... women will be subject to the most appalling humiliations, trade unions will be crushed and those who object will be tortured and sent to an infidel's grave. The country will fall into the hands of Islamic warlords who consider the only good communist a hacked to death communist. Whatever our left groups say, once the Soviet armed forces pulled out Afghanistan's descent into this reactionary hell was more or less certain. ?

The 'Leninist' pretence of having 'supported' the Afghan Revolution, 'if critically', is nonsense. In this armchair socialist sect's first publications, they started out with demoralised defeatism, -almost maliciously gloating (because of their, in-truth, deeply anti-communist class position) about "the extinguishing of the flame of the revolution" in Afghanistan immediately the Soviet involvement in the anti-imperialist struggle had begun, --adding gory atmospherics about "facing death" and "major amputations", etc.

But to anybody other than fake 'revolutionary' academic hysterics, it was obvious that the major shift in historic class forces (bound up with the Afghan events and the Soviet intervention to confront imperia-

list-backed counter-revolution), - the fundamental essence of real revolution, -- could not be so easily 'extinguished', or 'amputated', or 'faced with death'.

Not surprisingly, the closest thing to the blood-curdling defeatism of the fake 'left' is the equally small-minded triumphalist relish with which the rest of the political petty-bourgeoisie (typified by rightwing journalists) have also previously been greeting the presumed phenomenon of the Afghan Revolution "about to be drowned in its own blood" (Copyright: The Leninist MCMLXXXIX). Obviously they all share a fear of the dictatorship of the proletariat ever really coming to power. From being able to afford to drink in the same Islington pubs under the illusory sway of the fag-end of the Reagan-Thatcher inflationary boom, the right petty-bourgeoisie get the courage to boast of Kabul's imminent demise; while the 'left' petty-bourgeoisie luxuriate in pretended 'revolutionary indignation' that their own claimed 'Leninist purity' had not been lived up to by Kabul and Moscow (while in reality delighted to be spared the potential social embarrassment around Barnsbury of seriously having to defend unconditionally the PDPA regime in all its conflicts with imperialist-bourgeois influences, (while ruthlessly criticising revisionist weaknesses in Kabul and Moscow), -the only real Leninist position).

The language with which the rightwing middle class anticipated defeat for the revolution in Afghanistan was similarly emotive to the fake 'despair' of the 'left' middle class, - much more shallowly disturbed by the general historical consequences of class upheaval than scientifically rational about the cold hard facts of the decisive international balance of class forces.

Fleet Street wrote in January the following about Kabul itself, (never mind such easy pickings as Jalalabad much closer to the Pakistan frontier across which the CIA-financed counter-revolutionary mercenaries were pouring.)

**T**HE cruel spectre of starvation haunts Kabul as frightened families freeze for hours in bread queues, fighting for their meagre rations as

they watch the retreat of the Red Army rumbling past them.

With just over three weeks to go until the last Soviet soldier leaves, the Afghan capital is paralysed by a fear of what happens next.

At the heart of the tragedy are the children--youngsters who know neither hope nor despair, but live in the pathetic belief that their elders will provide them at least with a scrap of bread.

Yet bread is a commodity which is running perilously short. Mobs besiege the streetside kiosks that act as bakeries as soon as supplies arrive.

A soldier on guard duty was shot dead yesterday as he tried to stem the rush.

Old men and youngsters, weakened by hunger and despair, drop dead in the streets as they wait for a last crust.

Slowly, but surely, the Mujahadeen guerrillas are strangling the capital with their rocket attacks on food convoys, waiting for their chance when the Russians have gone to move in for the kill.

The only value the Red Army has is to keep the Mujahadeen's murderous hands off Kabul's throats for a few more days.

All westerners have been ordered to fly out while they can. And diplomats here are betting the Red Army will be gone before their February 15 deadline to avoid an ugly scramble. ?

But apart from random Western rockets killing innocent civilians every week in Kabul, the capital has in reality come under not the slightest danger of a "rapid triumph for the Mujahideen", or of imagined anarchy.

Even more humilatingly for the CIA-duped 'free-world' press, the vulnerable frontier town Jalalabad which was expected to collapse within hours after the Feb 15 final Soviet pull-out with scarcely a fight, ---is in fact now counter-attacking against the besieging mercenaries.

And this month's Fleet Street press reports tell an entirely different story about who is going to win the class war in Afghanistan.

♣ In the city parks have been given over to pits for tanks and ammunition dumps, and trees have been felled to allow helicopters to land.

The city guards the route to Pakistan through the Khyber Pass. It was said that it would fall within a matter of days, and a provisional Mujahideen government would be set up there.

But peasants were gathering corn in the river valley yesterday, and plying the dusty roads of the city with their carts.

That the regime of President Najibullah agreed to Western journalists being flown in, despite repeated refusals until only last week, indicates Kabul believes it has seized the initiative in the contest for the city in southern Afghanistan.

After a helicopter flight from the capital, which was an epic in itself, our party was deposited unceremoniously in a wheat-field on the north-west side of

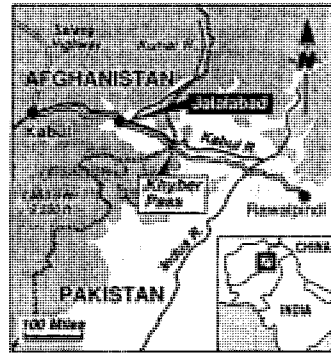
the old city, the early morning.

We were whisked past emplacements which featured T54 Russian tanks and anti-aircraft guns lowered for firing along the ground; these are the preferred weapons for the close defence of the city itself.

Behind them stood several white villas, pitted and scarred, their roofs caved in--once the impressive seats of provincial government.

"Dear journalists, you are welcome," said a dapper figure clad in light khaki tank suit, white shirt, and Paris designer-label tie.

Mohamed Safar Khoarabi, deputy governor of the city, added: "You have heard how the Mujahideen claim to have put the airport out of action, and



even set up part of their government in a suburb of the old city. Now look for yourselves."

The first stop of the tour in a gently disintegrating bus was the airport, to the east of the old city, which had been reported cut off from time to time.

Every building had received a direct or indirect hit from the guerrillas' heavy-calibre rockets.

But the main apron and central section of the runway seemed in good repair, albeit heavily pitted.

The blitheness with which we were taken there indicates that the government forces have now pushed their outer perimeter defences to well beyond five miles outside the town in several directions, suggesting that there have been some successful recent counter-attacks.

"We have sustained up to 30,000 rockets on the airport in one day," said a ferocious moustachioed air force officer. Clearly the Baron Munchausen of the Caravanserai had been at work, for this would have been the firepower of an army for a small campaign.

The officer in charge, Lt-Col Jahan Gir, explained more soberly that the airport could now function in emergencies. "If we have to, we can get transport planes in here, though most supplies come by road," he said.

A more overall picture was given at a briefing by the two commanders at Jalalabad, Col-Gen Mohamed Azef Delawar, who is C-in-C, Eastern Front, and the Governor, Lt-Gen Manouk Mangal.

The governor said it was five days short of a year since the Soviet garrison handed over the

city of Jalalabad to the Afghan Army, "which since then has heroically defended it".

In the past two months, according to the governor, the city has sustained direct bombardment from about 150,000 artillery, rocket and heavy mortar rounds.

Rather less plausibly he insisted that the Mujahideen had suffered 15,000 casualties.

Both generals blamed Pakistan and its Inter-Service Intelligence Department, and what they term the "Punjabi and Arab" instructors on the other side, for the prolongation of the war.

According to Gen Delawar, road convoys are now supplying Jalalabad every day. "The garrison force is more than adequate to defend the population of 170,000 now in the city," he said.

Gen Delawar seems to be the architect of the highly-effective — if in a typically Afghan way — defensive strategy for Jalalabad and its province.

He appears to have a force of between 25,000 and 35,000, which continuously shifts its defensive positions for tanks, rockets, and light artillery, digging new positions almost daily.

For all the sense that perhaps the worst of the siege is over, nobody from conscript to colonel-general is crowing in Jalalabad. During yesterday's visit by journalists the word, "victory", was not mentioned once.

Both the generals said they believed the Kabul government and the anti-Communist guerrillas could and should come to terms.

Talks on local truces had already taken place, they said. They blamed Pakistan for disrupting the process.

A monument of bleakness in the heart of the old city of Jalalabad is the Sikh Temple of Baberake. Though battered by shrapnel, it has become a haven for many of the 8,000 old-city residents.

A total of 57 Sikhs have died in the siege, and 102 have been injured.

Inside the temple old men lie huddled in the corridors and cellars like figures from Henry Moore's sketches of the London Underground in the Blitz. Two octogenarians were endeavouring to die with dignity, while a family coped with their newest member of two weeks.

Food was available, explained the community leader, Dabair Singh, but bread from the government was scarce. "What can I say about this war?" He shook his white beard. "Why do they fire on us civilian people?"

Americans in the party of journalists — they proclaimed themselves with their baseball caps — were verbally assailed by Abdul Rabu, who was a proud shopkeeper until March 19 when a rocket smashed his stall, killing his mother and his two-year-old son.

"Why does George Bush send

these rockets?" he yelled. "America, Pakistan, go home. We here do not make war with anyone."

The vehemence was undoubtedly sincere, and the protest was repeated nearly half a dozen times at different stopping points, at broken mud houses, at one totally destroyed hospital (though nobody was killed), and at the Nangahar High School, where a young guard was killed two days ago.

"Yes, we have seen really severe fighting, three or four times in the past two months. Really massive attacks," explained the principal of the school, Hafizullah Nuri, 48.

"All the teachers are now enrolled in the militia. We have received more than 27 rockets on the school alone. I hold the United States responsible. Why are they giving rockets to the Mujahideen to kill innocent people?"

One of the most skilful propaganda ploys by the government escorts was a ride some eight miles out of town to the Nangahar provincial power station on the Kunar and Kabul rivers.

Scattered rows of sheaves in the fields declared an early harvest, and carts plied the roads with remarkable nonchalance. But nearly all the houses and every shop in the outlying villages were firmly shuttered.

The station itself sits in groves of palms and eucalyptus, its austere front garlanded with what seem to be the most gorgeous clouds of purple bougainvillea outside the Mediterranean.

Inside we were given the dry statistics that the station generates 5,000 kilowatts for the city and 2,800 for the region.

The message was clear. Electricity is still in constant supply in Jalalabad. The telephones work throughout the old centre, and fresh water is available at almost every public fountain and tap.

The garden of the power station was littered with bits of rocket, but by now the enemy is far away, we were told, and to emphasise the point the army unit in the groves along the river fired off four rockets towards the distant mountains.

The Nangahar Provincial Hospital is a melancholy maze of concrete and stone corridors, perfumed with the sweet smell of medicine and mortality.

In one ward a young mother railed against the perpetrators of the chest wound to her young son, caused by rocket debris.

In another room three infants had the vacant expression of shock. They had lost limbs.

But the director, Musamel Karwar, a thickset figure of 37, gave some of the most plausible statistics to date of the effects of the two months of battle in and around the city.

Three thousand civilians had been injured, he explained, and 523 killed, 128 dying in his hospital alone.

Ninety per cent of the war vic-



An MI-24 patrols near the airport in Kabul

tims, he suggested, had been hit by rockets. Only one per cent had bullet wounds."

**TAKING** the helicopter convoy down to Jalalabad from the Afghan capital is a real life version of a funfair wall of death.

For some days during the two months' siege of the southern city, helicopters were the only means of supplying the beleaguered garrison. Today, they are under less demand as road convoys get through.

But the journey across the razor backs of the mountains south of Kabul and into the broad plain of Jalalabad running down to the Khyber Pass still has its moments.

Yesterday, the Afghan government invited a party of Western journalists to make the switchback ride to Jalalabad.

The carriers are pot-bellied Soviet Hip MI-8 helicopters moving in pairs and escorted by MI-24 Hind gunships, five for the journey out and six for the way back.

For the first stretch of the 75-mile journey, it is plain sailing over a patchwork of brown hills, dotted with nomads and their flocks. Beyond the Kabul Gorge, where the British Expeditionary Force was massacred in 1842, flying becomes serious.

The helicopters are vulnerable to ground fire from automatic weapons and Stinger shoulder-launched missiles. Keep low enough and you avoid the Stinger. For the rest, it is a story of dodge and dislodge.

On the hills south of the garrison of Surobi, the Mujahideen maintain an uncertain presence.

Rising over the ridges of rock and bare earth, the Hind gunships spout flares to attract heat-seeking missiles, and use their own rocket pods blasting the hillsides to keep Mujahideen fingers off their triggers.

Suddenly, a loud clang comes from the side of the Hip transport, sounding suspiciously like incoming rocket fire, but these are missiles from the helicopter's own pods.

Then comes the real test of nerve for all concerned: a ridge, deceptively named Tangi Alrishim (Silk Valley Ridge).

The helicopter pulls up on to the skyline to plunge 500 feet down the gully at an angle of 45 degrees, rotors and undercarriage at times clearing the rocks

by less than 10 feet.

The performance is repeated half a dozen times on each journey but, for the passengers, familiarity merely breeds respect for the pilots and the machines.

On the way back behind gunships, like tigers with their bright camouflage, they form up for the dash over Silk Valley Ridge. This time, the six go to wide formation and blast the shallow ridges repeatedly, for Mujahideen have been seen in the distance.

On the ground at Kabul a dozen sweaty hands shake those of the pilot and his team. He is an insouciant, 24-year-old senior captain of the air force, Omay Yun of the 377 "Hero" helicopter regiment. He is wholly Afghan trained and proud of it.

"The mountains in that area are particularly difficult," he vouchsafes modestly — and he himself has already been on the run south. He makes the journey most days of the week, though things are easier with the convoys getting through by road.

He and his co-pilot, Amin Jer, 24, and engineer, Safi Ulla, 28, are keen to demonstrate they are loyal Afghans, the new breed running the government's air force.

They have the skill and courage of fighter aces."

Western subversion is being beaten in Afghanistan, and the Goebbels propaganda hysteria of the 'free' world press has been humiliated, — as has the cynical defeatism of the ultra-left petty bourgeois posturers who in reality are as anti-communist as the rest of the middle class. The ILWPs Leninist understanding of the potential victory for revolution due to the international balance of class forces has been vindicated, — whatever the final outcome of the historic class war in Afghanistan, and whatever criticisms must still be made of the continuing revisionist weaknesses in the world revolutionary outlooks of Moscow and Kabul (and the rest of the socialist camp). Build Leninism.

## West drowning in hypocrisy

After more than 180 years of American imperialist domination of Latin America via an endless series of fascist-dictator stooges in every Central and South American country, the US government is considering the ultimate humbug by preparing invasion plans against Panama for holding elections which were "not democratic enough", and in order to "defend the free will of the Panamanian people" by a US blitzkrieg military occupation of the country.

Washington's claims that the fat bourgeois slob Endara has "popularly defeated" the CIA's former mafia strongman Noriega is ludicrously unconvincing to even the tiny handfuls of big business and middle-class pro-USA demonstrators who have put up feeble rent-a-crowd protests under bribes from the American embassy but who had virtually disappeared within 24 hours of the staged CIA 'scenes' against the election, — so unconvincing that only an onslaught by US tanks, bombers, artillery, and warships are thought likely to make Panama and the rest of the world see things the White Houses way.

**P**RESIDENT Bush last night urged world leaders to repudiate Panama's military leader, General Manuel Antonio Noriega, and did not rule out the use of military force to impose what he called the "clear-cut" victory of the opposition in Sunday's elections.

In his first comment on the Panama election President Bush said there had been "massive irregularities" and demanded Gen Noriega relinquish power. "I call on all foreign leaders to urge Gen Noriega to honour the clear results of the election. The opposition has won a clear-cut overwhelming victory."

"The Panamanian people have spoken and I call on Gen Noriega to respect the voice of the people," the President said in a hastily-called Oval Office news conference.

Mr Bush refused to be drawn on what retaliation the United States might take until Panama announced the formal election outcome, but he indicated he had been in touch with high-level Panamanian officials.

Armed with the support of

the bipartisan congressional delegation, the Bush Administration is expected to move quickly to bolster the number of US combat troops in Panama. However, the US might be reluctant to act unilaterally against Gen Noriega for fear of inciting anti-Americanism throughout the continent at a time of political and economic tension.

Mr Bush is understood to have recognised the sense of urgency and taken the view that the situation could not be allowed to fester. Late yesterday he consulted former President Carter — who negotiated the 1977 Panama Canal Treaties — and led a separate delegation of observers.

It would be a relatively simple matter for the United States to airlift troops and weapons to its bases in the country.

Calm had returned to Panama City by yesterday morning. Marchers who were met by birdshot from riot police and by paramilitary thugs on Monday were nowhere to be seen a day later.

Public transport was operating normally, and traffic had returned, despite the sabre-rattling in Washington.

Mr Bush, as Governor Michael Dukakis frequently reminded voters in the 1988 presidential campaign, has a particularly serious problem with the Panamanian dictator. As a former CIA director, Mr Bush is said to have regarded General Noriega as an intelligence asset.

General Noriega, for his part, has frequently claimed to have a damaging dossier on Mr Bush which, he alleged, could affect the outcome of the US elections.

American frustration with Panama is particularly acute, since it is the one Central American country over which it had genuine colonial power, exercised through its full control of the canal and US military bases in the region.

Just over 100 days into his administration General Noriega has come back to haunt Mr Bush again. This time around, armed with bipartisan evidence from the US observer delegation that Noriega stole the election with massive fraud, Washington seems prepared (at the very least) to try some old-style gunboat diplomacy.

Washington: President Bush and his national security aides last night discussed plans for removing Gen Noriega

Among the immediate steps being considered is a show of force with the Pentagon airlift-

US imperialism's permanent subversion headquarters in Panama for colonial domination of Central America, — helping Contras massacre Nicaraguan villagers. Ex-boss Galvin joins NATO



ing thousands of US troops directly to the American bases in the Canal Zone. Such an operation might be linked to an evacuation of the dependants of US forces in Panama.

The decision to confront Gen Noriega was taken at an afternoon session at the White House attended by President Bush, the Defence Secretary, Mr Richard Cheney, and the CIA director, Mr William Webster.

A CIA operation to kidnap Gen Noriega and bring him to justice in the US was ruled out when Mr Bush apparently urged some caution.

American fascist-imperialist aggression is being considered because their former stooge Noriega has temporarily chosen to play the Panamanian nationalist card against the USA.

Having won some local popularity by regaining Panamanian sovereignty (on paper at least) over the Canal under former boss Torrijos, the Noriega regime has maintained a degree of 'independent' political line by being awkward over Pentagon plans to put military pressure on socialist Nicaragua and Cuba, and to generally use American military bases on Panamanian territory for furthering US imperialist tyranny in the region at large.

Washington is incensed enough when hard-to-beat revolutionary socialist move-

ments emerge to challenge US colonial domination of the continent, — never ceasing to try to overthrow Castro, the Sandinistas, and the New Jewel Movement through CIA subversion, nazi coups, and eventually with outright fascist-imperialist invasion if all else fails, — as was needed to drown Grenada's socialist revolution in blood in 1983, and as was inflicted on numerous progressive revolutionary movements throughout Latin America going all the way back to the last century.

But the US ruling class has virtual apoplexy when one of their own trained mafia stooges like Noriega decides to tell American capitalist interests where to get off. In the notorious phrase of the "great democratic liberal" Franklin Roosevelt about the monstrous Somoza-dynasty fascist brutality which Washington advice, money, and arms deliberately kept in power in Nicaragua for more than 50 years, — "he's a bastard, but he's our bastard".

(In a disgusting sideshow cameo of 'free world' hypocrisy in Downing Street this week, the utterly contemptible British ruling-class stooges of American imperialism throughout the whole modern era of Western colonial bullying had the gall to tell the heroic Sandinista government seeking aid to help rebuild the ravages of CIA-mercenary destruction throughout Nicaragua and to further develop the impressive mass participation in the running of the country for the first time in Nicaragua's history that no money could be given because "Nicaragua is not democratic enough").

Washington's hysterical anger is particularly indecent when the local bourgeoisie at last trying to make some gesture of 'independence' from US imperialist bullying is the ruling class in Panama.

The canal is a legendary exploit of American colonialism, an unforgettable symbol of the power and know-how of the greatest and wealthiest monopoly-imperialism the world has ever known.

Even the country of Panama was literally an invent-

ion of US capitalism, bludgeoning from Colombia the secession of its northern isthmus by bribery and military threats for the construction of the then amazingly impressive canal, dominated by the USAs own 'Canal Zone' property and permanent military bases.

The American ruling class has been bitterly complaining in a rearguard action ever since Carter negotiated an eventual (1999) restoration of Panamanian sovereignty over the canal (albeit still with many monstrously offensive 'American safeguards' still imposed); and that truculent mood of incomprehension that any American government could ever seriously contemplate not continuing to rule the roost over Panama (and everywhere else come to that, -especially in Latin America, -the Monroe doctrine's 'own back yard'), -was plainly evident in the sour surliness of returning US congressmen telling Bush that "something must be done" after completing their joke 'election observer' posturing in front of US television cameras in the vicinity of a Panamanian polling booth or two, -as instructed by their US big business paymasters, and endorsed by the CIA's black propaganda department.

Whether the most outright American capitalist reaction is disappointed or not in demanding immediate US invasion of Panama may be clearer by next week, but that the US imperialist stooge congressmen were fearing that the paralysis affecting the 'wimp' president Bush might fail to dislodge Noriega yet again, -thus inviting more international ridicule of US imperialist impotence, -was clear from their snarling, dog-in-the-manger faces.

Even more disgusting was the mindless servility of the 'free world press' (i.e. the BBC/ITV/Fleet Street lie machine) which abjectly toed America's bullying line -regurgitating such Goebbels-propaganda tricks put out by the CIA as "mounting international pressure is calling for Noriega's resignation", which turns out to mean just the vaguest of comments about 'wishing Panamanian public opinion to be respected' etc, from the three paltriest or most indebted US client states - Costa Rica, Venezuela, and Peru; plus an obvious reactionary thrust from the Ar-

chbishop of Panama; but all whipped up to suit the nazi aggressive mood of invading without provoking too much international outcry or opposition should Washington decide upon blitzkrieg.

By US imperialism's most reactionary circles, Panama is seen as either literally physically indispensable to the American ruling class's longterm plans to retain 'free world' domination; or else as symbolically necessary to convince international opinion that Washington means business.

And since the progress of the counter-revolutionary Cold War and the inter-imperialist trade war is running into crisis at almost every turn on almost every front for American capitalism at the moment, the US ruling class is in a particularly sullen, choleric, and uncertain mood. Anything could happen.

Particularly loathsome but hardly surprising, therefore, was it for the Labour Party to yet again display its immaculate timing for coming to the aid of beleaguered imperialism by announcing at this moment the decision of the 'reformist' -joke to fully and openly embrace capitalism as the 'only viable system' (so much for Labour Party 'socialism'), and to officially declare that Labour's former intentions to unilaterally renounce nuclear weapons were now 'incomprehensible'. No bigger or better attempt to boost the rotting Western imperialist system in crisis could be imagined than this endorsement of international exploitation and big-power arms-race bullying, -the dominant world order so far this century.

In practice, Labour's disarmament moralising was always an irrelevant nonsense all the time that there was no renunciation of the general 'free world' imperialist aggressiveness, exploitation, or inter-imperialist arms race in principle in all weapons. Labour has never said a word against Britain's leading role in the imperialist system's international arms trade, -just the opposite. The labour aristocracy bureaucrats of the trade union movement have always been the first to agitate against the closure of any military manufacturing capacity in the British imperialist economy, and the Labour Party has never in its life taken a

serious stand against the general world role of US imperialism, calling it to this day the 'major partner' in the joke 'free world alliance'. On top of that, it has always been the Labour Party which has been responsible for all the worst acts of British colonial nastiness against the revolutionary socialist and national-liberation movements of the world from the 1946-47 brutal suppression of Greek and Malaysian partizan-led socialist independence onwards (see ILWP Books vols 6,7,9, and 10).

But even without all these endless specific endorsements of US imperialism's 'free world' domineering or British colonialism's 'legitimate sphere of interests' etc, Labour's embrace of capitalism would be sufficient by itself to damn this reformist trade-union movement as incurably reactionary and counter-revolutionary for ever more.

For in the end it is not actual named approval of particular acts of Western imperialist-fascist aggression which holds capitalist class domination of the planet together, -as welcome as Labour endorsement is to the most reactionary imperialist counter-revolutionary circles. It is just support for capitalism itself which does the damage. Or to put it another way, -just support for the 'parliamentary democracy' system itself which is sufficient to give reaction its constant cover as inquiry after inquiry is held into one domestic or international capitalist atrocity after another producing 'criticisms' or 'reprimands' or 'recommendations for better practices' which serve solely to prop up imperialism inbetween each disaster or crisis, and prepare the way only for the next atrocity and the next inquiry.

It was the soft-left 'solidarity' crowd in Central Hall giving Daniel Ortega a proper welcome to Britain who paradoxically are mainly politically responsible for the logjam of 'democratic' illusion (propping up British imperialism, enabling Thatcher to insult and injure Ortega) remaining unbroken.

The spontaneous 'trade-unionist' consciousness of the labour movement and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia clearly actively denounces and opposes the US-run and financed Contra-

fascist-mercenary destruction of all that socialist Nicaragua is trying so heroically to build. But that selfsame 'left' swamps continued deluded support for the Western 'free-world democracy' system in general is all that the hidden monopoly-bourgeois dictatorship needs to keep its domineering-racketeering military-monopolisation going indefinitely. Inquiries and exposures can come and go, but the ruling class will rule on for ever until and unless they are overthrown, -and only the programme of proletarian dictatorship can do that (the programme of the Leninist Bolshevik party).

At some point, Ortega's audience will have to be asked that if they really will the survival of revolutionary Nicaragua, then their only ultimately effective solidarity would be to speed the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism in Britain and all its rotten ruling-class links to American imperialist domination of the modern world (including the propping up of Somoza for 50 years, and now the fascist sabotage of socialist Nicaragua), -links which have been as frequently degenerately insisted upon by Labour Governments as by Tory Governments. At which point the Labourism of Ortega's London audience would balk at any revolutionary disowning of the Labour Party. At which point conflict with such an audience should begin, -however mildly in the light of the special diplomatic requirements of Nicaraguan immediate support and solidarity facing renewed direct Western threats.

But the joke of empty Labour promises to 'reform' capitalism when no such thing is possible and when the leadership now openly admits that it has no such intentions anyway, -has not much more historic room in which to continue bamboozling the working class because the international imperialist system is completely running out of space inwhich to posture 'successfully' any more. The 'free world' is rapidly becoming a sick joke as the insoluble crises of inter-imperialist trade war and revolutionary national-liberation pressures relentlessly mount in every direction.

The latest warmongering-

desperation threats from Iran's fascist-bonapartist religious-feudal regime are again showing the West to be hopelessly opportunistically divided in response to the provocative 'Kill five Americans, British, or French for every Palestinian killed'. As in the Rushdie affair, half the 'free world' is far too busy cultivating its own potentially lucrative trade deals with Iran to want to bother about threats to another imperialist rival.

The essence of the German monopoly-bourgeoisie challenge to Anglo-Saxon imperialist hegemony (see last two Bulletins and ILWP Books vol 11) immediately gets its first tentative elaboration over Rasfjan's death challenge. Immediately, public opinion in Germany, Japan, Italy, etc will want to know how badly the Anglo-Saxon hegemonists have been conducting their leadership of Western affairs with Iran, the Gulf area in general, and the muslim world in even wider perspective, - all possibly conducted more with an eye to Anglo-US-French commercial interests than necessarily to the political and economic benefit of the West in general, and certainly at any expense to German, Japanese, or Italian, etc, interests if such could be achieved without becoming too noticeable, etc, etc.

Specifically, 'free world' opinion may hold together over the 'kill five Americans' threat; or over the 'dump Noriega' manoeuvres; or over any other Washington interest. Such details are not predictable.

But the overwhelmingly important point to make is that in the long run, these conflicting imperialist commercial, political, strategic and military interests will not always hold together. Just the opposite. They will come into all-out confrontation one with the other. That is the perspective that matters.

And with the failure so far to agree any general boycott on Iran for demanding the murder of Westerners, attention is drawn to the rapidly changing circumstances of the evolving international balance of class forces, to the background of which Arafat has cockily declared that a.) peaceful pressure alone is needed to restore statehood

to the dispossessed Palestinian people, not empty Iranian death-threats to Western imperialism; and for good measure that b.) the revered Palestinian Charter calling for the Palestinian nation to fight to the death to restore the entire country of Palestine usurped by Western colonial Zionist infiltration and annexation, - is dead and buried.

The same upheaval in the international balance of class and national forces which is pushing German imperialism forward independently of Anglo-Saxon hegemony; causing Noriega to defy US imperialist domination; driving the beleaguered feudal-fascist Iranian regime towards ever more desperate warmongering gestures of 'independent' national honour, etc; and providing the very backbone for the heroic Intifada which has been commanded by Arafat for his bourgeois-nationalist compromising but which in reality is in essence exactly the opposite of 'peaceful pressure' and the epitome of revolutionary struggle, arms-in-hand (even if only rocks at this stage); - is also preparing the conditions relentlessly for a resurgence of international Leninism which will sweep aside the class-compromising popular-front ineffectiveness ultimately of Arafatism, (which disarms the mass consciousness of the Palestinian people and the entire Arab national-liberation and revolutionary socialist struggle by its criminally naive delusion that the Zionist ruling class will ever, or could ever, voluntarily abdicate from dominating perpetually the land of Palestine now that they have conquered it).

Petty-bourgeois reformism remains permanently willing to be fooled that just because imperialism occasionally momentarily (historically speaking) takes its jackboot off peoples necks (always solely because of purely temporary paralysis and regrouping requirements), - then the floodgates have 'at last' been somehow opened for social-democracy to 'at last' go all the way to a real once-and-for-all 'clean-up' of imperialism's unspeakable act, - the last 150 years of warmongering armsrace domination and colonialist exploitation. What abysmal cowardly defeatism and criminal opportunism, -

potentially dooming the working class to the next historic round of widespread warmongering concentration-camp fascist-imperialist aggression before largescale revolutionary fightback is likely. Just because Bush or US imperialism has not invaded Nicaragua yet, or because Thatcher at least entertained Ortega, or because Zionism has not inflicted largescale genocide yet, etc, - then all that is needed is to 'talk nicely to imperialist warmongering and it will go away', etc. What suicidal rubbish. Western rebukes to Zionist terror-bombing or Pretoria's gun-running to Orange fascists is pure farce to hoodwink people. When is Pretoria going to be bombed for really supplying arms to real terrorists in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, - as Tripoli was fraudulently bombed by Anglo-Saxon imperialism to suit its warmongering-fascist purposes? Never. The CIA is now even considering denouncing Lech Walesa and the Polish Catholic Church for their 'murky betrayal deal' with the 'communist evil', etc, - as trailed by the astonishing Jimmy Reid denunciation of Solidarnosc last week. The counter-revolution is in this fight for keeps, all the way. The revolution must do likewise. Build Leninism.

## ILWP Development

The party's successful emergence from its recent bitter experience of having a fulltime cadre defect from Leninist politics to the nationalist-subjective swamp gives an opportunity to consider what the real basis of Bolshevism must be and whether sufficiently satisfactory progress is being made.

For arguments sake, it is worth assuming that the balance of class forces facing any attempt to build Leninism in this complex modern period of history in the boom-buttressed but decaying West starts with a totality of cynicism easily persuaded that no serious or effective Bolshevik Party is remotely yet in sight.

A mixture of cocky philistinism and sanctimonious scepticism can amid the diversions of a boom quickly convince small-minded, subjective and self-pitying people that party-building attempts were "bound to be flawed, or" just like all the

rest", and "bound to show up insuperable weaknesses sooner or later", etc.

The great paradox is that the ILWP started out with mostly just such types in the very beginning. And for good measure, exactly the same mentality had crept back into the Party in the recent period and was making a deadly serious attempt to reimpose cynicism universally throughout the ILWP's ranks. And on top of all that, similar attitudes are widespread among those vaguely sympathetic towards the Party but who so far don't feel willing to fully accept all the disciplines needed for seriously building the ILWP.

So what is left which has refused to succumb to these relentless waves of cynicism? (-and not only not succumbed, but on the contrary has so loyally sacrificed for the Party that the ILWP has been able to collectively elaborate, and agree, and defend publicly so many outstandingly correct lines of programme and political analysis embodied in nearly 500 weekly Bulletins and more than a dozen major book compilations and special subjects?).

Undoubtedly there is a workable social basis of a party spirit which potentially should know no limits. Obviously, correct theory holds the ILWP together, and the collective struggle to keep on elaborating a conclusive revolutionary response to every political, economic and social phenomenon (reflecting the international balance of class forces) will remain effective as the Party's immediate necessary conscious agenda. But even more crucially if less easily definably, Bolshevism develops through tried and tested relations between people.

This has been stressed often enough verbally inside the Party without ever making too much of a song and dance about it. But the nasty shock of what had been thought to be one area of reasonably developing Party relations turning into its complete opposite, and revealing unsuspected levels of subjective cynicism and "everything is rotten" defeatism, pointedly raises the question of what exactly the Party does consist of beyond the purely rational coincidence of views on theory.

Philosophical outlooks in terms of class solidarity

are almost impossible to define because they cover an infinite variety of attitudes and personalities; but in the particular recent unpleasant experience of someone not wanting to pay the slightest attention to the clear feelings of the entire Party on the issues in contention, nor (less surprisingly) to the collective wisdom on those matters (while initially continuing to argue one's own corner),—a petty-bourgeois individualism became apparent based on understandings a million miles from proletarian internationalism.

Not only the interpretation of Leninism and of current circumstances differed; a whirlwind of class differences (based on petty-bourgeois nationalist sentiment and other things) quickly put an unbridgable gulf between the Party's correct line and the revisionist opportunism attacking it.

What stood firm (as in the first, and greater, party-shattering conflict over revolutionism or revisionism), was not just the Party's clearer grasp of the matters in dispute, but also the confident loyalty to the Party's ability to get things right after discussion, based on a long record of frankly and fairly examining difficult questions in support of strictly scientific (non-opportunist) solutions.

This firmness completely surprised the rapidly mushrooming anti-Party sentiments surrounding the revisionist kernel. The Party has remained the Party, more aware of and hostile to swamp dangers than ever. The non-Party opportunism has quickly disintegrated into the most wretched subjective individualism,—exactly as happened to the far larger anti-Leninist grouping which tried to sabotage the ILWPs earliest approaches towards a Bolshevik outlook and practice.

In the earlier struggle with revisionism, the opportunists commandeered Party funds and tried to set up their own party. It collapsed ignominiously after just a few issues of a wretched leftist and scurrilous propaganda sheet. The recent new opposition has not even produced one coherent word in defence of its revisionist opportunism. The ILWP, on the other hand, systematically strengthens its theoretical base for its long term all-round growth.

The ILWPs survival and theoretical strengthening in the course of these struggles against revisionist alternative leaderships was not just a question of numbers. Votes had to be counted in the end, but the Party's disciplined pursuit of Marxist-Leninist science at any cost is qualitatively different from the revisionist opportunism of opponents which has always ended up getting quietly buried while the ILWPs main political lines go from strength to strength.

It is this quality of achievement which needs to be kept in mind,—not the crude numbers game of 'how many supporters?'. The old Bolshevik saying may be hackneyed but it remains true that sometimes it is better to build Leninism relying on fewer but more reliable members, rather than opting for more but weaker members.

Oddly enough, part of the recent opposition's behaviour could be linked to fundamental differences on this very question basically. Under cover of an activist wish for 'smoother Party progress', the revisionist tendency was all the time inclined to in reality shirk making a case in public for the full ILWP line.

This had nothing to do with any considered necessary short-circuiting of the Party's entire programme in order to just concentrate on one or two key useful points relevant to the people, meeting, or public issue in hand. It had everything to do with a petty-bourgeois wish to avoid the harsh conflict which in essence is always necessary (however temporarily diplomatically assuaged) at some point or other in any dealings with political outlooks less than 100% Leninist.

What finally was the achievement of this 'activist' assertion that better progress could be made for the Leninist party by a 'softly softly' approach? It was the 'Leninist' cadre which got itself thoroughly fooled, not the allegedly gullible public which was supposed to be won over by being gently stroked.

The pathetic outcome of this whole revisionist exercise in cynical feebleness should lead to no facetious conclusions that ILWP cadres are expected to bare their chests for all-out combat on every possible occasion. But it does reinforce the

Party's view that no one wants to get in the ILWPs way with subjective excuses which are turned against the Party in the form of scepticism about "going over the top" supporting Leninism. The odds of anyone ever arguing "too noisily" in defence of the ILWPs understanding must be millions to one against. The chances of being too timid or quiet in championing the ILWP line are bound to be far far greater.

Meanwhile the opportunist hostility has quickly sunk without trace into the subjective idealist swamp, — feebly echoing fascist-feminist propaganda which has attempted to smear the ILWP as 'homophobic'.

But in reality, it is anti-Leninist revisionism which is the truly bad news, (for homosexuals as for all minorities who suffer the incurable prejudices of capitalist class society), — not the world socialist revolutionary movement.

Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is finally going to end capitalism (and thereby make a new deal possible for all minorities), — nothing else;—and this is completely without prejudice from the Marxist-Leninist views, (doubting the philosophical claims of single-issue homosexual reformist politics), which alone make the achievement of proletarian dictatorship possible.

It is obvious in logic, — and endlessly plainly stated by the ILWP, — that the cultural norms of future communist society will only finally become fully clear when the people actually living under communism eventually elaborate and perfect all their attitudes to all phenomena and evolutionary processes. The ILWPs anticipation that homosexuality will ultimately be seen to have been a temporary freakish evolutionary dead-end for mankind (arising solely out of the deeply unnatural social and personal contradictions afflicting civilisation due to the monstrous distortions, frustrations and illusions inseparable from class-divided society), — will have no effect on the generations actually living under communism, and is not meant to.

The ILWPs attitudes are geared solely to the relentless philosophical disciplines without which no Bo-

lshevik party capable of overthrowing the astonishingly complex delusions of 400 years of bourgeois 'freedom' and 'liberal democracy' culture could ever make it.

Consistent Marxist-Leninist philosophy can only begin from a deeply sensuously-grasped understanding of the basic challenge facing mankind in unity and conflict with nature for the propagation of the species. Starting from God; starting from art-for-artsake; starting from the campaign for real ale; starting from feminist-cloning-liberation; starting from black-is-beautiful; starting from paedophile rights; etc;etc;—nothing of this can lead to Marxism.

Militant homosexuality is a reformist movement, and by definition a bourgeois reformist movement. No single-issue politics can ever do anything other than impede Marxism. The philosophy of militant homosexuality could pretend to adapt to a revolutionary Bolshevik movement; and support at the barricades for the overthrow of the capitalist state will come from individuals of every persuasion. But there is not the slightest possibility that the profoundly correct and deeply convincing revolutionary philosophical leadership for the whole of mankind (which alone can galvanise the hundreds of millions duped by modern capitalist society) will be supplied by such an abnormal minority as the homosexuals (who can make a good job of empathising with the family, reproduction, homemaking, upbringing concerns of ordinary people but cannot be driven by them towards a sufficient grasp of mass revolutionary consciousness.)

The popular-front philosophical approach which claims to offer progress through a rainbow coalition of everything from homosexual rights to the animal liberation front,—will end up helping no one. It will confuse revolutionary priorities and play the masses right back into the hands of anti-Leninist counter-revolutionary confusion-mongers of every description. Chaos and reaction will continue to triumph until a revolutionary vanguard can be united in the only way possible, — by agreement on basic Marxist-Leninist science. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

## Bush's wardrums reply to catastrophic 'free-world' setbacks in the East

The humiliation for the West's counter-revolutions in Afghanistan and Cambodia are the real world-shattering headlines,—not the trivial excesses of spent reactionary bourgeois thinking by Polish peasants, Baltic nazi-nationalists, or Chinese intelligentsia (however clumsily they are dealt with by socialist camp revisionism's painful ignorance of Leninism — see ILWP Books vol 13).

Yet again, US imperialism sees the need to desperately try reasserting itself,—starting in the Americas, but also including Germany's revolt inside NATO (see second story).

The capitalist press's own admissions once more supply the best proof that it is military defeats for reaction (e.g. in Afghanistan and Cambodia) which ultimately alone can stop imperialist warmongering and counter-revolutionary intrigue,—not the ridiculous 'peaceful settlement' illusions of Gorbachevism (see ILWP Books vol 11).

**F**OR a week now, the Afghan-watching industry has debated an interesting but irrelevant question: did Benazir Bhutto order the rebel Mojahedin to attack the eastern city of Jalalabad early in March?

The issue is irrelevant, because the answer is already known. She did not order the attack, because she had no power to do so. And even if she had given the order, the Mojahedin would almost certainly have ignored it.

The debate started when the New York Times reported that the Prime Minister, along with civilian and military advisers, gave the go-ahead to the attack. The decision was said to have been taken in a meeting attended by the US Ambassador, Mr Robert Oakley, on March 5. The rebels launched their attack on March 6.

The dates, or rather their proximity, are crucial. For nobody who has observed the rebel leadership in action, could believe it capable of organising a light lunch, let alone a strategic offensive, in 24 hours.

It is much more likely that the meeting was a briefing at which Ms Bhutto et al were informed that an attack was

about to be launched. Indeed, it is now known that the first, successful part of the campaign — the capture of the fortress of Samarkhel — was the result of prolonged negotiations, rather than a frontal assault.

What happened next exposed the woeful inadequacy of the Mojahedin in conventional fighting. Inspired by the fall of Samarkhel, one of the groups rushed forward to Jalalabad airport, to be cut to ribbons in the minefields and by the concentrated heavy fire of the defenders. And ever since the rebels have been bogged down around the city perimeter, taking appalling punishment from the air and from the superior groundfire of the Kabul troops.

The battle for Jalalabad is not, yet, a debacle for the Mojahedin....

Others say that the defences are as strong as ever, that the blockade is incomplete, and that every day adds to the government's confidence and saps the credibility of the rebels. Even if the city falls, they say, it will be at appalling cost in civilian and Mojahedin lives.

What is beyond doubt is that the military and political balance in Afghanistan looks startlingly different compared with the view on February 15, when the last Soviet soldier retired over the Oxus River.

With troops digging in around government buildings, President Najibullah declared an emergency and Western diplomats fled. In Pakistan, rebel leaders were preparing their alternative government, and predicting the collapse of the godless communist regime in a matter of weeks.

It was in those heady circumstances that it was decided to give the process a hefty nudge, by attacking Jalalabad. Capturing the city, it was argued, would also boost the prospects of the fledgling Mojahedin government in gaining world recognition, especially by the Islamic Organisation Conference, due to meet in March.

Even so, the decision to attack was strongly disputed by several of the Pakistan-based groups, who predicted that large-scale civilian casualties, inevitable in an attack on a city of 70,000, would cost them dearly in public support.

But the militants won the argument, with the crucial backing of the Pakistan military intelligence, the ISI, and the hawks in the US State Department and Pentagon (including Mr Oakley). Their strategic

view of Afghanistan remains steadfastly unaltered by the Soviet withdrawal. Dr Najibullah remains a Moscow puppet, and must be removed before the Afghans decide their future. In this line of argument, the conflict remains a liberation struggle, not a civil war.

But a couple of months later, there has been precious little liberation for the suffering survivors of the 10-year battle for Afghanistan. The Najibullah government is confident, almost cocky, telling journalists that the battle for Jalalabad is all but over, that the once-parlous supply of munitions and essential commodities has been restored, and that more and more rebels are seeking an accommodation with Kabul.

In Pakistan, the Mojahedin's government has still to show signs of animation let alone authority. The air is thick with recrimination and doubt and Kabul Radio is gaining new audiences with its daily message that Dr Najibullah is now the true nationalist, fighting for Afghan independence against foreign-backed invaders.

On the diplomatic front, Moscow and Kabul made little headway in last week's UN security council debate. The Kabul Foreign Minister, Mr Abdul Wakil, could not persuade the council to make a resolution on Pakistan "aggression".

But elsewhere, according to well-informed sources here and in Kabul, diplomatic pressures on Pakistan are emerging, especially in Iran and China.

Tehran, anxious to improve relations with Moscow as a source of arms and pressure on Iraq, is said to be discouraging the Iran-based Shi'a Mojahedin from reaching a rapprochement with the rebels in Pakistan. There have been persistent accounts of negotiations between the Shi'a groups and the Kabul regime. Any deal which emerged would be an enormous bonus for Dr Najibullah.

China too, is said to be pressing the case for a negotiated settlement of the war. As one of Pakistan's arms suppliers, and a crucial potential ally in any confrontation with India, Beijing has much diplomatic leverage in Islamabad.

All of this amounts to a dilemma for the Pakistani Government, and in particular for Ms Bhutto, who favours the earliest possible end to the fighting and the repatriation of the three million or more Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

It has been clear from the outset that her fragile democracy depends heavily on the army, which has ruled Pakistan for most of its 41 years. That support in turn is conditional on non-interference with the

military establishment and, most crucially, with the conduct of the Afghanistan war.

In effect, that means the ISI, not the government, is in charge of military policy, as well as the allocation of US arms and cash to the rebels. The head of the service, Lieutenant-General Hamid Gul, is the last surviving proponent of the messianic vision of the late dictator, General Mohammed Zia ul-Haq, that Pakistan and the Mojahedin together could contrive a great Islamic victory.

Gen Gul is known to believe that the Soviet Union, in the throes of perestroika and mindful of the growth of Islam in the Central Asian republics north of the Oxus, would not interfere with the Mojahedin's march on Kabul, even if that march was spearheaded, as some of the loonier fundamentalists want, by Pakistan tanks. His short-term problem is that the Mojahedin are not marching anywhere.

In early March, the ISI chief let it be known that Jalalabad would fall in a few days. Now, the message is that the decision to attack was a mistake by the government. In other words, don't blame us, we were only obeying orders.

This version is treated with derision by most close observers. They say that Ms Bhutto was under immense pressure at the start of March to recognise the Mojahedin government-in-exile.

Both she and her Foreign Minister, Mr Sahabzada Yaqub Khan, strongly resisted, on the grounds that recognition would strip the last veil from Pakistan's claim to neutrality. Not only would it be a clear breach of last year's Geneva Accords, they said, it would be patently absurd to recognise a government which could not even operate on the soil it claimed.

This was taken as the signal to capture a major city for use as a temporary base for the "interim" government. Jalalabad, close to the border and commanding the highway to Kabul, was to be the target. And, when it refused to fall, the Prime Minister, not the ISI or the Mojahedin, was to be the scapegoat.

**P**RESIDENT BUSH yesterday warned the Soviet Union that he was holding it responsible for any obstacles to Washington's aim that Central America should move towards free-market democracy.

In a major policy statement, the President said his policy for Latin America was "the triumph of two great ideas — free government and free enterprise" and made it clear that he was judging the sincerity of President Gorbachev's "new

thinking" by Moscow's readiness to retreat from its Central American outposts.

"The Soviet Union must understand that we hold it accountable for the consequences of its intervention, and for progress towards peace in the region and democracy in Nicaragua," the President told the Council of Americas conference in his first comprehensive statement on Latin America.

"We cannot tolerate Sandinista support, which continues today, for the insurgencies in El Salvador and Guatemala, and terrorism in Honduras as well," Mr Bush went on.

"We call upon the Soviet Union to end Soviet bloc support for the Nicaraguan assault on regional democracy."

Mr Bush's challenge to Mr Gorbachev to acquiesce in America's re-assertion of a free-market and democratic version of the Monroe Doctrine—when the US announced in 1823 its right to look after its interests in its own backyard—throughout Latin America follows the public prediction by the new Pentagon chief, Mr Dick Cheney, that Mr Gorbachev was likely to fail, and to be replaced by a hard-liner.

This latest insistence on Soviet "good behaviour" in Central America suggests that the White House perceives Moscow as vulnerable to pressure, and ready to make more concessions to the triumphalist mood of the Bush Administration.

"Looking around the world today, in the developing countries and even in the Communist bloc, we see the triumph of two great ideas—the idea of free government and the idea of free enterprise," Mr Bush said yesterday.

Citing this week's election in Paraguay and the promise of El Salvador's new rightwing President to respect human rights as signs of democracy's triumph, Mr Bush said Panama remained the exception.

He challenged Western European countries to join America's denunciation of the Noriega regime there, and said: "The US will not recognise the results of a fraudulent election engineered simply to keep Noriega in power."

Repeating his claims that the Soviet Union was still sending \$500 million a year of military aid into Nicaragua, the President added that "Soviet bloc weapons such as AK-47s are now being sent through Cuba and Nicaragua to the guerrillas, and that aid must stop."

Vowing to keep channelling aid to the contras at least until the promised Nicaraguan elections next year, Mr Bush accused the Nicaraguan Government of bad faith.

Cuba, Noriega, and Nicaragua want to remain armed to the teeth and on permanent full alert. Immense encouragement of the revolutionary movements in Salvador, Guatemala, etc., is the best and

only answer to Bush's invasion threats. The first sign of any lack of communist resolve, and Washington's nazi war machine will take advantage like a pack of

wolves,—as happened to Grenada when Havana temporarily lost its nerve and showed a weakness in Leninism (see ILWP Books vol 12). Build Leninism.

## Pause in Labour pains but no outcome possible

To whatever level the influence of petty-bourgeois public opinion now registers Kinnock as less disliked than Thatcher, it will solve nothing for the crisis of British imperialism, and do nothing for the ordinary people.

Even if it could be claimed that a few middle class in the Vale of Glamorgan (which went Tory as long ago as 1951 and at all ten elections since) had shown some actual enthusiasm for the Labour Party, this is a million miles from being able to pretend that the proletariat will ever be fooled again in a big way by reformist promises.

Labour may well still feature prominently in coming by-elections, local elections, opinion polls, and other tests of passive parliamentary participation,—but all such indirect 'representation' serves as much to conceal the real political developments in the international class struggle as reflect them.

Workers in Britain can get nothing more out of class-collaboration after more than a century of reactionary support for British imperialism, and the incurable and fundamental sickness now in the Labour Party since the 1960s shows this clearly.

Labour can never fully 'recover' simply because British imperialism can never hope to recover its former dominant position in the world.

Just the opposite. The heyday of the British bourgeoisie as the most successful competitors in the financial and industrial international market place has long since passed. The cut-throat rivalry from Japan, Germany and others first started relegating British imperialism's position in the world at the beginning of this century, and only the fortune of wartime alliances has just kept the British ruling class's head above water since.

In the probably lengthy and unpredictable turmoil of the collapse of bourgeois 'democracy' (in step with

the collapse of British imperialist economic success), the traditional official labour and trade union movement may still feature in temporary episodic 'victories' of various kinds,—as the working class takes a passing look at different 'solutions' with greater, or (more frequently) lesser, enthusiasm.

But as a serious mass working-class movement, reformism is now all but dead and buried. Never more will there ever again be a solid proletarian class vote for Labour with workers enthusiastically thinking that at last they have got the ruling class where they want them,—on the floor,—the chief hidden revolutionary passion which has mostly silently kept the fraudulent "two-party democracy system" going for so long this century in Britain and elsewhere.

Voting Labour cannot possibly solve the historic crisis of British imperialism which is simultaneously the crisis of British class-collaborationism. Handing the captaincy to the second team management is totally irrelevant to the problems spiralling irresistibly from deep within the cut-throat market forces of monopoly-capitalism itself.

And merely not voting for Thatcher, which is probably what most of the electorate are doing, is equally useless. While Thatcher is certainly not the solution to British imperialism's historic crisis, she is certainly not the problem either. Capitalism is.

Thatcherism has been a temporary expression in Britain of world imperialist reaction seeking a general ideological/militarist resurgence faced with relentlessly strengthening socialist revolutionary trends worldwide. Thatcherism could yet carry imperialist reaction's colours even further down the road towards inevitable fascist-warmongering degeneracy (which will flow out of the cut-throat trade-war competition, just as World Wars I and II unstoppably emerged). That depends not so much on Thatcher herself

as on what course the overall decline and paralysis of class-collaborationism and bourgeois parliamentarism takes in Britain, and on what dictates for warmongering pace-setting are imposed by finance-monopoly imperialist world leaders in the USA, Germany, and Japan.

If Thatcherism becomes associated with the wrong mix of 'democratic' pretensions and militarism at the wrong time, then Thatcherism will have to go. If the establishment circles which have masterminded the Thatcher regime are able to keep on adapting successfully enough to bring more aggressive imperialist 'triumphs' to 'rejoice' in without tripping over the rug of bourgeois 'democracy', then Thatcherism will stay on.

The economic difficulties, (as the world capitalist slump approaches) impose impossible limits on Labour and Tory opportunism alike. Equally, the long-term military/strategic-trade decline of British imperialism imposes the severest restrictions on what warmongering diversions any London government (or other fading imperialist powers) can get up to for surviving a financial or social crisis.

It is a meaningless irrelevance (and a rotten deception) for the traditional labour and trade-union movement to try pretending at such a time of general imperialist crisis that "a Labour Government will at least be less harsh on ordinary people, and more caring towards the community".

Labour, of course, will it anything act even more ruthlessly against mass interests, just as they, and similar social-democratic regimes worldwide, have always done when bullied into it by the international monopoly-finance concerns of the IMF (International Monetary Fund) and other imperialist agencies.

But worse even than any of Labour's cowardly stabs in the working class's economic or living-standards back is the vicious deception a Labour Government will try to inflict on the proletariat by pretending that "international forces beyond anyone's control are responsible for these forced and purely temporary measures", etc, etc.

These lies are a far worse betrayal than any other

treachery that the reformists' class-collaborating weak-mindedness can ever perpetrate. By first canvassing for and then taking working-class votes for an alleged 'solution' to the imperialist crisis but then using that position of trust in order consciously to completely obscure the causes of world slump (private capitalist ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange), and to deliberately deceive the masses into thinking they are helpless to do anything about it (the revolutionary seizure of power),— Labourism effectively hands the proletariat over trussed and gagged to the concentration-camp gates of fascist capitalist reaction.

But this constant hoodwinking of the masses which has been the sole basic historic content of 120 years of reformism,—is becoming ever harder to put across on workers. After eight Labour governments since 1924 and countless accumulated centuries of local government experience in the solid industrial centres which have failed to alter the essential murderous character of capitalism one little bit,—the working class is now unmistakably cynical and reserved about reformist promises as a fulltime solution to anything, (even if some sectors still fall for new faces and new gimmicks in isolated areas of struggle for a brief while longer.)

And this effective large-scale raspberry to Labour, or a nationwide thumbs-down,—has itself not gone unnoticed as a major new upheaval in the crisis-management of British imperialist politics, and eventually can only further exacerbate class-conflict and sharpen mass consciousness towards a revolutionary solution.

Such understanding can definitely not be served by letting delight at any Tory or other bourgeois 'democratic' humiliation become identified with Labourism (who in their time have been even worse colonial assassins and middle-class hypocrites than any other opportunists in Parliament. See ILWP Books vols 7,9, and 10). Defeats for Thatcherism would show growing difficulties for the imperialist racket to any longer successfully manage its 'democracy' fraud,—its best trick. Simultaneous humiliation

for Labourism and all the other Parliamentary fakers would demonstrate that bankruptcy even more advantageously and completely.

If the perspective is one only of accelerating imperialist decline all the way to inter-capitalist World War III and renewed fascist slump, then the notion of 'preserving a little bit more of the National Health Service for just a little bit longer than the Tories would have done' is nothing but a criminal deception on the working class. Tell the working class the truth. The reformist day-dream of class-collaborating permanent prosperity for the masses under capitalism is a foul and dangerous illusion. Such make-believe fantasies can only totally disarm the proletariat just at the moment when it needs to start sharpening its most revolutionary aspirations and understanding.

And no one seriously believes in any case that Labour will ever again even pretend to try any 'drastic restructuring' of the capitalist system (as it feigned in its notoriously phony 'socialist' 1945 government which did the exact opposite of "ending capitalist exploitation and poverty for ever" as was boasted then, (and as is still amazingly still boasted today by the buffoon Benn about the 1945 intentions),—by unleashing the anti-communist Cold War, and state-subsidising the revival of private capitalist marketing in Britain.) Kinnock and Co dare not even play-act at 'socialism' any more.

So the charade of "at least get Labour back to soften the blows of capitalist crisis" is not even believed by those who put it forward. This ruse serves another purpose entirely. It protects the 'progressive intelligentsia' from having to make serious thoughts and statements about what really must be done to match up to the truly menacing worldwide warmongering crisis of the imperialist system,—the one answer being for its revolutionary overthrow, but the implications of which are more terrifying to the petty-bourgeoisie than even the collapse of capitalism,—such are their depths of small-minded philistinism and opportunism.

But since there is no real mileage in Kinnockism,—yet no revolutionary condi-

tions have yet appeared anywhere for any length of time,—the British capitalist crisis could be doomed to a lot more of the "proportional representation/new political mould" delusions still, despite the worthy humiliations already heaped on the posturing Liberal-SDP farce.

This could well coincide with yet another change of gear and a new lease of life for an even more fascist Thatcher than ever,—or else an even more different, newer, harsher regime under the Tory colours.

But the formidable obstacles facing that particular turn (and likewise any similar chauvinistic obscurities from a Labour Government) are now even more graphically illustrated (by sudden German diplomatic aggressiveness) than are the monumental economic difficulties where Britain is out-rivalled on the international market place.

Warmongering diversions, of course, do not have to be against the most obvious imperialist economic rivals—as Thatcher demonstrated by the desperate Falklands War gamble to get the Tory Government out of a real mess in 1982; and it is indeed advisable that such jingoistic stunts should be deliberately mounted against known weaker opponents who can be safely beaten, however obscure the 'cause'.

But the strategic resurgence of the German imperialist bourgeoisie poses far greater problems for the sicker capitalist competitors than merely the irritation of making sure not to pick a fight with Germany.

Bonn's sudden decision to start speaking with a very loud voice dramatically recasts the entire warmongering scene as far as the traditional Anglo-Saxon imperialist leadership is concerned. Confidence, decisiveness, style and bluster are everything in carrying off colonial gunboat diplomacy, and the Anglo-Saxon imperialist epoch has sometimes gained as much from pure know-how and bluff as from actually demonstrating armed superiority.

Astonishingly, German imperialism is now indicating its readiness to call that bluff again,—as twice before this century. The current international balance of class forces can never be the same again.

6 In their relations with other

Western powers, the Germans feel ready to play a more assertive role. They believe that enough time has elapsed since the war for them to show the confidence, and occasionally the bloody-mindedness, that any nation with their economic strength should have the right to display. They are less willing to take lessons from nations they consider to be slipping.

A German foreign correspondent who has recently returned home from Paris says: 'The United States is, in German eyes, no longer an economic giant — so the Germans tend to look down on the Americans, who have lost stature while Japan and Germany have grown stronger.'

'Of course this reaction is impulsive and disproportionate, but the Germans are bad at changing their minds a little at a time. It has to be either one thing or another. They feel that a new phase of history has started. Everything has changed.'

We are speaking of Germany's attempt to rediscover its place in history, to discharge its debt to Europe east and west, and to take up once again the prominent role in human affairs to which its power and vigour entitle it. No wonder, then, as such forces gather behind it, that even a rag tag government like that of Chancellor Kohl feels it can and should challenge Washington and London.

Characteristically it was the German foreign minister, Hans-Dietrich Genscher, who yesterday expressed this new sense of German destiny most forcefully in the Bundestag debate. There was nothing more powerful than a powerful idea, he told members. Germany and Europe faced a "historic chance". The other Nato partners should "understand and not fear" the consequences.

At one level, the Germans felt victimised because they are the only Nato country that has to live, day in and day out, with the training and preparation for a war in which they would be the first casualties. At another, they felt that Washington and London were manipulating Nato in such a way as to deny to Germany the possibility of developing a new relationship with the Soviet Union — one out of which could flow much mutual economic and political benefit.

The worm turned a week ago when the West German coalition parties, repudiating the conclusions of a Nato Nuclear Planning Group, decided that Germany must press for early Alliance negotiations on short range nuclear missiles. When Chancellor Kohl spoke yesterday in the Bundestag it was clear that, in spite of American and British protestations, he has not retreated one jot from that position. Indeed, he acted like a man who, having long been searching for an issue with which to restore his government's momentum, has finally found it.

That issue is not short range nuclear missile negotiations, narrowly defined. The conflict within Nato over this question will almost certainly be dealt with, at the Alliance summit next month, by some form of compromise. The issue is Ger-

many's right to act as a truly independent state, after 40 years of incomplete sovereignty, and its ambition to lead Western Europe

**G**REAT shifts in international politics are comparable to the subterranean movements of the tectonic plates. Once in motion, they are both unstoppable and unpredictable, in that we cannot know in advance when precisely the enormous pressures building up will find release. Such a release, it can be argued, came yesterday when the West German Chancellor, Helmut Kohl, publicly asserted for the first time since the end of the second world war that German national interests must take precedence over those of the United States and Britain in the formation of his country's foreign and security policy.

The great hope aroused among West Germans by President Mikhail Gorbachov and perestroika is swirled by a discontentment with their role as the Western alliance's parade ground and nuclear missile base.

Germany has eased itself into a more comfortable posture, no longer turned exclusively towards the West but with an eye on the lost Eastern territories and areas of influence.

As German politicians and businessmen are quick to point out, there is no chance of Germany weakening its links with the West. German trade with the Eastern Bloc could not in any foreseeable future be more than a fraction of its exchanges with its Common Market partners.

In economic terms, Germany is a successful giant. With one or two twists of the interest rate key, remember, it could bring Mrs Thatcher and George Bush to their political knees. It is currently in the complex and formative stage of deciding how that clout should be used in the pursuit of the future Europe.

West Germany today is not some maverick state. It wishes partnership in the struggle to redefine Europe as the old certainties of the post war settlement evaporate. And there is no either/or to our response. We cannot pretend that NATO disarray and angry shrugs about EMS, never mind EMU, belong in different baskets. They don't. They are, simply, two parts of the same problem.

In a debate in the Bundestag last week, Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher said: 'Members of the Government take an oath to devote all their efforts to the good of the German people. The duty which this oath confers does not end at the border running through the middle of Germany.'

The indignation in Washington and London over West Germany's desire to "go it alone" on Lance missiles and nuclear artillery ignores very recent history.

In October 1983, a million West Germans were on the streets all over the country, protesting against the installation of cruise and Pershing II missiles on their soil. The Dutch, the Belgians and the British were similarly agitated.

Dr Kohl stood firm, setting his face against an obviously genuine and powerful popular sentiment. He remained firm at first in 1987, when the Americans asked him to go back on that decision because agreement with Moscow depended on such a reversal, but gave in for the sake of Western unity.

No sooner had he done so

than Washington was back on the line asking him to give up the old Pershing I missiles as well (West German rockets with nuclear warheads in US keeping).

Thus the last missiles on European soil capable of hitting targets in the Soviet Union were scrapped and the way was clear for the "zero option" on medium-range rockets.

But as the champagne went flat it dawned on Bonn that all the nuclear weapons now left on the European continent were either stationed in Germany, West and East, or designed to go off on German soil, or both.

Even the land-based part of the independent deterrent owned by Bonn's most important European partner, France, could only hit Russians if they

obligingly advanced to within frapping range — well into Germany.

No wonder Kohl and Genscher want to go on with what INF began — the relief of Germany from the threat of nuclear devastation.

They annoyed the Anglo-Americans by blocking modernisation of existing short-range weapons; and just as Washington and London were adjusting to a grudging compromise (indeterminate deferment) on that, Bonn called for talks aimed at a reduction, likely to lead to abolition, of this kind of armament. Tact and timing are poor, but the logic looks impeccable from West Germany.

Dr Kohl stood firm again yesterday. It would be a mistake to think he can be pushed into yet another U-turn.

Already the language is alarming, even after so slight an initial diplomatic initiative by Germany as to doubt if now is a good time for NATO to publicly renew its Anglo-Saxon-controlled short-range nuclear weapons (which may yet be passed off by the West as just a 'minor disarmament timetabling disagreement' if they have to concede to Bonn intransigence, coupled with some marginal contract-supplies rearrangement to Germany's advantage.)

But however real or slight the differences (depending on how far tactically Bonn really wants to go towards toying with Soviet disarmament proposals in order to deliberately upset the Anglo-Saxon hegemony, — which in reality is likely to be not very far at all), — the damage that has been done is the maximum possible just by the very tone and stance that Germany has suddenly decided to adopt.

It is a loud and clear message to the whole world: German imperialism is back in business with a vengeance

(literally!). And the whole world will sit up and take very serious stock of this dramatic new situation.

As illustration, it is very simple to see that should Germany start to strengthen its imperialist-military ties with countries such as Argentina (a real possibility), developing its own set of 'special relationships', — then any rerun now of the Falklands War could turn out to have a very different result and consequence indeed, — so different in fact that London would hardly even dream of attempting such a war were such 'special relationship' conditions to prevail.

Duplicate this scenario a hundred different times around the globe where traditional Anglo-Saxon dominance has hitherto ruled the roost with scores of weaker capitalist-camp regimes. The pattern of the international balance of class and national forces suddenly looks very altered indeed. Add in for good measure the inevitable future 'declarations of independence' by Japanese resurgent imperialism and Italian imperialism, — and the whole world scene is changed beyond recognition.

'Independent' France has hitherto been different enough from Anglo-Saxon imperialist hegemony to have kept its forces deliberately and ostentatiously outside of the NATO 'joint military command structure', and to have frequently pursued its own highly idiosyncratic line in colonial intrigue and anti-communist subversion as to have been generally regarded by Washington and London as a permanent pain in the neck.

And that was just ancient imperialist France, shorn of empire and hardly dominating the world since 1945 in industrial, financial, and government stability (although doing much better, significantly, since tying its fortunes in so closely with Germany's inside the Common Market).

Although still officially non-nuclear, the diplomatic and economic muscle of 'independent' German and Japanese imperialist power and influence totally dwarfs whatever ability, real or imagined, France has had to resist Anglo-Saxon domination in all things.

All of which casts the miserable little electoral circus in the Vale of Glam-

organ in a very unflattering light indeed. Who is impressed any more with clapped-out British imperialist political parties vainly striving to seem 'popular' and in charge of a clapped-out British imperialist economy?

Looking further ahead, — how would Labour, or Tory, or a 'National' government try to play out the British imperialist twilight, — surrounded by voracious stronger market rivals on all sides? Whatever Thatcher's difficulties might be alleged to be for the moment, the one certainty of the de Gaulle, Reagan, Thatcher, Japanese Liberal-Democrat, and German bourgeois coalition epoch is that while most approaches fail eventually, (unsurprisingly in the era of imperialism's insoluble terminal crisis), — the only things which have appeared to have 'worked' for any length of time at all have been the 'hardline' authoritarian attitudes associated with Reaganism, — anti-communist, 'positions of strength', colonial-aggressive, and anti-'liberal' domestically.

And as this is also always the essential dream of all the bourgeois in spirit, — then even in the midst of the Vale of Glamorgan feeble confusion, the only certainty is that the next illusion which appears to be 'getting something done at last' in the midst of British imperialism's paralysis, — or at least offering to 'get something done', — will be some authoritarian populist/fascist messianic nonsense or other, — Thatcherism mark II, or Owenism, or Kinnockism wearing "defend the national interest" jackboots, etc.

And all will be a farcical miserable failure as British imperialism falls relentlessly still further behind its age-old imperialist rivals who are also getting their jackboots on again, — inside and outside NATO.

No one wants to believe a single word about 'Labour revivalism'. An authoritarian coalition government is the only serious longterm perspective for collapsing British imperialist 'democracy'. Which will then help to make the need to fight to build a party of Leninist revolutionary theory crystal clear to even the most cowardly petty-bourgeois philistine. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.

## The West wants war

Gorbachev's revisionist idiocy that the capitalist system has "accepted the need to live in peace with the rest of the world" has never looked sicker.

The entire Middle East from Lebanon, Occupied Palestine, and Jordan in the Near East to Afghanistan and the Pakistan borders of the Indian sub-continent is being relentlessly screwed up towards explosive international conflict which will already make the Gulf War look like child's play, itself one of the longest and bloodiest conflagrations this century and still unresolved (and unresolvable).

As well as liberal supplies of Western arms to the 'free world' favourites in all these confrontations, US imperialism is incredibly still pouring yet more military and other aid into such degenerate failures as the West's disruption programmes on the borders of Kampuchea and Nicaragua using washed-up counter-revolutionaries.

And the Thatcher regime moved heaven and earth to undercut the French regime in winning ghoulish contracts to supply the loathsome fascist-feudal Saudi tyranny (and its neighbouring autocratic stooge states) with the biggest arms deal in history worth ££ billions.

And the proliferating nazi-war mongering use of all these weapons made available to the West's "friends" (however disreputable) in the cause of anti-communism, - is made graphically clear by the disgusting tie-up in Paris between the Thatcher-protected racist psychopaths in South Africa and the Orange-fascist British colonists occupying parts of Ireland's province of Ulster (pretending to be Irishmen as they wave Union Jacks in support of the SAS's death-squad tactics for murdering the real Irish population, - trying to continue the original Black and Tan terrorism to maintain a 'British majority' within a ripped-out Occupied Zone.)

Meanwhile, even more dramatically, the Western imperialist "allies" themselves are now seriously falling out to a background of open

name-calling arguments, - the real pinnacle of the incurable drive to warmongering inseparable from all capitalist economic crisis which, in turn, is itself insoluble, plunging unstoppably towards all-out trade-war and slump, and then military conflict, based on the iron laws of Marxist-Leninist science of free-market anarchy and 'surplus' monopoly-capital. (See ILWP Perspectives pp 5-8).

Appropriately, German imperialism is arguing once again with Anglo-Saxon imperialism about "how best to guarantee European security" and about the "proper level and type of armaments in the continent", - exactly the same superficial matters which gave the appearance of eventually "leading to war" in 1914 and again in 1939. In reality of course, both of these world wars were actually about irreconcilable trade-war conflicts, - effectively over who was to be the dominant imperialist economic power in the world, the Germans or the Anglo-Saxons. Deep down, it is exactly the same conflict this time.

The particular form the row is taking at the moment exactly reflects the powerful new factors which since 1945 have overshadowed the deadly and unending inter-imperialist rivalry, - the unconquerable strategic might now of the Soviet socialist camp; and its specific influence on Germany itself, now divided into a capitalist half and a socialist half.

The current pro-disarmament stance being adopted by the Bonn revanchists should fool no one. German imperialism can no more change its aggressive-competitive spots than any other imperialist bourgeoisie, and has not done so. The German capitalist state has stealthily become the most powerful continental armed forces within NATO in all but nuclear matters (in public at least), - second in prestige and influence only to US imperialism itself which still dominates - just - by the sheer size of its financial commitment to the arms race. But for military quality, confidence,

discipline, and know-how, - German imperialism is already once again the most powerful and feared voice in the West. And its shared authority within the overall NATO Cold War nuclear policy is growing with every passing year as the German economy steadily outstrips the rest of the West.

Bonn's "disarmament" stance over the short-range battlefield nuclear weapons within NATO is a cunning way of appealing to the West German electorate for popular support to undermine US and British domination of NATO still further but without being seen, - at this stage, - to be clamouring for more German fingers on the nuclear triggers, (and a greater German say in the renewal contracts for the lucrative 'modernisation' process for short-range nuclear weapons), - which would be regarded badly throughout Europe, and could sink Gorbachev, - the West's best friend in Moscow.

So the sly progeny of the Thousand Year Reich choose at this moment to present their dislike of being used as NATO's nuclear doormat by unreliable Washington policy beyond Bonn's control, - and of being left out of the profitable and strategically vital direct nuclear management, - as a publicly proclaimed wish for Western (and Soviet) disarmament from this particular US atomic weapons monopoly.

Particularly irksome for the German bourgeoisie is NATO's present strategic plan of fighting a bogus 'containment' war against the non-existent 'threat of Soviet massive conventional-forces invasion of West Europe' by wiping out the whole of Germany where all the short-range nuclear weapons possessed by both sides would be bound to fall.

While Bonn is as aware as the rest of the West that the notion of Soviet expansionism is a nonsensical myth, the prospect of nuclear armageddon on German soil is nevertheless an unnerving and insulting one to Germany's very sensitive national pride, and an uncomfortable reminder of the humiliating post-1945 settlement (with its echoes of the notorious

Versailles Treaty whose savage reparations prepared the ground for World War II directly out of the 'peace' that was supposed to have settled World War I) which gives US imperialism the constitutional right virtually to permanently dictate what its forces will do inside Germany and what German forces will be limited from doing. (A similar constitutional diktat from Washington humiliates Japan and is a prime cause of an identical resentment there against Anglo-Saxon domination, - with potentially even more explosive consequences ultimately because of Japan's even greater economic independence (and even superiority) compared to ageing crisis-ridden Western imperialism.)

The German monopoly bourgeoisie has not the slightest interest in disarmament, no more than any other bourgeoisie. But in its complicated diplomatic rivalry with the rest of the imperialist camp which denies Germany its rightful leadership role within the capitalist system (and potentially threatens Germany when the trade-war comes to all-out military and political confrontation), - then it can easily suit Bonn's cause, as now, to suddenly play the 'peace' card to totally wrong-foot Washington and London.

Germany wants to be the strongest power, just like any other imperialist bourgeoisie, - not in order to dominate the Soviet Union (a dream long since abandoned, as it has been by the rest of the West) but in order to dominate its capitalist rivals when trade-war inevitably becomes shooting war again. Eventually that position of strength would be best accomplished with nuclear weapons too, - or whatever is the most lethal death-dealing equivalent at the time; - but meanwhile it suits Bonn's rivalry with the other NATO powers to play the non-nuclear card for the moment.

That the aim and spirit of all this 'disarmament' arguing has nothing whatever to do with 'peace' or 'friendship' is obvious from the bitter hatreds and conflicts which this whole process is unleashing. If there was just the faintest trace of

any "friendly turning of swords into ploughshares" about all this, there would be just the occasional glimmer of 'rejoicing', to coin a phrase, about such a great breakthrough in the history of human affairs.

There is nothing but the sourest, most venomous, hatred being poured out. The Downing Street briefing to the lobby this week scornfully told the German state how to conduct its affairs with greater firmness and responsibility in instructing its electorate that a non-nuclear Europe was 'out of the question', etc., - brutally insulting language as far as 'diplomacy' is concerned, - especially between supposed 'allies', - and especially dramatic when the relationship between the abuser and the abused is precisely what has so fundamentally changed in the German view, making lectures from feeble British economic imperialism (and almost as feeble US imperialism) to the all-conquering German economy totally unacceptable any more.

Reinforcing that crucial aspect in inter-imperialist relations currently is the Western suspicion that Germany raised its interest rates last week, - threatening to undermine the dollar and sterling's market values, - as a warning shot across the Anglo-Saxon bows implying that Bonn could play as tough as the hectoring British diplomatic bluster if it chose to.

Against this real scientific, industrial, financial and market power of the German bourgeoisie (and an even stronger factor in the case of the Japanese monopoly capitalists, but echoed too in Italy, France, Holland, etc., to some extent), - the ancient Anglo-Saxon domination really only has its established international political position going for it (expressed particularly in worldwide diplomatic, economic and military treaties) plus its nuclear weapons superiority within the Western alliance. Bonn, - backed to some extent by the others, and remotely mimicked by Japan (although conditions in the Far East are vastly different from the European Common Market), - is beginning forcefully to challenge both these privileges.

If today's trade figures force a further interest-rate rise on the British imperialist economy, or worse still force a damaging run on the pound, and a share-

price collapse, - then the weighty pattern of the German challenge for Western hegemony will indicate the shape of things to come more obviously than ever.

Thatcherism will, in a way, - get what it wants, - a menacing crisis in which the union jack can be waved against the "enemy without" to pull the ruling class through an economic bad patch by diverting domestic proletarian hostility outwards onto the "foreign swine" in the routine imperialist method of warmongering one's way out of difficulty, - exactly as the British government overcame crippling unpopularity in 1982 at the height of the last mini-slump by going to war over the Falklands, and will repeat in even more grandiose fashion when the real slump begins soon.

The German monopoly bourgeoisie will get what it wants too, - demonstrating to its own electorate that German national pride and prestige is now riding higher than ever, - and free to emphasise the German state's re-armament needs, - including nuclear and chemical weapons, - as soon as it is necessary to slightly switch the nationalist propaganda line from 'reasonable differences' to 'aggressive differences' in the conflict with Anglo-Saxon hegemony.

The one thing that is certain is that for each and every imperialist bourgeoisie, one surefire guarantee of popular support is to play the warmongering card once again. Bonn may have genuine difficulties now with German public opinion over widespread fears of renewed nuclear arms escalation (arising out of NATO's short-range modernisation insistence despite Gorbachev's entreaties). But the moment that any German government pushes the read-out button which says: "We are being threatened; Germany must remain strong", etc., - then that regime, - just like any other within the international imperialist system, - will have the undying loyalty of its masses right up until major defeat has forced the proletariat to have a re-think.

This inevitability of the warmongering essence of inter-imperialist market competition, - scientifically described in enormous length and detail by Lenin (see ILWP Books vols 4, 11, and 13), - makes Gorbachev revisionism look so treacherously stupid. Only the most

appalling philistinism could remain totally ignorant of the scientific lessons of all Marxist-Leninist theory, and remain totally blind to the screeching evidence in front of one that the capitalist system is careering downwards towards another warmongering hell, - World War III.

The hopeless and confused bloody turmoil in the Lebanon graphically demonstrates this point. At the time of the Gulf War's supposed 'ceasefire', the Bulletin pointed out that this turn to warmongering by two crisis-ridden capitalist regimes could not possibly find any 'solution' other than to continue down the same belligerent route until either or both were utterly crushed or humiliated in a resumption of that war or a different war, - and then overthrown by communist revolution, the only possible real path to peace for all nations everywhere (see ILWP Books vol 11). No sooner said than done. Iran and Iraq are apparently the new forces standing firmly behind the sudden dramatic escalation of civil war in Lebanon, allying with rival Arab bourgeois forces who have themselves already demonstrated in 20 years or more of conflict that there is no solution to capitalist hegemony-rivalry, ultimately, other than total victory, or total annihilation, - such is the unalterable nature of monopoly-imperialist market competition.

The offensively criminal stupidity of Gorbachevism pretends that "this is no longer the nature of capitalism", - exactly as if this were some religious miracle out of the blue, (and with about as much scientific 'reason' behind it as that nonsense), - all based solely on the notion that because nuclear weapons are so destructive, the cut-throat rivalry of inter-imperialist competition will completely change its character. What incredible idiocy. They slaughtered each other for nine years in the Gulf War (already the longest this century) using everything from modern rockets and chemical warfare to old fashioned WWI trench slogging and sniping. If they could have got hold of nuclear weapons, they would undoubtedly have used them too. Or they would have slugged it out with bits of wood if they had to as well. They stopped only because both

camps (after heavy US intervention on the Iraqi side) were reaching the point of revolutionary-crisis exhaustion, at which point they would have both been overthrown by communist revolution if they had not had a pause. But they will be back at it eventually, because both rotten bourgeois-feudal regimes are inextricably mired in the terminal crisis of the capitalist-monopoly system which no bourgeoisie eventually can hope to survive, - the system itself now being completely out of date and desperately due for replacement by a planned world socialist economy.

Underlining this point, the Lebanon crisis has escalated because collectively the reactionary Arab bourgeoisie's money is running out as the worldwide imperialist economy stumbles towards the end of its postwar boom finally. In particular, Saudi (and other feudal Gulf-state) oil money has plunged as international slump conditions take ever firmer hold, and thus the chief subsidiser of every reactionary muslim regime no longer has the cash to keep all these tinpot tyrant dictatorships going from Morocco to Pakistan, and from Iraq to Sudan.

The contradictory phenomenon of costly warmongering-meddling in the Lebanon by near-impooverished reactionary Middle-East regimes is explained not by Arabism nor by muslimism but only by their character as capitalist regimes which are bound to try every last-ditch bellicose trick to win a bit of gunboat-diplomacy foreign prestige in order by propaganda blitz to keep the domestic revolutionary wolf from the palace door for just a little bit longer.

It will all come to nothing in the end. But meanwhile Gorbachevism is busy blunting the revolutionary sharpness of the international proletariat just at the moment when it needs to be developing its keenest cutting edge.

And what good is all this degenerate revisionist simple-mindedness, - abandoning the science of Marxism-Leninism, - doing Gorbachev and Co domestically in the USSR, China, Yugoslavia, etc?

It is only encouraging the most petty-minded local chauvinism and petty-bourgeois counter-revolutionary opportunism by this headlong retreat from the only philosophy which will ever be able to truly unite all of man-



kind, - revolutionary proletarian internationalism which unites all workers, first and foremost, in the aim of wiping all imperialist market anarchy and exploitation from the face of the earth, (and with it all of capitalism's inbuilt drives to warmongering, by making cut-throat competitive slumps a barbaric thing of the past only.)

And furthermore, what response are Gorbachev's new 'peace' partners in the degenerate imperialist camp making to the disgraceful ethnic backwardness and anti-Leninist ignorance pouring out in minority demonstration after demonstration from Peking to Kosovo, and from Leningrad to Georgia (encouraged by the indiscipline revisionist softheadedness emanating from Moscow?)

Just as with the West's continuing armed subversion attempts from Nicaragua to Kampuchea and from Afghanistan to Mozambique against the socialist camp, the CIA-dominated 'free press' propaganda machine throughout the capitalist world has gone into hysterical overdrive to portray the entire communist international movement as "plunging into its deserved final collapse", etc, etc.

The hate-filled lying distortions which deliberately seek to provoke the maximum possible violent reaction to the entire Marxist-Leninist political programme (but in particular against its essential core, - the dictatorship of the proletariat), - has, nothing in mind but war to the death against socialist revolution, and not 'peaceful' intentions at all.

Just the opposite to Gorbachev's ignorant insane assertions, - the scope and depravity of anti-communist propaganda continues to escalate alarmingly both in the spread of murderous fascist movements consciously being condoned in every imperialist country; and in the toleration of inter-state warmongering aggression such as US imperialism's nazi blitzkrieg destruction of social-

ist Grenada; the Anglo-Saxon terror raids on Tripoli and Benghazi; the Zionist genocide against Occupied Palestine and the non-stop terrorising bombing raids on the refugee camps in the Lebanon; the SAS death-squad killings of Irish national-liberation movement supporters in Gibraltar; the mass-murder outrage committed on returning Namibian-SWAPO guerrillas by South African fascist forces under the very noses of the United Nations joke 'peace-keeping' force; the endless death-squad tyranny raging over Central and South America with full Washington complicity and financial support; etc, etc.

Gorbachev supinely allows the West hypocritically to scream blue murder over the USSR's legitimate weapons sales to a legitimate revolutionary national-democratic regime in Libya (to feebly try to counter the massive arms sales by Britain, France and the USA to the most bloodthirsty reactionary regimes throughout the Middle East from the Zionists to the Saudis, and not even excluding the Irangate scandal arms to the homicidal Ayatollahs and the suicidal Contras.) But then when Thatcher's disgraceful proteges in South African fascism are caught red-handed in illicit arms-smuggling deals with British imperialism's sordid Orange-nazi colonist stooges in the Occupied Zone of Ireland, - the paralysed Moscow regime commands no attention with any comment at all. Even when the zombie Howe disgustingly tried to cover up the Downing Street embarrassment by pretending that sub-judice prevented him from commenting on the Paris arrests (lies), or that there was no evidence of any South African arms ever having reached the Occupied Zone for the Orange fascists to do damage with (even more outrageous lies since the Milltown Cemetery massacre was perpetrated using smuggled South African weapons), - Gorbachevism still had nothing at all to say.

Augmenting the clear run which Moscow's revisionist philistinism is giving to Western imperialist aggression, subversion, and arms-race provocations, - the 'free world' bourgeoisie never ceases intensifying its general anti-communist propaganda. The Soviet bureaucracy must be criminally negligent not to have noticed or to have responded to ever-new avalanches of lying filth against the socialist countries, the history of revolutionary struggle, and the science of Marxism-Leninism.

From backing barbaric feudal backwardness of the drug-ridden assassins trying to destroy socialist Afghanistan's educational, medical or economic progress, - to inventing farcical imaginary perspectives for turning the clock back to the vicious capitalist past in China, Georgia, Poland, Cuba, Vietnam, etc, - bourgeois ideology remains increasingly dominated by desperate doom-day thinking about its own imminent demise, projecting that onto the world as a whole. And this apocalyptic pattern prevails and intensifies regardless of new additions to the pacifist bourgeois camp who openly accept that revolutionary communism (not Gorbachev revisionist class-collaborationism as practised by the reformist apologies-for-CPs in Western Europe) must now be accepted on the planet. In capitalist countries, violent hostility to Leninism tends to strengthen up to the point where conditions force a serious revolutionary movement to begin growing, at which point only does the propaganda situation have a chance of being reversed on the backs of humiliating defeats for the bourgeois regime, and nothing else.

It is a crass reformist-revisionist illusions to pretend, as Gorbachev does, - that slowly and gradually, 'reason' prevails under capitalism, and that the entire world imperialist community will eventually be eagerly peacefully coexisting with the socialist camp and the world communist movement. It will be exactly the other way about. Bilibious hatred of Leninism will be relentlessly cranked up all the way to the reintroduction of nazi concentration camps again in the West for combatting communist workers. Such is the inevitable logic of the capitalist class's terminal crisis. Fascist-chauvinist fan-

aticism will make its last desperate stand.

Even now, there are abundant signs of how sickly disoriented the 'free world' is becoming at the inexorable prospect of its own demise. Hitler's centenary sees anything but a serious materialist analysis of how Western imperialism collectively encouraged the fascist 'new order' by financial, political, military, and cultural means to take the leadership in the capitalist world's anti-Bolshevik crusade in a variety of infamous international actions over a well-publicised 7 or 8 year period. But all the 'documentaries' pretend that the nazi nightmare was some peculiar product of German psychology and a lone Austrian crank, and had nothing whatever to do with years of detailed planning and encouragement by the whole of Western imperialism to build a 'real bulwark against Bolshevism'.

The Charlie Chaplin centenary, on the other hand, has seen nothing but the most bilious diatribes in the press and television running down his comic genius and his outstanding political bravery as not at all amusing either now or when made, and as a hopelessly inadequate satire on capitalism. The truth is, of course, that the decadent bourgeoisie, surviving on its final boomtime lease of life, cannot possibly stomach the very idea that the most famous, most successful, and most loved entertainer who has ever lived, revered by thousands of millions the world over, and more wealthily powerful in this mightiest of modern media than any artistic giant has ever been in history, - should have spent his entire private, public, and artistic life dedicated to the basic ideas of communism. Hard-nosed anti-communists hate Charlie Chaplin, and despite his formidable reputation and his awesome talent, they can barely forbear to spit it out openly.

If such matters seem far removed from Gorbachevism, that only proves how remote Moscow's revisionist illusions are from real life where worldwide, a life-and-death struggle is being increasingly tensely fought out between the ideas of Marxist-Leninist science and communist revolution, and the decrepit subjective-idealism of bourgeois opportunists of every description. Build Leninism. Spread the ILWP Bulletin.